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Бугровский Александр Игоревич
Bugrovskii Aleksandr Igorevich

**Способы взаимодействия между НКО работающими с инвалидами и
государственными властями в контексте политики сокращения социальных
расходов: кейс стади исследование России и Финляндии**

**(Patterns of interaction between NGOs working with disabled people and state authorities
in the context of austerity policy: case study of Russia and Finland)**

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Научный руководитель / Scientific supervisor:

кандидат социологических наук

Ярошенко С. С./

Dr. Yaroshenko S. S

Рецензент / Reviewer:

профессор, социологических наук

Чернова Ж В./

Prof. Chernova Z. V.

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Introduction

The core idea of my interdisciplinary research presented by relations of two actors: the state authorities defined as public organizations responsible for governing the state and its territories and the non-governmental organizations (*NGOs-see glossary*) defined as civil society organizations independent from the state governance and commercial priorities. Both of them are implementing vivid functions in the provision of social benefits and shape the common picture of the welfare state. During the second half of the twentieth century, some investigations even were emphasizing the participation of the non-governmental initiatives in the relations with the state actors as one of the principles of consolidation of democracy in overall¹. According to Michael Gorny, the partnerships between civil society, the private sector and the state are perceived as the most effective methods for solving complex of social, cultural and economic problems².

However, Russian realities show that the interests of the formal state institutions and the representatives of civil society are contradicting to each other. For example, there is a contradiction of interests between the state authorities responsible for social protection and care and NGOs working with disabled people regarding the usage of the state resources for provision of all required social services for disabled groups of people in recent time.

My study steps from the new phenomenon associated with the change in the state-NGOs' relations that has kindled scientific interest and triggered heated discussions reflecting different expectations all over the world today. I mean such phenomena as the reformation of welfare policy, especially the decrease of social obligations and delegation part of the state service towards NGOs. Exactly, this phenomenon of the state-NGO's relations draws my attention to the problem of patterns of interactions between the state and NGOs working with disabled people in time associated with the austerity policy. In my opinion, it's possible to use the austerity policy as a term for description processes related to commercialization, individuiation and the specific trend of minimization of government involvement in solving social issues. These

¹ Шмиттер Ф. (1996) Размышления о гражданском обществе и консолидации демократии // «Полис» («Политические исследования»). №5. С.18 https://www.civisbook.ru/files/File/Shmitter_1996_5.pdf

² Горный М.Б. (2011) Взаимодействие некоммерческих организаций и органов власти: сравнительный анализ законодательства // ЖИСП. №2 <https://jsps.hse.ru/article/view/3522/3104>

phenomena are considered by many scholars arguing about the world reformation into the new forms of civil society³.

The features of the state and NGOs working with disabled groups of people' relations might be considered through *the certain patterns of interaction*. The pattern as term recognized as a reliable sample of certain actions formed by specific repeating regularities of actions between the state and non-governmental organizations. From the one side, such actions based on the official state's position towards NGOs providing services for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens. From another side, these actions are laid on the NGOs' ideas constructed from the practices of solidarities of involved group of people. The patterns of interaction are usually shaped due to the state's policy regarding administration of non-governmental sphere. To understand, what the patterns of interactions between these institutions, we could review the practices of interaction between the state and representatives of third sector working with disabled people. But what are the informal practices when the austerity policy is becoming more relevant in Russia and in Finland that facing with the effects of economic recession and features of neoliberalism era?

For the formation of certain patterns it might formulate case-descriptions and the results of interviews for the determination of two patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs working with disabled persons

The object of my study is the two non-governmental, non-profit organizations created as a result of grassroots movements. The first is KVPS (Service Foundation for People with Intellectual Disability) from Tampere, Finland and the second is the GAOORDI (Saint-Petersburg Association of Parents Disabled-Children) from Saint-Petersburg. They both engaged in the provision of social care services for people with disabilities.

The subject of my research is relations between charitable non-governmental organizations and state authorities in Russia and Finland.

The aim of this paper is to study the patterns of interaction between charitable NGOs working with disabled people and state authorities and to compare Russian and Finnish patterns while taking into account the context of austerity policy

The objectives are:

Theoretical

³ Evers Adalbert, Annette Zimmer (2010) Third Sector Organizations Facing Turbulent Environments Sports, Culture and Social Services in Five European Countries. Nomos, Baden-Baden

- To study different theoretical approaches describing and explaining the foundation of relations between the state authorities and NGO's, phenomenon of work with disabled persons in Russia and Finland;
- to explore the phenomenon of "austerity policy" and describing the process of the economic recession's impact on the welfare policies of Russia and Finland;
- to examine the legislative discourse of relations the state and third sector organizations in Russia and Finland;

Empirical

- to study the practical relations associated with interaction between the states and non-governmental organizations in Russia and Finland;
- to analyze the similarities and differences in the relations between NGOs working with disabled people and public authorities in Russia and Finland and reveal the main changes in economic conditions, associated with austerity policy;
- to study challenges, constraints and barriers faced with the investigated patterns of interaction and reveal the non-governmental respond;
- to analyze if NGOs are independent from states or not.

The major research question is: "What are the patterns of interaction between the states and NGOs working with disabled people, when Russia and Finland states are placed in the context of austerity policy in the era of neoliberalism nowadays?"

Methodology:

This investigation is based on several ideas describing and explaining the development of relations between the state authorities and NGOs, phenomena of disability and austerity policy. Nowadays the third sector institutions comprise a different organization structures working as neighborhood units, welfare-providers, civic associations, charitable foundations and providing the variety of benefits and services for the their members or clients. The large part of NGOs are involved in the provision of services for socially-vulnerable groups⁴. It seems to me important to emphasize the particular work of civic institutes working with the people with different disabilities. The questions related to disability have very sharp, meaningful and practical nature.

⁴ Adalbert Evers, Jean-Louis Laville (2004) *The Third Sector in Europe*. Edward Elgar publishing. Cheltenham

These issues were investigated and widely-spread by Tøssebro, Barnes, Ferguson⁵ and others. The general concept of scientists is to refrain a nature of disability in human experience, policy and services. According to them the disability is the problematic interaction between individual physiology or psychology and the recognition by the common society and further inclusion.

In addition, the Russian scientists as Jakobson and Miloslavskaya, Yarskaya-Smirnova pointed out that the grass-rooted NGOs are the most effective part among all organizations which focus on disabled people support. Such NGOs used to found by the group of activists deeply involving in the work of the organization because of their personal problems and life accidents. They interested in support for people with disability because many of them have been individually faced disabled persons or have a certain disability themselves.

A certain part of NGOs' study is dedicated to the economic reasons of existence of the state-NGOs' relations, such ideas as the inability of cover appropriate level of social protection by the national states and increase of the requirements of funding at the time of decrease of the state spending are used to spread by international institutions (World Bank, 2005)⁶. The global economic recession happened in 2007 influenced on the mentioned organizations in each nation state. According to Salamon investigations there are similarities in the happened recessions in 1977-1984 and 2007. The specialty of the last crisis associated with shift of social obligations: countries are restructuring their welfare states and involving NGOs into the state provision of social services and protection clients' welfare. Thus, they both become responsible for provision of social care and support for citizens. However, the further development of interaction might not be possible because of reduced state support and assistance for them in the different reasons. Arguing my interest, I would point this phenomena associated with economic recession impacting on certain actors of civil society in post-crisis is still attracting scientific interests. During my research, I would mention an emergence of articles regarding the economic pressure for the state-NGOs' relations the in Europe. Such works are not aiming to investigation the real

⁵J. Tøssebro (2016) Scandinavian disability policy: From deinstitutionalisation to non-discrimination and beyond. *Alter - European Journal of Disability Research*. Vol. 10 (2).

J. David Smith, Steven Noll, and Michael L. Wehmeyer (2013) The self-advocacy movement: Intellectual disability in late modern times. Vol. 6, pp. 117-157

C. Barnes, A. Sheldon (2010) Disability, politics and poverty in a majority world context, *Disability & Society* vol. 25, no. 7, pp. 771–782

⁶ Issues and Options for Improving Engagement Between the World Bank and Civil Society Organizations
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/CSO/Resources/Issues_and_Options_PUBLISHED_VERSION.pdf

existence of austerity in countries but gave me a certain argument for the justification of my research in overall⁷.

The core theoretical idea of my research is presented by the Gosta Esping-Andersen's phenomenon of decomodification. The author's phenomenon of decomodification is strengthening the citizen's rights towards the common welfare obligations from the market dependency. But scientist didn't mention non-governmental actors, so their participation in the decomodification is unclear⁸.

Then, I refer to the Saskia Sassen's idea of "the loosening the states' sovereignty". According to her, the free circulation of capital, goods, information, and services have impacted on deregulation the state's control. The globalization under these conditions has entailed a partial denationalizing of the national territory and the shift of some components of state sovereignty to other institutions, from supranational entities in the global capital market.

The Sassen's concept seems good to combine with the ideas of the social capital formulated by Bourdieu, Fukuyama and Putnam. The authors tend to frame social capital as a producer of "civic engagement" and also a broad societal measure of common health of the society. Fukuyama and Putnam's works transform social capital from a resource possessed by individuals with an attribute of collectives, focusing on norms and trust as producers of social capital to the exclusion of networks.

According to scholars Ranta, Pestoff, Wijkström, Berggren, Trägård, Block and N. Golovin, I would note that the social capital represents the balance of common interests and can raise the social solidarity, trust between participants and homogeneity. This idea is used to characterize the relations of equality and unification between non-governmental organizations working with disabled people and the state authorities in the Nordic welfare states. Combining this approach to the Russian situation, I would refer to Lytkina's notions of social capital and practices of social solidarity. According to her, the social capital does exist, but it doesn't grow now. The social solidarity is very restricted by own individual and group citizen's interests, so there are tendencies of its reduction⁹.

⁷ Ulla Pape Rafael Chaves-Avila Benedikt Pahl Francesca Petrella Bartosz Pielinski Teresa Savall-Morera (2016) Working under pressure: economic recession and third sector development in Europe, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 36, Iss 7/8 p. 547
Sophia Lowe, Ted Richmond and John Shields (2017) Settling on Austerity: ISAs, Immigrant Communities and Neoliberal Restructuring. *Austerity Urbanism and the Social Economy*. pp.14-46

⁸ Esping-Andersen Gosta (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Polity Press p.248

⁹ Лыткина Т.С. (2012) Социальный капитал в решении социальных проблем: практики солидарности бедных в Республике Коми // *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*, т. 15, №3, с. 130-154

It's necessary to mention thoughts associated with the negative characterization of the state-NGOs relations. I mean an impact on social capital produced dysfunction of trust' phenomenon. It took my attention to the negative effects of clientelism and corruption in the society presented by Papakostas¹⁰.

The methodological basis of the conducting research consists of a combination of qualitative methods.

Methods of data collection are based on case-study research strategy – comparative detailed analysis of two cases. The first case is KVPS (Service Foundation for People with Intellectual Disability) from Tampere, Finland and the second is the GAOORDI (Saint-Petersburg Association of Non-governmental Organizations of Parents with Disabled-Children) from Saint-Petersburg. These organizations are clear examples of non-governmental non-profit organizations were created as a result of grassroots movements. They both engaged in the provision of social care services for people with disabilities, but their focus groups, destinations of work, relations with the public authorities, organizational structures of branches, sizes of organizations and possibilities are differed from each other.

In accordance the choice of case-study as a research strategy, the following methods will be used:

- document analysis (analysis of federal legislation of Finland, Russian federal and Saint-Petersburg's legislation, especially social-legislative acts regulating forms of establishment, running of activities, forms of support, patterns of interaction)
- in-depth interviews of the heads of NGOs, specialists, civil servants, experts of the third sector, volunteers, clients of NGOs;
- semi-structured participant distinct observation of everyday work of the GAOORDI (Saint-Petersburg) and KVPS (Tampere).

Methods of analyzing data are based on comparative analysis of two cases of non-governmental organizations and provide a detail description of each study-case.

Expectations:

I would expect the evidence of certain change of the welfare state, such as the decrease of the state obligations and delegation part of the state service to non-governmental organizations working with disabled persons in both cases. From the Finnish case was expected to testify a mutual interaction of non-profit organizations and state bodies and further development of the

¹⁰ Папакостас А. (2016) Становление цивилизованной публичной сферы: Недоверие, дооверие и коррупция / М.:ВЦИОМ, - 224с.

state-non-governmental relations in comparison to Russian case. From the Russian case was expected to testify the paternalistic model of relations that is making worsen the situation with economic difficulties forced by austerity policy context.

Glossary

The following categories terms are used in the research:

Pattern of interaction – a reliable sample of certain actions formed by specific repeating regularities of actions between the state and non-governmental organizations. From the one side, such actions based on the official state's position towards NGOs providing services for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens. From another side, these actions are laid on the NGOs' ideas constructed from the practices of solidarities of an involved group of people. The patterns of interaction are usually shaped due to the state's policy regarding administration of non-governmental sphere.

Third sector – a broad variety of the civil society's organizations being both independent from the state and the market and playing an important role for civil society. NGO's activities are ranging from neighborhood initiatives, professionalized umbrella organizations, and civic associations to advocacy networks, and charity foundations (Evers¹¹).

Non-governmental organization (NGO) – institutional form that is not part of the government structure and doesn't distribute own profits to their directors/heads or members. It also self-governing structure where the people take part in freely, without any compulsion (Salamon¹²).

Welfare state – a concept of the state's governance where the state presents a key role in the protection and promotion of the social and economic well-being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. Due to own characteristics of the principles of equality and spreading the common wealth, the welfare states are classified on liberal, social-democratic and conservative models (Esping-Andersen¹³).

¹¹ Evers Adalbert, Annette Zimmer (2010) Third Sector Organizations Facing Turbulent Environments Sports, Culture and Social Services in Five European Countries. Nomos, Baden-Baden

¹² Salamon Lester M., S. Wojciech, Sokolowski (1999) Global Civil Society. Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies

¹³ Esping-Andersen Gosta (1990) The three worlds of welfare capitalism. Polity Press

Social democratic state – political form of the state whose goal is the gradual improvement of capitalism policy for approval of social justice among citizens. This state characterized by high levels of benefits and services provided by the state. This state opts to “take direct responsibility of caring for children, the aged and the socially vulnerable groups of people (Esping Andersen).

Economic recession –a marked slippage in economic activity, when the GDP, income, employment, industrial production, and sales are following a decline in the aggregate demand for at least two quarters of negative growth¹⁴.

Austerity policy – official government measures during a period of enforced or extreme economy taken to reduce public spending, particularly in the areas of social welfare and public sector employment¹⁵. The policy is associated with appropriate minimalism developed from the notions of existential scarcity and stern oversight that resonate with historical meanings of this word and its associations with self-discipline, thrift, and scarcity, but which also exhibit distinctively neoliberal inflections (Jamie Peck, 2015)¹⁶.

Neoliberalization – an ideology presenting the decrease of governmental impact as the basis for the reinvigoration and development of private enterprise, free markets, and individual liberty and responsibility (Springer, Birch, MacLeavy, 2014)¹⁷.

NGO’s internal and external resources - the different type of the economic and human investments accumulated due to the work of the organization.

People with special needs / disabled people – the socially-vulnerable group of people whose abilities or structure of the body has peculiarities of development and differ from common people, because of persistent disorder of body functions, entailing significant or complete incapacitation. Someone who is unable to use part of their body or brain properly because of injury or disease (Yarskaya-Smirnova¹⁸).

Structure of the paper:

¹⁴ The US Bureau of economic analysis – the recession term https://www.bea.gov/faq/index.cfm?faq_id=485

¹⁵ Austerity Urbanism and the Social Economy (2017) Alternate Routes. Vol.28

¹⁶ Jamie Peck (2015) Austerity urbanism. The Neoliberal Crisis of American Cities, Rosa Luxemburg, Stiftung, New York Office

¹⁷ Simon Springer, Kean Birch, Julie MacLeavy (2016) The handbook of neoliberalism, Routledge

¹⁸ Ярская-Смирнова Е.Р., Наберушкина Э.К. (2004) Социальная работа с инвалидами. Учеб. пособие. Издание 2-е, переработанное и дополненное. Санкт-Петербург: Изд-во «Питер» 316 с.:

The paper consists of the introduction, four chapters and conclusion. The first chapter is the theoretical one, it includes the analysis of the theoretical framework of the state-NGOs' relations and the interpretations of social capital approach are considered for the determination egalitarian and paternalistic patterns of interaction. The second chapter focuses on analysis of participant observation on the Finnish case - Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö, especially its dynamics of interaction between NGO and state actors. The third chapter focuses on the same participant observation of the Russian case - Saint-Petersburg Association of Non-governmental Organizations of Parents with Disabled Children. The fourth chapter focuses on analysis of investigated patterns that helped me to elaborate the picture regarding patterns of interaction between mentioned actors in Russia and Finland in the context of austerity policy.

Chapter 1. Theoretical approaches to study relations between state authorities and non-governmental organizations

The aim of this chapter is to study theoretical approaches appropriate for describing the relations and especially patterns of interaction between the non-governmental organizations working with disabled people and the state, so that to determine the sustainable theoretical framework to present comparative research of patterns of the state-NGOs' interactions in chosen countries. The most appropriate theoretical approaches to the analysis of relations of mentioned actors are considered, the phenomenon of labor de-commodification constructing the one of the main basis for the state-NGOs' relations presented by Gosta Esping-Andersen, Saskia Sassen's Globalization concept and its specificity of losing the state sovereignty, and Lytkina's interpretation of the social capital theory.

1. 1. Theoretical frames of investigation the state-NGOs' relations during marketization

The certain crisis of the welfare state and its transformation in western industrial countries as well in the former socialist countries arouse interest in the theoretical study of civil society and its relations with the state.

I would share the certain notion of sociologists as Henderson and Howard that the civil society is a space or social sphere that is located between the market, state and family institutions. The basic sign of the civil society is represented by different non-governmental institutions that are offering new ways of producing welfare¹⁹. Referring to Suvi Salmenniemi, the role of the third sector in the post-socialist countries is associated with the desire of destroying the state-paternalistic model of the welfare state and transferring the fulfillment of its obligations to public organizations and the market. As for the western countries, their governments are seeking to reduce the dominance of the state sector and transfer own social obligations to the non-governmental and commercial sectors in the context of global competition²⁰. In general, the author mentioned that the welfare state crisis and the rise of neoliberal tendencies in the policy of states are significantly connected. She is arguing that these tendencies are part of the globalizing capitalist system.

¹⁹ Henderson S. (2003) Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support to Grassroots Organizations. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Howard M. (2002) Postcommunist Civil Society in Comparative Perspective. Demokratizatsiya. Vol. 10. № 3. P. 285–306

²⁰ Суви Салменниemi -Теория гражданского общества и постсоциализм, Журнал исследований социальной политики, том 7, № 4, 2009 pp. 442-446

Studying the literature regarding the non-governmental sector I would recognize the certain focus of interests regarding the investigation of NGOs' affairs. There are methodological studying the NGO as vivid actors of the civil society, the practical investigations of non-governmental participation in international aid or economics of the certain countries, struggling for human-rights and ecological environment, revealing the innovative practices of non-governmental work and implementation of such practices and etc. Unlike of them, my interest is focused on the understanding how practically the interaction between the welfare states of Russia and Finland and non-governmental actors formed by grass-root initiatives is constructed and changed due to the impact of austerity policy.

Despite of the majority of studies regarding the state and third sector relations, the literature review didn't get me a certain specific theory or approach describing the relations of NGOs working with disabled persons and the state authorities. Also, there is a lack of theories, describing the phenomenon of austerity policy. Instead of austerity policy, scientists are considering the idea of a permanent austerity and neo-liberal restructuring. For example, Evans and Richmond and Shields are arguing the phenomenon of the new public management as the reason of the social provision restructuring²¹. So, I've decided to collect important features of several theoretical approaches through the discourse analysis of my field notes. Due to that, the de-commodification of Esping-Andersen, Lytkina's social solidarity practices, Sassen's phenomenon of loosing the state sovereignty and are taken for the theoretical ground.

1.2. De-commodification phenomenon as basis for the NGO-state relations

The ideas of Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare regime approach can be applied to the consideration of the recent picture of the patterns of interactions in NGO-state issues. Among Esping-Andersen's ideas the most valuable for this research is the description of de-commodification. This phenomenon could give us a certain recognition how the welfare states shaped own specificity due to the spreading of social benefits among the population. De-commodification supposes that welfare benefits of individual or a certain group of people should be spread by the state in such way, where they can maintain the common standards for live independently from the market participation. Doing that, the phenomenon of de-commodification establishes unity and solidarity among the groups of people. Simply to say the usual citizen recognizes what kind of welfare benefits are very useful for him and share this information among the persons who have the same social status.

²¹ Bryan Evans, Ted Richmond & John Shields (2005) Structuring Neoliberal Governance: The Nonprofit Sector, Emerging New Modes of Control and the Marketisation of Service Delivery, Policy and Society, 24:1, pp. 73-97

Such phenomenon leads to the creation of a capability of emergence the new collective actions. Describing the de-commodification, Esping-Andersen mentioned Polanyi who was arguing that this phenomenon is the early stage to the acceptable security and welfare of individuals. Both authors mentioned that the welfare state development, especially the phenomenon of de-commodification is facing with different challenges and pressures from wide market mechanisms²². Referring to that idea, I can point the actuality of the market pressure that has a negative impact on the welfare's independence and survival of social benefits. As an evidence, the welfare states nowadays are facing with the reformation of social policies to the liberal principles of work.

Esping-Andersen supposes the difference in usage of the state sources for spreading welfare benefits (the de-commodification) in the particular country. The existence of such phenomenon is argued by the difference in the political systems. This research has testified the difference of de-commodification presented by the Finland, determined by Esping-Andersen as social democratic state and Russia, non-investigated by the author. There is no reliable idea what kind of welfare state Russia has, but I would argue about the certain level of de-commodification towards socially-vulnerable categories of citizens.

There is one unclearness of Esping-Andersen's concept, the author didn't mention non-governmental organizations among the participating actors of the process of de-commodification. However, some scientists are arguing that the informal non-governmental practices of spreading the benefits should be added into account, for example, Good Worth argued that the certain rights and entitlements can be grown by informal domains of social relationships and cultural characteristics of society. Part of them has a specific structure as NGOs, churches or charitable activities, another part consists from clientelists and reciprocal mechanisms as a kinship²³.

