

Thomas Babila Sama

NGOs and the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies The Case of Finland and Sweden



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Editors

Jussi Kotkavirta

Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä

Pekka Olsbo, Ville Korhokangas

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This dissertation is dedicated in memory of my father Mr Pius Gwanbobmuga Sama, who died on Friday March 16, 2012. He encouraged and supported me in the writing of this dissertation but did not live-up to see me defend it. May his Soul RIP (Rest in Peace). Amen.

ABSTRACT

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Finnish Summary

Diss.

This doctoral thesis discusses whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) of Finland and Sweden. The thesis consists of an Introduction and five articles. The main research question was: "are NGOs viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden?" The research sub-questions were (1) what role do NGOs play in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, (2) what relationship do NGOs in Finland and Sweden have with the government in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries, (3) what are the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden and (4), how can the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden be overcome? Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere were the NGOs selected for the data collection in Finland, while Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm, was selected for the data collection in Sweden. Primary data were collected through questionnaire and interviews. 130 employees of the NGOs in Finland responded to the questionnaire, while 140 responded from that in Sweden. The questionnaire data were analyzed using SPSS, while the interview data were analyzed using MAXQDA. The findings revealed that the NGOs play active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden through the employment of long-term unemployed people. The relationship between the NGOs and the Governments of Finland and Sweden was found to be one of cooperation partnership through the City Councils and the local Employment Offices. The main challenges confronting the NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden were: funding challenges, workforce recruitment challenges, and competition challenges with other stakeholders to win bids. The main suggestion of overcoming these challenges was that the governments should provide the NGOs with adequate funding. The main similarity between the two countries was that the implementation of ALMPs with regard to NGOs takes place at the local level. The main difference between the two countries regarding the implementation of ALMPs by NGOs was that the NGOs in Finland have more cooperation with the local Employment Offices in the recruitment of their employees, while that in Sweden tends to have more cooperation with the City Council. Thus, the study concluded that Finland and Sweden slightly differ in the implementation of their ALMPs with regard to NGOs.

Keywords: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Third Sector, Long-term Unemployment, Active Labour Market Policies, Finland, Sweden.

Author's Address

Thomas Babila Sama
Unit of Social and Public Policy
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P. O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä, FINLAND

Mailing Address:
Taitoniekantie 9E 216
40740 Jyväskylä, FINLAND
thomas.b.sama@jyu.fi / babilasama@yahoo.com

Supervisors

Professor Marja Outi Järvelä
Unit of Social and Public Policy
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P. O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä, FINLAND

Professor Teppo Kröger
Unit of Social and Public Policy
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P. O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä, FINLAND

Reviewers

Adjunct Professor Sakari Möttönen
Unit of Social Work
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
P. O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä, FINLAND

Adjunct Professor Simo Mannila
Development Manager
National Institute for Health and Welfare
Helsinki, FINLAND

Opponent

Adjunct Professor Jouko Kajanoja
Department of Social Research
University of Helsinki, FINLAND

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LIST OF INCLUDED ARTICLES

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- ARTICLE II: Thomas Babila Sama (2008): NGOs as Employers in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. Volume 3, 2008 [ISSN 1833-1882].
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- ARTICLE V: Thomas Babila Sama (2011): NGOs and Challenges confronted in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden. Submitted for consideration by *Voluntary Sector Review*.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCOSS	Australian Council of Social Service
ALMPs	Active Labour Market Policies
EFILWC	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
ERNWACA	Educational Research Network for West and Central Africa
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statistics
ILO	International Labour Organization
LOCIN	Database on Local Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PARAS	Project to Restructure Local Government and Services
SECA	Self-Employment Contributions Act
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USA	United States of America

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of the Study

Since the mid 1970s, the roles of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have changed due to new social problems in the world (Fowler 1992; Doh & Teegen 2002). Thus, it has now been acknowledged that NGOs with their flexibility, responsiveness and adaptability (Korten 1987; Clark 1991), can play key roles in the implementation of Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs). This is because as NGOs have gained expertise and experience over the years, their roles have expanded and changed. ALMPs are government programmes that intervene in the labour market to help the unemployed find work. The aim of ALMPs is to guarantee and increase the employment of vulnerable groups of people in the labour market. Originally, ALMPs were understood as means for boosting economic growth and one element of them in Finland for example, was to promote social mobility¹ from regions with low demand for labour to regions with better employment opportunities. There is also a strong link between ALMPs and economic policy² because the two have a correlation. ALMPs include measures such as vocational rehabilitation, job training and special employment schemes based on incentives or direct job creation (Meager & Evans 1998). But in any case, the three main categories of ALMPs are (1) *public employment services* such as job centres and labour exchanges, (2) *training schemes* such as classes and apprenticeships, and (3) *employment subsidies* given either to public or profit-seeking organizations to enable them to create jobs for unem-

¹ Social mobility refers to the ability of individuals or groups of people to move upward or downward in status relating to wealth, occupation, education or some other social variable. It is also the ability of individuals or groups of people to move within a social hierarchy like income, education and occupation.
Cultural Dictionary: social mobility definition:
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Social%20mobility>.

