

BACHELOR THESIS

LET'S WORK TOGETHER?

Innovative Social Entrepreneurship in the field of
youth policy welcomed by German local
Governments – A case study of the social
enterprise RheinFlanke

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1. Introduction

Scaling-up has become an attractive buzzword for many policy-makers, charities and philanthropists to support Social Entrepreneurship initiatives that “target problems that have a local expression but global relevance” (Santos 2012:335). It is commonly associated with growth and expansion of activity (Uvin, Jain and Brown 2000:109), and finds its origins within economic approaches, such as the economies of scale and scope (Jansen 2013:83). Thus, in quantitative and functional terms, scaling-up can be defined as a process of expanding the scope of an organization: regionally, in terms of services provided, beneficiaries and budgetary increase (Uvin 1995:928). In general, scaling-up is linked to the success of a business model by selling products to consumers.

This thesis challenges this prominent business model paradigm by arguing that in some cases and due to a legacy of close co-operation between private actors and local governments in social service provision, local governments might push innovative actors for co-operation to tackle severe social problems. It is assumed that in these cases, the process of scaling-up is not merely driven by improvements of a business model or due to the sake of expansion, rather than local governments and their interest in co-operations with the respective social enterprise; by doing so, local actors trigger the process the scaling-up. The perspective of scaling-up in this thesis thus refers to the policy field of operation. This different perspective on scaling-up is highlighted by a case study of a successful German social enterprise that offers child and youth services, in particular youth work based on sports approaches. The social enterprise RheinFlanke, a free provider of child and youth services, currently works with 60 employees and operates in nine locations. RheinFlanke runs four large programs and its operating budget exceeds about 1.8 million Euros for 2016. However, in the beginning of its operation in 2006, RheinFlanke was – offering a single program – exclusively active in the city of Cologne. At that time, the enterprise hired one full time employee and succeeded an operational budget of 10.000 €. Given this impressive expansion, is it interesting to investigate what turned RheinFlanke into a social enterprise that expanded with such speed. Therefore, the thesis addresses the research question:

How and why was the successful expansion of RheinFlanke possible?

Beckmann and Ney suppose that the policy field of operation matters a lot regarding the expansion of social enterprises. They argue that in policy context with market structures individuals shape the scale of an innovation through their demand (Beckmann and Ney 2013, 260); whereas in policy fields, where institutional bodies decide on the provision of social services, social enterprises need to gain access to these bodies to initiate the expansion of their business models (Beckmann and Ney 2013:264). This research stresses the importance of the policy field from another angle by supposing that local governments themselves may – based on a policy tradition of co-operation – invite social enterprises to scale-up beyond their scope of origin. Consequently, the working hypothesis to answer the research question refers to the embeddedness of the enterprise in the field of German youth policy¹ which looks upon a long tradition of public-private-partnership (Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:168). It is assumed that due to the policy tradition of close co-operation between public and private actors, the

¹ In particular, the sub-policy field of children and youth welfare as outlined in the methodological section.

scaling-up process beyond the enterprise's scope of origin was largely driven by local governments (in form of the respective youth offices) seeking to co-operate with an innovative actor that is perceived as being capable to overcome some recent challenges in this field. Three arguments support this hypothesis, regarding the policy field of child and youth welfare. First and foremost, public and private actors share a long tradition of close co-operation that institutionally structures the possibilities for free providers to offer social services on behalf of local governments (Oberhuemer 2015:124). Secondly, free providers are explicitly involved in the decision-making process on the provision of services – which further strengthens the importance of public-private-partnership in this policy field (Bode and Evers 2004:109). Finally, and most important, severe challenges as rising inequality, poverty and migration challenge the welfare of many children and youth (Olk 2013:17; Pothmann and Schmidt 2013:544; Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch; Rauschenbach 2013:176; Münder and Trenzcek 2015:103). By the same time, it has become increasingly difficult for providers to reach these target groups due to trends of individualization, mobility, and the competition with commercial leisure time activities (Dietz, Frevel and Toens 2015:124; Hagmann 2013:16; Pothmann and Schmidt 2013:544). Several authors have thus stressed the importance for providers of child and youth services, in particular youth work, to find approaches that can attract young people and meet these changing life circumstances (Schäfer 2013b:705; Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:87; Simon 2013:507). It is assumed that to tackle the outlined challenges, local youth offices who are legally in charge to provide child and youth services, have a great interest in co-operating with providers that offer innovative approaches, especially to attract children and youth at risk.

The impressive success story of RheinFlanke is therefore supposed to be possible by building on co-operation as model of policy implementation in the particular field of youth policy. To investigate how and why the successful expansion of RheinFlanke was possible, the thesis is approached as following. First, a theoretical framework draws towards the working hypothesis by referring to the institutional arrangements that governs the provision of services, the role of free providers, funding mechanisms and recent challenges that providers face. The working hypothesis is elaborated through a case study. By analyzing RheinFlanke's development since its start in 2006, a bottom up perspective outlines **how** the enterprise expanded to the current scope, while a top-down perspective draws closer to **why** RheinFlanke started to operate beyond its original scope of origin. The first section uses primary and secondary sources to sketch the enterprises growth with reference to Uvin's scaling concepts of *expanding coverage and size* (quantitative scaling; expansion in geographic, budget and beneficiaries) and *increasing activities* (functional scaling; in terms of program and service expansion) (Uvin 1995:1411; Uvin, Jain and Brown 2000:928). The second section refers to the top-down perspective and draws largely on interview data showing that RheinFlanke is an attractive and innovative partner for youth offices; pointing out that co-operation was mainly initiated by local partners. An in-depth example further illustrates how such co-operation evolves and how RheinFlanke makes use of this start. The third part of the analysis discusses both perspectives by emphasizing that: first of all, RheinFlanke's success model does not fit to the business model perspective that has been presented in the beginning of this thesis, and secondly, that local governments or youth offices played a major role regarding the business expansion of the social enterprise.

Regarding the structure, the thesis will be outlined as follows. First, *Chapter 2* presents a theoretical framework dealing with the policy field, in particular by referring to the provision of child and youth services that drive towards the hypothesis to answer the research question. The following *Chapter 3* explains the methodological approach of the policy analysis; outlines the case study as applied method to investigate the hypothesis and points out the method of data collection and analysis. The first subsection of the analysis provided in *Chapter 4* outlines how the enterprise has grown during the last years from a bottom-up perspective. The second *subsection* shows how RheinFlanke could expand through co-operations by stressing the motives of local governments and a specific example that illustrates how youth offices initiate the co-operation with RheinFlanke's and the development of such co-operation. The following *subsection* discusses the findings of the former two chapters by synthesizing the bottom-up with a top-down perspective. Finally, *the conclusion* sets the results of chapter 4 in relation to the hypothesis that the enterprises success was mainly possible due to the tradition of close co-operation of private and public actors in the field of youth services and gives an outlook on these results.

2. Child and Youth Policy – an area of close partnership

The subsequent sections outline the policy field that RheinFlanke operates in, to drive towards a hypothesis how the enterprise could expand to the current extant. Hence, this theoretical framework elaborates the provision of child and youth welfare services, by pointing out the relevant institutional arrangements and modes of governance in the field of youth policy.² The framework refers to the role of public and free providers, the provision of funding and recent challenges that characterize the provision of child and youth services in Germany. It shows how this policy field is governed and who is in charge to provide child and youth services. Given the range of different child and youth services as will be sketched, the focus is the main service RheinFlanke offers: youth work. Regarding the aim of this thesis, this chapter points out three arguments. First, it shows that resulting from a long tradition of close co-operation, the provision of child and youth welfare services offers many possibilities for free providers [*freie Träger*]. Second, and in line with the former argument, free providers are explicitly involved in the decision-making process on the provision of services – which further strengthens the importance of public-private-partnership in this policy field. Thirdly, the chapter stresses recent demographic and socio-economic trends that challenge the service arrangement itself and thereby might constitute opportunities for new actors to emerge. By outlining these arguments, the theoretical framework draws towards the working hypothesis that scaling-up beyond the scope of origin draw largely on a policy principle that characterizes the provision of child and youth welfare in Germany: co-operation between private (non-statutory) and public actors.

2.1 Institutional organization of child and youth services

The welfare provision in Germany is merely shaped by two governing principles: the provision of social services by local governments and the protection of standardized risks through centralized social insurance systems (Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:168). Child and youth services refer to the logics of the former principle. While federal law sets the regulatory framework for the provision of child and youth services, the implementation and decision on provision is administered on a local governance level, monitored by the federal states (Behring 2010:443).³

The large competence of local governments for the provision of child and youth welfare can be traced back to 19th century, when child welfare was exclusively organized by churches and local governments (Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:168). The federal legal framework, the Social Code VIII (Child and Youth Welfare Service Act), structures the objectives, measures, duties and organization of child and youth welfare in Germany (Schmidt 2012:52). Accordingly, child and youth services are the duty of public providers [*öffentliche Träger*] on a local level – hence, the “responsibility is by the local governments” (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:267). To fulfill their duties, counties and cities with own administrative bodies [*Kreise*

² See the methodological section on policy analysis approach for the boundary of the policy field.