In overall, the phenomenon of de-commodification testified the certain sovereignty in regard of the spreading welfare benefits and social solidarity for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens as from the formal state institutions responsible for the state welfare as well from the informal institutions or non-governmental public benefit organizations. Thus, there is a possibility to use such concept for construction a scope of theories for my investigation.

²² Esping-Andersen Gosta (1990) The three worlds of welfare capitalism. Polity Press. p. 37

²³ Wood, Geof and Gough, Ian A. (2006) comparative welfare regime approach to global social policy. World Development, 34 (10), pp. 1696-1712.

1.3. The loosing of the state sovereignty as a key feature for study the recent tendencies

In comparison with the Esping-Andersen's idea of existence of certain sovereignty among the processes of spreading welfare benefits, it is interesting to emphasize the recent realities associated with globalization features. I mean the changes in the relations of the state and non governmental institutions due to economic and social processes. It turns into the focus of the Saskia Sassen's theory and its phenomenon of losing the state's sovereignty.

In general, a sovereignty as a term was established after the second World War and associated with the necessary condition for the political legitimacy of the government, but this phenomenon was testified even much earlier in the Aristotel's century where it was an attribute of the legitimate power of the individual. Sassen argued that during history, all nations were accumulating sovereignty through the different ways of management, as a result we have the exclusive territoriality and sovereign states with different power actors and systems of governance. Besides the existence of the sovereignty, the states are framed by exclusive territoriality. Sassen pays attention to the evidence of "the other forms of concentration of power and sovereignty" presented by non-territorial and non exclusive systems as catholic or orthodox churches and Arab nation. It gives an evidence for author that sovereignty is raised differently. At the same time, Sassen pointed out the emergence of by the actual limitedness of the territories. It leads to the restriction of exclusive territoriality and sovereign rights of the individual or group of people. In opposition, the high-management of foreign embassy is inviolable and has special rights regarding sovereignty that additionally testified the contradictory nature of the state sovereignty and territoriality²⁴.

Continuing the description, I would refer to Sassen's opinion regarding the economic globalization that's declining the significance of the national state and losing the state's sovereignty. The author does not completely agree with the general notion associated with the decrease of the state's role. According to Sassen, the intersection of state's sovereignty and territory does exist and depend on the dynamic of the global world-economy. This intersection is constructed of three components: territoriality of the global economy, the ascendance of governing cross-border transactions, virtualization of economic activity. These components are often characterized as "the de-regularization" of the state and produce the phenomenon of losing of the state's sovereignty. Each of the components is describing a certain conditions of economic

²⁴Saskia Sassen (1996) *Losing Control?: Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization*, Columbia University Press, p. 4

de-regularization happened in the national state²⁵. Applying this approach to my investigation, I would comment that all components correlate with the relations of non-governmental institutions and the states and present a certain impact on the losing the state's sovereignty regarding provision social obligations to the socially-vulnerable citizens.

Let's start from the territoriality of the global economy. Implicating such component to the non-governmental-state relations, we might suppose that the state-NGOs' relations are depend from the economic level of a certain territory. Especially, in the less developed territories the state's sovereignty of provision the social obligations will be differ from the same phenomenon in the countries with developed economy.

Sassen was arguing about the supremacy of neoliberal concept revealing emphasis on markets, deregulation, and free international trade, influenced policy in Britain, the USA and the continental part of Europe. Applying the author's ascendance of governing cross-border transactions grown by a general system of arbitration and credit-rating agencies, we might assume that the losing state's sovereignty is happening due to the efforts of the international non-governmental institutions working world-widely and sharing ideas of welfare²⁶. As an example is raising the work of ecological and humanitarian international non-governmental organizations in postwar time. At the time of the provision of the state obligations slowly affecting on the welfare and these institutions are trying to maintain own logic of developing and spreading welfare benefits for certain groups of people.

Thus, the efforts of international organizations might effect to the loss of the state's sovereignty in the provision of social obligations for citizens.

The last Sassen's component refers to virtualization of economic activity. Scientists argued that mentioned raise the number of virtual economic activities impacts on the state institutions as well on the private non-government sector. The non-governmental organizations are depending on new technologies for making profit even more than the state cause it helps them to develop the flows of income and raise their independence from the state's sources. The examples of successful virtualizations of economic activities are the fund-raising and crowd-funding activities that are established by NGOs for growing economic profit through the establishment of digital instruments for donations. Discussing such Sassen's idea, I would add

²⁵ Ibid, p.5

²⁶Saskia Sassen (1996) *Losing Control?: Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization*, Columbia University Press. 6

my assumption that the raise of economic activities of NGOs might be traced not only through the virtualization process but also through the avoidance of economic restrictions for NGOs. This avoidance of traditional restrictions forces the citizens to establish a certain partnerships between several NGOs to achieve common aims and interests. For example, I would argue the existence of NGOs establishing own social enterprises. It helps them to survive and realize own ideas independently from the state and attract additional sponsors.

Thus the virtualization of economic activities together with my idea of avoidance of the economic restrictions for NGOs are having an impact on the losing state's sovereignty in the provision of social obligations for citizens

In my opinion, the phenomenon of losing sovereignty, and especially described components of intersection are useful for further construction of theoretical foundations for the patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs working with disability. It might be a one of the components for further sociological study of the state-non-governmental relations.

1.4. The social capital theory as additional source of conceptualization

The social capital theory is popular and widely used approach for investigation different aspects of sociological studies. A lot attention was paid to categorize different forms of resources for all social actors. But at the same time the concept of social capital is “blurred” and has many interpretations²⁷. The various definitions in regard to different concepts of this term were developed due to the complexity of its investigation. However, the studies of non-governmental organizations providing goods for clients (public-benefit organizations) can be based on social capital theory.

From the variety of interpretations of social capital I have chosen the most relevant approaches for my research presented by Bourdieu, Putnam, Fukuyama and Lytkina. All of them are considering the social capital through the different focuses and can be applied for study of the patterns of interactions between the state and NGOs working with disabled people.

I will state from the ideas of the social capital theory presented by Pierre Bourdieu. His approach of social capital characterized the focus on social groups. According to him, social capital is built from the opportunities and advantages when the people get united by group. The members of the group are focused on making a profit in the mutually beneficial exchange with each other. Following the scientist's logic, the social capital will exist as long as each member of the group get benefits and individual interests of group-members coincide ultimately with the

²⁷ Лыткина Т.С. (2012) Социальный капитал в решении социальных проблем: практики солидарности бедных в Республике Коми // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии, т. 15, №3. р. 133.

interests of the whole group. Bourdieu puts the social groups and networks on the social institutions' position based on mutual recognition and obligatory reproduction of social capital²⁸. Bourdieu considers the formation of social capital as a process of social interaction among groups of the population that arises as a result of the realization of personal interests in interaction with other persons. For his interpretation there is no problem of the lack of social networks between the social groups because everyday life itself recreates mutually beneficial social networks as a result of people's interaction. The ideas about natural reproduction of social network has contradictory nature and described further.

Following the Bourdieu's idea that there is no society without social networks, part of the sociologists argue about the existence of severance of social networks. Especially they testified the gap between the personal and public interests. Such problem can be seen through the works of F. Fukuyama, R. Putnam. Both scholars pay attention to the priority of public interests over individual. Scientists didn't reject the economic principles of behavior of a rational person, however they strengthened the cultural component in the formation of social capital. Such component is determining the specifics of social relationships as ways of mutual support, communication and etc.

According to Fukuyama's approach, the social capital is presented by the forms of voluntary and initiative communities with common moral norms and values based on trust. It is a certain potential of the society or its part, emerging as a result of trust existence. The social capital can be constructed by a small social collective as family or bigger one as a whole nation. At the same time, such forms of civic initiatives are important for every part of life, not only for solving economic problems. According to him, the social capital can be the product of individual desire, thus it grows from the priorities of public interests under the personal interests²⁹.

The idea of a cultural component in the construction of social capital is also traced through Putnam's works. Unlike Bourdieu's logic, he considered that social capital is as a public benefit. He points that social capital refers to "historically grounded connections between individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them"³⁰. In addition, such process assumes a wide spread of various kinds of voluntary forms of

²⁸ Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York, p. 51

²⁹ Фукуяма Ф. (2004) Доверие: социальные добродетели и путь к процветанию: Пер. с англ. М.: Издательство АСТ, С. 11-24

³⁰ Putnam, R. (2000). Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.p. 19

unification and citizens' engagement into the policy in order to solve the problems that the community faced. Following Putnam's idea, there are three elements of the social capital – social values (for example trust and unity), moral obligations and norms, and social networks, especially voluntary relations.³¹ Putnam determined social capital as a producer of "civic engagement" and also presented it as a broad societal measure of communal health. He also transforms social capital from a resource possessed by individuals to an attribute of collectives, focusing on norms and trust as producers of social capital to the exclusion of networks.

Both scientists were arguing about the raising of social capital due to the process of civic engagement and economic growth. One of the Putnam's argument that development of unions and associations leads to the generalization of trust among the society. If there is a successful case of the trust relations between people and institutions on a small scale, it might develop the further trust on the higher societal level³². In addition to that, there is Fukuyama note that social capital has been regarded as one of the main elements in the creation of maintenance and economic prosperity³³.

Thus, Putnam and Fukuyama argue a close connection between the severe social problems, on the one hand, and the decline of social capital and the severance of social networks on the other. Considering that the social capital as one of the most important factors in the state's development, they both insisted to restore confidence of civic institutions, primarily to unions and associations covered by the general term of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Concluding their ideas, the non-governmental forms of activities might become a basis for social solidarity of citizens and be an instrument for accumulation of the social capital. Referring to M. Block and N. Golovin, the difference of the social capital approach gives us the picture of common characteristics: the social capital occurs and increases by the interaction of participants involved in social relations. This phenomenon creates the basis for collective actions³⁴.

It seems to me interesting to continue to the discourse of social capital through the interpretation produced by Tatiana Lytkina. An interest of interpretation is caused by her applied

³¹ Putnam, R. with Leonardi R., Nanetti R. Y. (1994). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp.170-224.

³² Putnam, R. with Leonardi R., Nanetti R. Y. (1994). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p.143

³³ Фукуяма Ф. (2004) Доверие: социальные добродетели и путь к процветанию: Пер. с англ. М.: Издательство АСТ, С. 20

³⁴ М. Блок, Н. А. Головин (2015) Социальный капитал: к обобщению понятия, Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета, вып.4, С. 109

research concerning solidarity practices in solving social problems in the certain regions of Russia. Scientists consider the phenomenon of social capital as a way of investment in people through the social relations, using them as resources. During the process of the social capital formation, both material and non-material human resources are collected that contribute to the further growth of social capital. According to Lytkina, the formation of social capital happens due to the density of social networks, trust and solidarity. In general, it might be called the practices of solidarities. These phenomena are formed by the common interests and shared values of people.

These aspects are contributing to the development of social capital as a result of joint activity, then such interests and values are subsequently promoting the realization of private interests of each member of the solidarity groups.

Lytkina argues that ideal type of solidarity among citizens in case of the common efforts and capabilities help them not only to grow social capital and solve personal troubles but also solve social problems in general. However, such ideological practices are not evident for everyday reality. Author added that the social capital has own limits and depend from sources of people included in the solidarity group. And if such solidarity group is limited by own sources both material and human sources), the efficiency of social capital is going to be low, due to the limitation of sources shaped by the phenomenon of social inequality³⁵.

Commenting Lytkina's idea of social solidarities, it might be interesting to mention that the more stable existence of the social capital and practices of solidarity could be traced among the socially-vulnerable groups of citizens, especially among the people with disabilities. The investigations of issues affecting in people with disability is associated with Jan Tøssebro, Philip Ferguson, Colin Barnes³⁶ works. They are investigating different aspects, among of them are the phenomena of social policies regarding the disability, the features of certain kind of disabilities and relations between disability and culture, education and etc.

The russian specialists in that sphere is Yarskaya-Smirnova, Holostova, Romanov, Grigoryeva

³⁵ Лыткина Т.С. (2012) Социальный капитал в решении социальных проблем: практики солидарности бедных в Республике Коми // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии, т. 15, №3. – pp. 134- 140

³⁶ Tøssebro J. (2016) Scandinavian disability policy: From deinstitutionalisation to non-discrimination and beyond. *Alter - European Journal of Disability Research*. Vol. 10 (2). P.6

Wehmeyer Michael, Steven Noll, J. David Smith (2013) The self-advocacy movement: Intellectual disability in late modern times. Vol. 6, P. 120

Barnes C., Sheldon A. (2010) Disability, politics and poverty in a majority world context, *Disability & Society* vol. 25, no. 7, P. 775

and Kelasyev. Most of mentioned Russian scientists are investigating disability in the social work's framework or as problematic issues in the state social policy.

It can be concluded that phenomenon of social capital and practices of solidarity will be used as components for description of the certain patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs working with disabled persons.

1.5. The New Public Management theory as interpretation of austerity policy phenomenon

As it was mentioned before, my interest was focused on the study a certain picture of relations in recent time, considered in my research as the context of austerity policy. In my opinion, the recent realities of state-NGOs' relations might be called an austerity policy due to the existence of examples the state's actions generally associated with austerity. However, due to my theoretical investigation of the term's usage in sociological literature I revealed the following idea of representation austerity as the instrument of a more general theory called a new public management (*NPM-further*). In general, this term has taken attention to the increase the state's efficiency due to standardization of the work-process in the different perspectives. I can refer to the work of Sophia Lowe, Ted Richmond and John that the new model Shield is arguing for social services based on the NPM's idea produced by NGOs limits their advocacy and autonomy. At the same time such model is integrating market driven, new public management and "best practices"³⁷ or neoliberal restructuring of social provision. The NPM's policy supposes to use austerity policy on a permanent basis.

Such kind of theory might be testified through the different components of the state-NGOs features of interaction with the neoliberal policy. The first component is a responsabilization of the non-governmental sector by Kelly and Caputo. Their idea is associated with the strengthening of the power of the provision of social services among the local public authorities and non-governmental institutions established by the state³⁸. The second component is the process mentioned by Baines³⁹ and called the alternate service of delivery (ASD) associated with raising the shortages of the state social services and orientation to the non-

³⁷ Sophia Lowe, Ted Richmond and John Shields (2017) *Settling on Austerity: ISAs, Immigrant Communities and Neoliberal Restructuring*. Austerity Urbanism and the Social Economy. p. 21

³⁸ Kelly, K. and Caputo T. (2011) *Community: A Contemporary Analysis of Policies, Programs, and Practices*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

³⁹ Baines, D., Campey, J., Cunningham I., and Shields, J. (2014). *Not Profiting from Precarity: The Work of Nonprofit Service Delivery and the Creation of Precariousness*. *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society*. pp, 74-93

governmental provision. Theoretically, in process of providing social services by NGO the scientist argues about the reduction of the labor expenses and the increase of the control of the state finance's implementation. The third component can be traced through the change in the funding of the social service. The scientist Eakin has argued that the previous flexible long-term oriented financial support has gone. It has verified dependence from short-term programs based on competition among the non-governmental organizations and regulations from the funder⁴⁰.

Concluding, I would point that the certain idea described the NPM's theory and earlier mentioned components that were narrowing and specifying the financial situation in the state-NGOs relations will be used further in my comparative case study analysis. Thus, I am going to verify the phenomena of responsabilization, alternate source of delivery (raising shortages of social services and orientation to the non-governmental service' provision), change in funding might be additional components for verification the impact of new public management during my comparative case study.

1.6. The key interpretations of social capital as a ground for the comparative case-study

It should be noted that the existence of certain patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs working with disabled people is theoretically elaborated from the generalizations of the other sociologists ideas mentioned in the first chapter. For the formation of certain patterns, I use the ideas of Ranta, Pestoff, Wikström, Tøssebro, Block and Golovin associated with the descriptions of the Nordic welfare states⁴¹. Their ideas commonly defied the egalitarian model of the state based on an equal distribution of state's resources among all citizens, including the citizens with special needs. Under the pressure of capitalization, commercialization and individualization, the overall responsibility of citizens and the social capital phenomenon are not destroyed. Moreover, these phenomena are gained and multiplied. The citizens of the Nordic countries retain the respect for the state. There is an understanding that the state is an apparatus for preserving and multiplying civil interests. The commercialization taking place in these countries is tied to the existence of a common good that is supported by citizens. Citing Lars

⁴⁰ Eakin, L. (2007) *We Can't Afford to Do Business this Way: A Study of the Administrative Burden Resulting from Funder Accountability and Appliance Practices*. Toronto: The Wellesley institute.

⁴¹ Ranta T. (2008) Network Intensity in the regional innovation environment of Seinäjoki. *Innovation*.no. 11., p.100.
 Pestoff, V., Wikström, F. & Zimmer, A. (2011) *The Winds of Change. The Consumer Cooperative Movement in Sweden & Cooperatives and Democracy in Scandinavia. The Case of Sweden, Nordic Civil Society at a Cross-Roads. Transforming the Popular Movement Tradition*. Nomos, Baden-Baden, pp.109-126.
 Wikström F. (1998) *Different Faces of Civil Society*, EFL, Stockholm, Sweden.
 Tøssebro J. (2016) Scandinavian disability policy: From deinstitutionalisation to non-discrimination and beyond. *Alter - European Journal of Disability Research*. Vol. 10 (2).

Trägårdh: "Even with the emergence of the new elements, regarding the quality of reporting and the spreading of social services emerging in the Nordic welfare states, I would say that they are very different from the American marketing society. Even the "wind of change" is unlikely to blow away the features of the Scandinavian civil society. "⁴². Scientists argue that, despite the recent changes, the civil society in Scandinavia will not lose its specific impression of equality for everybody. However, at the same time, there is an opinion that Scandinavian civil society is being pushed towards the corporate way and becoming more and more business-oriented but still in that process is not deeply investigated.

Thus, I would point that relations of the state and NGOs in the Nordic welfare states shaped by the egalitarian perceptions of well-being. That gives me a right to consider the existence of an egalitarian pattern of interaction shaping the Nordic welfare states.

In contradiction to the process of gaining the social capital and shared responsibility by the egalitarian pattern of interaction. I would mentioned the Lytkina's investigation of the social capital in Russia. The author has verified the recent situation with social capital of the Komi Republic, scientist's results testified the crisis of confidence among the social institutions in Russia today. The mentioned crisis prevents the development of the necessary level of person's confidence in the society and trust for its non-governmental organizations, therefore it failed the interaction between them. Another challenge presented by Lytkina associated with the inequality in the process of interaction between different members of one social group. Unprofitable exchange of people's resources contributes to the problem of reproduction of social networks: The situation might be even worse for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens⁴³.

Thus, the availability of solidarity groups is not guaranteed the solution of social problems and economic prosperity. The lack of trust for civil organizations and inequality in the process of interaction between social groups members, the lack of respect towards the state institutions turns to the lack of opportunities for the accumulation of the social capital. In that situation the state is loosing the potential for further social development. This contributes to the rise of the state's paternalistic behavior due to the lack of trust towards the civil organizations. Also, it grows of the attempts to impose the state's power in the state-NGOs policy development. According to Lytkina, the phenomenon of social capital does exist, but it doesn't grow now. In my opinion, it is justified by the realities of the recent state-non-governmental relations.

⁴² Henrik Berggren, Lars Trägård (2012) What's so special about the Nordics? World Economic Forum, Davos.

⁴³ Лыткина Т.С. (2012) Социальный капитал в решении социальных проблем: практики солидарности бедных в Республике Коми // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии, т. 15, №3, С. 135

Thus, Lytkina's challenges and problems might refer to the picture of paternalistic relations between the state and civil society and its institutions. That gives me a right to consider the existence of a paternalistic pattern of interaction describing the recent situation of the Russian state-NGOs' relations. It can be concluded that the combination of several sociological phenomena considered in this chapter presents the certain idea for my comparative case-study analysis of the existed patterns of interaction. The phenomenon of de-commodification argued the notion that the state and non-governmental organizations do the control of the spreading welfare benefits and social solidarity for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens.

In addition to the notion of the de-commodification, such feature as losing state's sovereignty shows the actual reality of interaction between the state and non-governmental actors in the process of globalization, commercialization and individualization formed by three components: territoriality of the global economy, the ascendance of governing cross-border transactions, virtualization of economic activity. The phenomenon of social capital and practices of solidarity are the most promising for applying of my research. They might be tested through the comparative case study analysis in a way how such theoretical components can explain the existence of egalitarian and paternalistic patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs working such socially-vulnerable groups as persons with disabilities. The responsabilization, alternate source of delivery (raising shortages of social services and orientation to the non-governmental service' provision), change in funding might be additional components for verification the impact of new public management during my comparative case study.

Chapter 2. Finnish case: dynamics of interaction between NGO and state

The aim of the chapter is to identify the practices of interaction between the state and NGOs working with impaired persons in Finland during the neoliberal turn through analysis of changes in legal status and organizational structure, ways of formation, missions and sources for economic sustainability, main activities and strategy of cooperation with state authorities in solving the specific social issues.

The analysis is based on the case-study of Finnish non-governmental organization the Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö (KVPS). During the four weeks, I was doing an internship in the Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö's administration office in Tampere. I had an opportunity to carry out the participant observation of employees' work, to conduct interviews with NGOs' specialists, representatives of state authorities, volunteers, experts of Finnish non-governmental sector, NGOs' clients with intellectual disability and members of their families. In general 14 interviews were conducted.

During participant observation I had the possibilities: to see practical process of interaction between administrative specialists of state institutions and KVPS's employees, to visit national institute for health and welfare as well as municipal offices in Helsinki and Tampere, to contact with the clients of KVPS's in day-care organization "Sinikello" and local social houses operated by KVPS social entrepreneurship called KVPS Tukena Ltd. Such experience helps me to reveal personal views about practices of interactions between state actors and non-governmental organizations working on issues of disability from different perspectives of third sector specialists, state-representatives, experts, volunteers and clients of organization.

The general description of case describing the recent practices of interaction between previously mentioned actors in the austerity policy context then was analyzed further.

2.1. Organizational features of Finish case: legal status, structure and types of activities

Legal status. The Finnish case represented by Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö or Service Foundation for People with Intellectual Disability (KVPS) – the national non-governmental organization-operator working with people with intellectual disabilities or other groups who need special support and their families. KVPS is established in 1992 as a non-governmental organization and guided by principles of reliability, non-profit and effectiveness for its clients.