² Economic policy refers to a government policy for maintaining economic growth and tax revenues. Economic Policy Dictionary: Economic policy definition:
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/economic%20policy>

ployed people (Layard et al. 1991; Calmfors 1994; Layard 1994; Robinson 2000). ALMPs at the macro level may increase real wages and employment while at the micro level, it may increase the prospects of employment for unemployed people through better job training programmes (Forslund & Kolm 2000).

NGOs on the other hand have proliferated since the mid-1970s due to many reasons. Among the leading ones are 'market' and 'government' failure in some countries (Browne 1990; Lindenberg & Dobel 1999). Government failure arises from the fact that sometimes, government interventions do not benefit the poor or vulnerable groups of people. On the other hand, the 'market' or profit-seeking sector is there for profit-making and not for the general interest of everybody in the society (Dennis 1994). Hence, structural adjustment programmes for particular social groups of people have at times, led to growing involvement of NGOs because it is believed that NGOs can deliver services more effectively than for-profit organizations. It is also believed that comparatively, NGOs can better target the poor or vulnerable groups of people in the society. Additionally, NGOs are perceived as having a comparative advantage over government agencies because of their flexibility, relative cost effectiveness, ability to involve the participation of their beneficiaries, and ability to adapt in times of changing circumstances and community needs (Fowler 1991a). Thus, since the 1990s, there has been a rapid growth of NGOs worldwide because it is generally assumed that NGOs respond quicker to societal problems because they are perceived to be free from bureaucratic formalities that are typical with government agencies (Browne 1990; Lindenberg & Dobel 1999).

In this view, in some countries, national public sectors are being downsized and at the same time, there is a need to find new ways of tackling particularly long-term unemployment. Hence, NGOs have become a sphere of interest among different stakeholders such as taxpayers, academicians, planners, the unemployed and policy makers, regarding their role in the implementation of ALMPs. This is because NGOs serve in different ways to fulfill various functions and sometimes, they are used as intermediaries to channel funds and to implement projects for local individuals or target groups of people. Thus, through NGOs, governments in some countries have been deeply involved with projects which were initially undertaken by government agencies (Rice 1983; Masoni 1985; Kortten 1990; Carroll 1992; Markowitz 2001; Martens 2002). Hence, the lack of sufficient job growth in the public and for-profit sectors, the lack of professional skills of a large section of the labour force, the rapid change in technology and the highly competitive and selective labour markets, have led to the growth of long-term unemployment in many countries (Ackum Agell et al. 1995; Julkunen 1999). As a result, this has created space for NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of those countries.

In Finland and Sweden, one of the main social problems is long-term unemployment (Fregert & Pehkonen 2008). The deep economic recession which affected Finland and Sweden in the 1990s, led to a sudden and steep rise in long-term unemployment which has become a peculiar problem to the central government and the municipalities in the two countries. The economic reces-

sion which began in 1991 and peaked in 1994, is said to be the worst recession experienced by the two countries since the Great Depression of the 1930s (Honkapohja et al. 1996; Julkunen 1999; Jansson 2002; Fregert & Pehkonen 2008). This is because despite the growth in employment since the aftermath of the recession, long-term unemployment more than all the other types of unemployment is increasing in the two countries. Geographical variation in the rate of unemployment is also alarming in Finland and Sweden. Economic growth has benefitted some growth centres around large cities but even within these, urban unemployment and social exclusion are still on the rise in the two countries (Andersson 1999; Böckerman & Maliranta 2001; Böckerman & Kiander 2002). For example, due to the economic recession in the 1990s, there was a permanent decline in the share of employment in the construction sector because of a decrease in the demand for new buildings - particularly in Finland where employment in the sector decreased by almost 50% and demand did not rise until 2004 (Fregert & Pehkonen 2008). In addition, there was also a permanent increase in temporary work contracts in Finland and Sweden due to the 1990s' economic recession (Holm & Somervuori 1997; Böckerman & Kiander 2002; Holmlund & Storrie 2002; 2006).

The long-term unemployed in Finland and Sweden are mostly people who face difficulties in finding a job because of lack of vocational training, poor health, disability or their ethnic background. Other problematic groups of long-term unemployed people in Finland and Sweden are people who have interrupted their studies, young people with multiple problems, alcoholics, drug addicts, ex-convicts and the elderly unemployed (Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1998; Hämäläinen 2003; LOCIN 2006; Pättiniemi 2008). Due to this perennial problem of long-term unemployment, the Governments of Finland and Sweden have come to recognize NGOs as vital actors in the implementation of their ALMPs. However, despite the increasing recognition of NGOs, many people doubt whether NGOs can be viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, considering that NGOs are voluntary and not profit oriented organizations. Hence, the aim of this doctoral study was to discuss whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two NGOs selected in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha³ in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one NGO selected in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission⁴ in the City of Stockholm.

Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden, in terms of size and employment potential. Additionally, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was se-

³ Pirkanmaan Sininauha (in Finnish): In English, means Tampere Region Blue Ribbon Association (<http://www.pirkanmaansininauha.fi/uusi/index.php/fin>).