³ Additional federal states’ (Länder) law bases upon these regulations and may specify for instance the provision of financial grants or regulations to be recognized as a free provider (Schmidt 2012: 53)

und kreisfreie Städte]⁴ are obliged to set up youth offices [*Jugendämter*] (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:267). Youth offices were established to pool different local services for children and youth through a single institution nearly 100 years ago (Rauschenbach 2013: 174-175), and are still the central local institution to provide, administer, organize and overview the provision of child and youth services in Germany (BMFSFJ 2013:290)⁵.

The decision on child and youth services is administered by a two-body principle, composed by the administration of the local youth office and the Youth Service Committee [*Jugendhilfeausschuss*] (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:275). The latter, Youth Service Committee, which is composed by local politicians (3/5) and free providers [*freie Träger*] (2/5) determines the distribution of provision (the budget is fixed by the local council), evaluates the demand for services and defines the guidelines of child and youth services (Schmidt 2012:60). This governance principle remains a unique institutional arrangement in Germany since its establishment in 1953 (BMFSFJ 2013:239; Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:185). By making free providers part of the decision-making process on the provision of child and youth welfare services, the Youth Service Committee functions as a “tool to strengthen civil society commitment” (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:268). Both parts of the body have a planning and steering function (Simon 2013: 504), however their responsibilities differ. While the administration of the youth office provides general support and supervision for the funding, control and operation of services, the duties of the Youth Service Committee refer to the guidelines and development of local service provision (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:275). Hence, child and youth services that are governed by this structure are measures that target education and support for children and youth that is not provided by the family, school or through work in order to support the process growing-up (Schmidt 2012: 45).

Commonly, these services are summed up as three main tasks: public care (as residential), youth work, and child-care (Merz and Prinz 1999:438; Behring 2010:446). Schmidt argues that from a historical perspective, many services had been of intervening character, but for the last decades there has been a shift towards more preventing services that should support children and young adults in their development (2012:122). Especially youth work, the particular service that RheinFlanke offers, takes a large variety of forms that target different objectives in the interest of young people – as there is no preference set by central law (Bernzen 2013:624). These approaches may refer to sports, play and community, or for instance have a work, family or school relation; prominently in forms of youth centers, youth associations, gender specific programs, preventive approaches, cultural and political education measures (Schäfer 2013b:709; BMFSFJ 2013:318).⁶ Though the provision of child and youth services defined by federal law is mandatory, there is much leeway for the implementation by the local governments, for instance regarding the extent and specific form of provision (Merz and Prinz 1999:435). In practice, the decision on the extant and form of provision largely depends on the

⁴ Local municipalities that have the capacity to establish youth offices on their own, can also fulfill this task – depending on the federal states’ laws (Schmidt 2012: 54, Simon 2013: 506).

⁵ In line with the subsidiarity principle, youth offices on federal states’ level [*Landesjugendämter*], support local providers through counselling and quality assurance measures (BMFSFJ 2013:290; Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:280).

⁶ In contrast, Youth social work⁶ – though the shift to youth work might be fluent –is especially targeted to compensate social risks and refers to the individual situation of young people for instance in the context of schools (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:143; Dietz, Frevel and Toens 2015:124).

social space and local community problems (Bernzen 2013:624). Though local governments often treat the provision of youth work as a voluntary task, it has a mandatory character (Simon 2013:508; Hubweber 2013:674; Schmidt 2012:57–58; Bisler 2012:54). But in contrast to other services as child care, there is no individual legal claim on youth work imposed by the federal law (Münder and Trenczek 2015:104).

2.2 The role of public and non-statutory providers

As has been outlined in the previous section, public providers in form of the local youth offices, are obliged to ensure children and youth services in Germany. The local administration itself can provide these service (Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:184; BMFSFJ 2009:65) or commission others. Especially youth work is often realized through free providers (Berenzen 2013: 619; Werthmann 2013: 658). The roots of a such close co-operation between public and non-statutory actors, can be traced back to the 19th century, when churches and local governments served child welfare in close partnership (Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:168). The co-operation of public and free providers is structured by the principle of subsidiarity which emerged from the catholic social doctrine (Werthmanns-Reppekus 2013:656) . For a long time, this principle has resulted in a “monopoly on the majority of social services” (Bode and Evers 2004:108) by the welfare associations. Today, it is manifested in the Child and Youth Service Act and gives priority to voluntary over public providers (Oberhuemer 2015:124; Schmidt 2012:50). The subsidiarity principle even allows public providers only to set up services, if an adequate provision cannot be afforded through their private partners (Schmidt 2012:51; Dahme, Schütter and Wohlfahrt 2008:37). Thus, free providers have a significant influence on the implementation and arrangement of child and youth services, in particular youth work (Schmidt 2012:62).

Until the millennium, most services (in terms of children served) were, however, delivered by public providers; but for the last decades this trend has considerable be turned (BMFSFJ 2013:49). One can further see that co-operation between local and free providers in this field is explicitly indented given that public providers are even requested to encourage and support free providers as Werthmanns-Reppekus outlines (2013:658–59). There are no legal requirements for free providers regarding their organizational form (Münder and Trenczek 2015:102), so that free providers represent a large variety of organizations – from welfare associations, public benefit limited liability companies to local community initiatives, involving different interests of provision (Schäfer 2013a:13). Private, for profit actors, are, however, rare (BMFSFJ 2002:69; BMFSFJ 2013:290). Exceptions are for instance found in service areas as stationary care, where contractually defined compensation can be also received by for-profit providers (BMBFSFJ 2013:261; Seithe 2016:145) and child care facilities (Bode and Evers 2004:114)). Regarding youth work, providers need to prove a non-profit orientation for receiving grants, as the diversity of open approaches is not comparable with market approaches (Bisler 2012:53). Werthmanns-Reppekus finds that new youth work initiatives often face legitimacy problems, especially to receive grants so that co-operation with established providers can be a measure to overcome this challenge (Werthmanns-Reppekus 2013:657). Given their long tradition and mature organization, most free provider are associated to the German welfare associations (Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:183; BMFSFJ 2002:65).

2.3 Funding principles

As children and youth services are a duty of local providers, local governments are financially in charge for these services (Merz and Prinz 1999:434; Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:85). For some services as child-care, the federal states, or federal ministry for family affairs provide additional financial resources (Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch:85; 132-133). Regarding children and youth services in total, local governments spend about 70%, compared 1% by the federal government (BMFSFJ 2013:48); so that the financial responsibility is strongly incorporated on a local level. Here, the local council defines the budget that is afforded for children and youth services (Schmidt 2012: 59), while the Youth Service Committee decides on the provision of services as outlined in the previous section. As the decision structure of service provision involves the conflicting institutional logics that (some) free provider are part of the decision board that they depend on (Werthmanns-Reppekus 2013:659), public and free provider need to co-operate closely. If free providers are commissioned with the service, the local governments – through their youth offices – are in charge to provide the financial compensation (Bisler 2012:53). Children and youth services that are commissioned may be financed through direct grants (comparable with a subvention), reimbursement or contractually defined compensation of services (BMFSFJ 2009:43). All forms can contractually be tied to quality measures and reporting standards that free providers need to fulfill (Hubweber 2013:682; Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:180).

Besides the provision of public grants or compensation, some services as child care are (co)financed through parent's contributions, member fees, or EU grants (BMFSFJ 2013:271; BMFSFJ 2002:70). Co-payments by the providers, e.g. through clerical budgets, have long tradition, so that children and youth services are often based on a mix of funding resources (BMFSFJ 2013:271). Foundations as comparatively new funding resource for children and youth services have gained additional importance, as the 10th children and youth service report outlines (BMFSFJ 2013:271). The largest number of public grants is provided for child care, followed by public care and – with a large gap – youth and youth social work (Schmidt 2012: 47). These differences can be seen as the result of two principles: first of all, public providers – and thus local governments – are legally not obliged to spent a fixed amount on youth work and social youth work, as the federal law sole refers to an 'adequate' provision (Münder and Trenzcek 2015:104). Thus, free providers have difficulties to claim financial grants (Bernzen 2013). Secondly, in contrast to other services as child care, there is no individual claim (e.g. of parents) on youth work guaranteed by law (Münder and Trenzcek 2015:104), so that local governments are more likely to cut the expanses on youth work as Meuth et al. suppose (2014:85). This means a severe challenge for free youth work providers, given that nearly 90% of their work is financed through public subsidies (Hubweber 2013:673). There are merely two forms of grants that apply for youth work, depending on the of objective of service. While regular provision is intended to finance long-term measures; project funds are granted for temporary projects with a further differentiation between investment and operating costs (Hubweber 2013:678). The granted amount for services can merely vary between full provision, remain finance (with a fixed amount of budget provided by the free provider) or a fixed portion; and is often bound to several requirements for instance, the obligation to bring additional financial resources – which, as assumed by Hubweber means in some cases a great obstacle for free providers (2013:680–82).

2.4 Recent challenges for the provision of child and youth services

Despite the governance arrangements that have been outlined through the previous sections, there is much leeway for implementation by the respective local youth offices. Especially youth work can be provided through various approaches, depending on the providers and the social space it refers to. The following section sketches three recent challenges that affect the provision and outlines why – based on the outlined principles – local governments might be interested in co-operation with innovative actors as RheinFlanke. These challenges refer to a general shift in service orientation; economization and rationalization as parts of new public management approaches and demographic and social changes that challenge the provision of youth work in particular.