Structure. Organization is aimed at development and production of high-qualified services (diversified and individualized solutions) for people with intellectual disability to make sure that they can live as their life as people without disabilities. Service Foundation for People with Intellectual Disability owns a socially-oriented organization called as KVPS Tukena Ltd. This is an umbrella chain of private institutions responsible for providing the residential care services, supported living services and daytime activities all over Finland owned by KVPS. Both mentioned organizations are headed by the chief executive officer, who was recruited by KVTL's board members to the administrative position in 1998 to construct the organizational structure and adapt it to the challenges of that time. During development and spreading of the new activities and responsibilities, he got the chief executive officer's position of Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö. He still has been effectively working as the CEO of the nonprofit organization and profit social entrepreneurship at the same time. The CEO has a deputy person who is head of the developmental activities department. The second, but not less important employee is the head of property and housing department. Both positions are occupied by highly-educated specialists who are responsible for the organization of new projects, activities, representation KVPS at the international events and the state structures, maintenance of the working of conditions the existing housing estate and the construction of new buildings for the NGO's clients. Beside the mentioned persons, there one more head of department is responsible for the respite care services department. Such person is heading the department providing temporary respite care for intellectually impaired persons that helps family members to give a rest from their everyday responsibilities.

All in all, the employment structures of the NGO and its social entrepreneurship have counted 500 people. There are 80 employees involved in the work-processes of KVPS and 420 people in KVPS Tukena Ltd. Majority of specialists are fully-employed, except several persons with disabilities working in the administration building. Both organizations are headed by one CEO with the executive board represented by parents or family-members of intellectually impaired people. According information presented on by KVPS's website, organization and its social entrepreneurship provide the social services approximately for 1000 clients and 120 municipal or local authorities. Also KVPS arranges 300 individual apartments and 390 group homes for intellectually disabled people in 2015.

Types of activities. The activities of KVPS take place in majority of Finnish regions and local municipalities. The main objectives of the KVPS' work are: 1) building up and maintaining

of the housing properties for people with intellectual disabilities all over Finland; 2) providing 24-hours and short-term respite care services for intellectually impaired persons; 3) providing different kind of developmental activities (events, projects and trainings) for people with intellectual disabilities and the other groups with intellectual diagnoses who need special support and their family members; 4) providing educational courses and one-time seminars for state district and municipal persons working with people with intellectual disability; 5) lobbying social issues related to intellectual disability and advocating to reach sustainable conditions for people with intellectual disability and their families.

There is one additional activity of KVPS which is running socially-oriented company. For organization of commercial activities, Finnish NGOs used to create profit organizations for own aims, where they become founders or co-founders together with other NGOs and conduct socially-oriented profit activities under of the commercial structure. In 2007 KVPS established social entrepreneurship for these aims. This organization was established in legal form as Limited Liability Company associated with profit-oriented companies, at the same time organization defining itself as “socially-oriented entrepreneurship”. The choice of a recent status is determined by changes of the national legislation, especially emergence of public procurement and tendering process in social sphere⁴⁴ Reacting on these changes and requirements of receiving money from the main funder that is Finland's Slot Machine Association, KVPS has to create own brand KVPS Tukena Ltd. This organization is responsible for providing 24-hours diversified and qualified types of residential care, personal assistance and comprehensive rehabilitation for intellectually impaired persons ⁴⁵. The services are based on the contract agreements between municipalities, clients, and other commercial or non-commercial actors. The website of KVPS Tukena claims that organization earns money to arrange accommodation and provide services for people with intellectual disabilities in a socially sustainable way. Thus, it is a kind of "social entrepreneurship" established as a private firm, but has some other morals than the simple earning of money. All mentioned activities are delegated towards three departments: the developmental activities, property and housing, respite care services.

2.2. History of organization: way from national association toward social service provider

⁴⁴ Act on Public Contracts №348/2007 (Unnofficial translation). Retrieved from: <http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2007/en20070348.pdf>

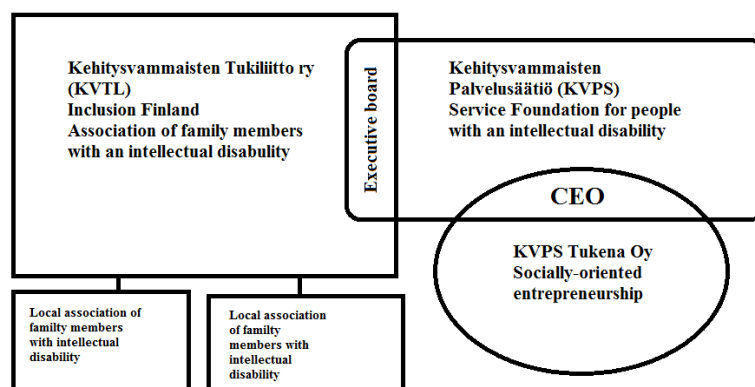
⁴⁵ Full list of Tukena's activities. Retrieved from: <http://www.tukena.fi/palvelut/>

The organization was founded in 1992 by parent organization called «Kehitysvammaisten Tukiliitto ry» or «Inclusion Finland, KVTL» (*KVTL-further*), – the national association of family members with intellectual disability based in Tampere, Finland. The parent organization was founded in 1961 by parents of children with intellectual disabilities towards providing support for family members and other nearest persons. During 56 years of development, the idea of support families with intellectually impaired persons was shared more than 17 000 individual members. According to the respondents' information, KVTL was responsible for the majority of issues delegated by the Finnish state, but it didn't get any kind of support. Referring to historical facts, the country was divided into fifteen districts responsible for organizing services for people with intellectual disabilities. In overall, there were only a few private players and several charitable NGOs working in this sphere. "Inclusion Finland" presented the new idea of building special accommodation and developing a provision of new social care service that will meet the personal requirements of people with intellectual disability, strengthening their independence and give a rest or free time for other activities to their parents and finally, the idea was supported by the state.

During successful permanent support towards the organization's clients, KVTL started to build homes for people with intellectual disabilities in 1980. Then, the organization realized that the development and maintenance of social houses, provision of social services are very risky and time consuming, because of additional responsibilities and efforts for personnel. The KVTL chairman's vision (Tapio Suni, heading KVTL during 1992-2008, nowadays – passed away) moves forward a desire to create a partner organization for operating the housing care and other social services. "There is a vision of Mr. Suni behind us and a lot of enthusiasm, passion and strong idea that it is the right way to establish service foundation" – argues one of the KVPS' employees. According to informants, KVTL collected 2.000 of Finnish marks to establish a new NGO. This amount was given as an inheritance; another part was donated by KVTL members. Citing the one of the directors of departments: "This process of getting money for the foundation was definitely private. There was nothing to get from the state for foundation". Thus the KVTL organization has become the founder of Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö. The history of interaction with state-representatives was started from that time, KVPS hadn't special funding from the state, but the development new services of living support for people with intellectual disability has forced by the organization was starting the communication with local municipalities in question of service provision. "As our old members of organization board say –

it was very difficult, nobody hadn't donated before," - says an employee of KVPS. Specialist supposed that in that time board of organization hadn't any idea how to make a long-term offer to municipalities for organization services for people with intellectual disability. There was system with the special districts with the majority of intellectually impaired citizens, so govern institutions of these districts organized one-time grant for KVPS for providing care of people with intellectual disability. Specialist argued that he doesn't believe that organization had special funding instruments. He added that at the beginning of the provision of housing support services, KVPS hadn't any written agreements with the state institutions, there were a few agreements with municipal leaders who wanted to provide something for people with a certain kind of intellectual disability. After that, they just sponsored one of the first KVPS' cases of provision social services to testify intentions and capacities of the organization and further they were excited by the results. During that time, quite many NGOs were merged, so the instruments of interaction with the state authorities and the attracting of the state economically-stabilized sources have become important.

One of the important features is that Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö and KVTL Inclusion Finland are very closely related to each other, CEO of KVTL included to the executive board of KVPS and vice versa, the same situation with one position in the executive boards of both organizations. The majority of board members of KVPS is mainly representatives of families-members of KVTL association. "There is a strong basis of family and local associations of families in our background and the way of decision making, so it's not really, that's local or state authorities have a big role in our organizations", - said head of the project activities department. The picture 1 visually describes the structure of non-governmental organizations' relations.



Picture 1. The structure of Finnish case
Source: picture by A. Bugrovskii

Studying the history of the organization I feel important to highlight the creation of socially-oriented company in 2007. The main idea was to establish 24 hours-working person-oriented services for housing people with intellectual disabilities outside the institutional system of care. The running of the new type organization requires collecting a big cost for staff salaries and bills for housing and communal services. Due to that, KVPS is run such services as commercial company where clients pay for renting personal rooms for long-term perspective, and municipality pay for the provided services. Thus, KVPS Tukena, clients with intellectual disabilities and municipalities make agreements based on legislative requirements and KVPS legislatively avoided the stoppage of financial resources from one of the main funders.

In general, I would argue the close connection between the KVPS and its parent organization giving the opportunity to move forward to the organized provision of services for intellectually impaired people. From the establishment KVPS was focused on development the innovative ideas of service provision.

The client-orientation and renovation might be traced through the whole history of the organization. The provision of the non-governmental social care services for the intellectually-disabled persons gave a certain level of choice among governmental actors and KVPS as a social service provider. Since 2007, the trend of orientation toward the client-oriented services is institutionalised and positively influenced to the spreading KVPS's activities. Due to the emergence of new challenges as commercialization and raising a competition in the provision of social care KVPS has regularly reformulated own services and developed new ones to react to the particular individual needs of the Finnish citizens with intellectual disability.

2.3. Current mission, values, goals and strategy: shift to commercialization

During the interviews of employees and analysis of KVPS's documents, there was gained information about the mission, values, goals, KVPS' perceptions and future trends, changes and challenges.

The mission of KVPS defined as the provision and development person-oriented services to support persons with intellectual disabilities and people without a diagnosis of the intellectual disability but has special needs and their caretakers (their family members or nearest relatives).

Polling staff revealed the following values: 1) respect for the human as a basis of everything; 2) reliability of the organization for the clients; 3) effectiveness in all activities without money-profit as a clear direction; 4) renovation of the organization under the slogan «life is a motion». In addition, KVPS annual report was describing that people with intellectual

disabilities and others who need special support should have a good life and participate in usual community. All people should trust to each other and especially trust their families. The organization doesn't make boundaries for any kinds of disability, but mainly focuses on three groups who are persons with intellectual disabilities, people who have a certain level of intellectual disability without official diagnosis and their family members.

During the 2015, KVPS and KVPS Tukea's members, clients and employees participated in common reformulation of the strategy and development issues, reacting on the globalization and predicted challenges in the world. According to that, the latest strategy consists of following goals: 1) to continue to provide best services and excellent customer's experience; 2) to bear responsibility for the community and society; 3) to establish a sustainable economic organization process for further growth oriented on clients' needs; 4) to use money effectively and wisely; 5) to provide of the attractiveness and welcoming characteristics for all KVPS new employees, partners and members; 6) to organize the low-hierarchical structure of organization's management (organization is non-conservative and shared views, perceptions of the staff).

KVPS also formulated the actual goals: 1) development skills, trainings, motivation with orientation on the clients; 2) organization the diversity for housing opportunities; 3) making efficacy and effectiveness of marketing communications; 4) increasing organizational power of working networks and the value of partnerships with different companies and actors.

Finally the organization developed following analytical assumptions of the future global trends: 1) the ageing of the population; 2) the growth of the individuality and customer orientation values; 3) the emphasis on social and spiritual needs; 4) the growth of inequality among clients; 5) the changes of working conditions; 6) the development of digitalization processes in the world which influence on work conditions and attitudes; 7) the Internationalization, multiculturalism, and social networking; 8) the environmental changes in the world.

Referring to the KVPS staff personnel, during process of working, the mission, goals and values weren't dramatically changed. The provision help for the person with intellectual disability is still the central aim of the organization; however the external factors have impacted as positively as negatively to these issues.

The data gained from KVPS's booklets and information from KVPS's personnel gave evidence about the formulation of theoretical thoughts, such as actual mission, strategy, values and vision are formulated due to the process of development of various social care services,

projects, and ideas for the KVPS's clients. The phenomena of personalization of social welfare, globalization and commercialization of social sphere logically impacted on mentioned theoretical thoughts and made the particular frameworks for the state authorities and non-governmental organization's activities.

The KVPS's mission, values, goals and strategy were reformulated due to the shift to the personally-oriented commercial services for clients with special needs and their family-members or people without a diagnosis but have special needs. There is a growth of awareness of KVPS's work among the citizens and responsibility for clients with disabilities. I can conclude that the previous ideas of support and providing services for intellectually impaired persons were adapted to the recent realities of commercialization social sphere and decreasing the state's responsibility for people with intellectual disabilities. It's interesting to mention that in time of decreasing the features of the welfare state, KVPS presented the increase of social capital due to widening own target group through the people with intellectual specialties without the diagnosis.

2.4. Changes in funding: the key points for financial stability

Describing Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö, it seems useful to mention about the sources of funding. The non-governmental organizations in Finland have the opportunity to get regular or temporary support from government's financial sources at different levels: national or municipal to perform useful or innovative social services for small groups of socially-vulnerable people to answer their recent needs.

Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö is a charitable non-governmental organization, so its income is obtained from the different funding sources and not distributed among board members and employees. However, it doesn't hurt the financial stability of the sources described further. The material sources of KVPS mainly associated with the social housing property that were built for providing housing and caring 24-hours services for the clients across all the country. The KVPS has several apartments which were given to the organization as a bequest from the family-members of the organization. The administration building belongs to the Inclusion Finland KVTL.

According to gained information from persons chosen as the experts of the NGO-state relations and KVPS' specialists, the state authorities are the most significant sources for NGOs which are commonwealth organizations or for those which activities related to disability issues. Referring mentioned experts and specialists KVPS' funding from the governmental sources equals 70% of all income. Approximately 30% is shared between social entrepreneurship's

income (20%), charity (2%) and usage of crediting instruments (8%). I will elaborate it deeply further. The state funding delegated to fourth actors: the Ministry of social affairs and health responsible for financial benefits as well provision of social services, state special institutions such as the «ARA» responsible for building social group-houses and «KELA» responsible for the provision of appropriate health conditions for the citizens. The actor requires a more detailed description. The common revenue of Veikkaus' beneficiaries is used for the common benefit of the Finnish society and partly spread for social, cultural and sport affairs. It is distributed among the beneficiaries as the RAY company by the responsible ministries⁴⁶. Thus, RAY is financing a majority of the list of KVPS's social activities for a long time. This organization is the historical result of emergence eight non-governmental organizations working on health care and social security and governmental institutions in 1938 into the one unique instrument providing financial support for non-governmental sector. The last important institution for KVPS is «RAY Slot Machine lottery» included in the Veikkaus Finnish gambling company in January, 2017.. The RAY's activities are defined by the Lotteries act (1344/2001)⁴⁷, guaranteeing special opportunities for investment and funding for the third sector. Under the common brand Veikkaus, RAY is funding KVPS's activities according to the legislative requirements and tasks designated them by the Finnish government.

Here I want to describe the significant part of funding received from the RAY Slot Machine Association. According to official webpage «the RAY Assistance Database», the organization is planning to transfer 4 389 000 euros to support KVPS activities in 2017. This amount was divided on different funding and investment nominations of KVPS's activities such as: 1) providing at home a comprehensive relief services in order to facilitate the everyday life of parents of intellectually disabled child - 745 000 euros; 2) increasing promotion and development of the KVPS's services such as the development of personal budgeting, personal assistant's activities, possibilities of tutor's program - 200 000 Euros; 3) conducting «life-changes activities» to support people with intellectual disabilities and people with special needs and their families in different stages of their life changes, functions of adult's inclusion in emergence of new change or challenge in client's life - 215 000 Euros; 4) strengthening the role and social cohesion of people with intellectual disabilities by improving services for them and

⁴⁶ Information about Veikkaus gambling company. Retrieved from: <https://www.veikkaus.fi/fi/yritys#!/about-veikkaus>

⁴⁷ Lotteries Act №1047/2001 (Unofficial translation). Retrieved from: <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/2001/en20011047.pdf>

developing their participation and autonomy to support models and practices with the active support of regional development model called “ATAK” - 80 000 Euros; 5) conducting non-profit activities of the foundation - 208 000 Euros; 6) support for the purchase of housing for the intellectually disabled persons in all districts of Finland. According to the legislation, residents must be selected by health, social or economic reasons (Act on Slot Machine funding, 1056/2001). The amount of money is 2 400 000 Euros; 7) development and representation services for support children's opportunities to grow in their own neighborhood rather than using institutional care (“Do not miss the childhood - Alternatives to institutional care of children” program, 2016-2018) – 181 000 Euros; 8) realization of self-determination services for people with intellectual disabilities living in Southern Ostrobothnia region, development of territorial networks in self-determination service, reinforcing services and abolishing barriers for training, development of this service and peer support. (“Naturalization keys - self-determination the strengthening of group-housing” program, 2016-2018) – 130 000 Euros; 9) reducing of the loneliness of intellectually impaired and other clients with special needs by producing informal social activities (“No one would remain alone” program, 2017-2019) – 230 000 Euros. The statistical data of receiving financial support from the RAY association are presented below in the picture 2.

Finance from “RAY Slot Machine association”						
Years	201	201	201	201	201	201
	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total amount in thousands of Euro	310	472	396	404	396	438
	0	9	8	8	9	9
Funding of annual activities and development of new services approved by RAY Slot Machine Association	128	130	135	144	144	170
	2	8	8	8	8	1
Funding of non-profit KVPS's projects	600	620	610	200	289	288
Investing into the purchase of housing for intellectually disabled persons	110	250	250	240	223	240
	0	0	0	0	2	0

Table 1. Finance from “RAY Slot Machine association”

Another part of the state financial support is derived from the national and local state institutions. This source has a variety of funding, depending on what kind of governing structure (on national or municipal level) provides money for KVPS. All municipalities of Finland are responsible for the provision of common benefits through the managing of social services from KVPS and other social providers. On the national level, the social insurance institute “Kela” pays financial benefits for people with disabilities. Also, there is a national institution ARA which mainly invests state finance for the building new social housing apartments for intellectually impaired clients. The last information from ARA institution is dating 2016 year; for the building 3 houses for 45 clients (15 of each), KVPS has received 3 600 000 Euros from ARA institution which covering 50% of total building costs. Another part was covered by the long-term credits loaned from Finnish commercial banks.

To use financial help, KVPS has to apply a certain set of documents for both investors; in that case governmental structure presented by the Slot Machine association requires the structured report based on the requirements the state authorities’ report. The financing process is directly dependent on the activity of the organization, if the KVPS’ property is built on 30%, after verifying this fact, the investor allocates 30% of the total amount. One of the interesting processes related to management of income is the verification of all organizational activities together with the costs financed by the Slot Machine. In my experience I've faced with the inspection from the Slot machine association that are verifying the recent situation in funding, organizational process, the quantity of people written in applications for financing produced by KVPS. Referring to the administration of KVPS, such events happen annually and the verification process takes about the 3-4 days of verification.

Next way of funding is an investment of a certain amount of money established by national grant systems from the state budget in case of winning the possibility to conduct projects with state authorities. Under of that funding-destination, there are provision financial benefits for people with disabilities, conduction of many projects such as the clients’ abilitation for own life-changes, tutor assistance, experts’ work, education of practical specialists and state administration personnel. It’s important that mentioned activities are also supported by European Union institutions, or other countries-members. Such process is available as well for national authorities, as for municipal specialists.

I can add certain information about crowd funding and fundraising: KVPS has sufficient experience in the provision of such activities for raising financial resources. However, during my

observation I didn't reveal certain usage of these instruments. Such activity is equal approximately 2% of all KVPS's income.

During my investigation, I realized that the state is mainly oriented to maintain the existing activities than to invest in innovative ideas and projects. The possibilities of creating the new social services are not observed in current KVPS's activities, because of the lack of additional financial sources from the state. Analysis of KVPS's organization practices shows that every new project or development of the service is obliged to fix previous experience, using the same amount of budget from the national or local funding institutions. The recent phenomenon of financing could be evident not only in the state funding. The Slot Machine association presents the same ideas of economy. There are no vivid shortages of financing, but the idea of cost savings is quite depicted in public discourse. These phenomena of money-saving features can be traced the rationalization, commercialization processes together with a certain level of individualization (personalization) occurring in the world. Reacting to the economic challenges, KVPS is going to adapt own activities and need of financial sources to the recent economic reality of optimization the state costs. Together with that I can mention the existence of particular attempts to impact on financial issues by lobbying, cooperating with other organizations and protecting rights of disabled people. These activities are referred to the unification of the common benefit of all citizens, especially or those who born with an intellectual disability.

Summarizing the financial sources, I would point that KVPS has a several key actors for funding NGO's activities. The stability is provided by Slot Machine Association's support together with the state institutions' support. The state authorities are the major actors in the provision of funding for KVPS.

2.5. Institutional framework of interaction with the state: civic engagement and shared responsibilities for social affairs

There is a lack of information describing the practices of interaction in Finland, I would argue that practices of interaction are comprehensively structured in reality and might be traced through the proper application of the particular legislative acts combined into the strategies or through the informal practiced interactions between the state authorities and non-governmental organizations working with disabled people.

Legal basis.

The study legislative frameworks related to non-governmental sector and describing relations between the Finnish state and NGOs was conducted. Referring to the gained information from different sources such as the website of the Ministry of social affairs and health, overviews of KVPS's lawyers, legislative documents of the state responsibilities in the healthcare, welfare and security promotion the general overview about Finnish welfare policy was presented further.