⁴ Stockholms Stadsmission (in Swedish): In English, means Stockholm City Mission (<http://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=sv&u=http%3a%2f%2fwww.stadsmissionen.se%2f>).

lected in Sweden because no single NGO was found in Finland – particularly in Helsinki, which matched the size and employment potential of the selected NGO in Sweden. Furthermore, Helsinki, which is the capital of Finland, was not included in this study because no single NGO was found there, which was the equivalent of the selected NGO in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. It is worth noting that the case study NGOs were selected based on their religious background and long history of delivering social services particularly under the Lutheran Church of Finland and the Lutheran Church of Sweden. However, the selected cities of Jyväskylä and Tampere, where the case study NGOs are based in Finland, were a good match for Stockholm, where the case study NGO is based in Sweden, because the two cities in Finland are medium size cities and regional headquarters with relatively high populations (World Factbook 2011). In any case, the aim of this study was not to compare urban populations, but rather to find the role played by the NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden.

Thus, this study operates with two main concepts which are ‘NGOs’ and ‘ALMPs’. In brief, NGOs can be defined as a vast collection of organizations which are separate from government, non-profit seeking and are self governing (Salamon & Anheier 1996). NGO studies have a long history in the Social Sciences and details regarding the concept of ‘NGOs’ can be found in Chapter Two of the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of this study. On the other hand, ALMPs are understood as government programmes that intervene in the labour market, to help the unemployed find work. ALMPs include public employment services, training schemes and employment subsidies given to public organizations, profit-seeking organizations or NGOs, to enable them create jobs for unemployed people (Layard et al. 1991; Calmfors 1994; Layard 1994; Robinson 2000). Due to the fact that this study is conscious of the growing number of studies covered by the concept ‘NGOs’, the analysis is limited to the NGOs in Finland and Sweden.

However, in this study, the concept ‘Third Sector’ is used interchangeably for ‘NGOs’. The clarification of the two concepts is found in Chapter Two of the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of this study. The interchangeable use of ‘Third Sector’ and ‘NGOs’ in this study is because scholars sometimes synonymously use the two concepts (Korten 1990; Gidron et al. 1992; Siisiäinen et al. 2000). According to Korten (1990), they do this to show the four generations of NGO strategies which are namely: relief and welfare, community development, sustainable systems development and people’s movement. Based on Korten (1990), NGOs could be simultaneously called ‘Third Sector Organizations’, if they fall under the third generation of NGO strategies which relates to sustainable systems development. Nonetheless, in Article III included in this Introduction, the study argues that there is a lack of conceptual clarity about the diversity of NGOs because different concepts are often used interchangeably to conceptualize NGOs such as Third Sector Organization (TSO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) and Voluntary Organization (VO).

This doctoral dissertation is comprised of five articles that are included. The aim of this Introduction is to summarize the main findings of this study. The Theoretical Framework of this study as seen in Chapter Two, is built on sociological theories regarding NGOs. In this light, Weisbrod's (1977) theory on NGOs - the public goods or the performance failure theory, forms a cornerstone of this study. Another prominent theory in this study is Anheier's (1990) economic theory, which argues that NGOs are capable of delivering services more economically than the government.

Overall, the four perspectives of this study are first, the study finds out the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Second, the study investigates the relationship that NGOs have with the Governments of Finland and Sweden, in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. Third, the study investigates the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden and fourth, the study investigates how the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden could be overcome.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

Given the pervasiveness of ALMPs implementation, it is hoped that this study which discusses whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, would be beneficial to practitioners as well as researchers with interest in this field of study. NGOs would also benefit from the insights of this study with regard to their role - particularly NGOs involved in the delivery of social services and employment. So far, research in the area of ALMPs implementation with regard to NGOs is just beginning to emerge in Finland and Sweden, when compared to research in other aspects of ALMPs studies (Nordfeldt et al. 2005).

However, research on ALMPs began earlier in Sweden than in Finland. In Sweden, research in ALMPs was begun by Gösta Rehn and Rudolf Meidner at the beginning of the 20th Century, when the National Labour Market Board was instituted (Lennart 1997b). They saw ALMPs as imperative in a welfare policy mix designed to attain full employment. Since then, some studies on ALMPs in Sweden such as in the 1960s and 1970s have focused on the elimination of unemployment through selective job creation programmes (e.g. Ackum Agell 1995; Calmfors 1995). Meanwhile, in the 1990s, some studies on ALMPs in Sweden focused on keeping unemployment down during recessions. This was when Sweden entered its deepest recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s with regular employment falling by 13% between 1990 and 1994. Due to this situation, ALMPs became the main short-term policy measure to counteract the rise in unemployment in Sweden (Anders & Krueger 1997; Milner & Wadensjö 2001). ALMPs have also been used in Sweden as a work test measure for recipients of unemployment benefits, through work placements by local Employment Offices in the country.