Shift in general service orientation

For the last decade, the importance of children and youth services has been increasing, given the overall expanses and employment in the field (Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:83; Rauschenbach 2014:173). Two recent shifts reflect this growth: the recent expansion of child care facilities as part of “social investment” strategy towards the reconciliation of family and work (Blum 2016:3000) and the rising demand for residential care (Olk 2013:16). The former represents an increasing emphasis on preventing services, mostly for children at a younger age (Schäfer 2013b:706; Rauschenbach 2013:6; Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:84), which is underlined by the introduction of new services as early care [Frühe Hilfen] (Trede 2013:8; Ostner and Stolberg 2015:6222).⁷ The latter results from changing family models, e.g. increasing divorce rates (Oelkers 2007:12), that “led to a rise in the demand for family support” (Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:169).

The shifts in favor of early and public care are likely to effect other services as youth work, – given their comparably weak legal standing and limited public budgets (Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:85; Schäfer 2013b:706; Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:180). Legislative reforms that grant parents an individual claim on these services thus increase the importance for local governments to provide such services (Behring 2010:447). Indeed, while public spending for child and early care services significantly increased during the last years (Rauschenbach 2013:6); Schäfer finds that youth work facilities have been constantly decreasing for the last decades (Schäfer 2013b:710). Thus, Burmeister argues that rising competition of other services has edged youth work to a side stage (2012:106–07).

Efficiency reforms

In line with these paradigmatic shifts, several administrative reforms alter the forms of welfare provision in Germany (Schwarz 2014: 64). Especially since the 1990s, the modernization of local administrations and introduction of “quasi-market reforms” affect the provision paradigm in welfare areas a child and youth care (Grohs 2014:2). Most of these reforms go in line with New Public Management (NPM) – an approach to make public administration more efficient – and the shift from citizen rights based to consumer approaches of provision, often accompanied by privatization (Dahme, Schütter and Wohlfahrt 2008:59;

⁷ These changes often reflect the general shift towards activating social policy measures (Oelkers 2007:13) and increasing “emphasis on autonomy rights” (Bode and Evers 2004:113).

Grohs, Schneiders and Heinze 2015:169). Though child and youth welfare services have become more service orientated (Merz and Prinz 1999:439; Seithe 2016:144; Holtkamp and Grohs 2012:188), a market orientation has not – as feared by critics – resulted in privatization and increasing for-profit provision (BMFSFJ 2013:290; Fischer 2011:144). However, local government aim to increase the efficiency of their duties (Bogumil 2011:61), so that the provision of services is confronted with a rising demand for efficiency and outcome orientation, in particular for services as youth work (Schäfer 2013b:712). As a result, many youth offices introduced quality agreements and service contracts with free providers (BMFSFJ 2013:271) and the provision of grants “has become much more selective” (Bode and Evers 2004:111). Severe budget constraints that also result form rising expenses for new mandatory services as outlined above, further increase the demand for efficient measures of provision (Rauschenbach 2013:181). The introduction of mandatory youth service planning, enhances the possibilities for youth offices to carefully roadmap their services (Bassarak and Maciol 1999:521), however, in particular youth work is confronted with several challenges as the following shows.

Demographic and socio economic challenges

Declining birth rates shape a controversy whether a backdrop (due to underutilization) will characterize the future of children of youth services (Simon 2013:504). However, most scholars agree that even the opposite is the case – an increasing demand due to severe social and economic problems. Rising Poverty and social inequality, often in line with migration backgrounds threat the welfare of children and youth (Olk 2013:17; Pothmann and Schmidt 2013:544; Becksy, Dreber and Hänisch; Rauschenbach 2013:176). As growing-up nowadays mainly takes place outside of the family context (Rauschenbach 2014:4), the local responsibility to support children and young adults rises. However, in some cases social issues are even re-produced throughout current children and youth service institutions (e.g. middle-class bias) (Rauschenbach 2013:177). Measures and structures that address especially children and young adults at risk have thus gained importance (Hagmann 2013:27). In particular youth work and youth social work can reduce social gaps (Schmidt 2012:47), but critics argue that often, established youth work institutions do not meet the social space orientation that would have been necessary to tackle these circumstances (Schäfer 2013b:704; Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:87).

At the same time, voluntary and public youth work providers face severe difficulties to reach these target groups (Schäfer 2013a:14; Simon 2013:507) due recent trends of individualization (Haugmann 2013: 16), increasing mobility of young people (Pothmann and Schmidt 2013:544) and rising competition with commercial leisure time activities (Dietz, Frevel and Toens 2015:124). The rising importance of formalized education in form of all-day-schooling has further changed the life circumstances of children and youth (Schäfer 2013b:709) and social spheres that children and young people act in (Simon 2013).

In line with the rising importance of other services as stressed in the beginning of this section, youth work has become under suspicion of being able to tackle these problems (Simon 2013). Thus, the demand for innovative approaches rises (Schäfer 2013b:705) and forces providers to find ways that are capable to attract and support children and youth (Schäfer 2013a:14–15). In the course of this thesis, it is therefore assumed that these circumstances shape the interest of public providers to co-operate with innovative actors.

2.5 Interim conclusion

The theoretical framework stresses that referring to a long tradition, the provision of children and youth services is governed on a local level and obliges the public providers. Likewise, the policy field looks upon a long tradition of co-operation between private and public providers. In general, the current institutional structures of child and youth welfare service provision thus emphasizes a great deal on co-operation, by

- making free provider part of decision-body and;
- explicitly stressing the principle of subsidiarity.

Whereas in particular youth work, the service RheinFlanke offers, faces severe challenges of:

- the increasing importance of other services and tensed local budgets;
- the increasing need to target social exclusion and attract young people at risk.

It is assumed that due to the latter challenges and the aim to tackle these, local governments initiative innovative actors to co-operate; thus, drawing on the policy tradition and legacy of co-operation. Hence, to draw towards the research question how and why RheinFlanke expanded beyond its scope of origin, the working hypothesis assumes that:

The scaling-up process was largely driven by local actors, building on a strong tradition of co-operation between local governments and private actors in the field of youth policy.

3. Methods

The following chapter presents the methodological framework to investigate how RheinFlanke became such a successful example of scaling-up. Considering the roadmap of this thesis (see table 1), the policy analysis as the methodological approach that has been used to drive towards to the working hypothesis is outlined first (2.1) Afterwards, the applied method – a case study – will be explained, clarifying the case selection, the context of the case as well as its scope (2.2). This subsection is followed by an outline of the data collection, which demonstrates what data was gathered for the case study and how this has been proceed (2.3). A fourth section explains the data analysis by introducing the coding scheme that shows how the collected data has been systemized and analyzed (2.4). A concluding section sums up the methodological insights that have been provided throughout the chapter (2.5).

3.1 Methodological approach

As the thesis addresses the scaling-up process of a successful social enterprise by referring to the tradition of public-private-partnership in its policy field of operation, the approach of the thesis is a policy analysis. In a broad definition, Gil defines policies as “principles and courses of action adopted and pursued by governments of society” (Gil 1970:414). The policy approach of this thesis deals with youth policy – and child and youth welfare policies in particular. Meuth et al. define child and youth welfare as a “cross-sectoral and specialized youth policy” (Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014:81). Given the range of policies that target the welfare of children and youth, for instance, child welfare as a motive of family policies (Blum 2016:299), or as part of formalized (school and university) education policies (Behring 2010:448), this thesis makes a further distinction by drawing merely on policies on the provision of child and youth services [*Jugendhilfe*] as the domain of the respective social enterprise. According to Dye “Policy Analysis is finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes” (Dye 1972:1). In the course of this research, the emphasis lies on the latter to understand from a top-down perspective how a certain policy field is governed – and to the role of private public partnership for the expansion of a successful enterprise. The policy analysis thus refers to the institutional arrangement and modes of governance to outline the possibilities for co-operation with non-statutory actors. Doing so, the approach of a policy analysis takes the institutions, regulative competences, financial instruments, administration of child and youth services as well as recent challenges in this policy field into account.

Table 1: Research steps

Research question	Theoretical framework	Analysis Case study		Conclusion
How and why was the successful expansion of RheinFlanke possible?	policy field of child and youth welfare	The expansion of the enterprise (bottom-up)	Discussion of both perspectives	Answer to the research question
		The role of co-operation (top-down)		
<p><i>Hypothesis:</i> The scaling-up process was largely driven by local actors and a strong tradition of co-operation between local governments and private actors in the field of youth policy.</p>				

3.2 Case selection

To investigate the research question, a case study will be used as the applied method. As the research question aims at investigating how and why a successful social enterprise scaled-up by referring to its co-operation with local governments, a detailed investigation on the enterprise and its local government context is necessary. The case study approach has been chosen for several reasons. First of all, case studies “aim to preserve the texture and detail of individual cases” (Gerring 2007:5), which makes it possible to investigate the respective enterprise in depth, paying attention to the specific details that characterize its business model and organization. Secondly, case studies allow to investigate social phenomena “in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin 2014:16). As this thesis assumes co-operation with local governments as a driver of scaling-up, the case study allows a detailed investigation of the enterprise’s local embeddedness. Furthermore, the case study approach makes it possible to synthesize both perspectives on the scaling process: bottom-up by outlining how the enterprise scaled-up; top-down by emphasizing the role of local governments during this process. An additional advantage is the case study’s ability to cover variety of different kinds of data (Yin 2014:12), so that the investigation can be based on various points of evidence.