The provision of social welfare for the Finnish citizens are based: 1) equality; 2) participation; 3) the necessary services and support. The provision of these rights is constructed by the following principles: 1) universality in getting social benefits and services; 2) strong support of state institutions and funding the rights through the taxation instruments; 3) eager treatment of clients and customers⁴⁸. The legislative discourse about the interaction of nonprofit organizations working with disability issues and government agencies in Finland are not presented by a particular legislative act that established a certain forms of interaction. This topic could be represented through the lenses of several branches of the law. The first branch is a legislation describing the rights and opportunities dedicated to the people with disability through Social Welfare Act (710/1982), Healthcare act (1326/2010), Law of intellectual disability (519/1977), Disability service act (380/1987), Services and Assistance for the Disabled Act (380/1987), Act on Support for Informal Care (937/2005), Act on the Status and Rights of Social Welfare Clients (812/2000), Adoption act (153/1985), Act on slot machines grants for (1056/2001). This combination of acts scrupulously informs the clients about their possibilities. The second is related to rights, responsibilities of associations and governmental organizations, such acts as the Finnish Associations Act (503/1989) and Social Welfare act (710/1982, 13 and 17th sections; 4, 5 chapters), Act on Cooperation on Client Services within Rehabilitation (503/2003), Act on Supporting the Functional Capacity of the Older Population and on Social and Health Care Services for Older Persons (980/2012), Act on Qualification Requirements for Social Welfare Professionals (272/2005). According to these documents, I could argue that responsibilities of social welfare and health services structurally organized with a right of certain personalization: the responsibilities of provision social services are delegated to the state local authorities; but there is a possibility to choose whether the state or NGO will provide service for the client. The last branch dedicated to the European requirements for public procurement system presented by The directive on public procurement by entities operating in energy, water,

⁴⁸ Social Welfare Act, No. №710/1982 (Unofficial translation). Retrieved from: <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/1982/en19820710.pdf>

transport and postal service sectors (24/2014), another important document is the Act on public contracts (348/2007). With regard to my research, this legislation defines the principles of equality between state, non-governmental, and business institutions in the issues of providing social services for intellectually impaired persons. Together with that, such actors are placed in a certain competition for economic reasons, giving a certain favor for the state to choose more useful and less-expensive actor for provision welfare benefits according to the public agreement.

To reveal the most important documents for my investigation, I conducted the interview with the KVPS's lawyers. According to their information, the basic fundamental document for non-governmental organizations is the Finnish associations act (503/1989). This document establishes basic rights and procedures for founding, registration, making decisions, voting, auditing and making dissolution of non-governmental structures. This document doesn't regulate the receiving of the state money, but it provides a verification required for all non-governmental structures gaining the economic support from the state.

Due to the development ideas of outsourcing and commercialization of public service by supranational EU-institutions, the Finish government established the Act on Public contracts (348/2007) that might be associated with a certain formalization of interaction between state authorities and non-governmental actors. Nowadays the document was reformed to give rights for the companies and other communities can offer supply, service and public works for municipalities through the participation in the process of public procurement. This act gave an opportunity to get financial resources for non-governmental activities from contracting state institutions, especially from the municipal authorities, on the principles of equality and profitability, transparency and non-discrimination.

Thus, all mentioned documents are defining the certain steps of growing a welfare of people with intellectual disability. During the development of legislation, the endowment the particular rights and possibilities for people with disability was changed to fostering their inclusion in the social, economic and cultural life of the state and finally it turns to reproduction of common of benefit for them as for a usual citizen. I can argue that the Finnish legislation obliges the state to provide welfare commitments for all citizens on the principles of personal orientation, equality and universality despite of any recessions and crises.

Strategy of social sustainability and deinstitutionalization: shared interest and responsibilities of reduction the state institutionalized long-term care

It should be noted, that during the interactions between non-governmental organizations working with disability issues and the state authorities there was developed a certain strategy, which seeks to enhance social sustainability in the society, specially establishes equal treatment for everybody, reinforces the sense of community in the Finnish society, provides the security and services for the every citizen, supports the health in overall. The planned elimination of state institutions organized in the past until the 2020 year.

The common opinion of the third sector and government refer that the state institutions with standardized rules of governing are devaluing the value of human rights and unified capacities of social protection. The individual was recognized as one from the majority and the importance of the quality of his life was decreased or not even taken into account through the many ways of implementation of standard services for everybody, that is one way or another differ from the needs of the individual. The mentioned actors consider those norms are non proper way of development the society's welfare.

As a result, I argue about the targeted regular and cooperative actions of KVPS and the state towards the building social houses across Finland. This practice of interaction is based on the Finnish national strategy of closing down the state of long-term institutions for people with intellectual disability until 2020. According to the head of housing department the state is one of the main partners and investors in the process of construction KVPS' houses and represented by the housing finance and development center of Finland "ARA". The interaction is represented by many bureaucratic preparations related to the application of housing project and participation in the competition based on tendering process among other common-good NGOs. Then there was preparation of building and applying, plan, budget and other documents to the ARA for further verification all costs presented in the application.

Mentioned here the state support based on certain requirements for NGOs. For example, the housing project application must not indicate a desire to get more than 50% of the whole amount of housing costs, the application must be set to ARA once a year and the process of verification application takes three months at least. It should be noted that the ARA's financial support based on the provision of subsidies. There is the fact that the state-institute provides support after the start of construction of social housing, therefore the KVPS cannot rely only on the state financing as a stable income and has to take loans from national banks.

I want to notice that in practice, the state financial support is recognized as supplementary funding when the NGO's capital and investors' money are presented as main

resources. This principle of funding indirectly evidences about the certain requirement for interaction with the state, I mean the existence of NGO's financial capital and presence of financial stability of the non-governmental partner is a necessary for the equal interaction with business and state actors.

Thus, analyzing this practice of interaction, I would say that this cooperation regarding the building constructions for social tasks is formed by the equal combination of the state, KVPS and private investors' efforts. I would recognize this interaction as egalitarian one because the recent situation of building social houses is traced the shared responsibilities of searching resources for building social houses for intellectually disabled persons.

The enlargement strategy of serving the clients

Referring to the discourse of provision of goods and services to a particular group of individuals as a certain practice of interaction, it's necessary to specify that, during the history of the state-NGO's relations the strategy of providing certain benefits of people with disabilities has changed. Previously, the main focus was dedicated to the recognition of people with special needs and organization special services for them indicating some failures in the provision state services. What I have seen nowadays, this strategy was changed by the offer of alternative ways of providing government obligations through extending services provided by the nonprofit organizations and awarded for a wider scope of people with special needs. Revealing the practices of serving people with intellectual disabilities, it is possible to argue that the development of the social service provision characterized by enlargement of client-groups having a certain necessity in services.

During the history, the strategy of providing services for people with intellectual disability has associated with a basic KVPS activity. The state institutions recognized successful practices between KVPS and local authorities in ways of providing temporary care for disabled clients and forced municipalities and local authorities to organize the same service-providers or look for private or non-governmental providers of respite care. The requests from people with disabilities and availability of certain amount of money among municipalities give a reason to fund services for them. Another contribution was made by the municipal social worker and volunteers from small parental organizations who were very interested in the development this sphere. Nowadays KVPS is providing the client-oriented respite care services that meet the different needs and situations of families with children, youths or adults with special needs.

Here are a statistical data described the recent provision of short-term services.

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Respite care	73	71	66	74	60
Family care	20	23	18	20	17
Group services	28	33	24	32	69
S p e e c h - i m p a i r m e n t f o r intellectually disabled people				1	3
Total	121	127	108	127	149

Table 2. Provision of short-term care services

The development of respite care service straightly depends on what kind of political decisions were made. The growth of clients has logically impacted to the rise of the providing activities and expanding the list of services. Therefore, the increase of clients and providing activities impacted on the funding allocated by the state national or local authorities. Further, the state authorities decided to change the funding system of temporary respite care services by funding only 50% of costs from the municipality's budget. At the recent time there is a vivid growth of new activities raised client's personalization, independence and self-managing process. The Majority of the services are reorganized, a part of them became oriented on additional funding due to equalization of clients' common sources. The market competition forced NGOs to use best practices in serving customers. Now, they all are used to involve in the development of new service-product which can force an interest among the clients and can be provided mainly from the customers' funding. The certain personalization and commercialization of services for different types of customers were merged. The organization has reached such a level that it has a fixed establishment and facilities for day care for a disabled person.

Besides the provision of social care services, KVPS and KVPS Tukena are responsible development of education services for the disabled people as trainings for adaptation and inclusion in the new social environment, development of independence through self-budgeting and training of independent living. To spread such services among the focus group the organization created the contract agreements with different state institutions for the organization of studying the communication with the intellectually impaired groups of citizens for the state

social workers. In that process gave a evidence about cooperation and interaction with the state institutes in the educational activities.

There is certain obstacle – the limit in the financial resources of the state that cannot fulfill all needs of the clients, so why sometimes KVPS has to work with the clients alone on a voluntary basis, if the state doesn't allocate finances. In other cases, KVPS has to adapt their work according to the funding provided by the state. The organization is forced to look for additional sources of service provision or reduce the benefits provided by the certain services. Referring to the staff of KVPS there are the cases where the services were already cut.

The interaction in the provision of the respite-care activities is mainly defined as cooperation with municipal social workers and the heads of social departments of municipalities regarding questions of making contract to arrange the KVPS Tukena's services for intellectually disabled citizens. According to that activity, if the KVPS has won the public tendering on the provision of social services for a certain person, the organization is going to interact with the municipal or local authority, regarding the contracts for organization payments from municipality and to draft a document describing client's necessities for the social services. The same cooperation is happening in case of searching appropriate caretaker if a municipality hasn't a suitable specialist. Such practice of interaction aimed to cooperative enlargement of KVPS's services with the state specialists, where the both sides more eager to communicate with each other. It is one of the most frequent discourse regarding investigated practices of interaction. I got the specialist of the respite-care department opinion about this interaction: "During the interaction with state representatives I could argue that municipal social workers usually present professionalism and humanity, but their superiors sometimes act differently, according to the economic situation and strict formal rules and legislative requirements. Nowadays, I would say that state authorities are not willing to buy more services from us. They want to provide their respite care services. If people are not willing to search the possible alternative of municipal temporary care services, municipalities don't involve us and inform about our organization's services only by clients' requests".

The specialist also pointed that nowadays the state faced with some economic obstacles and it forces to adapt particular NGOs'services to people demand. However, according to the official information from the Finnish mass media, the state still guided by welfare traditions. The employees of the respite-care department shared information that small local non-governmental organizations of Finland nowadays used to be addicted from local municipalities representing the

state interests. Their addiction can be growing now, because of the restructuring of the regional system and the further redistribution of the municipal and regional funds.

Analyzing such form of interaction I would point that serving of clients with intellectual disability based on legislative requirements is most obligatory for the state authorities that delegated the equal responsibilities for both actors and made the enlargement of services more successful and easier for KVPS. From that side, the enlargement services is recognized as egalitarian practice. From another side, the public tendering process brings the state's impact on regulation in the processes of receiving contracts for provision of social services and contain paternalistic features. It might be noted the informal dependency the KVPS from the decisions of local authorities as in the public tendering process as in questions of looking for non-governmental caretakers for clients. Such issues as the delegation of providing social service for the cheapest organization and non-information about the opportunities of the possible choice of non-governmental services are not regulated and delegated to the local municipality purely.

Concluding, I would point that an interaction the issues of serving clients with intellectual disability happens differently, both actors are involved in such process, however, in cases where the state is not interested in the activity, the interaction is happening less-effectively. Those services, which necessity or obligation is recognized by the state authorities are provided effectively with the closer interaction between actors. There is an evidence that the enlargement of services between the Finnish state and representatives of the third sector is constructed straightly by reacting to the clients' personal needs which are shaped by commercial specialties and economic environment of the country.

Profit-strategy to manage the organization's income

As I already mentioned that the certain part of KVPS' income (20%) was produced due to strategy of getting profit from the own social entrepreneurship. In the process of managing own income, KVPS acts like an operator with the functions of mediating between the state and society presented by clients with intellectual disability. Performing this role, KVPS consider the state not only as a philanthropist, but as a customer, because a vivid part of the state's money was gained by KVPS through the provision of social services its social entrepreneurship. The majority of municipalities used to fund KVPS indirectly, through the process of buying social services from KVPS Tukena organization. It was possible during the legislative changes of 2007 and the emergence of opportunities to get a contract from state institutions for providing services by NGOs. This reformation of legislative acts opened the new financial sources of

public contracts for KVPS. Reacting to that, the organization has created socially oriented company KVPS Tukena for the participation in public tendering competition among different state organizations and private companies to provide short-term social services for intellectually impaired citizens. The situation of each municipality is not similar, but KVPS Tukena aimed to win every possibility to provide services and establish long-term contracts for provision of services. The last dated at 2015 and will be described further by picture 4.

Also, the client's need for permanent provision of social services and the possibility to have own apartment can move him or her into the social housing operated by KVPS on the tenant right where he or she has paid a rent from own pension spreading from the country's budget. Thus, I can argue that this renting of living place for clients could be mentioned as the way of getting profit through the state benefits of disabled people. The table 3 is describing how many social houses are used by the KVPS and KVPS Tukena's clients since 2011 until 2015.

K V P S ' services / quantity of citizens	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Group-shaped homes	400	412	437	456	467
Independent apartments	137	164	215	263	306
Total	537	576	652	719	773

Table 3. Provision of housing apartments for intellectually disabled citizens.

Describing the strategy of managing the organization's income, there is the certain interest of studying the KVPS Tukena's profit. Unlike the organization-founder, the KVPS Tukena hasn't aims to share income with members of the organization. However, such company has a certain profit for conducting social services and all gained income is used by KVPS to cover the loans for the construction the new apartments. According to the members of the KVPS Tukena's executive board, the ideology is constructed from the similar mission, strategy and aims, depicted from the KVPS. So, the KVPS Tukena is functioning as operator, providing own social services under the opportunities of a commercial company, but restricted in the decision making and managing of finance processes by KVPS.

In my perception, KVPS found the way to escape from the special legislative requirements related to funding of the non-governmental sphere and raise additional financial possibilities that wasn't available for NGOs earlier. Despite of this fact, the sustainable dependence from the state authorities should be noted: KVPS's activities related to selling the social services and client's rent are financed from the state budget. This process might be explained by the existence of historical commitment for funding opportunities provided by the state and the absence of KVPS's aspiration to start the new fundraising projects together with the unwillingness of the involvement new actors from the business sector for financing organization's activities. *I can argue that nowadays the KVPS is searching for different possibilities of funding as from the state institutions as well opportunities to develop own social entrepreneurship and gain profit by using the financial sources of client-communities.*

The KVPS's profit strategy to manage organizational income is testified the phenomena of recent commercialization of the social sphere and orientation to get the profit by providing services. Despite of certain contradiction with the social capital and welfare state's ideas, the phenomenon of gaining profit for social aims is supported by the Finnish government because this activity is oriented to the key priority of the Finnish state - the representation of common benefit to every citizen. Especially in my case the common benefit is an enhance of equal opportunities for housing and care among people with intellectual disability and other citizens. Thus, the profit strategy of gaining income for provision the equal housing opportunities presents a new feature of egalitarian practices of the Finnish welfare state.

Practiced interaction: shared interest of charitable activities

The information gained during my fieldwork in Tampere allows me to describe the particular practiced interactions between different level of the state authorities and Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö. Such interactions associated with informal practices and are not considered as a targeted action for implementing a set of tasks.

Informal practices correlate with activities of developmental department. During 2015 their activities are counted 279 events, 5211 meetings and 931 participations for developing conditions of life of people with intellectual disability, 568 of them with a close clients' participation. For these aims there were 1603 people involved in these participations. All of these activities could be divided into three groups: 1) participation in public events, flash mobs and other events for people with intellectual disabilities; 2) lobbying common issues and own

visions about social care; 3) fundraising and PR of charitable activities. All of them are professionally organized by KVPS's are not considered as permanent practices.

The majority of events and projects include the practices of interaction with the state representatives at various levels. The head of developmental activities department argues that the interaction is successful and happens mainly in the project activities, usually municipalities and regional and local authorities are willing to collaborate with KVPS. During the project work KVPS mainly collaborates with working groups of specialists from the ministry of social affairs, so, in that process, both actors are recognized as the experts. Also, the NGO works with local level of governance, where the cooperation happening with local heads of social affairs or executive-employees of municipalities, for example, the municipal social workers. Referring to the experts, both actors of interaction are mostly good in balance through the distribution of tasks and duties in the conduction social projects and events.

Commenting on this phenomenon, it's necessary to mention the shared interest of charitable activities as one of the less-regulated by formal rules practices of interaction. Together, both investigated actors established a way to cooperate by negotiating of all important questions and finding a consensus in delegation of responsibilities as partners. Analyzing the certain activities as conducting projects funded by state where non-governmental bodies, I investigated these activities are more subordinated to state authorities in decision-making and process of establishing the collaboration. It's interesting that the levels of state authorities' interests and involvement are depending on the, size of project activity, obstacles in project-management of charitable activities, particular persons performing as state representatives and their level of loyalty to serve the people.

Practices public representation of client's interests: politically-independent promotion of common welfare

According to the all interviewees from KVPS, the organization is presenting the interests of families where one or several members have a certain disability related to the intellectual problems. The additional efforts are aimed to help members of families without an intellectual disability diagnosis but with the similar diseases. Due to the complexity representing the interests of people with intellectual disabilities, the Finnish legislation determined that the interests of these people should be provided by their family members or caregivers. Such family persons usually afford KVPS to represent the interests of their family members with disabilities.

The activity of representing clients' interests is shown mainly through the media resources, paper leaflets, publications and annual reports produced by the organization. KVPS supports other partners working with disability issues in the lobbying of the legislative sphere related to disability. Together, they are formulating common ideas and discussing about different activities, to search for a consensus among of them and the state. KVPS does not fully present the interests of other groups of people with problems are not related to intellectual disability.

The organization does not support any political party and does not want to be associate own activities with the certain political ideas. During my internship. I had analyzed different sources of Tampere's mass media and had not revealed the vivid connections between KVPS and any active members of political parties. However, I got information about the experience of lobbying legislation and was an observer of the first KVPS' experience in the conduction of a public event.

Regarding the lobbying, it should be noted that KVPS used to help partner organizations to lobby important issues related to the disability. It's important to note, that the organization prefers the role of expert and not engaged in criticizing the provision of the state welfare system. KVPS has no interest to be opposing towards the state's decisions. There is evidence that the organization does not want to lost connections with the state in the provision of welfare issues. Referring to the theoretical ideas of the KVPS's the main goal is to establish good product for the clients' needs and availability for every citizen that are not possible without the state's funding. Due to that, KVPS is not so active in the criticizing of the state concerning the question about public tendering and economic issues.

The interaction of lobbying activities happens less-often nowadays. Referring to the comments of KVPS' lawyers, such activities as a representation of client's interests was successful earlier, but nowadays the staff members of KVPS were not invited inside of interaction groups for the work at the last official meeting. Now, such practice of interaction is more oriented on the legislative work aimed to development of the social sphere services together with a diminishing of the state costs for such services and extending involvement of the business.

Another interesting form of representation of the client's interests was the creation of public event associated with the meeting called «Ei myytavana» or "Not for sale". This was the happening event, associating with a public meeting in a soft form without any aggressive actions. The event was mutually created by the state authorities and twenty non-governmental

organizations working with disability issues. It was devoted to negative evaluation of the tendering process in the social sphere. The meeting was organized in the summer after the ratification of the UN convention about the disability. The meaning of this event was about attracting attention to the issues of the public competitive procurement in the social sphere. According to the Finnish legislation, the local authority responsible for providing the services, but they haven't own services, so then the authorities decide for the people what kind of the operator could provide the services. The organizers of event had certain fears concerning the reaction of the new event to the client group - family members, who obviously were not interested in political meetings before. Another fear was about the reaction of the state authorities on the opposite opinion presented by KVPS. But employees also argued that the NGO can present own values and protect the certain ideas because the KVPS is not really influenced by the state. There is a fact that the event was funded by the city councils and local authorities, so that the organization did not want to make relations with the state partners worse. The participative observation presented the discussion of the family members with officials in the event process. I can refer that KVPS presents as the non-formal mediator role.

The conduction of such action can be characterized from different positive and negative arguments. First of all, the event is a vivid example of the state participation and promote the unification of the non-profit organizations. All organizations were willing to act together and expressing a common interest in the reformation of the neoliberal agenda affecting on the well-being of citizens with intellectual disabilities. However, there was a negative trend of the escape from the basic requirement of the NGOs' work by participating in political activity.

Thus, the event gave a practical evidence that the non-governmental organizations activate their efforts for representation of the client's interests even participating in political activities. In overall the spreading of such events can emerge a certain level of criticism to the state and its instruments and contribute to the deterioration of relations between the state-non-governmental organizations.

2.6. Effect of the austerity context in the era of neoliberalism.

During my investigation, I was interested in revealing the austerity policy context. It is necessary to add information that officially there is not official recognition of such kind of policy neither in Finland. However, my observation of the investigated cases, especially, the conduction of interviews with the representatives of state authorities, experts of the state-NGOs' relations and specialists of KVPS and KVPS Tukena gave me an evidence to formulate a notion about the

non-official existence of such phenomenon as austerity context. At least, the Finnish mass media and web-sources refer about the existence of discourse about the austerity measures⁴⁹. Talking about the austerity context in the state-NGOs' relations I mean such phenomenon as a particular set of NGO's and the state authorities' activities, which is constructed due to economic challenges, reduction in the state social spending and neoliberal management that are used nowadays and applied to various purposes across the world.

According to the information from deputy major of Tampere, Finland has faced with the affect of economic recession recently. Financial crisis of 2007th has affected to the Finland economy, so since since 2011 till nowadays, the country faced with the unemployment problems. Nowadays, the rate of labor force unemployment in Tampere is 20%. Meanwhile, the increase of unemployment level negatively impacted on the local financial resources, because many citizens of Tampere cannot pay the municipal local taxes. Due to that fact, even the state authorities are faced with public shortages because of the unfavorable economic situation⁵⁰. The partial allocations of the government were shorted. Referring to information from the deputy major of Tampere, there is an obvious fact that government shorted Tampere's funding: in comparison with 2010 year, the overall funding was shorted on 111 million euros. The representative of the state authority added information that he realizes the reduction of the state social spending nowadays. His subjective opinion could be confirmed by studying statistical data of the city budget of the City of Tampere website⁵¹. Comparing 2013 and 2016 years on the expenditure parts, I realized that the purchasing of services was decreased on 21 million euros (588 mil. Euros in 2013 and 609 mil. Euros in 2016). The persons shared opinion that austerity topic is a big popular issue at the recent policy agenda. The national government was trying to enforce austerity policy for cutting expenses during last five in the education sphere, development of the new aid services, guarantees for asylum seekers, but the state representative's opinion refers that such discourse in Finnish policy was implemented very fast without structured planning. The government was making the first attempts of cutting the social benefits, starting from unemployed people, and citizens with growing disability, for example diabetes. Such process of

⁴⁹ Pedro Aibéo «What? Austerity in Finland?» 24.08.2015. Retrieved from: <https://www.mustekala.info/node/37527>;

⁵⁰ Ellis Wynne "Government imposed further austerity " 29.08. 2016 Retrieved from: <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2016/08/29/finl-a29.html>

⁵¹ Budget of Tampere. Data retrieved from: <http://www.tampere.fi/en/city-of-tampere/administration-and-economy/budget.html>

shorting cuts is organized through the reformation of legislative acts, reduction of the state obligations and redistribution of gaining resources.