In the case of Finland, research in ALMPs also began way back in the 20th Century. In this regard, some researchers have studied ALMPs in Finland by looking at the creation of temporary subsidized jobs and job training in the public and NGO sectors (e.g. Barbier 2001a), others have concentrated on the role of the state (e.g. Böckerman & Kiander 2002; Kvist 2002), while others have focused on Labour market activation policies (e.g. Calmfors et al. 2001; Barbier 2001b). Labour market activation policies were introduced by the Government of Finland through reforms in the year 2000, following the economic recession of the 1990s, which led to high unemployment in the country. The aim of labour market activation policies was to establish a system of rehabilitative work activity by combining the efforts of the employment and social authorities, to facilitate the employment of hard-to-employ job seekers in the country. Through the labour market activation policies, unemployed people in Finland were required to attend job interviews with employment counsellors, apply for job vacancies as directed by employment counsellors, independently search and apply for job vacancies, accept offers of suitable jobs, participate in the formulation of an individual action plan for employment, and participate in job training or job-creation programmes. The target groups for the labour market activation programmes were recipients (or claimants) of unemployment benefits. The labour market activation policies also encouraged unemployed people with disabilities to look for work with the assistance of the authorities (Raisanen 2003). As EU countries, both Finland and Sweden have adopted the labour market activation policies of the EU (OECD 2005).

Some studies on ALMPs in Finland have focused on “sheltered work” or work in a social enterprise⁵ (e.g. Hokkanen & Kinnunen 2000). The studies aimed at investigating how to provide work activities to groups of unemployed individuals with disabilities and chronic diseases in order to augment their income. Sheltered work emerged in Finland between the 1940s and 50s when people were employed in different handicraft-related activities like basket production, shoe shining and knife sharpening. But in the 1980s, this form of labour was replaced by modern technology and the individuals had to look for alternative forms of work to maximize their income. Lastly, some studies on ALMPs in Finland have focused on how social enterprises like cooperatives can support the integration of people with lower working capacity (e.g. LOCIN 2006).

Overall, in Finland and Sweden, there have also been some studies and discourse on ALMPs with focus on welfare versus workfare policies. Welfare is a system of assistance that requires nothing or very little from the recipient, while workfare is tied more into work, whether through job training or direct employment. The idea behind workfare is that the recipients of social benefits should directly contribute to the state in tax revenues because some taxpayers

⁵ A social enterprise is an organization that applies commercial strategies to improve human and environmental well-being, rather than maximise profits for external shareholders. A social enterprise can be structured as a for-profit or non-profit organization, and it may take the form of a co-operative, mutual organization, a social business, or a charity organization (Ridley-Duff & Bull 2011).

argue that when millions depend on welfare alone, it drains the economy. Thus, workfare requires qualified people to work or train for a new career. However, among the controversies surrounding welfare versus workfare discourse is the idea that the individuals will be employed mainly in mean low-paying jobs that would create a lower class of workers (Ridley-Duff & Bull 2011).

Having said these, this study is unique because it approaches the implementation of ALMPs in Finland and Sweden from the perspective of NGOs with the objective to discuss whether NGOs are viable actors. Against this backdrop, I summarize the four main objectives of this study as follows:

1. To assess the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden.
2. To review the existing relationship which NGOs in Finland and Sweden have with the government in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries.
3. To find the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden.
4. To find how the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden could be overcome.

1.3 Comparative Setting of the Study

According to Clasen (2004), comparative research is research that aims at making comparisons across different countries or cultures, with the aim of discovering something new. Comparative research can be quantitative or qualitative research, and it can also take many forms such as cross-national comparisons or comparisons of different time-frames. A good example of comparative research in the social sciences is research that looks for differences between two or more social systems, with the help of some variables (Przeworski & Henry 1970). A classical example of this type of comparative research is Esping-Andersen's research on social welfare systems (Esping-Andersen 1990), in which he found that there is a difference in various social welfare systems, based on the level of decommodification of the social welfare services. Thus, he classified welfare states into three types based on their level of decommodification namely, social democratic welfare states, corporatist welfare states and liberal welfare states. Details of these are handled in other sections of this Introduction. However, one major problem in comparative research is that the data sets in different countries may not use the same categories or define the categories in the same way (Deutsch 1987).

The premise of selecting Finland and Sweden for this study was based first, on the fact that Finland and Sweden are two Nordic welfare states⁶ with a

⁶ A welfare state is a state which takes the responsibility of securing some basic amount of welfare for its citizens such as health care (Esping-Anersen 1990, 18-19)

universalistic welfare regime (incorporating comprehensive high-level benefits with an extensive employment policy), where unemployed people have the lowest risk of poverty and social exclusion from the labour market (Gallie & Paugam 2000; Timonen 2003). Second, in both countries, ALMPs are aimed at guaranteeing and increasing the employment of vulnerable groups of people in the labour market. In practice, both countries have a wide range of active labour market measures such as vocational rehabilitation, job training and special employment schemes based on incentives or direct job creation to guarantee and increase the employment of their vulnerable groups of people in the labour market (Meager & Evans 1998; Hvinden et al. 2001). Third, the Governments of Finland and Sweden have set high targets for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs through job training, retraining, work practice, a job or other employability measures. For example, in Finland, people unemployed for more than 500 days are considered as long-term unemployed and as such, they are offered places for job training, retraining, work practice, subsidized jobs or other employability measures (World Bank 2000; Kvist 2002). Similarly, in Sweden, all unemployed people of between 6 months for young people and 12 months for adults are considered as long-term unemployed and so, they are also offered job training, retraining, work practice, a job or ongoing job search assistance.⁷