Based on Yin’s four types of case studies (2014: 50), the applied case study refers to a single case: the development of the social enterprise RheinFlanke. Regarding the selection criteria of single-case studies; which should be “critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal” (Yin 2014:51), RheinFlanke fits the purpose of an extreme case given its significant expansion from its start in 2006. To clearly bound the selected case (Yin 2014:34), some considerations are made. As the thesis seeks to investigate the enterprise’s expansion in depth, the case study covers the development of the enterprise since its start in 2006 till August 2016. Expansion thereby refers to Uvin’s scaling concepts of *expanding coverage and size* (quantitative scaling; expansion in geographic, budget and beneficiaries) and *increasing activities* (functional scaling; in terms of program and service expansion) (Uvin 1995:928; Uvin, Jain and Brown 2000:1411). Though the enterprise has set up an additional company in 2016, the case study covers only the development of RheinFlanke. To illustrate how co-operation is initiated by local actors and developed, an in-depth investigation of all nine branches would be valuable; but for practical reason, the thesis pays specific attention to one particular example (as a ‘case within case’). The particular example, Gremberghoven, is chosen as it marks the enterprises shift from an exclusive provider of mobile youth work to its first permanent residence.

3.3 Data collection

The case study draws on a several primary and secondary data to explore the research questions in depth. Table two provides an overview on the different types of data that were collected. Most data were primary sources; however, the public relation material data also consists of two former evaluations. The use of different types of data and resources was guided by different motives. A desktop research was used to gather online media articles that provide insights on the expansion of RheinFlanke in terms of new locations and start of programs. As RheinFlanke offers social services that are of public interest, it was assumed that local media would inform about new locations, programs or the co-operation with local actors. To receive information on the enterprise’s services, its approach and the scope of its activities, public

relation material, which consists of the enterprise’s homepage, recent print publications, project brochures and presentation, was gathered. This kind of data was gained online (homepage), through personal contacts with the social enterprise and events of the company. To obtain information on the start of operation, public announcements as local council decisions were accessed through the public authorities’ online information systems of the municipalities (if available) that RheinFlanke operates in. Annual accounts of the enterprise that were accessed via the German central platform for the storage of company data were used to explore the enterprise’s growth in terms of operational budget and employees. The overall reason to gather these kinds of data was the aim to investigate the organization’s development and expansion in terms of budget, participants, employees, services and location since its start in 2006 in line with Uvin’s concept of functional and quantitative scaling (Uvin 1995:928; Uvin, Jain and Brown 2000:1411). However, as table two indicates, the types of data obtained do in most cases not cover the full time span due to a lack of availability.

Table 2: Overview on gathered primary and secondary sources

Overview on gathered primary and secondary sources				
ID	Type of data	Sample	Ownership	Timespan**
MA	Media articles (online)***	157	Media	2006-2016
PR	Public relation material (brochures, presentations, homepage, publications)	9*	RheinFlanke	2014-2016
PD	Public documents (company data, public announcements****)	93	Public	2007-2016
I	Interviews	5		2016

** includes Homepage, which is summed up as one source; ** coverage is not complete/differs across sources; *** based on google news; 1 print article (Interview) has been used in addition to the online articles; **** only five of the nine municipalities the enterprise works with provide these data online, the timespan differs depending on the online information system*

To triangulate the obtained information and gain further evidence on the process of expansion and co-operation with local governments, five semi-structured expert interviews have been proceeded. Semi-structured expert interviews use the expertise of interviewees that are closely related to the phenomena of interest to gather information (Frantz 2006:61). Hence, two forms of experts have been considered as closely related to the phenomenon of scaling-up and co-operation with local governments: the social enterprise’s staff and staff of the youth offices that RheinFlanke works with. Examples for these two different kind of interview partners have been chosen to gain different perspectives on the co-operation process as Lewis and Mc Naughton Nicholls suggest (2014: 67). Gläser and Laudel raise the concern that interview partners have only limited information to reconstruct events and processes in depth (2010: 117). Though such limitations cannot be fully avoided, several interviews with each group of experts have been set up to increase the likelihood of gathering relevant information – as shown in table 3. One of RheinFlanke’s founders has been interviewed twice, in the beginning of the research process and at its end. For practical reasons two senior managers of the enterprise have been interviewed together (Interview 3). All interviewees were assured

anonymity to increase their openness and strengthen the validity of information as suggested by Hefferich (2014, 573).

Table 3: Overview on semi-structured interviews

Overview on semi-structured interviews				
ID	Interview partner	Position	Duration	Time*
1	RheinFlanke	founder	1 h 5	07/2016
2	RheinFlanke (2)	officers (senior experience)	30 min	08/2016
3	RheinFlanke	founder	1 h	09/2016
4	Youth Office A	officer (senior experience)	34 min	10/2016
5	Youth Office B	officer (senior experience)	38 min	10/2016

* refers to the month the interviews have been proceeded

The interviews endured about 40 minutes on average and were based on a topic guide that is presented by table 4. As Yeo et al. suggest, the interview structure has been handled flexible to allow interviewees to stress issues own their own (2014: 184) and being able to adapt to unexpected interview situations (Roulston, Marrais and Lewis 2007:3). The topics that structured the interviews with RheinFlanke were used to capture the current scope of the enterprise and to understand how the enterprise has scaled-up, in terms of how the expansion was initiated and the underlying motives. A further focus of the interview topics with the enterprise was the co-operation with local governments. Similarly, youth offices were mainly asked about their experience with the enterprise and their co-operation. The topic guides between both interview groups varied, as the interviews were conducted at different stages of the research process and due to their different expertise.

Table 4: Topic guide for the Interviews

Topic guide for the enterprise		Topic guide for the youth office	
I_ID_1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enterprise • Development • New projects • change of organizational model • co-operation with local youth offices governments 	I_ID_4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • contact to enterprise • co-operation • advantages of co-operation, • difference to other providers, • concerns
I_ID2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enterprise Development • New locations • target group • future developments • requirements for co-operation • advantages 	I_ID_5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • contact and relation to enterprise • co-operation • comparison to other providers • Strengths • obstacles for providers • advantages of co-operation • concerns
I_ID_3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Milestones, Obstacles • future goals, key areas • co-operation (example), scaling • other providers • target group • employees, geographic expansion, 		

3.4 Data analysis

In the aftermath of the generation process, the data has been manually systemized and analyzed. Maxwell suggests three different categories to systemize data: “organizational, substantive, and theoretical” (Maxwell 2009:237). The organizational categories include topics that are outlined before the data is generated, while the substantive categories are broad, descriptive codes to further structure and theoretical categories are used to systemize data according to “a general or abstract framework”(Maxwell 2009:237–38). In the course of this research, organizational categories have been used as a first step to identify which data would be relevant to answer the research question how and why the successful expansion of RheinFlanke was possible. Therefore, the large amount of data has been reduced according to broad organizational categories (see table 5) that involve the structure of the enterprise, and expansion parameters according to Uvin’s scaling concepts of *expanding coverage and size* and *increasing activities* (Uvin 1995:928; Uvin, Jain and Brown 2000:1411). Thus, the organizational categories include data which covers information on the organization, its locations, programs, budgets, beneficiaries and partners. As a second step, the respective data providing such information has been structured according to its information on the development of the organization to break the expansion processes “in their constituent parts” (Ragin 1994:55). The analysis of these data categories was mainly descriptive in terms of quantitative development referring to each year of operation e.g. the start of the enterprise to operate in a new location or offer a new service. These described two types of categories as part of the data analysis are illustrated in the first columns of table 5. This procedure was used to closer to the expansion of RheinFlanke mainly referring to the question of how the enterprise scaled-up.

Regarding the further research attempt to figure out why RheinFlanke expanded with such speed and draw closer towards the underlying motives, theoretical categories as suggested by Maxwell (2009:237–38) have been applied to the interview data to analyze the scaling-up process with regard to the co-operation with local governments. Based on the hypothesis that the enterprise’s expansion was largely driven by close co-operation with public providers, categories referring to the initiative of the organization’s quantitative and functional expansion and the underlying motives were used; as can be observed throughout the third column of table 5. The theoretical categories cover the initiative of expansion by local actors and the reputation of the enterprise as driver for such initiative. Categories that refer to the values of co-operation for public actors as for instance the enterprise’s networks, innovation, employees and ability to discover needs were developed based on the hypothesis from the theoretical background that recent challenges may increase the value of co-operation with innovative actors in this policy field. As outlined throughout the theoretical framework, it was assumed that especially young adults at risk and the problems to reach this target group drive the need for innovative approaches so that the reasons for co-operation were analyzed from this angle. Similarly, the perception of RheinFlanke as an innovative actor was investigated by using the category innovation to analyze the interview data. Further categories as trust, development and funding refer were set up to outlined how co-operation between the respective enterprise and its local partners is actually structured. The interview data from the youth offices as well as from the enterprise was applied to these categories. Several assignments of examples for this procedure are shown in Annex 2.