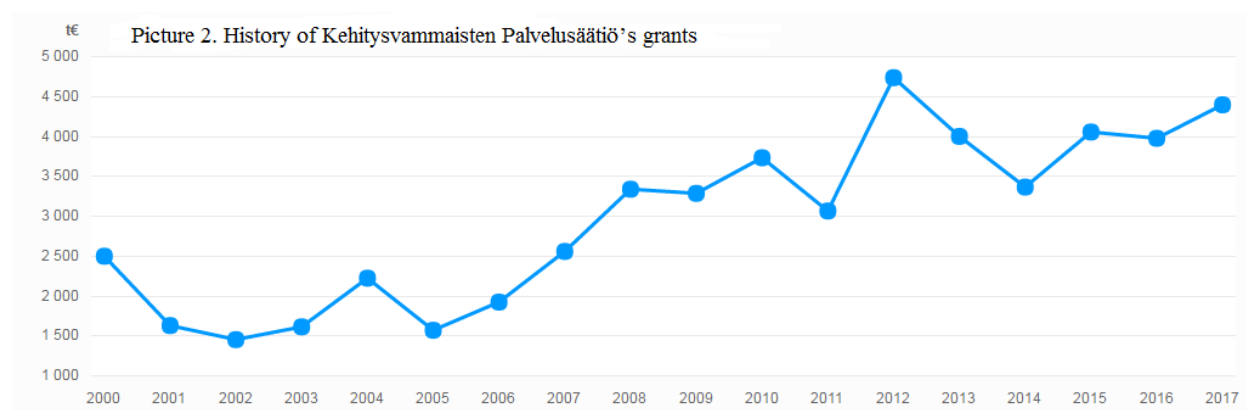
The authority is tending to economize on the citizens through the reduction of a list of their privileges. Concerning this issue, it's necessary to mention that such attempts are innovative and not applied to a wide circle of disability issues, but as a result, such a policy is affecting to the people with intellectual disability. There are such general shortages, concerning the rights of day-care for children only if you are employed citizens. Before, even if you are an unemployed person, your children could go to the day-care institution. It should be noted that these opportunities have been developed by the state, but their application depends entirely on local municipalities.

Speaking about the austerity in context of interaction regarding the provision of long-term and short-term care services for intellectually impaired persons, the specialist gave an overview that the government ideas of shortage social costs usually associated with changing the legislation regarding of the provision the state social services by establishing the new guarantees for the service-provision under the neoliberal management.

According to the specialist, Tampere's municipality obliged to produce social services for the citizens. However, it has a right to formulate the provision regarding to economic agenda, competitiveness and the social needs of clients. The Tampere's municipality still has not used the legislative possibilities to dictate the reduction of the availability of the social services for the saving money. Such institution is oriented on the fulfillment of all legislative obligations for the formation of citizens' well-being. However, in such processes of the respite-care activities, there was revealed the reduction of the state's expenditures from three days per month until two days. Another example is the conduction all social services, including services for disabled persons, in accordance with the Public Procurement through competitive tendering of services. The public tendering process is established in every public sphere. It sets the non-governmental organizations on the same level with the state institutions and other companies whose aims are the provide particular services. Due to tendering process and marketization of the social services in Finland, the commercialization of the main categories of social services happened. In the best case, it leads to the provision of unique, person-oriented support and possibilities to be a universal citizen without mentioning disability as a failure. However, there are many negative thoughts presented by NGO's workers, lawyers and experts which are arguing about inappropriateness of the selling of social services through the process of public tendering.

Nowadays such services are regulated by state principles of competition based on neoliberal trends. The core point of such tendering is saving the state financial resources, which could be an evidence of austerity measures.

Revealing the process of interaction in the building up and maintaining of the housing properties together with providing different kind of developmental activities, I could argue an evidence of absence the austerity measures in such relations. The activities of construction of



social houses for KVPS's clients and its project management did not face with the consequences of the crisis, because such destinations of work usually organized by their Ray Slot Machine Association. Due to the specificity of gaining money from the gambling, the sources of that organization did not decrease during the 2007-2011 years, because of the mutually beneficial cooperation between NGOs and the state authorities, so funding of mentioned activities was not decreased due to austerity context. Here is a picture 2, describing a history of Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö's grants.

As we see there is certain decrease from 2012 until 2014, however, according information from KVPS's chief executive officer, such decreasing was related to the grant's implementation was aiming to the building group-houses for people with intellectual disability. The verification of the amounts of all granted finance from 2006 until 2016 gave the evidence arguing of the absence of austerity context in such destinations. All data are presented on the web-resource «Database of grant assistance»⁵².

Thus, the analysis of impact of austerity context of the revealed practices of interaction between the state and NGOs working with disabled people gave an evidence to mention that, in accordance to my observation, I can talk about the existence of the certain reduction of the social costs and features related to redistribution the state sources. Such results are non-clearly

⁵² Web-resource «Database of grant assistance». Data retrieved from: <http://avustukset.stea.fi/fi-fi/jarjesto/2305>

recognized as the austerity policy, and better accomplished to the new public management policy.

I would add that the new public management policy can be recognized through the several arguments. The first one is the reduction and redistribution of the state social costs. Practically, I mean that the Finnish state is tending to make savings through the economy on the citizen's rights and privileges by reducing the benefits of the certain dependent groups of citizens such as the students, asylums, people which diseases are less socially vulnerable for the state's expenditures. The second argument is the increase of shared responsibilities with the non-governmental organizations happening in Finland. The KVPS provision of social housing services for intellectually disabled people is quite a bright example of that. The third argument for NPM policy laid on the organization of the public tendering competition as an example of alternative service delivery system. Such reformation impacts on the establishment market competition in the social service sphere. This instrument is based on neoliberal market tendencies and particular obligations of providing the state social responsibilities from service-providers to clients with disabilities. The legislative idea forced to establish a competition among the state actors, NGOs and business regarding the issues of providing social services, where the winner is delegated to provide services for the minimum price set by the local or national state authority. The last argument is associated with the lack of long-term funding for any activities and the state prefers to give practical and short funding for the services and charitable projects. The example is the lack of funding for charitable Tapio and Kaija Sun Memorial foundation aimed to provision permanent care for families with intellectual disabilities, but at the same time availability of funding to conduct a charity concert to support the mentioned foundation.

In overall I would add, that the austerity measures force NGOs and the state authorities to react. Until nowadays, the reaction could be described as an NGO's adaptation to the actual agenda of the state, especially participation in the public procurement and neoliberal tendencies initiated by the Finnish government. However, such meetings as official event "Not for sale" gave evidence that non-governmental actors are searching for the instruments or points of impact on the state.

The investigated factors, gave an evidence to consider that Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö is a bright example of non-governmental charitable organizations working with the state regarding provision help and care for persons with intellectual disability in the

framework of the egalitarian pattern of interaction. The results of observation organization's activities present that the KVPS is less active or even inactive in the search of the new actors for further cooperation: the organization prefers to use the goods stipulated by the Finnish legislation based on the state-funding, than searching for the new partners and investors for service-provision. As a result, KVPS is not searching for new financial sources, getting used to adapting to recent economic conditions that I associated with the austerity measures of new public management policy. Such adaptation for the state authorities emphasizes the charitable status and ideological specialties of the non-governmental organizations working with the socially vulnerable groups of people.

Concluding my analysis of practices of interaction, I can claim the ideas related to the practices of interaction in the time of the austerity policy in Finland are more associated with the mutual interaction with egalitarian characteristics between the state institutions and KVPS, than with the state paternalism or dictation of the state's interests. However, such interaction shaped by the recent neoliberal tendencies happened in the world, such as the commercialization of social sphere, personalization of the clients' needs and capabilities, equalization of state structures and non-profit sector and further competition among them for the provision of certain kinds of social services. The certain state management and distribution of the state finances towards the KVPS's projects and activities related to the building and purchasing of house properties for people with intellectual disabilities demonstrates the shared responsibilities for the activities provided by the KVPS and interest to make a more sustainable life for people with intellectual disability. I have an opinion that such interest is raised by legislative obligations which are still corresponding to the strong influence of the welfare state. The public tendering regulations positively impact on the Finnish economy by saving the state funds, but at the same moment it leads to a possible decline in the quality of social services and decrease of the welfare commitments of common benefit for everybody.

Chapter 3. Russian case: dynamics of interaction between NGO and state

The aim of the chapter is to identify the practices of interaction between the state and NGOs working with the impaired person in Russia during the neoliberal turn through analysis of changes in legal status and organizational structure, missions and sources of finance, main activities and strategy of cooperation with state authorities in solving the specific social issue.

The analysis is based on the case-study of “Saint-Petersburg Association of Non-governmental Organizations of Parents with Disabled Children (GAOORDI)”. I was doing an internship in the organization’s office where I organized the similar process of case-study data collection through the participant observation of everyday work, conduction of 14 interviews with key-groups of informants, revealing the perceptions of the staff supplemented by secondary data, analysis of the legislation.

During the study of the case, I have possibilities to analyze legislative documents related to the recent cooperation between NGOs and the state, observe practical processes of the organization’s work, especially the practical interaction between the state authorities Saint-Petersburg and GAOORDI through the organization’s events, conducting the interviews with GAOORDI’s specialists, volunteers, clients, the representatives of Saint-Petersburg Committee on social policy and Committee on Youth Policy and Interaction with NGOs, experts from the Center for Development of Non-Profit Organizations "CRNO" and St. Petersburg Humanitarian and Political Center "Strategy". At the same time I shared the responsibilities of social care for the day group of the organization’s clients – GAOORDI members’ children with different disabilities.

The general description of case describing the recent practices of interaction between previously mentioned actors in the austerity policy context then was analyzed further.

3.1. Organizational features of Russian case: legal status, structure and types of activities

Legal status.

The Russian case is represented by “Saint-Petersburg Association of Non-governmental organizations of Parents with Disabled Children (GAOORDI)” – the charitable, self-governing union of the parental non-governmental organizations of Saint-Petersburg based on common interests to help children with disabilities and rare diseases, youth people with special developmental needs and their families. The Russian initials of “GAOORDI” will be used in

further mention. GAOORDI was established and registered as association of non-governmental organizations at 30th of June 1992 in Saint-Petersburg.

Structure.

The members of GAOORDI are 62 legal entities - non-governmental and non-profit organizations in different form of foundation. The major parts of the organizations are governed by the parents of disabled children or youth. There are cases, when the heads of non-governmental organizations are persons with disabilities. During the development of their civic initiatives, they became professionals regarding the working issues with families with disabled children, adolescents and youth adults with developmental disorders.

The GAOORDI's target groups are: 1) the non-governmental organizations working with disability issues and their leaders; 2) children and youth (17 years and older) with certain disabilities; 3) children with rare diseases; 4) parents and family members of disabled youth and children.

The organization is aimed to develop the social activities regarding social protection of the youth with different disabilities with further implementation a particular set of services for people with disabilities, management and coordination of association-members' activities, regulation of the association and its members' interaction with the state authorities, business entrepreneurs and other NGOs.

The main founder and the first president is one person that is still running GAOORDI. Except the president' position and a leader' role in GAOORDI she presents functions of a chairman of the Saint-Petersburg Public Council for independent evaluation of the quality of social services in organizations working in the social field. The president also combined such statutes as the member of the presidium of the Public Chamber of Saint-Petersburg, the adviser of the governor of the city, the member of the Public Council under the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Russian Federation. It should be noticed that such majority of statuses and multidisciplinary functions are unique and was realized only by her personal efforts, skills and knowledge. The second person of GAOORDI represents the position of vice-president and chairman of non-governmental foundation "Sirius". Both of mentioned persons as other heads of non-governmental organizations including to GAOORDI are parents of children with different kinds of disability.

GAOORDI has two levels of organizational structure: umbrella system of non-governmental organizations and the administration office working on a permanent basis.

Under the association's system, there is a combination of parental public organizations working with disability issues which are different in size and stage of development. They're governed by the presidium board from 9 persons, headed by GAOORDI's president.

The permanent administration structure consisted of executive departments which are managed and coordinating all activities of the association. They are also governed by the presidium of association. This executive body consists of the administration and accounting department, HR-department, legal advisory department, social and labor department, day-care center and the center of social innovations. Association Presidium, Accounting department, and HR-department are responsible for running of organizational issues and recruiting personnel. Other departments are responsible for implementation of the certain programs, services and support for GAOORDI's clients.

In overall, the employment structure of GAOORDI consists of 35 full-time persons employed as specialists or administration personnel; a few of them are persons with disabilities. Due to the Russian specificity of the provision social services for clients, there was no possibility to count an exact number of provided social services for the clients in 2016, however, combining all numbers the participation of clients of each project happened during this year, I found that the organization provided services more than for 900 youth people from Saint-Petersburg and Leningradskiy region.

Types of activities.

During my investigation, the certain list of GAOORDI's activities was revealed: 1) day-time support for young people with severe intellectual and physical disabilities; 2) temporary employment of adolescents with disabilities and young disabled people; 3) Provision of legal advisory assistance for families with disabled youth or children; 4) organization of recreational activities for young people with disabilities in the state health institutions or GAOORDI's tourist camps; 5) project management of social and cultural events for children with disabilities and their families; 6) conduction expert activities aimed to improving the quality of medical, social and rehabilitative care for children with rare and genetic diseases; 7) consultation and support of charitable parental non-governmental organizations regarding disability issues.

3.2. History of organization: from grass-root towards resource center

As it was mentioned above, GAOORDI was founded in 1992, by five public parental organizations oriented on work with the different disability issues and worked in various districts of Saint-Petersburg. These organizations were communities of people, faced with problems related to care their disabled children and maintain their life-conditions in after the Collapse of Soviet Union. According to the staff of GAOORDI, this time of history associated with many changes in society that particularly affect on the socially-vulnerable groups of people. According to the one of a head of NGO included into GAOORDI, such period was historically associated with the political vacuum, shortages of economic and social guarantees for all citizens, especially for socially-vulnerable groups of people. The Soviet organizations for disabled people struggled to survive in difficult economic conditions by reducing their range of efforts regarding the protection of disabled persons. In response to the economic problems and certain passivity of Soviet organizations, the citizens united into groups of activists and created different types of public organizations in the 1990s. Usually grass-root organizations of citizens of that time were trying to resolve personal problems, associated with diseases of participants. The first reason of unity of five organizations worked with disabled children was the inability to help their target groups because of the lack of their professionalism. In the most of cases, social problems could not be solved by one small group of organization's activists, consisted of parents of children with disabilities. Another reason was the lack of financial resources, observed in many public organizations of the 1990s. Thus, the main reasons for the unity was a desire to combine the best methods and practices for the professional help, create the common resources and represent common interests of their main target group – the families with disabled children.

Investigating the president and experienced employees' views, I got an additional information that the state specialist were participating in the process of unification. Moreover, they were the organizers in this process. The GAOORDI's specialist said: *«In 1992, the civil servants have invited us to the big meeting held in the administration of Kirovskiy' district. This event was managed by Lemke N.P and Rastvortsev N.V. Both of them were civil servants and still working in the Saint-Petersburg's state institutions. Regarding the participation of the state authorities to this stage I would say that they (the state authorities) united us! Also the state authorities prepared a certain offer for constructive framework-regulation, the further interaction with the state»*. According to GAOORDI's staff, such a proposal was perceived as an ambiguous one. As one of the employees mentioned in the interview: *«The part of members criticized the state's participation in the process of the unification into GAOORDI. They argued*

the existence of a certain management pressure for NGOs and doubts connected with the possible reduction of the issues needed to resolve by focusing on clear rules of the state. In opposition to them, there were specialists arguing that the certain state impact had a positive character, because such state management helped to finalize long processes of disputes, avoided organizations to divide on the particular destinations regarding their disability field and force them to behave rationally among each other, make decisions and provide aims' implementation all together. These conditions obviously explained the emergence of NGOs working with disabled persons and their further unification under GAOORDI's structure. After the joint debates with the heads of public organizations it was decided to emerge an association of public organizations and to elect a person responsible for governing such a big organizational structure. Citing the vice-president of GAOORDI: «The organization was created by activists who knew how to present the importance of problems to society and did not try to resolve own problems through GAOORDI common's resources. Everyone acted by virtue of their capabilities». *Thus, the NGOs have combined own material resources, theoretically knowledge and ideas, representing interests of the common target group of young people with disabilities and satisfy a complex structure of social needs, regarding a promotion of and provision of certain social guarantees for the families with disabled persons.*

Concerning the important changes of the association's activity, it should be noted that initially the organization was transformed to a resource center for development the association-members services processes of their work. It should be mentioned that there was a particular time period when the acquisition of skills in expert's work and understanding of disability issues by the most active members of the association, which has built a certain set of activities of the organization

The coverage of GAOORDI's target group has not reduced during the 25 years and even has a little increased. Referring such changes, it is interesting to mention that there was a particular restructuring of the organization's focus group – children with a certain disability has grown up to youth people with disabilities. Due to that, the latest changes in the work of the organization can indicate the reduction of the NGOs-members of the association because of different internal and external reasons. The external reasons is the establishment of legislative requirements to NGOs since the creation of Russian Ministry of Justice in 2004. The internal reason of the reduction was the lack of desire among particular organizational leader to adapt non-governmental activities for the actual requirements and ceasing its juridical existence as a

result of changes in the policy requirements about non-governmental organizations. Another internal reason is the exclusion of the legal entities that officially have ceased own non-governmental activities in the GAOORDI's in December 2015. The human phenomena as mortality and ageing of the focus group have also impacted to the reduction of NGOs. At the pick-time of GAOORDI's activities, there were 87 organizations-members, recently their amount was reduced to 62.

Due to the stagnation of programs and the emergence of new clients' needs the association has a necessity to revive the infrastructure direction of activity and start of developing the new programs. One of the last changes is the creation of the already mentioned respite care service "Передышка+", service for victims of "Amyotrophic lateral sclerosis", and other city events and projects, the development of crowdfunding and fundraising activities. The activities of association were built due to the clients' needs of qualified services and adapted to the recent economic realities.

Analyzing the mentioned reasons of unification, I can argue that the state public initiative had participated in the emergence of the organization. The major argument that the lack of the opportunities regarding to provision of social care support for families with disabled children in the 1990s has impacted to the unification of the non-governmental of common initiatives regarding people with disability. The creation of GAOORDI did not affect to the growth and development the functional capacities and possibilities of association-members or other charitable organizations working in the social sphere.

Nowadays GAOORI is aimed to comprehensive work in social affairs regarding disability issues, rather than promoting support and assistance for certain groups of people with disabilities. This desire for support for all types of children with disability and supervision of non-governmental members are obviously made the association's activities more comprehensive-oriented and associate NGO's activities as the resource center's work.

3.3. Current mission, values and strategy: shift to the professionalization of charitable activities

In accordance with the charter, the mission of the association is the unification and coordinating the efforts of the association-members presenting the interests of disabled children and youth with disabilities and their families and providing them with assistance and support. The mission is constructed from the combination of the charitable support for the organization's focus groups and support and development of organizations-members of GAOORDI.

Polling staff revealed the following values: 1) unity; 2) charitable support; 3) solidarity. These values are shared by parents who decided to become more active and established non-governmental organizations working with disability issues, support for the youth people with certain health specialties, especially youths with intellectual disabilities. The values were established as a basis of all activities of GAOORDI and its members. Such specificity as solidarity has grown through provision of social services for the children of the association's members.

Discussing about my assumption that the state nowadays falls to meet its obligations to the citizens, I got the meaningful opinion from president of GAOORDI: *“No one state can cope with the obligations of social support, even in such developed countries as Great Britain or Sweden. At least, part of the obligations won't be provided because of the expensive provision of care and high costs for technical equipment. The provision of social obligations is happening in cooperation with charitable funds, non-governmental organizations and etc. The situation is overcome with participation of all possible actors. To think about the fact that the state should close all its problems is certainly madness”*.

The vice-president shared an opinion that in case of the receiving support, children and youth can reduce their feelings of inferiority in comparison with other citizens, raise own feelings of normality and be recognized as a necessary part of the society with further socialization. They can live independently and outside from the state psycho-neurological institutions. The support gave them an opportunity to be themselves and find their place in life.

GAOORDI activities are supported by the phenomena of solidarity and cohesion among the community of parents of disabled children or youth. According to perceptions of the head of GAOORDI's departments, such relations are very close and strong, especially among the people with adult disabled children (30 years and more). Such phenomenon can be traced not only in St. Petersburg, but also in other central regions of Russia.

Investigating the GAOORDI' charter, I defined the following goals: 1) improving the quality of life of children with disabilities; 2) identifying and representing their interests on the regional and federal levels of the Russian Federation; 3) preventing social orphan hood. Such goals are implemented through the joint coordination of efforts of public associations with various organizational-legal forms that provide social assistance and support to children with disabilities, youths disabled from childhood and their families.

During the history, there is a tendency of formulating new ideas of establishment a set of activities aiming to the improvement of quality of life among children and youth people with disabilities and their families together with the prevention of child abandonment and the identification and representation of the target group's interests on the regional level and federal level. There is an evidence that the organization's goals were expanded and professionalized since the time of establishment.

GAOORDI's tasks are: 1) participation in the development and implementation of non-governmental activities and the state affairs aimed to the social protection of children and young people with disabilities; 2) struggle against the problems of children or youths with certain disabilities; 3) implementation of the charitable activities or participation in charitable projects, programs or events dedicated to children and youth disability issues; 4) attraction the public attending to the problems of children's disability.

Nowadays, the organization's strategy is might be described by the following approvals: 1) GAOORDI is the union of parents of disabled children and young people; 2) GAOORDI is association of juridical entities working with disability issues; 3) GAOORDI is a resource center for the association's members; 4) GAOORDI is an expert of disability sphere, successfully operating through the representation of the interests of charitable NGOs; 5) GAOORDI is a business partner; 6) GAOORDI is an organization that is going to become more recognized in the public.