Fourth, to achieve the target for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs, the Governments of Finland and Sweden have built local partnerships based on extensive cooperation involving the municipalities, local Employment Offices, NGOs and businesses. The local partners also have a central role in implementing the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden (Katajamäki 1998; Cinneide 2000; Olsson et al. 2005). Hence, both countries channel financial resources to local initiatives for the development of new forms of cooperation between the employment services, social services and local businesses (LOCIN 2006). Fifth, both countries strive to reduce the number of long-term unemployed people and to make it easier for their vulnerable groups of people like the disabled and ethnic minorities to enter or re-enter the labour market (Bergqvist & Nyberg 2002; Brochures of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006). Lastly, the premise of selecting Finland and Sweden for this study was that the two countries have one of the highest rates of women's participation in the labour market among European Union countries, due to the dual-earning family culture in the two countries. The high rate of women's employment in Finland and Sweden is partly due to the high-level of social services in both countries such as public childcare for women with kids and care for the elderly (Kjeldstad 2001; Sørensen 2001). The high rate of women's employment in Finland and Sweden is also partly due to the fact that since the decline of industrial employment began earnestly in the 1980s, almost all net job creation today occurs in services like social care or personal services, which are

⁷ The Swedish Reform Programme for Growth and Employment 2005-2008: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/05/28/62/c0ecb152.pdf>

female dominated not because they are easy-entry jobs, but also because they represent a marketized version of domestic services.

However, nowadays, services are classified into four categories namely, (1) social services, (2) business (or producer) services, (3) distributive services, and (4) personal (or consumer) services. According to one of the early theorists, *social services* can be defined as “the residual that remains once we have taken account of the primary sector and industry” (Clark 1940, 79). The aim of social services is to help people that are in need of assistance for diverse problems like homelessness, domestic violence, mental health problems and drug abuse, just to name these. Social services also include healthcare, education, and an array of care-giving services like child-minding or home-help services. They have increased in postindustrial societies due to the spread of mass education and population ageing (Evers & Svetlik 1991). Social services jobs are often the paid equivalent of domestic labour because households create tertiary-sector employment, when they out-service. Thus, the beneficiaries of social services are households and some of the providers of the services are doctors, nurses and teachers. The Scandinavian⁸ countries are unique regarding the delivery of social services because of the governments’ huge role in furnishing labour-intensive services to families. The Scandinavian countries are also unique because of the de-commodification of their services in comparative terms (Esping-Andersen 1990).

On the other hand, *business (or producer) services* are services delivered to customers to support their needs. They include services like marketing, accounting, consulting, insurance, real estate and banking services. Since the 1960s, its employment share has increased significantly (Elfring 1988, 108; Esping-Andersen 1993, 37-8). Meanwhile, *distributive services* are services that move commodities, information and people. They include transportation, communications, wholesale and retail services, just to name a few. They emerged as companions to mass transportation and mass consumption, and boomed in the post-war decades. This was also what catalyzed the first wave of female, white-collar employment. Finally, *personal (or consumer) services* are the modern equivalent of erstwhile services of gardeners, cooks, maids, butlers and other forms of domestic help. Personal (or consumer) services usually compete with tasks that households can do themselves such as laundering, cleaning, food and drinks serving, entertaining, hair cutting and repairing. Like social services, personal (or consumer) services are often the paid equivalent to domestic labour because households create tertiary-sector employment when they out-service.

Overall, since postindustrial countries must rely almost heavily on services to create new jobs in order to reduce unemployment, the fabric of

⁸ Geographically, the term “*Scandinavia*” refers to the Scandinavian Peninsula which is the northernmost region of the European continent. The five Scandinavian countries are Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Citizens of these countries consider themselves as Scandinavians. “Scandinavian countries” and “Nordic countries” are often used interchangeably (Helle 2003).

postindustrial employment therefore poses new challenges until when services will become relatively stagnant (Esping-Andersen 1990).

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is defined by the following scope and limitations. The first limitation of this study is that this is a case study. According to Yin (1984), a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident. Based on Yin (1984), a case study involves multiple sources of evidence. Thus, the present study is a case study limited to Finland and Sweden. Hence, the findings of this study may not be generalized to other countries. Second, this study is limited to the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden and therefore, the findings may not be generalized to all NGOs in the two countries. However, the findings may be generalized to theory in the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory because irrespective of how large the sample is, it is likely to justify a generalization from one case study to another (Yin 1984, 94).