Table 5: Process of data analysis: categories and codes

Coding categories			
Organizational	Substantial	Theoretical	
Organization	Governance structure Departments	Initiative of expansion	C: Local actors C: Reputation
Locations	Starting point Kind of provision Kind of service	Values co-operation	C: innovation C: networks C: employees C: needs
Program	Program aims and target groups Location of provision Program budgets	Structure of co-operation	C: trust C: development C: funding
Budget	Budget development Funding sources	Perception of RheinFlanke	C: innovation
Beneficiaries	Target group at start New target groups	Reasons for Cooperation	C: needs C: problems
Partners	Networks, supporters		

3.5 Interim summary

The previous section has outlined the key methodological considerations that shaped the research process. Based on the approach of a policy analysis, a hypothesis is elaborated by the theoretical framework to investigate how and why the successful expansion of RheinFlanke was possible. The applied case study is used as it allows detailed investigation on two perspectives of the enterprise's expansion:

- bottom-up by outlining how the enterprise scaled-up
- top-down by emphasizing the role of local governments during this process

The selected case encompasses the development of the enterprise from its start of operation in 2006 till 2016. Its development is bound to quantitative scaling (expansion in geographic, budget and beneficiaries) and functional scaling (services and programs). The analysis bases on four types of data: media article, public relation material, public documents and five semi-structured interviews. The data was gathered online or through personal contacts with the organization, while the interviews were set up personally face-to-face. To approach the bottom-up perspective the data was analyzed according to the quantitative and functional dimensions of expansion with reference to Uvin (1995; 2000). The top-down perspective has been approached by analyzing how quantitative and functional scaling has been initiated and reasoned. The co-operation with local governments was further analyzed by drawing towards the perception of the enterprise as an innovative actor.

4. Analysis

Having outlined the theoretical framework and methodological considerations, the following chapter sketches how and why the successful expansion of RheinFlanke was possible. The section refers to the hypothesis that the expansion of RheinFlanke was strongly driven by local governments willing to co-operate in order to overcome recent challenges that characterize the provision of youth in particular. Thus, the chapter is approached as following. It outlines RheinFlanke's organizational model and expansion in terms of programs, budget, locations, and beneficiaries (quantitative scaling) and functional scaling (programs and services) to show that RheinFlanke is indeed a successful model of scaling-up. The second part illustrates how RheinFlanke co-operates with local governments, in particular youth offices. It stresses that RheinFlanke is an attractive co-operation partner for youth offices due to the enterprise's innovative approaches and ability to bring in large third-party funds. The section furthermore points out that demand for co-operation merely arises from local bodies which an in-depth example further illustrates. Finally, the third section discusses both perspectives on the recent expansion of RheinFlanke. It emphasizes from a bottom-up perspective that the enterprise's success does fit the perception of the business model as the main driver of expansion. The section demonstrates in contrast, that though the business model successfully developed, from a top-down perspective this was also possible due to the policy tradition of close co-operation with local governments.

4.1 RheinFlanke – A story of success

RheinFlanke is a free provider offering youth work in form of leisure time activities that are based on sports approach for young people, often with migration backgrounds from deprived areas. In contrast to formalized sports associations, social and intercultural learning is the main objective of the youth work RheinFlanke's offers. The enterprise's programs aim at preventing racism, support empowerment and allow social inclusion, especially of child and young adults at risk by conveying fair play, tolerance and respect. Since its start in 2006, RheinFlanke expanded to nine permanent locations, increased the number of its employees sixtyfold and enlarged its operational budget almost 180 times. The enterprise's work was honored with several prizes; for instance, the Prize for integration by the German Football Association (DFB) and the German Child and Youth Services Prize in 2010. By referring to a rich amount of primary and secondary data, the following section outlines the enterprise's development to approach how RheinFlanke scaled-up.

Start of operation

Established in 2006, the Social Enterprise evolved as "Koeln kickt e.V." on initiative of the foundation Leuchtfeuer to establish innovative youth work approaches. Christoph Bex, then head of educational programs at Leuchtfeuer discovered there had been no pedagogical street football initiatives in Cologne before. With a partner, Sebastian Körber, he took the opportunity to provide such activities within Cologne. Backed by Leuchtfeuer, Koeln kickt started as a street football league with over 160 participating kids and young adults (PD_ID_1). Since then, the enterprise – now RheinFlanke – largely expanded.

Development of the organization

Till 2008, the enterprise’s operating location had been Cologne, providing a football league to connect kids and young adults from deprived areas (MA_ID_1). In the aftermath, however, the free provider has significantly grown beyond its original location – so have its participants, as table 6 indicates. From 2008 onwards, starting with their street football approach to promote social inclusion (MA_ID_2), RheinFlanke became a permanent part of the Grevenbroich’s youth work services– a city about 40 km far from Cologne and its first branch outside Cologne (MA_ID_3). This time, RheinFlanke already reached over 500 children and young adults by organizing its street football league in seven cities of North Rhine-Westphalia (MA_ID_3). RheinFlanke further expanded its work to Meckenheim through the provision of a sports program (MA_ID_4) meeting such high demand, that RheinFlanke’s services became a regular part of the city’s youth work in 2009 (MA_ID_5). In the upcoming year, RheinFlanke further set up a branch in Bornheim. During this time, the organization was able to reach over 700 participants through their regular football street contests and more than 500 children and young adults through night sports programs (MA_ID_6). These attempts were followed by Bedburg and Bonn where regular branches of the enterprise took up in 2011. Moreover, the organization expanded its work to Düsseldorf in 2012. In 2015, RheinFlanke outreached Cologne and its neighboring municipalities and cities by setting up a branch in Berlin (PR_ID_8). Today, RheinFlanke’s youth work approaches reach nearly 1200 children and young adults through regular branches in eight different cities and municipalities (MA_ID_7). Furthermore. the provider has been present in additional locations through football street contests and projects as Kurve kriegen – an attempt to provide social competence trainings on behalf of the North Rhine-Westphalian ministry for family, children, youth, culture (PR_ID_8). Through its membership in the international worldstreetfootball association and participation in the team-up for NEETs project – an attempt to monitor and evaluate successful approaches to prevent youth unemployment – RheinFlanke also expanded its international work (PR_ID_13). This effort is accompanied by several projects and partnerships in Brazil, Ghana, Zambia and South Africa (MA_ID_9; PR_ID_8:11-12).

Table 6: Expansion of branches and in terms participants

RheinFlanke’s expansion of branches and participants (2006-2015)**							
Year	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2015
Location	Cologne	Grevenbroich	Meckenheim	Bornheim	Bonn Bedburg	Düsseldorf	Berlin
Participants*	160	500		700			1200
*refer to the attended children and youth per week; **figures retrieved from available data (Annex 2)							

RheinFlanke significantly enlarged its budget and employees as shown by table 6. While the enterprise started with a single employee in 2007; RheinFlanke already employed 33 people on average in 2013 (PD_ID_2; PD_ID_3). The set up of new branches and services have resulted in about 60 people working for the enterprise, today. Similarly, RheinFlanke’s budget increased nearly 180 times as data from the central platform for the storage of company date in Germany illustrates. The enterprise draws upon a large network of supporters and donations that provide nearly half of its operating budget. The most recent acquisition of grants from the SKALA initiative even exceeds 2.4 million Euros (I_ID_3).

Table 7: Expansion in terms of budget and employees

RheinFlanke's expansion in terms of budget and employees (2006-2016)**											
Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Budget*	10 k	32k	100k	100k	200k	230k	250k	380k	410k	800k	1,8m
Employees***1		1	4	6	13	16	33				60
*rounded values in €; refers to balance sheet total; **figures retrieved from the central platform for the storage of company data/ 2016 estimated by RheinFlanke (Annex 2); *** on average; figures retrieved from the central platform for the storage of company data/ 2016 estimated by RheinFlanke											

Besides this significant growth in terms of beneficiaries, locations, staff and budget, the organization further enlarged its impact by setting up new programs and services. Since its start of operation RheinFlanke has offered mobile youth work, based on an outreach sports approach. In 2010, the project Work for you was initiated in all of its five destinations (MA_ID_11). The program, backed by funds of the European Union, was initiated to support young adults entering employment. To reach this objective, RheinFlanke's sports approach has been utilized to establish a low-threshold contact to provide young adults with vocational trainings, job-academies, company-visits and individual counseling (MA_ID_10; PR_ID_6). Work for you expanded the kind of youth work RheinFlanke offers, although sports as an access point has remained a core characteristic of the enterprise's work (PR_ID_11). Thus, the project has been extended twice, reaching 785 young adults in 2014 (PR_ID_6).

Another comprehensive program expansion that even resulted in an expansion of the target group, has been initiated through "arrive with us!". The umbrella program includes RheinFlanke's efforts to assist young refugees and build community bridges. In march 2015, as part of this effort, the organization started "Der Bus" – a program which provides (mainly sports-based) activities at 18 refugee accommodation centers in Cologne for children and young adults (PR_ID_11; MA_ID_12). The project has been backed by the city of Cologne and is funded through local government budget and grants (PR_ID_11). Within this project, several youth workers offer sports and other leisure time activities for children and young adults to provide "basic social support" (PR_ID_11). In this matter RheinFlanke took over the project H.O.P.E., which stands for help, opportunity, peace and empathy, from a sport student who initiated H.O.P.E as a refugee football team in 2015, (MA_ID_13). Since then, the project has been expanded to offer diverse sports and leisure time activities and establish a relationship between the participants and RheinFlanke's social worker (PR_ID_11). Based on such relationship, participants receive individual or peer counseling, coaching and assistance in their daily life (PR_ID10). Besides the introduction of new programs, the enterprise introduced a remarkable service expansion in 2015, when it started to provide residential care for young refugees (I_ID_1). Thus, the enterprise's employees supervise young refugees in Troisdorf (MA_ID_15). Further efforts in Gummersbach and an emergency accommodation have even strengthened the organizations efforts in residential care provision and resulted in the provision of individual counseling for refugees under eighteen through the Care program (MA_ID_14; PR_ID_1). Summed up, one can observe from table 8 how RheinFlanke has enlarged its programs from the provision of mobile youth work up to five programs and an additional service (residential care) that is now part of a separate enterprise (I_ID_3).