According to the head of social innovations department, the mission and other ideological aspects have not radically changed during all the organization's history. However, the last two years associated with the process of renovation the mission. Citing the head of center of social innovations: "The ideological priorities related to support GAOORDI's focus groups don't change, the renovation is more about verification of understanding of the organization's mission for itself. The organization established open strategical planning and attracts association's members, employees for that. The creation of common values, mission and tasks lead to common discussions and understandings where we are going to move as an organization and for what reasons we will do it. Due to last changes of ideological thoughts, the organization sets the following future oriented goals as the priority destinations: 1) the development of programs aimed to labor and social employment and living-support for youth people with mental specialties; 2) the support for the centers of rare diseases; 3) the rise of the developmental resource center for the members of GAOORDI. All mentioned goals are realized and can be

traced through the association's annual programs⁵³. The first phenomena of support related to youth, children with disabilities and their parents and development of the association's members are taken as a basis of an organization's activities from the time of establishment and were implemented regularly. Referring to that, I would say that the GAOORDI is going to adapt into the educational and expert activities and presenting the role of a resource center as main activity.

The association developed the infrastructural system collecting information, accumulating methods and techniques, organizing educational workshops and lectures. In 2000s GAOORDI faced with the lack of the state and business support mostly for all type activities and it influenced to reformulation of some activities and then creates the new ideas for own activities, the successful example of that is the day-care group of youth with mental specialties. Nowadays GAOORDI presents a wide specter of activities, that are funded by certain stable state or business sources.

The organization is going to develop the infrastructural system again, for the creation of new structures and destinations of work. Because of recent economic reality the construction of new social events and projects nowadays are practically based now on its usefulness, sustainability of activities and its economic effectiveness. It means that GAOORDI elect the most useful projects and programs among all list of charitable activities for effectively compete for the state and business sources. Together with that, there is a shared idea of maintenance all successful and well-functioned programs in the frameworks of organizational activities.

Concluding, I would say the ideological aspects investigated during my observation gave me an evidence to argue that GAOORDI has shifted from the grassroots ideas of support for own children and youth towards the ideas of qualified and professional charitable support towards all GAOORDI's target groups. Due to that, the majority of Russian civil servants has a blurry view of the activities of GAOORDI because the organization has a quite wide specter of social activities. The historical way of unification for the promotion and lobbying common interests of members, improving and development non-governmental organizations under GAOORDI's structure, has expanded to the establishment complex destinations of work regarding each focus group such as the non-governmental organizations, disabled children, disabled youths, children with rare disabilities and their families. The future-oriented goals gave me the evidence to point about the existence of strategical work with ideas of future prognosis and further development with maintenance of the major destinations of GAOORDI's work. The certain GAOORDI's

⁵³ GAOORDI's 2013 report. Retrieved from: <http://gaoordi.ru/wp-content/uploads/report/Otchet-o-prodelannoj-rabote-v-2013-godu.pdf>

progress allows the organization to be one of the vivid professionals in the third sector of Saint-Petersburg

3.4. Changes in funding: the key points of searching a financial stability

The sources of the association are constructed in accordance with requirements of Russian legislation. The organization doesn't make a profit and not share it among the members, except the cases of socially-oriented profit and charitable activities. The organization doesn't follow the way of funding own activities by the collection money from the association's members. Due to that, GAOORDI developed a system of implementation own mission and goals through usage of the state, business and citizens' financial sources.

Analyzing the reports about GAOORDI's and information from specialists, I can argue that the main source of GAOORDI is presented by the state funding. The certain relationships with the state authorities are traceable during all history of GAOORDI activities. Historically, the state was the most permanent sponsor. The argument for that is the dominance of the programs and projects supported by the federal or regional (city) state authorities⁵⁴. Historically GAOORDI was receiving funding from the Finnish Ministry of foreign affairs, Swedish agency SIDA, The Finnish Association of Societies for Persons with Mental Retardation (FAMR), a Swedish non-governmental organizations "Stockholm Care" and "Nätverk Handikapp Öst", The Information Office of the Nordic Council of Ministers during the intergovernmental cooperation and sharing ideas of social care but nowadays this foreign funding is a thing of the past.

What we see today, the state resource is still presenting the majority of GAOORDI's budget, now it is 70% finances from the annual financing of the organization. Such amount is constructed from different scale subsidies and grants, provided by different level of the state budget. The new regulations of the state support for the non-governmental organizations have become part of reality for the third sector and a new component of the policy of regional authorities. The state support of socially-oriented NGOs and subsidies represented in the form of federal and regional competitions for getting the state public contract⁵⁵. The competition procedure is used to distribute the state finance for funding a social sphere according to the idea of outsourcing together with the government priorities of economy and efficiency the usage of money. GAOORDI has successfully adapted to these changes. The organization used to receive

⁵⁴ Annual reports of the organization's activities. Retrieved from: <http://gaoordi.ru/about/otchety/>

⁵⁵ Тарасенко А. (2014) Анализ практик поддержки СО НКО Санкт-Петербурга по данным реестра получателей государственной поддержки. Режим доступа к статье: https://eu.spb.ru/images/M_center/analysis_of_reestr_final.pdf

presidential grants from the federal competition, its social projects and activities are supported by the federal state programs of the Russian Federation through the Ministry of labor and social protection, Ministry of Health, Ministry of economic development, Civic chamber. Regarding Saint-Petersburg's level of governance, there is a possibility to get grants provided by the Committee on Youth Policy and Interaction with Public Organizations. There is another possibility to get subsidies from Committee on social policy or Committee for Culture, Committee on labor and employment. The additional source is represented by Saint-Petersburg compensation part of the payments for public services (water, electricity and etc.) for NGOs working with veterans, prisoners of fascist concentration camps, disabled people and victims of political repressions⁵⁶.

All these kinds of support is not easy to get due to their competition process established by the state: the public authorities establish competitions for funding to reveal the most professional and useful for the state actors. There are the state requirements for the NGOs, for example, 5 years of existence and successful work in the social sphere for participation in the public tendering process. In overall, such possibilities for GAOORDI are foreground and present a certain way to maintain the organization's annual budget. Besides of mentioned sources, historically GAOORDI was receiving a certain unique patronage during V. Matvienko's governorship. The organization was getting targeted financial support from the city budget, but nowadays such possibility is also the thing of the past.

Despite that the majority funding is received from the state authorities, the organization also receives financial support from the business that is about 25% of annual organization's income. Such funding is obtained from different forms of one time support provided by commercial organizations and presented by the targeted sponsorships of GAOORDI's programs such as the day-time support for young people with disabilities, sponsors' or one-time support for social projects, events or celebrations. Moreover, the organization developed the corporate charity – the permanent support of an organization's activities through the regular financial contributions from the company workers. Besides the financial support, GAOORDI used to ask business for support and assistance through the buying special equipment, providing products and services, participating in activities. For example, delivery of pies for the holiday or the repair works, or even buying gift sweets for children in the new year's time.

⁵⁶ Закон Санкт-Петербурга от 22.05.1997 г. №76-24 (в ред. от 09.07.2008) «О государственной поддержке общественных объединений ветеранов войны и труда, узников фашистских концлагерей, инвалидов и жертв политических репрессий Санкт-Петербурга», Ст. 3.

GAOORDI has regularly sponsorship that is based on the permanent targeted support of the certain programs. Historically facing with economic difficulties and challenges for the development of charitable activities, the organization has embarked on the path of the business financing a number of successful programs related to the employment of disabled people, organizing projects-activities for young disabled people (children of GAOORDI's members) during the daytime through the state subsidized instruments. There are several examples related to the work of day-care center for young people with severe intellectual and physical disabilities. This way helped GAOORDI to survive and save a provision of own charitable activities. Nowadays such strategy is still used; the targeted sponsorships of the day-care group from the commercial companies is present the instrument for survival if GAOORDI faced with harsh economic problems. There is a recent sponsor's project related to the construction of an innovative social housing for self-management and self-living youth with disabilities. Other cases of sponsorship for the organization and conduction the events are used to fund by pharmacy networks and big commercial brands.

The last 5% of annual income belonged to charitable activities, fundraising and crowdfunding. Historically, these financial opportunities were not effectively implemented, despite the fact providing experiments for that. The fundraising and crowdfunding activities conducted since establishing the center of social innovations at the 2014, then the usage of instruments for engaging money was restructured and organized on the regular basis. The various internet platforms and services for crowdfunding donations are used to help GAOORDI for collecting financial sources.

The recent situation in GAOORDI's financing could give me an evidence to think about the shortage of the state funding. Citing the president of GAOORDI: "During the emergence of association, we were not interested in getting financial support from the sponsors and society cause we were afraid to close these opportunities for our organizations-members. However, due to the facts of the economic challenges and changes in redistribution of the state support, we have to compete with other charitable organizations working with disability issues and our association-members in the process of getting the permanent state funding and constructing the stable relations with sponsors and donators".

Concluding, I would argue that through the process of funding GAOORDI's work, the increase of usage of various financing instruments was revealed. The dominance and control of this funding still belong to the state authorities. The previously existed form of funding through

the state patronage has stopped and does not exist. Nowadays the state is aimed to economy own sources, providing money for short-term activities, spreading sources efficiently and orienting on the financial stability of the region or city. It forces to use the different sources from the business and public institutes. Despite of non-permanent sources of funding, GAOORDI optimistically participates in each of these activities and deeply analyzes the state conditions and requirements in order to win public tendering processes and get funding. The increase of the state project-funding possibilities and emergence of new ideas of redistribution through the public tendering process have impacted on the grow of GAOORDI's dependence and orientation to the state institutions and establishing qualified and competitive, project oriented and short-term social service required by the state.

3.5. Institutional framework of interaction with the state: governmental corporatism

There is a lack of information describing the practices of interaction in Russia, These interactions are traced through the proper application of the particular legislation combined from the official strategies and practiced interactions between the state authorities and non-governmental organizations working with disabled people.

Legal basis. The investigation of legislative aspects begins with the constitutional basics. The foundation of people's communities united for common aims and their freedom of activities is declared by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. The establishment relations frameworks are pointed by the Civil Code and set of federal legislative acts. The legislative discourse of the state-NGOs interaction is presented by a set of legislative acts on the federal level as well legislative acts of the Russian Federation constituent entities (the Saint-Petersburg' governance level).

The Russian legislation determines features of interaction with non-governmental actors, through the two legislative destinations. The first destination associated with the management, responsibilities and interaction's regulations directly described through the following acts "About the community based organizations" (№82/1995), "About Non-Profit Organizations" (№7/1996), "About charitable activities and charitable organizations" (№135/1995). However, the legislative acts do not define the particular ways of interaction. Such ways are constructed through the different kinds of support. Another destination of work related to public control of target groups and promotion of their interests, feedback with the state authorities, anti-corruption expertise, and examination of the state regulations are implemented due to the federal law "The basics of public control in the Russian

Federation" (№212/2014). Thus, I can reveal that interaction aspects are divided for support and control destinations.

The reformation of legislation gave disabled people the rights to get the required support from the non-governmental body or institute. Such possibility has been available for the socially-oriented, non-governmental organizations. Due to that, aspects of the non-profit organizations' possibilities related to the implementation of the provision of social services for disabled persons and other socially-vulnerable groups are regulated by the Federal Law «On the Basics of Social Services for Citizens in the Russian Federation» (№442/2013).

In accordance with the Constitution, constituent entities of the Russian Federation might produce own normative acts in regard to NGOs. There are following examples of city laws: "On State Support for community based organizations of war and labor veterans, prisoners of Nazi concentration camps, disabled Persons and victims of political repressions of Saint-Petersburg" (№76/1997), "On the delimitation of powers to address issues of support for socially oriented non-profit organizations" and "On Support to Socially-oriented Non-Governmental Organizations in St. Petersburg" (№373/2011), "On procedure for determining the rent for non-residential premises, owned by the city" (№149-51/1997) and "On procedure of getting rent-exemptions" (№377-57/2005), "On the Saint-Petersburg's grants for community based organizations" (№697-85/2001). These documents established the additional support characterized by combination of legislative remarks and additional aims to support the certain kind of NGOs that are working with socially-vulnerable groups of people. But the reformation decreases the capacities of other NGOS in the legislative possibilities of control, expertise's, lobbying, promotion interests through the participation in such collaboration with the state. Such destinations happen more rather, because, the process of involvement different non-governmental actors into the expertise or work to control is complicated and required many resources from the NGO and at the same time, such interest is not supported by the state. According to the expert Michael Gornyy, the reformation of the federal law About Non-Profit Organizations" (№7/1996) through the inclusion of a new term "a socially-oriented non-profit organization" and support for in 2010 has logically impacted on the Russian third sector relations with the state. Officially, such initiatives were aimed to collect data of non-governmental organizations involved into the social help, support and protection of citizens in one register for further providing different kinds of benefits for them. Due to the practice, the term divided all NGOs on two types: socially-oriented organizations and other non-profit and non-governmental

organizations. There was the certain state's idea that socially-oriented organizations are emerging to provide social services for the certain groups of people. Other organizations are only presenting their common's activities without any wish to help socially-vulnerable people. Due to the state decision the first socially-oriented type of organizations is nominated to get of certain preferences. The experts point that practically not all of socially-oriented and non-governmental organizations can be added to the list of socially-oriented NGOs: despite of 18 socially-oriented activities described in the legislation, there is a low quantity of the human rights NGOs included to the register. There is a perception that the organization's presence in the register of socially-oriented NGOs could be an informal advantage to get the state financial support.

Among the recently developing issues, there are legislative acts developing a new form called «public-benefit organization» or «NGO - provider of public-benefit services» (№287/2016). The recognition of public-benefit status is available only for the socially-oriented non-profit organizations. Such priority was given to the non-governmental organizations as a right. The main specificity of that status is a receiving from the state federal and regional constituent entities for conduction of the social services for clients. Objectively thinking such preferences can present the material advantages in comparison with other non-socially oriented actors from the third sector. Further, I will give statistical data how much income was obtained by GAOORDI since the re-orientation of a few programs according to the latest changes of legislation.

Analysis of the documents revealed the preferences for a socially-oriented type of the non-profit organizations. They are reasoned by the establishment a variety of support defined through the federal law "About non-profit organizations". Citing M. Gornyy: *"From the state's perception, such organizations can be recognized as providers of social services and can get support from the state structures in different forms established by the law."*

Referring to Gornyy, the pattern of interaction between the state and NGOs has changed during the last decade of years. Since 2005, there has been a development of the societal corporatism model associated with the foundation of the Public chamber of the Russian Federation together with the public coordination council. During the mutual cooperation, the concept of interaction between NGOs and authorities was developed and adopted in 2008 by the public coordination council and the decisions of the city's government. But, then a mutual participation was reduced due to the shortage of the cooperation regarding the development of city law about support for socially-oriented non-profit organizations in 2012. Concerning his

opinion, the recent interaction can be characterized as the government corporatism associated with the model of interaction when the state dominates and even controls the state-NGOs' relation without counseling with representatives of the third sector. During these changes, the restrictions of financing from abroad and participation in political activities were merged. According to the expert, these restrictions made obstacles for further development of the Russian third sector. However, the opinions of civil society and NGOs' experts are contradicting.

Generally, the majority of organizations from the Russian third sector were informed how to use the mechanism of the state support. It has become one of the main ways of maintaining the non-governmental and charitable activities for socially-vulnerable groups of people. The state promotes the market concept through the establishing the federal legislative act "On the Basics of Social Services for Citizens in the Russian Federation"(№442/2013) establishing the equal rights for the provision of social services for the state bodies and NGOs. It is reasoned by the accumulation of the majority of social obligations, so the state needs to launch mechanisms for provision these obligations. And in this regard, the division of responsibility for support and coordination simply pushes to the market mechanisms. So, the state established a certain priority for organizations involved in the provision of services. But it contradicts the reality where the majority of Russian non-governmental organizations were not focused on providing services, many of them are presenting own interest related to protection of own rights for a certain benefit. It is not unusual that there are several real actors-service providers which want to meet the new standards. Some organizations want to move in this direction, but they have to adapt themselves and rebuild their charter and internal structure that is not a fast process.

Citing the expert: *“There is a process of transformation of the non-profit sector under the influence of state policy. On the one hand, non-commercial providers and mechanisms of their support are being raised by the example of the Scandinavian model of social policy, but on the other hand, there is a huge number of organizations that do not recognize themselves as service providers. If other competencies such as the work of public councils, participation in the decision-making, feedback from the state authorities will be raised, then the sector will be developed proportionally. So far, it is oriented toward socially-oriented organizations. Regarding interaction, we cannot testify to the dominance of one model of interaction, because non-governmental organizations are very different and the Russian third sector is not homogeneous even in the direction of support for people with disabilities”.*

According to the majority of experts' opinions, the non-governmental organizations are posing themselves as the experts which are mutually interacting with the state bodies present the minority of all NGOs in Saint-Petersburg. According to their quantitative assessment, in most cases the interaction with mentioned group of NGOs occurs in a paternalistic form of relations, where the NGOs are practically subordinated the state authorities' decisions, receiving the majority income through the state and performing the state interests, through the own activities. At the same time, there are minority of organizations that successfully applying the market mechanisms in their activities, involving non-governmental funders, sharing ideas of social care with the state but presenting the independence and having a respect among the state authorities.

Thus, the investigated documents with specialists' views on the investigated issues basically showed the a certain variety of relations.

The studies of mentioned legislative acts give me an evidence to argue about two statements. The first is the government aimed to establish useful instruments for the provision the social obligations through the spreading opportunities for organizations-service providers. I mentioned "useful instruments" because there are no vivid efforts to establish eager mutual relations. The federal law about the provision of social services (№442/2013) was developed before the legislative act about "The basics of public control (№212/2014). The second is that the legislative initiatives turned to the development of market relations in the social sphere. The state representatives pointed that it brings equality to the sphere of provision of social services. However, due to the observation of non-governmental organizations work, I would argue that there is not equality in the provision of social services. There is a fact that the equal opportunity to provide social services is differently financed. In case of budget organization as a comprehensive social service provider, it doesn't need to maintain the building, pay rent and utility costs. The budget social care organizations are placed in a more privileged position for conducting the same services. The utility costs and employee salaries force non-governmental organizations to make additional efforts for searching sponsors or adapt their activities to the state competitions for funding. The process of getting financial support is complicated due to subsidiary funding form.

Due to the information taken from the interviews there is an argument that the developed forms of non-governmental charitable organizations, for example GAOORDI, are acting like partners or experts with the state-NGOs affairs. The organization is constructing relations with the state to achieve the major financial sources, regulated by the state and the expert's role.

However, the majority of organizations functioning in the disability sphere cannot present the partner role with the government, due to their economic instability and dependence from permanent possibilities presented by the state. Such organizations are adapting to the legislative changes and trying to survive and overcome financial and legislative obstacles for provision the state welfare commitments for their clients.

Regarding this segment of NGOs working with disability issues, the investigated relations might be named the state-corporativistic due to the fact of the state's dominance in the legislative control and regulation of NGOs' social activities and spreading of finance for the non-profit actors according to state's ideas and interest.

Client-strategy to manage the organization's income

I would start the description of this practice associated the interaction with the state based on certain regularities of receiving financial support. Due to the fact that, the state presents the major funding for GAOORDI, I can argue that interaction towards receiving the state financial support is fundamental. For getting the support, association constructs the relationships with the federal ministries and the representatives of constituent entities responsible for financial spreading in Saint-Petersburg. This practice might be described through different practices described further.

The first example is the organization of recreational activities for children and youth with disabilities. This program was conducted by the day-care group specialists of GAOORDI with the support of the Committee on Youth Policy and Interaction with NGOs and charitable donations. Due to historical moments, the activities of GAOORDI of the day-care group were shaping to adapt clients' social needs due to recreation and rehabilitation of young disabled people with group accompaniment in tourist camps in the Leningrad's Region and daily activities in the GAOORDI centers of social rehabilitation. GAOORDI was responsible for the running this program for all kinds of people until 2009, then, due to the development of the state social services, the big part of GAOORDI's responsibilities were delegated to city rehabilitation centers for people with disabilities, but the organization still being responsible for organization of recreational activities for youth disabled persons through the Committee budget. Unfortunately, this program was closed due to legislative initiatives of redistribution the state finances in 2016. During the last year the state 9500500 rubles were used for implementation of the program's activities. During the 2015 (the last financed year) 567 people used vouchers for the rest: 382 of them are young disabled people and 185 accompanying persons. 349 of them are

were youth with disability and 148 accompanying persons from the Leningrad's region, 33 young disabled people and 37 accompanying people visited the South Russian regions to get mentioned here recreation. According to the recent agenda, GAOORDI is going to propose an idea to reveal summer recreational activities for disabled people on through the use of crowdfunding instruments to collect money from the clients and society.

Other possibilities of financial support are applications for subsidiaries (the Committee on social policy or Committee for Culture, Committee on labor and employment) and grants (the Committee on Youth Policy and Interaction with Public Organizations) conducting due to the help of the tendering process. Such interaction is often happened, but in reality, the financial support has not any guarantees for permanent funding the organization's activities. For example the last project activity of GAOORDI that were financed in 2014 by grants from the Committee on Youth Policy and Interaction with Public Organizations. According to official data from the administration of the city website, GAOORDI received 646671 rubles as a subsidy for the project was developing the volunteer initiatives among Saint-Petersburg citizens "Together - for the children!⁵⁷" There is another financial destination as getting subsidies from the Committee on social policy and Committee on labor to reward association's activities for the provision of social help for disabled persons. Such destination consists from the reimbursement of costs for the implementation of the state social orders and Saint-Petersburg's social programs.

Due to legislative changes regarding the provision of social services and establishing a competition among the providers in the social sphere by the Federal Law №442, GAOORDI has launched a row of programs orienting on the provision of social services for children youth people with different kind of disabilities. Such process consists from the adaptation of existing programs such as the day-care group and temporary labor department of the legislative changes and creation of the new ones. The main destinations of day-care that were adapted to the social services: 1) organization temporary labor activities; 2) social, labor and cultural rehabilitation (visiting theaters, art-exhibitions, museums of St. Petersburg, classes at the "Nevskaya Zastava" and the local library, participation in different kinds of art-competitions); 3) adaptive education of children for independent living and household activities by GAOORDI specialists; 4) psychological rehabilitation of youth with intellectual disability.