For example, according to Yin (1984), sometimes generalization may occur from a single case that has been researched to another that has not been researched, if the researcher selects only cases where one might expect that results obtained in a previously conducted study, will enable the researcher to test hypotheses in other studies which may develop into a theory. The theory that is formulated will then become the vehicle for generalization to other cases that have not yet been studied. Theory-based generalization implies that the researcher knows in which sorts of cases the theory will be applicable. Thus, cases that have not yet been studied must possess a certain analogy with those that have been studied. Analogical generalization is argumentatively strong when there are more similarities in the cases than differences. Similarly, inductive generalization may occur from a single case that has been researched to another that has not been researched when different forms of random sampling are used with the intention to draw a statistical representative sample of a population that is too large to research (Smaling 2003). In this regard, statistical generalization may be drawn pertaining to a class of subjects, cases or situations that have not yet been researched.

The second limitation of this study is that the study focuses mainly on NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Thus, public and for-profit organizations are not part of this study. Literature reviews suggest that most of the studies conducted on the implementation of ALMPs in Finland and Sweden focus on public and for-profit organizations (see e.g. Rantala 1995; Forslund & Kolm 2000; Carling & Richardson 2001; Esping-Andersen 2001; Aho & Kunttu 2001; Hämäläinen 2002; Kvist 2002; Räisänen 2001; 2003). Hence, the findings from these may not be applicable to NGOs. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature on the implementation of

ALMPs with regard to NGOs. The third limitation of this study is that the data were collected from two⁹ NGOs in Finland and from one¹⁰ NGO in Sweden. Thus, the findings are limited to the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden.

Overall, the main challenge of this research was the researcher's foreign background and the fact that he has limited skills in both the Finnish and Swedish languages, which are the official languages of Finland and Sweden. In this vein, the researcher had to sometimes contact native Finns and Swedes to translate some of the literature for him. For example, the questionnaire questions were translated into Finnish and Swedish by native Finns and Swedes in Finland and Sweden during the fieldwork. Some of the secondary data sources of information were also in Finnish and Swedish and had to be translated as well. The researcher also used internet websites like 'google translate'¹¹ for some of the translations.

1.5 The Research Questions

The main research question of this study was: are NGOs viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden? To cover the different aspects of this main research question, the question was divided into four sub-research questions as follows:

- What role do NGOs play in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden?
- What relationship do NGOs in Finland and Sweden have with the government in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries?
- What are the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden?
- How can the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden be overcome?

1.6 The Significance of the Study

The rationale for undertaking this study was that due to the involvement of different actors such as public and for-profit organizations in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, the role of NGOs has become an important policy issue among different stakeholders such as scholars and policy makers. My Master of Social Sciences (M.Soc.Sc.) thesis, majoring in Social and

⁹ The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere.

¹⁰ The one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm

¹¹ Google translate: <http://translate.google.com/>

Public Policy, in which Jyväskylän Katulähetys was the case study NGO, discussed “The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä”. The study revealed the limits of the case study NGO in the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, among other things. The present study is an extension of my M.Soc.Sc. research in that it falls in line with the role of NGOs involved in the areas of employment and services. Precisely, the present study discusses whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Since NGOs, otherwise known as ‘Third Sector Organizations’ became increasingly important during the 1990s in Finland and Sweden due to the economic recession which led to high unemployment and the outsourcing of public services to NGOs in the two countries (Helander & Laaksonen 1999; Olsson 2005), their role in the implementation of ALMPs is still under research. This is because to the best of my knowledge, this study is the first study on ALMPs implementation in Finland and Sweden, to focus on NGOs. To that end, the significance of this study is as follows:

First, this study offers insights to policy makers, practitioners and researchers in the area of ALMPs implementation with regard to NGOs. Second, from the insights offered by this study, practitioners and researchers will get a better understanding of ALMPs implementation with regard to NGOs particularly in Finland and Sweden, which may help them to overcome the purported lack of knowledge in this area of research. Third, this study contributes to existing knowledge on the role of NGOs in general and specifically, on the role of NGOs involved in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Fourth, the outcome of this study may be beneficial to local, regional and national policy makers in Finland and Sweden, for the formulation of better policies for NGOs involved in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. Fifth, in light of the fact that this study represents an initial attempt to discuss whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, I hope that this study’s contribution will significantly extend the frontiers of knowledge in this area of research. Similarly, I also hope that the findings of this study would stimulate further research in ALMPs implementation with regard to NGOs. It is important to note that the findings of this study elicit other viewpoints and observations regarding the implementation of ALMPs by NGOs. Against this backdrop, I can conclude that the most significant contribution of this study does not lie in what it has achieved, but in how it paves the way for further research in this area.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of two parts. The first part is the Introduction or synthesis and contains six Chapters in the following order: Introduction, Conceptual and Theoretical Framework, Research Methodology, Finland and Sweden: Two Nordic Countries, Summary of included Articles and the Findings

and Conclusions of the study. The second part of this dissertation contains the articles included in this study. The articles are listed after the Acknowledgements in this synthesis part of the dissertation.