Table 8: Program development

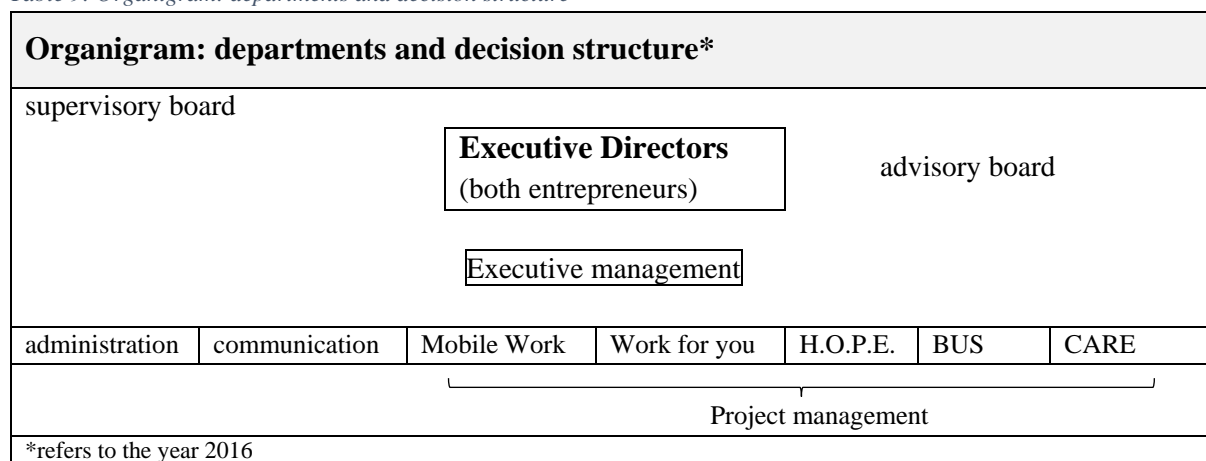
Programs offered by RheinFlanke*						
Program	Mobile Work	Work for you	H.O.P.E.	BUS	[Heimspiel**]	CARE
Start	2006	2010	2015	2015	2016	2016

*refer to the core services the enterprise offers; **now operating as a separate enterprise

Legal form, departments and decision structure

The expansion of the enterprise also effected its legal organization and governance structure. RheinFlanke began its work as an association “Koeln kickt e.V.” in 2006, but became the public benefit limited liability company RheinFlanke gGmbH in 2007. Since its start of operation, RheinFlanke was backed by the Leuchtfeuer foundation who had been a shareholder of RheinFlanke till 2016 (I_ID_1). Today, Leuchtfeuer is the owner of a company evolved from RheinFlanke’s efforts to bundle its residential care activities (Heimspiel gGmbH), whereas both founders of RheinFlanke became the single shareholders of RheinFlanke (I_ID_3). Table 8 shows the current departments and internal decision making structures. The organization is divided into eight departments that refer to its five programs, an additional administration and a communication department. Each department consists of a respective program manager that governs the department. All departments are supported by the executive management, that consist of a pedagogical and business executive officer (I_ID_3). Both founders of the enterprise form the executive board. They are supported by an advisory board that is composed by private and public persons including local and federal politicians (PR_ID_5). Since 2013, The supervision board includes three members and monitors RheinFlanke’s business planning (PR_ID_4; PD_10).

Table 9: Organigram: departments and decision structure



The section has proofed that RheinFlanke has scaled-up in several ways. By setting up new branches, enlarging its employees, increasing the budget, the beneficiaries and introducing new programs and services the RheinFlanke largely expanded its business in terms of functional and quantitative scaling. The success of its model is thus reflected in a large local media coverage, the enterprise’s network of prominent supporters as well as through several prizes and impact reports.

4.2 Public-private-partnership – A driver for success

The previous section has shown RheinFlanke’s steadily growth since its start in 2006. The following outlines the enterprise’s local embeddedness and stresses the co-operation with public providers as a significant driver for the expansion beyond its original scope. By referring to examples of the interview data, the section shows that co-operation is mainly initiated by public actors and that their co-operation is governed by close partnership. It highlights the reasons for such co-operation by showing that RheinFlanke is an attractive and innovative partner for youth offices. An in-depth example further illustrates how and why such co-operation is initiated and how RheinFlanke makes use of this start.

The services RheinFlanke offers, mainly youth work, are often commissioned by public actors; for instance, local governments, the North Rhine-Westphalian ministry for family, sports, women, youth and sports, the North Rhine-Westphalian ministry for interior and communal affairs as well as the chamber of trade and commerce (PR_ID_3). RheinFlanke currently hosts branches in nine different locations and provides activities in additional locations. The start to operate in these locations was mostly initiated by the request to replicate its youth work approach at other locations and came from youth offices or local politicians (I_ID_1; ID_3; I_ID_2). Table 11 shows some statements that outline the triggering role of youth offices and public actors regarding the process of scaling-up beyond RheinFlanke’s original destination. One can see that RheinFlanke’s good reputation is often the motive for local governments to initiative a co-operation in order to tackle social problems. Most of the time, these initiatives evolve from the youth office, but some initiatives even come from local politicians as members of the Children and Youth Service Committee (I_ID_1).

Table 10: Reflections on the role of local actors for expansion

Reflections on the role of local actors for the expansion*	I_ID
„or local municipalities or others request if we can offer such services“ [„oder es kommt eine Kommune oder wer auch immer und fragt, ob wir da was machen können“]	2
“7 years ago, there was a request of the youth office that heard that we attract youth with our approach“ [„da gab es vor 7 Jahren den Zuruf vom Jugendamt, die wussten, dass wir mit Fußball die Jugendlichen irgendwie um uns scharren“]	3
„and than, there came up the request of a local municipality that heard of our approach during a conference and asked if we could provide our work elsewhere“ [„da ist eine Kommune auf uns zugekommen, weil die auf einer Tagung von uns gehört haben und fragten, ob wir das auch woanders machen“]	3
„but in most cases, our good reputation and value of former used caused the request, when municipalities had decided to offer mobile youth work“ [„meistens war es aber, dass [RheinFlanke] einen Namen und ein Standing hat und es sich rumspricht, dass hier solide und gut gearbeitet wird [...] dass dann eine Einladung kommt, wenn eine Kommune mobile Arbeit anbieten will“]	2
“Problems here brought up RheinFlanke“ [„Problemlagen hier haben die RheinFlanke auf den Plan gerufen“]	5

*translation by interviewer; interviews were held in German (original statements in brackets)

The initiatives are merely based on requests due to problems in deprived areas, for instance youth crime or violence (I_ID_1; I_ID_3; I_ID_5). One interview partner assumes that networks between local municipalities facilitates the diffusion of the enterprise’s reputation that thus drive the initiation by local actor (ID_I_2). Local governments did also trigger the enterprise growth in terms of services; as the recent expansion from providing youth work to

care provision for refugees came up on request by local governments and other actors that were confronted with the recent challenges that aroused with the refugee crisis in 2015 (I_ID_3). As shown by reflections of the enterprise and local youth offices (table 10), the co-operation between RheinFlanke and youth office is close and projects are often developed in partnership (I_ID_5; I_ID_2). The co-operation between public and free providers in the case of RheinFlanke does not end with signing contracts (I_ID_1; I_ID_2; ID_I_5). Here, local actors and the enterprise continuously improve programs in partnership, that are guided by quality assurance and reporting measures (I_ID_2).

Table 11: Reflection on partnerships

Reflections on co-operation*	I_ID
„It has always been an open and trustful co-operation“ [„das war immer eine sehr offene und vertrauensvolle Arbeit“]	5
“we developed the project in partnership and profited both“ [„das [Projekt] haben wir gemeinsam entwickelt und beide profitieren davon“]	5
„We value RheinFlanke’s work which has a good reputation in this city“ [„die Arbeit der RheinFlanke wird wertgeschätzt und hat hier ein Renomee“]	4
Thus, projects are developed through continuous dialogue with the local government“ [„so entwickelt sich das [Projekte] in ständigem Dialog mit der Kommune“]	2
*translation by interviewer; interviews were held in German (original statements in brackets)	

Five main values for local governments of co-operating with the enterprise came up through the interviews (see also table 12). As stressed before, the enterprise’s good reputation rises the hope of public providers that RheinFlanke’s youth work approach could solve problems in their cities (I_ID_3). Furthermore, youth offices highly value RheinFlanke’s ability to network and establish relationships with other actors as the social space greatly benefits from such network orientation (I_ID_4). Thirdly, its program approach gains access to groups that youth offices seek to address with their services (I_ID_4; I_ID_5). Engaged employees of the enterprise and an effective organization body are further seen as an important accelerator to initiate successful projects (I_ID_4; I_ID_5). Moreover, it becomes clear that the ability to discover needs and provide ideas is a significant strength of RheinFlanke (I_ID_4; I_ID_5).