⁵⁷ Распоряжение Комитета по молодежной политике и взаимодействию с общественными организациями "Об итогах конкурсного отбора на право получения субсидии в виде гранта Санкт-Петербурга для общественных объединений в 2014 году "

The temporary labor department was a pioneer of adaptation for establishing paid social services, because its activities were already financed by the Ministry of economic development and funded by city and municipal budgets. The changes are related to establishing the competition for provision the state services. It is interesting to mention that GAOORDI uses this financial possibility to develop a labor sphere for youth and young with disabilities with the help of Committee on labor and its budget organization “Employment center”. GAOORDI has won the tendering competition regarding the establishing of labor for disability citizens granted by the Committee on labor in 2016. There is statistical data describing the quantity of employed youth for 3 years on the picture 6.

Year	Financial support from the state (rubles)	Employed teenagers	Employed disabled persons	Creation of a workplace for people with disability
2014	8 050 129,50	930	190	16
2015	8 399 440,40	888	203	6
2016	12 012 691,21	1102	93	16

Table 4. Employment for teenagers and young disabled persons.

The program is responsible for such work creation and support workplaces for people with different forms of disabilities as in the forms of specially created workshops and as well in the open labor market. Such provision of labor possibilities develops the personal skills of young people: they acquire labor and communication skills, learn self-organization and responsible for the work. Besides of that, there are additional functions as provision of temporary internship and creation of modern workplace for disabled employed persons. The program involved teenagers from orphanages, youth from big families, disabled children and children from families in difficult life situations. As part of the program for temporary employment, responsible department involves such adolescents in useful work, teach them the professional and work skills, and help the people with choosing a profession. All of these aspects are developed nowadays. In 2016, Committee on social policy gave 3699340 and 4196630 rubles

through the two subsidies for financial support of GAOORDI's project-activities as for the winner of tendering competition. The amount looks great for Russian non-governmental project-activities, but in reality, it is the sum of all organization's costs, in case of residues, they will be returned to the city budget.

The next interaction is the complex of expert and educational activities considered here as support and development of socially-oriented non-profit organizations. Due to historical processes, GAOORDI's specialists and members have been improving their expert knowledge about the NGO's sphere, administrative, budgeting issues and established certain relations with the Saint-Petersburg's state authorities sharing with them own view of the social system's work. In a frames of that program, there are following activities: 1) methodological work (joint development of materials for further implementation in the employment programs for young disabled people; 2) training seminars divided on "beginner" and "advanced" levels for NGO staff who are already implementing or planning to develop employment programs for young disabled people; 3) organization of internships for specialists from NGOs, to get acquaintance with models of social employment of young disabled people; 4) support and consulting regarding the organization of employment for young people with disabilities; 6) supervision for leading and ordinary employees of SO NGOs who implement employment programs for young people with disabilities; 7) management of co-working space in GAOORDI for the discussion in about practical issues of organizing the promotion of disabled people's interests; 8) provision of educational activities for regional NGOs' development. All these activities were differently funded by the state authorities.

The wide range of activities requires a complex and structural system of funding from the state authorities on federal and regional levels (register of social service providers, competing for grants and subsidies), combining with establishing partnerships with sponsors, crowd funding, and fundraising activities. For example, during 2016, the new activity of temporary respite care for parents of disabled youth «Передышка+» was established and financially supported by the Committee on social policy for amount 423 400 rubles. Realizing the success, GAOORDI adapted own previously charitable care of day-care group and produced the day care services for 25 youth with disabilities. The department will get 967 000 rubles for these aims.

The next form of financial support is the receiving the compensation of utilities, fees for telephone and radio, as well as maintenance and repair of the common property and leasing territory more or equal 100 m² (№377-57/2005). Such amount is equal 23 180 rubles per month

in the third quarter of the 2016. This amount does not look huge, but if we calculate approximate sum for twelve months of that support, it will bring 278160 rubles per year. According to the specialists of GAOORDI, the usage of this finance is quite controlled as well as implementation of the state social order. There is a fact that GAOORDI cannot deeply influence on the implementation of the state priority destinations for the social programs as well as increase of financial support for maintenance non-governmental properties. Establishing the provision of services through non-governmental structures, the state indicated that it will finance such activities but under the certain conditions.

Together with the mentioned issues about the provision of services, it is worth to notice the innovations in the field of providing medical and social services. According to experts, this type of activity is partly presented by NGOs now, but they will not stay for a long time in the non-profit sector. The provision of medical services always implies the availability of licensing, and it is only a question of time when the state will stop this opportunity for the non-profit sector. Citing the specialist from legal advisory department: *“This step can be described as adaptation the non-governmental and non-profit organizations on to “the needle of the state support funding” giving them the opportunity of usage by the state grants as a main funding resource for NGOs.*

After the financial issues, it will continue with the property support. Such form is implemented only for organizations with “socially-oriented non-profit organizations” status due to the higher costs for the building and maintaining city properties. The right to give a property is delegated to the Committee on property relations, but the legislative acts regulating a process of rent are difficult to access. During the history of the foundation, GAOORDI was received the property from the administration of Saint-Petersburg in 2003 as an endowment, then during the administration wish, the association was moved into another apartment. It should be noted that ownership of this building has transferred to the association, but without the right to use it not for charitable purposes. Thus, the state authorities are doing the property-donations, but they are controlling further usage of it. Nowadays GAOORDI is going to force an idea of sending a request of building nearby the social house in “the new Ohta” micro district. In overall, such form of support takes a lot of time and efforts to involve the state authorities into the dialogue with the non-governmental actors regarding the property.

It should be noticed that reacting to economic and legislative changes, GAOORDI developed own strategy of running charitable activities. However, this strategy implies the

refusal to cooperate with international organizations from abroad due to emergence legislation “On foreign agents” (121/2012)⁵⁸. According to GAOORDI’s president, the organization decided to rely on relations with the state authorities, informing and involving the most appropriate of the state institutions and actors into own activities, inviting them into expert discussions of cultural, medical, labor and financial support, presenting them the results of charitable activities, sharing with them ideas how the social system could be developed and how GAOORDI can contribute to improve problematic issues. As a result, the group of people (including the officials from the Saint-Petersburg state authorities, ministries and other government bodies) that shared interests of GAOORDI was formed. The organization invites the state partners, vice-governors, chairmen of the Saint-Petersburg’s Committees and many other state specialists to establish a productive dialogue for a common understanding of what the situation in the social sphere of the city and what is needed to improve it. Thus, the most useful projects and bright activities of GAOORD, for example the district centers of social rehabilitation for disabled persons and the system of prevention of refusals from newborns were included in the social system of Saint-Petersburg.

Thus, I would point that mentioned here practice of interaction might be summarized and characterized as the examples of a clientelism’s strategy to manage organization’s income. Such strategy associated with paternal-client relationship between the state and the non-governmental organizations working with a disability. GAOORDI is represented as a client with certain orientations on the state opportunities of funding and the state are represented as the manager of financial and material possibilities of funding. Also, during the historical process of work, organization has gained close relationships with the several heads of institutions and the recognition its expert’s role in the managing issues of disability. The clientelism’s strategy helps GAOORDI to communicate with the state authorities in order to establish a regular state support towards the socially-oriented NGOs working with disability issues and the families with disabled children or youth. Due to several examples, I would add that such strategy is actively contested nowadays by both actors with the emergence the ideas of the new public management but still the majority of interactions is based on it.

Strategy of targeted support: growing NGO’s professionalism

⁵⁸ Федеральный закон "О внесении изменений в отдельные законодательные акты Российской Федерации в части регулирования деятельности некоммерческих организаций, выполняющих функции иностранного агента" от 20.07.2012 N 121-ФЗ http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_132900/

The next practice associated with state interest of searching useful partners for increase own capacities of welfare spreading. According to this interest, the exchange of information or the informational support has a place in the recent state-NGOs relations. It is possible to testify the existence of a certain interaction between employees of GAOORDI and specialists of the press service departments of the Committee on social policy, Committee on youth policy and interaction with NGOs, Committee for Culture, Committee on press and public relations and the Press-service of the Administration of the Governor of St. Petersburg. Here, GAOORDI presents not a support-receiver's role, but acts as a partner or an expert in the questions related to the disability sphere.

Historically, the organization is trying to find some support in receiving information from the state. Nowadays GAOORDI's need of getting information from the state has reduced and framed by the methodological aspects of holding competitions for grants and subsidies. The exchange of information with the state authorities happens if there are cases presenting possible interest from the state. Usually, GAOORDI informs the committees about the association's activities presenting an interest for government agencies and asks them to share and transfer the information to the subordinated actors. The same procedure is happening with the press-services of the state agencies. They regularly informed about the list of events for organizations-partners regarding the state methodological seminars, events, festivals and forums, meetings, debates organized by GAOORDI.

The next interaction is related to consultation support. In this direction, the Committees and GAOORDI provide mutual consultation for each other regarding different issues about the social sphere. The state authorities make consultations about the possibility of participation in the state tendering-competitions and provide advice for preparation the required documents for grants. In addition, the state institutes organize the consulting meetings for different work-groups. GAOORDI interacts by holding the expert consultations regarding the issues related to children's rare diseases, issues about independent living of young disabled adults, the usage of the state support instruments, the creation of socially responsible enterprises, juridical specificity of Russian legislation about disability issues, development of leadership qualities for heading the NGOs for the specialists from non-governmental sector, representatives of the state, business partners and persons with disability.

The last interaction is associated with support is training and additional professional education for workers and volunteers. The interviewed persons argued that such form of support

has a competition character - the organizations from education sphere are involved in the tendering process for provision different kind of trainings and seminars for employees of the non-governmental sector. Such activities raise specific knowledge and awareness about their practical issues for implementation them into the work. The process was constructed similarly to the state tendering of social services. The most permanent organizer of educational activities is the Committee on youth policy and interaction with NGOs, such organizations as the city center "Contact", "Center for Development of Noncommercial Initiatives", center for Scientific and Technical Information Progress" and etc.

During long and successful implementation of activities for children and youth with severe disabilities, the city authorities recognized GAOORDI as the resource center regarding disability issues and social work with disabled children and youth and delegated to association educational activities. GAOORDI has not educational license for conducting special educational activities, but the organization used to organize such events and spread the information among the society. Nowadays there is a list of seminars and workshops for socially-oriented NGOs, provided in frames of GAOORDI's program "Support and development of socially-oriented NGOs working in the field of social and labor employment of disabled people in St. Petersburg". The program has been financially supported by the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation⁵⁹. The list of educational activities is aimed to draw the attention for employment problems among the socially-oriented NGOs, institutes of the state authorities, businesses, and citizens. The program's activities are including the lectures and workshops regarding the recent situation in the Russian third sector: 1) Familiarization with the principles and technologies of work on models of social employment for young people with disabilities; 2) The state program - Accessible Environment for 2011-2020; 3) Federal law №442: the new opportunities for NGOs that provide social services; 4) How NGOs can be supported by public structures in the bodies of state power and etc. According to deputy president Olga Smirnova: *"During our existence, we have shared our experience of supporting families with children or youth with disabilities and rare diseases in 36 regions of Russian Federation."*

Concluding, I would argue that the authorities' interest to establish targeted state support for certain activities as educational support for less-developed NGOs and work as the resource center emphasizes the specialty of paternalistic pattern, I mean the dictation of certain functions

⁵⁹ Program "Support and development of socially-oriented NGOs working in the field of social and labor employment of disabled people in St. Petersburg":

http://gaoordi.ru/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Infolistok_o_Programme_-_Podderzhka_SO_NKO_trud1.pdf

which are making the an interest for the state. As an example, GAOORDI found ways to adapt own seminars to the requirements of the legislative rules, but still become the receiver of support for training and additional education from the state authorities.

Practices of public representation of client's interests: the promotion of limited welfare for disabled disabled children and youth

Explaining the interaction towards representation of public interest, I would mention the practices of interaction: 1) participation in the public discussion of actual issues regarding city-life and legislative projects; 2) participation of non-governmental actors in the process of preparation, control and implementation decisions of the state authorities. Both of these practices are not established as fundamental possibilities by the Russian legislation regarding socially-oriented NGOs, but such initiatives are very popular and appreciated by the majority of non-governmental specialists, human rights organizations and experts of the state-NGOs relations.

Despite of absence particular guarantees for this interaction with the state, GAOORDI has managed to act in this direction due to the construction of strong and close relationships with the representatives of Saint-Petersburg's social affairs. The president of GAOORDI has gained many statues during the running of the organization. All her statues were gained through the direct supervision of GAOORDI's development and spreading association's activities. According to the GAOORDI's specialists, Ms. Urmancheeva has never used her opportunities for resolving personal problems. It might be a reason why the state representatives of different institutes have involved her into the advisory structures. Due to such specific way of getting recognition, she is involved in public discussion of actual issues regarding city-life and legislative projects. President of GAOORDI used to participate in work of expert-groups for development and protection particular legislative initiatives in the Council of Russian Federation and Saint-Petersburg's Legislative assembly. Presenting a common opinion of the non-governmental and non-profit organizations working in disability sphere, she promotes the public interests on the regional level of governance. The most vivid example of such promotion is successful lobbying of the legislative act that established the increase of pensions for disabled since childhood in comparison with Moscow's amount of pension. The participation in the public discussions can be represented by the public debates organized by GAOORDI. Annually, there are at least four meetings in each quarter of the year. One of the last meeting was dedicated to the problems of medical care for children with rare diseases. The leading representatives of 17

medical institutions and companies, as well as 12 public and patient organizations also took part within the framework of the discussions.

Another informal practice of interaction is presented by participation in preparation, control and implementation state decisions. The representation of GAOORDI's interest is delegated to the president and her deputy person. One of the last activities with the GAOORDI's participation in control and evaluation was the independent evaluation of the quality of the social services in Saint-Petersburg. Such activity is legislatively pointed as a form of public control by the 23.1 article of the Federal law №442⁶⁰. The association "Partnership relations" was the main actor was implementing this evaluation process, but the decisions for conducting such activities and preparation work were supported by GAOORDI through the Public council of Saint-Petersburg for a long time. Ms. Urmancheeva was involved and responsible for the control and preparation of this evaluation on early stages of such activity.

During the emergence, in 2013 GAOORDI supervised the evaluation of social services among psycho-neurological institutes and orphan houses. Due to my observations of conduction the independent evaluation of social services in 2016, GAOORDI provided a place for organizational meetings with the working group of this program. Regarding preparation Ms. Urmancheeva as GAOORDI's representative was involved in the development of recommendations for conduction such events and control of such activities of the Public council. Evaluation of the social services forces a creation of recommendations for the state authorities to correct or improve the quality of social services. From the one side this is an instrument for enforcing the particular committees responsible for a certain sphere. Committee on social policy is legislatively responsible for the organization of that process, but it does not take any vivid decisions – from that it is the responsibility of the Public council presented by non-governmental organization with GAOORDI's participation. Commenting such activity, the founder of "Partnership decisions" said that specialists of the Committee on social policy used to interact with non-governmental organization and Public council, but such activity delegated them due to public tendering process. "They are acting like an executive instrument. The unsatisfied results of evaluation used to not share among the society and presented by the unknown state source oriented on the clerk's work", she said. Thus, I can argue about the existence of certain rudiments of control the state's decisions regarding the provision of social services. However,

⁶⁰ Федеральный закон от 28.12.2013 N 442-ФЗ (ред. от 21.07.2014) «Об основах социального обслуживания граждан в Российской Федерации», Ст. 23.1 http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_156558/7ec559fe257d4229625d0915ca4a95d9b9ac3181/

such impact is really low and depended on the common opinion of the majority of organization among the Public council.

Concluding, I want to summarize that GAOORDI tries to work together with the state legislative and executive authorities and influence on the state bodies through the legal possibilities of such public consultative structure as the Public Council of Saint-Petersburg. At the same time, the example of GAOORDI participation does not indicate the mutual interaction with state bodies. Due to the unclear way of entering to such institutions reasoned only by GAOORDI's expert experience, the provision of welfare is not commonly successful and implemented partially for the focus groups. The legislation "About the Basics of Public Control in the Russian Federation" (212/2014)⁶¹, related to the discussion, preparation and control of decisions of state bodies, so such discussion happens only in the narrow expert communities that protecting own interests and is not discussed by the whole society of citizens that again turned us to the specificity of the state paternalism with questions regarding control and decision's making.

Practiced interaction: struggle for the state privileges

It might be noticed that the state authorities are selective in the services they want to cooperate with NGOs. Part of the service has rare implementation or not funded at all, despite legislative basis. Due to that, the organization has to struggle for conduction part of own activities. For example, there are obstacles in providing the services associated with juridical assistance or legal advice by NGOs. According to the specialist of the legal advisory department of GAOORDI, the organizations provides of a number of human rights services that are not funded by the state authorities, they give a favor towards the private famous legal entities, which are not representatives of the non-profit sector. GAOORDI has the same kind program basically oriented on spreading the awareness about the state benefits for disabled among the parents and leaders of the association's members. Due to increase legal awareness among the parents and a growth of their knowledge the legal rights of young disabled people. Nowadays the main destination of the program's work is a support for families and parents faced with the violation of rights, running the organization affairs, verification of documents, lobbying GAOORDI's interests, protection in a court. The financing of this unit is used to be difficult due to the lack of winning the state subsidies. However the unit is actively implemented mentioned activities, by

⁶¹ Федеральный закон от 21 июля 2014 г. N 212-ФЗ "Об основах общественного контроля в Российской Федерации" <http://base.garant.ru/70700452/>

finding ways to finance it through small-scale commercial activities oriented on the organization's purposes and residual funds from the sponsorship money.

The next practices of informal interaction based on the activities of GAOORDI's "Day care group". This activity has divided from social rehabilitation activities in 2005 and grown till day care and provision of support for youth, children of parents-members of GAOORDI. Nowadays department work is deeply oriented on the support and maintenance of activities for young adults with intellectual disabilities, who are children of association-members, older than 18 years. In frames of this program GAOORDI's staff is implementing events and provides cultural and educational services, social rehabilitation services for 25 young people (18-42 years old) with intellectual disabilities, implements labor employment and provides psychological and pedagogical support to clients and their parents. The program helps parents with disabled children to reduce time for the care and give an opportunity to find work. Due to the practical orientation on the clients' needs these destinations were not actively supported by the state authorities. Historically, the "Day care group" was funded once during the Russian ex-president's visit, when Dmitriy Medvedev presented a bus as a charitable gift. But this process was unique. For doing projects there was system of financing through established several permanent sponsorships with commercial companies that are more productive than the state support, for example agreement for boxes manufacturing to earn money for the "Day-care group", permanent finance support from private building company, strong partner relations with state-financed organizations: the local historical museum "Nevskaya Zastava", local library, youth center "Albatros", cultural center "Troitskiy" and etc.

Finally, I want to mention that GAOORDI has not succeeded in the struggle for the state privileges regarding the loaning issues. There were a few practices to establish relationships with the national bank. There are several informal practices for funding GAOORDI's activities through the loaning money from social entrepreneurship included in association structure. I want to notice that the usual loan instruments from the banks or business companies are not working due to the state legislative restrictions. The social company has not obliged to invest its money in the association's budget, but still helps and presents the instrument for establishing economic safety for GAOORDI's survival.

Thus, I can point that despite of many regularly established interactions, such practices as day-care support to the grown children with disability and juridical assistance for the people with disabilities and their families have not attracted the state's attention or even ignored, so, the

practices regarding these issues are not established on the regular basis for cooperation with the state. GAOORDI has to struggle with the state representatives regarding privileges for these issues. The relatively small success during the legislation regarding the provision of social services showed the c specificity in shaping the agenda established by paternal desires of the Russian state.

3.6. Effect of the austerity context in the era of neoliberalism

During this part, the relations between the state authorities and non-governmental organizations working in the disability sphere have been studied for revealing the existence of austerity policy context in the Russian federation. The official media have not indicated the presence of this process, but due to my interest and comments of experts I did an analysis of recent economic situation in the state-NGOs' relations. Reports regarding federal financing of socially-oriented non-profit organizations, budgets of Saint-Petersburg for 2014-2016 years and the amount of funding socially-oriented non-profit organizations from 2014-2016 were analyzed further.

The general data regarding financing of NGOs presented by the state federal program called "Social protection of population 2013-2020". Such program dedicated 4 destinations of support, so I was interested in destination called "The increase of the effectiveness in supporting of socially-oriented non-profit organizations. According to Russian Federation Government resolution "On the approval of the state program of the Russian Federation "the Social support of citizens "(296/2014)", the amount for such subprogram is 6320707,9 thousand rubles⁶². Below I put the division such amount for each year.

Year	Amount (thousand rubles)
2013	749999,6
2014	1698344,7
2015	1749585,8
2016	437703,4
2017	896196
2018	398720,4
2019	390158

⁶² Постановление Правительства РФ от 15.04.2014 N 296 "Об утверждении государственной программы Российской Федерации "Социальная поддержка граждан 2013-2020" Режим доступа к документу: <http://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=LAW&n=215011&fld=134&dst=116.0&rnd=0.4161854821182225#0>

Table 5. The amount of the budget appropriations for the subprogram of “Social protection of citizens 2013-2020”

Analyzing the amounts of subprogram I would point that there is a certain increase of support during 2014-2015 years, but then the amount is spreading differently: it increased in 2017 and reduced to the end in 2020.

The situation with a city budget can be characterized differently. Revealing data from the Committee on finances argues that there is a continuing deficit of the budget⁶³.

Year	Amount (thousand rubles)
2014	62731096,1
2015	51509337,5
2016	58608986
2017	69820327,4

Table 6. Deficit of Saint-Petersburg budget 2014-2017

The situation with deficit has not widely discussed among the society. Such officials as chair of the Committee on finances argued that the costs are related to increase of salaries of the state budget organizations in education and medical spheres. The most vivid example of deficit is the increase of the public transport costs since 1st of January 2017. Despite of the deficit, the official media sources informed that actual budget was shaped due to increasing of funding in the social sphere and investments into the transport infrastructure. Such information is presented by the official website of the Committee on finances, that there is a stable increase of amounts in Saint-Petersburg budget regarding social policy destination⁶⁴ and financial support given for social program “Social support for the citizens of Saint-Petersburg”.