Chapter One of the first part of this dissertation deals with an Overview of the Study and the Purpose of the Study. This Chapter also dwells on the Comparative Setting of the Study and it explains why Finland and Sweden were chosen for the study. Additionally, the Chapter examines the Scope and Limitations of the Study, outlines the Research Questions, explains the Significance of the Study and the Structure of the Dissertation.

Chapter Two contains the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of this study. In the Chapter, unemployment is discussed as a social problem and employment is discussed in the societal context. Additionally, the Chapter examines the role played by NGOs in employment policy. This is followed by an examination of NGOs as stakeholders in employment. Lastly, Chapter Two presents the Theoretical Framework of this study.

Chapter Three deals with the Research Methodology of this study. In the Chapter, the Location of the Study Area, the NGOs Selection, the Data Collection Methods and the Data Analysis Techniques are presented and discussed. In brief, the methodological research strategy of this study is that the study employed a mixed method case study approach, and a theoretical discourse and reflection approach in one of the included articles. Primary and secondary data were collected for this study using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative data were collected using questionnaire, while the qualitative data were collected through interviews. On the other hand, secondary data were also collected for this study through literature reviews, published and unpublished research, and from internet websites.

Chapter Four presents Finland and Sweden as two Nordic countries. The Chapter briefly describes the history of the two countries, as well as their unemployment situations. The Chapter also describes the strategies that the Governments of Finland and Sweden have put in place to fight unemployment. The Chapter concludes with a brief account of the common history of Finland and Sweden as two Nordic countries.

Chapter Five presents a summary of each of the five articles included in this dissertation. Four of the five articles, namely, Articles I, II, IV and V are based on empirical data, while Article III is based on theoretical discourse or reflection. The four articles which are based on empirical data employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Of the four articles which are based on empirical data, Articles I, II and IV employed quantitative methods through the use of questionnaire and statistical methods of analysis, while Article V employed mainly qualitative methods through interviews and secondary data sources. Specifically, Article I investigates the role played by NGOs in the improvement of employment in Finland with Jyväskylä Katulähetys as the case study NGO in the City of Jyväskylä. Article II examines NGOs as employers in Finland with Jyväskylä Katulähetys as the case study NGO in the City of Jyväskylä. Article III examines the concept of NGOs with the argument that

there is a lack of clarity regarding the concept because different concepts are often used interchangeably to conceptualize NGOs such as Third Sector Organization (TSO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) and Voluntary Organization (VO). Thus, the study found that academic research has not systematically followed and conceptualized NGOs in a manner that differentiates their various types, functions, networks, rationalities and the complex interactions within themselves and with other actors working in the same field.

Article IV examines the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also the relationship that the NGOs have with the government of the two countries. For purposes of the study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two NGOs selected in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one NGO selected in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Lastly, Article V investigates the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also how the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden could be overcome. As in Article IV, the same NGOs were selected in Finland and Sweden for the data collection of Article V. Overall, the five articles differ from each other in their methodological premises though they all share one common thing in that they relate to NGOs and services.

Chapter Six presents a summary of the main Findings and Conclusions of this study. In the Chapter, the findings are discussed under the sub-headings of NGOs in the Changing Organizational Landscape, NGOs and Policy Implications, Resource Mobilization, Gender Roles Enhanced, The Combined Effect of the NGOs - Governments Relationship, Contribution of the Study, and the Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Study. Other relevant details not included in the body of this synthesis part are found in the Appendices.

2 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Conceptual Framework

This Chapter of the dissertation attempts to define and/or explain the core concepts which are used in this study. The concepts are Unemployment, Employment, the Third Sector and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Each of these concepts is defined and/or explained below in the context of this study.

2.1.1 Understanding Unemployment

The ILO's definition of unemployment introduced in 1982 is used internationally as the standard definition. The standard definition of unemployment covers people who during the reference period were without work, are currently available for work, and are seeking work. The ILO also defines unemployment as those who have no paid work in the current week, are available to start work within the next two weeks, have actively sought for a job in the previous four weeks, or have been waiting to start a job already obtained (International Labour Organization Bureau of Statistics 2010). In Finland and Sweden, the Ministry of Labour or Employment has two ways of measuring unemployment based on the ILO definition of 1982. In Finland for example, the unemployment rate is measured on the basis of monthly sample surveys compiled by Statistics Finland and the Ministry of Labour (Ministry of Labour 2011; Statistics Finland). Besides the ILO definition, unemployment is also associated with the unemployment percentage. The unemployment percentage or rate of unemployment as it is sometimes called is defined as the number of people unemployed expressed as a percentage of the total labour force. The unemployment rate is also widely used as an overall indicator of the current performance of a country's economy (International Labour Organization Bureau of Statistics 2010). However, unemployment can also be defined as not being employed but available and looking for a job (Turnham 1993). Similarly, some scholars define unemployment as people in a country who are willing and able to work but cannot find a job (Hardwick 1987; Layard et al. 1991).