Table 12: Value of co-operation for local actors

Value of co-operation with RheinFlanke for local actors*	I_ID
„I am pretty sure that if I would come up with a problem, they would react“ [„ich bin mir sicher, wenn ich da anrufen würde, und sagen wir haben hier ein besonderes Problem, würden die reagieren“]	4
„social spaces profit from co-operation and networks, and RheinFlanke is a driving force of such “ [„im Sozialraum zeigt sich, wie sinnvoll Vernetzung und Kooperation sind und die RheinFlanke ist da ein wichtiger Motor“]	4
„their outreach approach establishes an easy access to refugees“ [„ihre aufsuchende Arbeit schafft einen schnellen Zugang zu Flüchtlingen“]	5
„that is a good approach to solve severe challenges“ [„das ist ein guter Zugang um besondere Herausforderungen anzugehen“]	5
„that are attractive services, that we need because young people gladly use these“ [„das sind attraktive Angebote, die dringend gebraucht werden, weil die Jugendlichen gerne dahin gehen“]	4
*translation by interviewer; interviews were held in German (original statements in brackets)	

Youth offices consider RheinFlanke as an innovative provider that can quickly adapt to new problems and serve social needs – a perception that reflects the enterprise’s own view of their activities (table 13). Especially the enterprise’s ability to come up with ideas is often stressed. RheinFlanke is not only providing its services, but also shaping the social space by promoting networks and projects to foster community development (I_ID_4; I_ID_3).

Table 13: Perception of RheinFlanke as an innovative actor

Perception of RheinFlanke as an innovative actor*	I_ID
„They are innovative and active; they’re employees recognize problems early and soon come up with solutions and ideas “ <i>[“dass sie sehr innovativ und aktiv ist [...] dass die Mitarbeiter schon sehr frühzeitig Probleme erkennen und mit einem Lösungsvorschlag oder Idee vor der Tür stehen“]</i>	5
“If there is a social need that we discover, we quickly develop ideas how to solve it” <i>[„da ist ein gesellschaftlicher bedarf, den nehmen wir war und entwickeln dann schnell eine Idee, was da passieren muss“]</i>	3
They have outstanding capabilities to discover needs and react quickly” <i>[„die zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie schnell neue Bedarfe erkennen und man geringe Reaktionszeiten feststellt“]</i>	5
„They have pretty good ideas“ <i>[“Die haben einfach gute Ideen”]</i>	4
*translation by interviewer; interviews were held in German (original statements in brackets)	

A factor that makes co-operation with RheinFlanke especially attractive for local governments is its ability to acquire third-party-funds and donations (table 14). This quality is an advantage that some other providers do not obtain (ID_I_4). There are several examples where the organization not only successfully co-funded its youth work for local providers by obtaining funds and donations, but also expanded the provided services themselves. For instance, the acquisition of large funds by the European Union for the Work for You program attracts local municipalities, especially if they are confronted with low budgets and would not be able to provide such services on their own (I_ID3; ID_2). From this perspective, the recent acquisition of grants exceeding 2.4 million Euros from the SKALA initiative is a milestone as these funds can besides ensuring the sustainability of existing project and attain further grants that gain access to co-operation (I_ID_3). The following examples which describes the set up of RheinFlanke’s first branch in depth stresses how such acquisition capabilities are a benefit for local governments that co-operate with RheinFlanke.

Table 14: Acquisition capabilities as an attractive aspect of co-operation

Attractive aspects of co-operating with RheinFlanke*	ID_I
„They are creative and able to provide individual solutions for individual problems and acquire third-party-funds in an outstanding way “ <i>[“die sind kreativ, können für individuelle Problemlagen individuelle Lösungen konzipieren und sind hervorragend in der Drittmittelakquise“]</i>	4
“It [mixed funding] is attractive, because it provides much service for little money” <i>[„das [Mischfinanzierung und Eigenleistung] ist attraktiv, weil es viel Leistung für wenig Geld bringt“]</i>	2
“If one can provide such funding, there are a lot of opportunities to preach to the converted, or at least to avoid the opposite“ <i>[„wenn man solche Mittel für mehrere Jahre mitbringt, gehen natürlich Türen auf, oder bleiben zumindest nicht verschlossen“]</i>	2
*translation by interviewer; interviews were held in German (original statements in brackets)	

How local governments initiate the co-operation with RheinFlanke and thus trigger the process of scaling-up, can be illustrated by the example of Gremberghoven, which was the first permanent resident branch and marks the enterprise' shift from the provision of exclusively mobile work. Gremberghoven, a district of Cologne, underlies difficult socio-economic circumstances with large portion of children and young adults at risks. In 2013, the portion of the districts' residents aged under 15 that depended on social transfers was almost 40%; while children and youth with migration backgrounds made up nearly 80% of their age group (Stadt Köln 2015). Several social tensions between young adults and residents have characterized the district, that was even prioritized by the local Children and Youth Service Committee (PR_ID_8:7). The city's youth office introduced the co-operation with RheinFlanke after an officer became aware of the enterprise's approach during a conference, with the hope that the enterprise's approach could improve the situation in the district (I_ID_3). The request to provide mobile counseling on a weekly base – till then, the organization had only provided its street football league, backed by foundations and project funds – resulted in setting up a fixed-term contract with the municipal youth office, so that RheinFlanke was able to start the provision of youth work counseling three hours per week (I_ID_3). As there were only a few other programs for children and youth, RheinFlanke's work met a high demand that could not be satisfied by the contract that was set up. The need for further youth work even increased when other providers shut down their youth centers in the district. Due to tight public budgets, there were no means to finance the work that would have been necessary, so that the enterprise acquired additional donations to extant their program. Yet, the public provider could grant the rent for a location that the enterprise needed to making the counseling process more practical – as such funding is easier to provide than regular grants in form of investment or operation costs (I_ID_3). Because of several structural issues, the location was however just suitable as a temporary solution. In need for a renovation, a prominent supporter of the enterprise raised 150.000€ that were even doubled by other donations the enterprise could acquire. RheinFlanke could thus use the large budget to fund a sports field and arrange a new location for the provision of its youth work, for instance group counselling. Throughout the process, the city accepted to become the tenant of the new location, financed by parts of the donations that RheinFlanke had raised, as the interest in this project was quite high, given the benefit for the whole social space (ID_3). The partnership is even strengthened as both parties, RheinFlanke and the public provider, each finance one of two full-time employees at the center (ID_3). The example emphasizes that RheinFlanke's work started upon request of the local youth office – in need to tackle social problems in a deprived area. Since the initiation, the partnership between RheinFlanke and the public provider has been strengthened and expanded – from several hours of mobile counseling per week to a resident location with two full-time employees that are actively shaping the social space. It shows that the enterprise significantly scaled-up – and the public provider profited from the enterprise's work and ability to attain other financial resources. Given this example, a close co-operation with an innovative private actor as RheinFlanke seems indeed very attractive for public providers and their local governments.

4.3 Discussion: Beyond the Business paradigm of scaling

The previous two sections provided two different perspectives on the scaling-up process of a successful social enterprise: bottom-up, by outlining how the enterprise constantly expanded since the start of its operation in 2006; and top-down by showing how the process involved local actors. Henceforth, this section sums up the result and discusses both perspectives.

The current scope of the enterprise – involving regular branches in nine different cities and municipalities; an operational budget of nearly 1.8 million Euros; employing about 60 people and providing youth work for nearly 1200 young people through mobile approaches alone – was never envisioned when the enterprise started a street football league in 2006. As seen in the former section, the continuous expansion involved the set-up of several branches, an intensive acquisition of funds and several program and even service extensions. The bottom-up perspective has shown that RheinFlanke is extremely capable of identifying the needs of its target group and recognizing opportunities to serve these; for instance, by using the relations build through sports approaches to provide programs that foster the employability of young adults at risk. Such approaches also benefit from the enterprise's reliable network of partners, supporters and prominent figures. Several prizes and honors by well-known foundations reflect the success of the enterprise. Regarding the recent acquisition of grants that encompass 2.4 million Euros for the upcoming years, and the increasing demand for services that target young refugees, one can assume that the scope of the enterprise will further expand.

The investigation of the bottom-up perspective identifies several key findings that characterize the expansion of RheinFlanke. Summed up, it shows that the enterprise constantly expanded through:

- operating in new locations
- expanding its programs, e.g. by fostering the employability of their target group
- setting up new programs, e.g. H.O.P.E.
- entering new target groups, e.g. young refugees
- offering new services, e.g. care
- acquiring new funding resources, e.g. by attaining large donations;
- promoting its approaches on a national and international level.

Apart from this remarkable success in expanding the enterprise's scope of origin, RheinFlanke does not fit the common paradigm of a careful guided strategic expansion with the business model at the heart of such success. Rather than building on long-term strategies to scale-up, the enterprise expanded by reacting to urgent social issues and demands at a short notice, without the intention to reach the current scope of its enterprise. Thus, the business model follows the solution for problems, instead of the opposite. One can further see that the enterprise did not scale-up for the sake of its business as the service expansion of providing residential care, which actually sustained the enterprise's business model, resulted from demand by local actors rather than the attempt to scale-up. This argument is further outlined in the following by regarding the scaling-up process from a top-down perspective.

The second section shows that RheinFlanke's expansion beyond its geographical scope of origin was often initiated by local actors – whether politicians or local youth offices. Its co-operation with public partners is a continuous process that often result in the set-up or expansion of programs, depending on the demand. Even the recent service expansion to provide residential care for refugees under eighteen resulted from increasing requests by local actors. Though there are controlling and reporting measures, the co-operations between RheinFlanke and its partners is far from being rationalized. In close partnership, the enterprise and local youth offices initiate measures that do not only target children and youth, but often involve the entire social space. These findings confirm the former conclusion that a business model perspective cannot adequately reflect RheinFlanke's expansion. In sum:

- new locations were initiated by demand from public actors rather than acquisition;
- the set up resulted from urgent issues and challenges;
- new services were introduced on request of local actors;
- existing programs were further extended in close partnership with the local providers.