Year	Amount (thousand rubles)
2014	54999031,7
2015	59796713,2
2016	63603836,5
2017	68680509,9

Table 7. The amount of City budget for social policy destination

⁶³ Web-source of Saint-Petersburg Committee on finances regarding city's budget. Data retrieved from: <http://www.fincom.spb.ru/cf/activity/budjet/info/2016.htm>

⁶⁴ See above: <http://www.fincom.spb.ru/cf/activity/budjet/info/2016.htm>

Year	Amount of support
2015	54 045 301,2
2016	58853710,5
2017	64086687,9

Table 8. The amount of support for program “Social protection for Saint-Petersburg’s citizens”

In addition, there is a logic that the reduction of the state social spending is usually caused by the low level of economic conditions. According to the statistical data presented by Saint-Petersburg administration of the Federal State Statistics Service, at the end of February 2017 the unemployment rate in Saint-Petersburg was 1.7 % in relation to the working population of St. Petersburg. I collected the data regarding the unemployment rate for last three years⁶⁵.

Year	Unemployment rate (% of economically-active population)
2014	1.4%
2015	1.8%
2016	1.6%

Table 9. Rates of unemployment in Saint-Petersburg

Thus, I can argue that presented data revealed the deficit of the budget, but the economic conditions of the Saint-Petersburg still has not defined the possibility to testify the existence of an austerity policy in the social sphere of Saint-Petersburg. However, my interest was stemmed by the possibility to testify the austerity context through the existence of new-public management policy in relations between non-governmental organizations working with disabled and the state authorities. For that, I went deeper into the counts, especially related to provision of subsidies for socially-oriented NGOs. Referring to the president of GAOORDI, there is a vivid reduction of financial support for socially-oriented non-profit organizations. *“Until recently, there were 740 million rubles allocated to support the socially-oriented NGOs, but at last year there were only 186 million rubles. You can see the big difference”, - said Margarita Urmancheeva.* Such help through the program “Social support of the citizens in Saint-Petersburg” is presented in counts of social program in the city budget.

⁶⁵ Statistical data regarding employment in Saint-Petersburg. Data retrieved from: http://gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/kom_zan/statistic/

According to the experts from the center of non-commercial initiatives, despite the general increases of financing the social policy destination and a certain program “Social support for the citizens of Saint-Petersburg 2015-20” - the regional state subsidy for socially-oriented non-profit organizations was exactly reduced. I have verified this due to the digital version of the state resolution defined such financial support⁶⁶.

Year	Amount (thousand rubles)
2015	6661016,2
2016	499559,6
2017	54603,9
2018	55773,0
2019	114351,0
2020	120796,7

Table 10. Increasing the effectiveness of state support for socially-oriented NGOs

So, from my proposal that the lower finance of 2017 and 2018 related to implementing the provision of social services by non-governmental actors associated with alternative service delivery characteristic of the NPM policy. Such phenomenon has raised by the development of legislation aiming to social provision issues (№442/2013) aimed to prepare the Russian non-governmental sector in the market terms and principles of equality with the state organizations.

Producing such legislative acts, the government motivates the non-governmental actors to increase own responsibilities in the sphere of the provision of social services for the clients order to get the state funding. I can comment that the state decided to share responsibility with the new actors in the development of the third sector on the market principles. These principles imply the support of useful non-governmental non-profit organizations with the further economy and involvement of the clients' money into their financing. *“Such process as the reduction of the state cost for social services happened not due to the reduction of financial resources. There is a comprehensive change in the provision of the state services scheme with the introduction of new concepts and statuses. So, nowadays the possibility to get social service is depended from the client's request at first and his or her right to get a certain service for free or for certain payment for the state”*, - said the expert of center of development of non-commercial initiatives.

⁶⁶ Постановление Санкт-Петербурга от 23.06.2014 года N 497 О государственной программе Санкт-Петербурга "Социальная поддержка граждан в Санкт-Петербурге" на 2015-2020 годы". Режим доступа к документу: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/822403633>

Commenting such changes, she predicts the reduction of clients and the decrease of social protection for citizens, in overall. Some socially-trapped groups such as drug addicts or victims of violence, may not request help by themselves. The situation is the same with partially paid and fully paid services where the population refuses to pay for the services that were formerly free of charge.

From my point of view, such changes negatively impact on the social protection of citizens. The Federal law №442 set the concept of services fully or partially funded by the state. It also adds the set of provided by the state, commercial services dependent on the level of customers' income. It's possible to note that the government establishes the strict market boundaries of responsibility for the clients or receivers of social services. The costs of services (from 10 till 40 %) become the necessary-paid for the clients. It was assumed that these facilities will create new funding for socially-oriented organizations-providers of services, but in reality it creates additional pressure for such non-governmental non-profit organizations working with socially-vulnerable groups of people. The clients of GAOORDI and similar type of organizations are used to depend from personal financial sources. The persons with disabilities used to have trouble if they faced with additional expenses in their life, especially it is relevant for such clients as children or youth with disabilities that usually depended from the social pensions or parent's income.

The mentioned phenomena of reduction and redistribution of the state financing, widening the responsibilities of socially-oriented NGOs and establishment alternative ways to provide the state services presented the existence new public management policy rather than austerity context into the relations between the state and non-governmental organizations working with the disabled people. The data analysis testified partial NGOs' adaptation to the new possibilities of the social service provision and getting support for it. Such process contributes to a decrease of social services for the population in and reduces a certain number of expenditures for the state. In that situation, NGOs lost more than gained from the state legislative changes regarding the provision of services and redistribution of financial support according.

Concluding my analysis of the dynamics of interaction between NGOs and state, I can claim the ideas related to the practices of interaction in time of austerity policy in Russia are more associated with the paternalistic relations or dictation of the state's interests framed by the new-public management policy.

Regarding the general picture of interaction, it can be said the practices of interaction with the state occur with certain directions on the paternalistic model with the desire to subordinate the decisions of management the non-governmental activities under the state authorities. There are legislative attempts “to tame” and make public associations more manageable. There is a surge of funding from the state to running NGOs with a strategy for getting financial support from the Russian private funds. The country's budget has socially significant areas of activity that are highlighted without appropriate participation of the third sector; the funding of the human rights protection activities has been delegated to the limited number of private commercial organizations. Interaction with socially-oriented organizations and interaction with other non-governmental organizations radically differ in favor of socially-oriented organizations.

The organizations working with disabled persons are not considered as partners – they're running own activities due to the state governing of social sphere. It can be argued through the following results of observation: 1) the development of legislation regarding the non-governmental issues, for example the new laws on the provision of social services, are resolved unilaterally by the state without appropriate participation of the non-governmental actors; 2) the financial support present one of the main the state instruments for regulating the state-NGOs relations. This form is fully-regulated by the state authorities and created mostly for socially-oriented NGOs providing a certain specter of social service; 3) legislatively established forms interaction are named as “forms of support for NGOs” and oriented towards the usage of non-governmental organizations as the instruments for implementing social services with a low level of influence on the decisions concerning the social policy of the city.

Concluding about the interaction, I would add that such process is more associated with the usage of socially-oriented non-profit organizations as instruments for the provision of social obligations. Such actions characterized by the paternalistic pattern of interaction.

In addition, I want to mention the existence orientation on the market relations, the legislative priorities to shift financial disadvantageous and time-demanding social services towards social providers, to provide financial support through the competition process and further financing through the reimbursement of financial expenses and limitation in the usage of loan's instruments got me an evidence of arguing about the existence new public management policy rather than austerity context into the relations between the state and non-governmental organizations working with the disabled people.

Chapter 4. Patterns of interaction between state and NGOs in Russia and Finland

The aim of the chapter is to clarify the investigated patterns of interaction between the state and NGOs in Russia and Finland cases. During my research I have constructed two modes of relations with certain features. Each case characterized by certain practices of interaction in the state-NGOs relations. Firstly, I will construct a table implicated the certain differences in formulation the social capital in both cases. Then I will select the investigated patterns of interaction characterized by each case and correlate the chosen patterns with the dimensions related to the phenomena of the practices of solidarities. Finally. I will testify what are the certain patterns of interaction the Russian and Finnish cases of in the context the new-public management.

Due to the theoretical investigation of sociological theories, the interpretation of social capital plays a significant role in the development non-governmental organizations and their relations with the state. Despite of organizations' grassroots characteristics and social aims, the evidence of accumulation the social capital might be traced through the practices of solidarities between the various actors from the state, business and third sector.

Cases / indicators	Finnish case	Russian case
NGOs' mission	Provision and development profit-oriented social services;	Professionalization and empowerment of social activities
Level of trust and solidarity		
Within organization	High	High
Public recognition	High	Low
Density of social networks		
Focus groups	+	+
Clients	+	-
State	+	+
Business	+	+
Civil society	+	-

Table 11. Social capital of non-governmental organizations of Russia and Finland

The analysis of social capital among the KVPS and GAOORDI have revealed a solidarity among the employees and members of the organizations. There were revealed the certain degree of trust and solidarity and wide density of social networks among both cases.

The evidence of accumulation of the social capital gave an opportunity to use the practices of solidarities as a dimension for further verification patterns of interaction.

I took as a basis that the dimensions for characterizing patterns include such phenomena as diversification or accumulation of the practices of solidarities as well the position of interests (one sided or mutual interests). The one-sided interests and accumulation practices of solidarities are characteristics of the paternalistic pattern. The mutual interests and accumulation practices of solidarities are associated with the egalitarian pattern. The typology is presented in picture 12.

I will use the typology to analyze the patterns of each case further.

Practices of solidarities	Interests	
	One-sided	Mutual
Diversification	Corporativist	Liberal
Accumulation	Paternalistic	Egalitarian

Table 12. Typology of patterns

4.1. Egalitarian pattern of interaction in Finnish case: features and practices

The interactions between KVPS and the state authorities are taken for granted for the investigation the common characteristic of the Finnish state-NGOs relations. There are following practices characterized the Finnish case: 1) **Common interest of sustainability and deinstitutionalization of serving for disabled people** – includes the common opinion of decreasing the state institutions and increasing the non-governmental structures for care people with disabilities. 2) **The enlargement strategy of serving clients** – characterized the regular interaction between the state and NGOs in the provision of social services for the clients and common interests to increase the quantity of services as from NGO as well from the Finnish state. 3) **Profit strategy to manage organization's income** – explains the state-NGOs' idea to develop the system of profit earning where the NGOs can earn the state money for provision equal housing opportunities presented as a common welfare. 4) **Practices of shared interest of charitable activities** – presents the desire of mutual focus to the participation in the informal practices associated with the charitable projects and events. 5) **Practices of politically-independent promotion of common welfare** –associated with the political independence and the desire to be involved in the regulation of common welfare. There is a fact, that 3 from 5 patterns of interactions are established in strategic form as regularly repeated activities between the Finnish state and NGOs working with disability issues.

According to mentioned patterns I constructed a table practically presenting the interactions' specificity of the Finnish case (Table 13).

	Interests	
Diversified practices of solidarity	One-sided	Mutual
	Corporativist:	Liberal: Profit strategy to manage NGOs' income.
Cumulative practices of solidarity	Paternalistic: —	Egalitarian: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interests of sustainability and deinstitutionalization; • The enlargement strategy of serving clients; • Practices of shared interest of charitable activities; • Practices of politically-independent promotion of common welfare.

Table 13. The Finnish patterns of interactions

As a result, 4 from 5 the mentioned practices of interaction are characterized by accumulation of practices of solidarities and has mutual interests of the state and KVPS. Thus, they correlate with the egalitarian pattern of interaction.

4.2. Paternalistic pattern of interaction in Russian case: features and practices

The interactions between GAOORDI and the state authorities are taken for granted for the investigation the common characteristic of the Russian state-NGOs relations. There are following practices characterized the Russian case: 1) **Client's strategy to maintain organizational income** – determines clientelism's strategy for adaptation of NGOs' efforts to establish a regular state support towards the socially-oriented NGOs working with disability issues. 2) **Strategy of targeted support for growing NGO's professionalism** – associated with the state interest to to establish systematic support for the usage GAOORDI as a resource center or the intermediary providing the social services. 3) **Practices of promotion the limited welfare for disabled children and youth** – characterized the certain process of availability of limited

rights of preparation, control, and implementations the state activities for NGOs' representatives.

4) **Practices of struggle for the state privileges** – means the NGOs are used to struggle for promotion own interests and possibilities to get the state support for conducting the projects and events. There is a fact that patterns were spread equally (2 practiced interaction and 2 the strategic forms) that gives an argument about their differentiation on informal practices and regular activities during the implementation each of them. According to mentioned patterns I constructed a table practically presenting the interactions' specificity of the Russian case (Table 14).

	Interests	
Diversified practices of solidarity	One-sided	Mutual
	Corporativist: Strategy of targeted support for growing NGOs' professionalism.	Liberal: –
Cumulative practices of solidarity	Paternalistic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Client's strategy to maintain organizational income; • Practices of the promotion of limited welfare for disabled children and youth; • Practiced Struggle for the state privileges. 	Egalitarian: <p>–</p>

Table 14. The Russian patterns of interactions

As a result, 3 from 4 mentioned practices of interaction are characterized by accumulation of practices of solidarities and has interests only from the NGO-side. Thus, they correlate with the paternalistic specificity of interaction.

Concluding, I would point that the conducted analysis of investigated practices, gave me an evidence to argue that the Finnish relations between the state authorities and non-governmental organizations working with intellectually disabled persons correlate with the egalitarian pattern of interactions. Together with egalitarian pattern there, there was a practice of profit strategy to manage organization's income that is more associated with the liberal pattern.

Referring to the Russian case of relations the state-NGOs' relations, the analysis confirmed that the majority of practices correlates with the dominance of paternalistic relations in practices of interaction in the Russian case. Despite of the dominance of paternalistic practices, there is one interaction that partly associated with corporativist characteristics, I mean the strategy of targeted support for growing NGOs' professionalism.

The mentioned patterns of both cases are structurally differentiated, that give a complexity to compare them to each other. Further, the analysis of the basic indicators of activity in both cases was described.

Cases / Indicators	Finnish case	Russian case
NGO's mission and values	Provision and development person-oriented services	Professionalization and empowerment of social activities
Attitudes towards special citizens	Acceptance, client-orientation: support and solidarity	Acceptance, family relations: support and solidarity
Ways of mobilizing sources	State+external(business +clients) +internal (employees)	State+internal(family)+ external(business)
Financial sources	70% - state, 28% - social entrepreneurship, 2% - charity	70% - state, 25% – business, 5% - fundraising, crowdfunding, charity

Neoliberalism or new-public management policy's effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of unemployment rate; • Reduction of purchasing NGO's social services; • Reduction of privileges of different group of people; • Deprivation of the state's responsibilities for intellectually disabled people; • Market competition in the social sphere. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deficit of city budget; • Reduction of the financial support of socially-oriented NGOs; • Share the state social responsibilities with the new actors • Development of market principles in the provision of social services. • Shortage long-term programs and orientation to the short term support for NGOs.
Response to the neoliberalism and new-public management policy	Adaptation with efforts to deinstitutionalization the state activities	Survival through the instruments of welfare's provision

Table 15. List of basic indicators of NGOs activity

The analysis of indicators showed that both social-democratic states have particular differences and similarities. Both cases present the social mission and values. The attitudes to the people with disabilities are characterized by acceptance and inclusion them into the society. The ways of mobilizing sources for the client-oriented NGOs are similar: the main source of them is still represented by the state.

I want to notice that the Russian and Finnish cases of relations between the state and non-governmental sector have different directions and orientations in the development. Responding to the neoliberal tendencies in the social sphere, the Finnish case of relations presented the adaptation to the new economic realities with the efforts of deinstitutionalization of

the state power in social care of disabled people. The mutual and equal practices of interaction between the mentioned actors were revealed. In addition, the certain observation of interactions was complemented the liberal specificity characterized by the diversified practices of solidarity for gaining NGOs' income, but at the same time there was shared interests of state and NGOs to provide the common welfare for the people with disabilities by providing the inclusive capacities to live equally with other citizens.

Regarding the Russian case of relations, the situation is characterized by governmental regulation of socially-oriented NGOs, imposing them an orientation to service provision under the new market principles for gaining most cheaper and effective services and decreasing the state's financial involvement in the provision of social activities. In addition to investigated paternalistic features, there was revealed the specificity of corporatism associated with diversified interest and practices of solidarity between the state and NGOs in questions related to the state targeted funding the NGO's activities that are useful and necessary for the social protection and care of disabled persons. This process of funding with regard to the state interest impacts on the non-governmental organizations and forces them the survive using the clientelism's logic and shaping own activities due to the state interest.

In my understanding, such a difference is caused by the specifics of social capital and its different possibilities of mutual accumulation of social practices in the Russian and Finnish cases of relations.

Conclusion

The recent study was aimed to answer the question: "What are the patterns of interaction between the states and NGOs working with disabled people, when Russia and Finland states are placed in the context of austerity policy in the era of neoliberalism nowadays?" During the research the question was tried to be solved through the comparative case studies of two non-governmental organizations working with disabled people - Service Foundation for People with an Intellectual Disability, Kehitysvammaisten Palvelusäätiö and Saint-Petersburg Association of non-governmental organizations of parents with disabled children (GAOORDI). Both cases have established due to grassroots initiatives. Both of them present the certain functions in the provision of social benefits and shape the common picture of the welfare state in Finland and Russia.

The composition of theoretical ideas heading by the social capital theory was chosen as an appropriate theoretical framework for my research. In addition to that theory, there were analyzed phenomena of de-commodification produced by Esping-Andersen, loosing of state sovereignty by Sassen and the ideas of the new-public management theory complementing the used theoretical framework. Referring to social capital theory, the non-governmental organizations working with disabled people might be regarded as the social entities with the real possibilities of gaining social capital through the certain practices of solidarities with target groups. The key interpretations of social capital theory of Lytkina and Ranta, Pestoff, Wikström were taken for a basis. Lytkina's challenges and problems describing the recent situation of the Russian state-NGOs' relations might be referred to the picture of paternalistic relations between the state, civil society and its institutions. The ideas of Ranta, Pestoff and Wikström based on an equal distribution of state's resources among all citizens, including the citizens with special needs and might be referred to the picture of egalitarian relations. The main key factors of theoretical framework were analyzed in the first chapter. Also, it was important to mention the phenomenon of de-commodification argued the notion of the spreading welfare benefits and social solidarity for socially-vulnerable groups of citizens. Also the phenomenon of losing state's sovereignty shaped the actual reality of interaction by three components: territoriality of the global economy, the ascendance of governing cross-border transactions, virtualization of economic activity. These all-mentioned categories have been revealed due to the theoretical analysis as organizational features of the cases.

It was useful to identify and analyze the official rules for establishing and regulating the non-governmental organizations in Finland and Russia, because the usage of legislation refers to the real practices of the state and non-governmental actors' work. Due to the analysis of the national contexts of the spheres of relations between NGOs and the state in Russia and Finland a range of formal rules regulating the emergence and functioning such actors have been investigated. There is no specific legislation, explaining the interaction between the state and NGOs, but there were analyzed formal requirements of possibilities and opportunities of NGOs behind the state and then compared with the grounded data of my field-work. The Finnish state and NGOs' relations continue to follow the welfare state logic despite the tendencies of the marketization that can be traced through the market competition in the goods, competition in the tendering process and informal competition in ideas and thoughts between different non-governmental associations and organizations. The non-governmental organizations try to gain profit, establishing the good quality conditions for own workers and members of public groups, especially for vulnerable groups of society. The Finnish society is stable: according to my interviewees, the conditions of life people with disability are established as basics and cannot be changed and decreased. However, there are concerns about the immediate future and the changes in the financial allocation of funds. The Russian state and NGOs' relations more associated with governmental corporatism logic. The dominance and control of this funding still belong to the state authorities. The previously existed form of funding through the state patronage has stopped for NGOs and does not exist. Nowadays the state is aimed to economy own sources, providing money for short-term activities, spreading sources efficiently and orienting them on the financial stability of the region or city. It forces to use the different sources from the business and public institutes. The increase of the state project-funding possibilities and emergence of new ideas of redistribution through the public tendering process have impacted on the grow of NGO's dependence and orientation to the state institutions and establishing qualified and competitive, project oriented and short-term social service required by the state.

The analysis of economic conditions of both cases gave me an evidence about the lack of austerity policy: the shortage of the Finnish state obligations and cutting social costs towards NGOs are more associated with redistribution of the state sources related to the neoliberalism features framed by the new public management policy. The phenomena of reduction and redistribution of the state financing in the Russian case establish alternative ways to provide the state services presented the existence new public management policy rather than austerity

context into the relations between the state and non-governmental organizations working with the disabled people. The data analysis testified partial NGOs' adaptation to the new possibilities of the social service provision and getting support for it.

The new public management policy recognized through the several arguments, the first one is the reduction and redistribution of the state social costs. The second argument is the increase of shared responsibilities with the non-governmental organizations. The third argument emergence of alternative service delivery system. Such reformation impacts on the establishment market competition in the social service sphere. The NPM policy is based on neoliberal market tendencies and particular obligations of providing the state social responsibilities from service-providers to clients with disabilities. In overall, such kind of policy associated with the austerity measures force NGOs and the state authorities to react on them.

In the fourth chapter the analysis of the investigated patterns of interactions is done through the comparative analysis of the state-NGOs' interactions in Finland and Russia.

The considered modes of relations with the state and non-governmental actors represent examples of paternalistic and egalitarian patterns of interactions in working with the social problems based on the shared values and interest among the representatives of socially-vulnerable groups of the population – persons with disabilities.

The analysis confirms the dominance of paternalistic patterns of interaction in Russian case. Despite of the paternalistic dominance, I would mention the existence of mutual ways of interaction through the following form as the exchange of information and consultation support happened independently from the state and used by both investigated actors. Such practices of interaction present mutual relations with the state. Concluding about the relations in the Russian case, I would add that such process is more associated with the state desire of usage of socially-oriented non-profit organizations as instruments for provision social obligations. At the same time there is an imposing of market relations in the social sphere by the state's efforts.

Regarding the Finnish case there were investigated mutual ways of interaction with commercialization of social sphere, personalization of the clients' needs and capabilities, equalization of the state structures and non-profit sector and further competition based on market principles for the provision of certain kinds of social services. The public tendering regulations positively impact on the Finnish economy by saving the state funds, but at the same moment it leads to a possible decline in the quality of social services and decrease of the welfare commitments.

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