Here, it becomes visible that though the enterprise offers an innovative approach, its success was also possible due to the strong tradition of partnership between public and free providers that characterize the policy field of children and youth welfare services.

The reasons for co-operation with RheinFlanke are social issues; for instance, social exclusion, violence and racism, that challenge local cities and municipalities. RheinFlanke's approach appeals to young people and is perceived as being capable to tackle these problems. A proficient reputation and open events shape the perception of RheinFlanke as a free provider that is able to attract young people; especially youth from deprived areas with migrant backgrounds. Through a large network and slim internal organization, the enterprise can quickly respond to the request of local providers and offer its approaches. Once initiated, the enterprise uses the co-operation to provide further services for its target groups and expand existing programs according to these needs. The enterprise is seen as an innovative actor with highly motivated employees that uses its networks to benefit social spaces as a whole. Its hybrid funding structure and ability to attain large donations and significant amounts of third-party-funds are attractive, especially in cases where public budgets cannot afford the provision of equivalent programs. Concludingly, RheinFlanke is an attractive partner for co-operation for local providers, given that the enterprise

- successfully addresses difficult target groups;
- recognizes problems and challenges;
- comes up with ideas to solve these;
- can quickly react to problems and needs;
- disposes on a large network with other actors;
- is able to acquire significant amounts of third-party-funding.

These aspects meet the challenges public providers face in the policy field. Thus, the findings strongly confirm the hypothesis drawn from theoretical framework. The upcoming conclusion further outlines this reference and provides and outlook on the implications of this findings.

5. Conclusion

Scaling-up has been the starting point of this thesis. The research was governed by the assumption that scaling-up despite their scope of origin might in some cases largely relate to the policy field of social enterprises. By referring to a specific social enterprise which considerably expanded since its start of operation, the research was guided by the question how and why this success was possible. The working hypothesis referred to the policy field of operation, supposing that scaling-up beyond the scope of origin was largely guided by a traditional policy principle that characterizes the provision of child and youth welfare in Germany: co-operation between private (non-statutory) and public actors. Hence, it was argued that local actors triggered the process of scaling-up by inviting the respective social enterprise to co-operate. The working hypothesis was reasoned by three arguments. First, the policy field of child and youth welfare looks upon a long tradition of co-operation between public and private actors. Secondly, the institutional arrangement of child and youth service provision even encourages such co-operation as a guiding principle for policy implementation. Finally, severe challenges that characterize the provision of child and youth services, and youth work in particular, put pressure on providers that constitute opportunities for innovative actors who are capable to tackle these challenges.

A case study on the respective social enterprise has shown that a close co-operation with local actors was indeed a significant driver of its expansion. The investigation further confirmed that co-operation was often initiated by youth offices or local politicians. The reasons for co-operation were severe social challenges, for instance in forms of social tensions or violence, and the need of an innovative provider to attract children and young adults at risk. RheinFlanke is perceived as such innovative actor as the enterprise is able to quickly react to new circumstances, and offers an attractive youth work approach. The enterprise's sports-based programs offer a low threshold to establish relations with youth that providers find especially difficult to reach. Based on these relationships, the enterprise provides programs that target aims that recently shape the policy field of child and youth welfare, for instance the integration of children and youth with migrant backgrounds.

Though the business model of RheinFlanke reflects a story of success, it has not been the driver for its expansion. Rather than following a business strategy of scaling-up, the enterprise's attempt to change social inadequacies and initiation of local governments to co-operate characterize the growth of the enterprise. These factors do not deny the success, rather underpinning a quality of RheinFlanke that its network and several awards value: the goal of social change prior to a successful business model. RheinFlanke's successful expansion, largely triggered by local governments, builds on the long tradition of co-operation in the policy field of child and youth welfare. This finding stands in contrast to the common paradigm that stresses an enterprise's business model and strategy as main driver for expansion beyond the location of origin.

These results go in line with Ney and Beckmann who, by outlining institutional barriers in the policy field of education as a serious threat for scaling-up social enterprises, emphasize the importance of the policy field that social enterprises operate in (Beckmann and Ney 2013:264). By drawing on the policy field of child and youth services, the thesis has stressed the importance of the policy field from another angle. It has become clear, that the legacy of co-operation and strong tradition of implementation by free providers offers many opportunities for innovative

actors as social enterprises. Thus, the thesis has shown that the importance of local embeddedness for social enterprises as stressed by Bode and Evers (Bode and Evers:115) in the case of Rheinflanke also strongly relates to the policy field of operation.

Hence, if scaling-up is seen as a desirable goal, as e.g. Davies and Simon observe (2013:335), policy-makers and philanthropists have to acknowledge the policy context that social enterprises operate in. In contrast to commercial businesses that might improve their business models according to market demands, social enterprises might underlie different circumstances and even profit from governance principles of the policy field of operation. The case study has point out the successful example of a co-operation between an innovative enterprise and local governments in the field of youth policy. Regarding the current challenges that go in line with the refugee crisis up from September 2015, and the overall increasing demand for child and youth services that Rauschenbach forecasts (2014:174), one can assume the demand for inclusive, outreaching approaches that attract young people will even rise. However, given the difficulties of providers to reach especially target groups at risks, the importance to find innovative approaches as supposed by Schäfer (2013b:705) will probably further rise. From this perspective, innovative actors and social enterprises as Rheinflanke might further expand their services to serve these needs – in close partnership with public partners.

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Annex 1: Primary and secondary sources

Interviews

I_ID_1: RheinFlanke, entrepreneur (11.07.2016): semi-structured Interview.

I_ID_2: RheinFlanke, senior officers (04.08.2016): semi-structured Interview.

I_ID_3: RheinFlanke, entrepreneur (29.09.2016): semi-structured Interview.

I_ID_4: Municipal youth office A, senior officer (12.10.2016): semi-structured Interview.

I_ID_5: Municipal youth office B, senior officer (18.10.2016): semi-structured Interview.

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Annex 2: Coding example (analysis of interview data)

Category:	Code	Example*
Values of co-operation/ Perception of Rheinflanke	C: innovation	<p>["das ist schon ein bisschen anders wie die arbeiten"] [„they work different“ [organization]</p> <p>“da hat die Rheinflanke schnell eine Nische gefunden” [„da hat die Rheinflanke schnell eine Nische gefunden“]</p> <p>„They are innovative” [“die sind sehr innovative”]</p>
	C: networks	<p>“It is a great service” [„das ist dann [Vernetzung] ein tolles Angebot“]</p> <p>[“Social Spaces need networks and co-operation, Rheinflanke is a driving force“]</p> <p>[„im Sozialraum zeigt sich, wie sinnvoll Vernetzung und Kooperation sind und die RheinFlanke ist da ein wichtiger Motor“]</p> <p>They have outstanding capabilities to discover needs and react quickly” [„die zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie schnell neue Bedarfe erkennen und man geringe Reaktionszeiten feststellt“]</p>
	C: discover needs	<p>“realize demand” [„erkennen Bedarfe“]</p> <p>„they are pro-active“ [„die gehen also auch dann auf die zu“]</p>
	C: employees& organization	<p>“there have remained the same employees for years, that is quite good” [“die arbeiten seit Jahren mit den gleichen Leuten, dass ist schon gut”]</p>
Initiative of expansion	C: demand local	<p>„new locations just result from demand” [“neue Standorte kommen erst einmal nur durch Bedarf zustande”]</p> <p>“was a request of the youth office that heard that we attract youth with our approach” [„also es gibt jetzt den Zuruf vom Jugendamt“]</p>
	C: reputation	<p>[“über irgendeinen Kontakt”] [„through someone“]</p>
Structure of co-operation	C: trust	<p>„I am pretty sure that if I would come up with a problem, they would react” [„ich bin mir sicher, wenn ich da anrufen würde, und sagen wir haben hier ein besonderes Problem, würden die reagieren“]</p>
	C: development	<p>„stability is important” [“für Träger ist es wichtig sich zu verstätigen“]</p>

	C: Funding	„It provides much service for little money“ [„das ist viel Leistung für wenig Geld“]
Reasons for co-operation	C: problems C: need	“after youth crime rose” [“nachdem die Kriminilität stieg“] „that they are innovative and active; [...]that the employees recognize problems early and soon come up with solutions and ideas “ [“dass sie sehr innovativ und aktiv ist [...] dass die Mitarbeiter schon sehr frühzeitig Probleme erkennen und mit einem Lösungsvorschlag oder Idee vor der Tür stehen“] “If there is a social need that we discover, we quickly develop ideas how to solve it” [„da ist ein gesellschaftlicher Bedarf, den nehmen wir wahr und entwickeln dann schnell eine Idee, was da passieren muss“]
*original in German. translated by the interviewer		

Declaration of Academic Integrity

I hereby confirm that the present assignment is solely my own work and that if any text passages or diagrams from books, papers, the Web or other sources have been copied or in any other way used, all references – including those from electronic media – have been acknowledged and fully cited.



Marlen Brüntrup

Münster, December, 13th, 2016