In any case, there are four main types of unemployment namely: natural, frictional, seasonal, residual, demand-deficient and excessive real wage unemployment. Natural unemployment is defined as the number of people who are unemployed even when the labour market is at an equilibrium; that is when the total demand for labour is equal to the total supply of labour at the prevailing level of real wage rates. In this situation, some people may be unemployed because of the following reasons: they are between jobs and are taking time to search for the most appropriate job with the highest wage (search unemployment); the industry in which they have traditionally worked has experienced a structural decline (structural unemployment); there has been a seasonal decline in the demand for their labour services (seasonal unemployment); or they may be regarded as being unemployable for one reason or the other (residual unemployment) (Hardwick 1987, 43; Lindbeck 1993).

On the other hand, frictional unemployment otherwise known as search unemployment occurs when people are searching for a job that suits them best. Some of these people may have just entered the labour market from school; some may have been made redundant from their previous job; some may have been sacked for one reason or the other, while some may have quit their previous job to create time for searching a more suitable job. Meanwhile, structural unemployment is caused by changes in demand for goods and services, and changes in technology, while seasonal unemployment is defined as the temporarily laying-off of workers because of a seasonal fall in the demand for their services. Residual unemployment is the name given to a group of unemployed people who suffer from mental and/or physical disabilities which limit the number of job opportunities available for them. Lastly, demand-deficient unemployment occurs when there is a general deficiency in the demand for labour in a way that it becomes difficult for all job seekers to be employed (Lindbeck 1993).

However, Keynesians argue that unemployment is also caused by a lack of aggregate demand for goods and services in the economy (Seymour 2005; Keynes 2007). Karl Marx in his "Theory of Surplus Value" argues that unemployment is caused by the capitalistic mode of production which overworks some workers while keeping the rest as a reserve of unemployed people (Marx 1863, 478; Lindbeck 1993; Marx 2009). In OECD¹² countries, some scholars have argued that unemployment is caused by aggregate demand, technological change, wage rigidity, information problems and aggregate supply. But lately, some scholars have argued that unemployment in OECD countries is caused by the growth of low wage Newly Industrialized Countries like South Korea, Sin-

¹² OECD means Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The OECD is an international economic organization of 34 countries founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. The member States are the United States, Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Canada, South Korea, Australia, Mexico, Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Chile, Estonia, Israel, Slovenia, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Austria, Turkey, Denmark, Greece, Finland, Portugal, Ireland, Czech Republic, New Zealand, Hungary, Slovak Republic, Luxembourg and Iceland. The OECD's headquarter is in Paris, France (OECD.org).

gapore and Thailand, because they are taking away markets from the richer high wage countries. However, some scholars have also argued that unemployment in OECD countries is caused by an increase in white-collar jobs and a decline in blue-collar jobs. This is because employers tend to offer higher wages as incentives to highly skilled workers, whereas those with low skills are sometimes dismissed leaving them to become unemployed (Solow 1990; OECD 1993). In the same light, some scholars have argued that unemployment is caused by a competition between various jobseekers and the demise of traditional low-skilled jobs (Economist 1994; Krugman & Lawrence 1994). Sometimes, unemployment is also caused by a mismatch of demand and supply of the workforce, or a mismatch between required and existing qualifications.

Nonetheless, neoclassical economists argue that unemployment is also caused by misinformation in the labour market which makes some unemployed people to refuse wage offers in the belief that a better offer is forth coming. Neoclassical theorists also argue that unemployment is caused by rigidities introduced by trade unions and minimum wage legislations which benefit the employed, whereas the unemployed are ignored (Lindbeck 1993).

One form of unemployment is *long-term unemployment*. The long-term unemployed consist of people who are not in paid employment, but are seeking for a job at the prevailing rate of real wages. Such people may like to work but are unable to find a job because none is available in their occupation or geographical area. Long-term unemployment may occur due to a general demand-deficiency for labour throughout the economy. In such a situation, unemployed people will be confronted with fierce competition for the jobs that are available. The long-term unemployed can also be defined as people who have been out of work for a year or longer, or who have been continuously unemployed for at least a year (OECD 2001a; OECD 2002; European Commission 2004). In Finland and Sweden, the long-term unemployed are people who have been unemployed for over a year (Milner & Wadensjö 2001; Sama 2007).

The adverse effects of long-term unemployment in today's capitalistic society are economic and social (Ashley 2007). For example, economically, long-term unemployment may lead to a fall in the production of goods and services. The long-term unemployed may also lack the purchasing power for goods and services in the society. Due to long-term unemployment, investors may also be reluctant to invest in the production of goods or the provision of services because there will be no return to their investment. Additionally, long-term unemployment may also lead to huge losses in the economy such as lost GDP, lost tax revenues to the government, and loss of earnings for the individuals unemployed and their families. Due to long-term unemployment, the ability of the government to provide services to the people may also be seriously compromised because people pay less in income and sales taxes due to low purchasing power. Furthermore, long-term unemployment may also lead to an increase in homelessness because people cannot pay for their rents, foreclosures, and a high divorce rate because couples cannot resolve their financial problems (Ashley 2007).

2.1.2 Employment in the Societal Context

Employment is defined as a contract between two parties - one being the employer and the other being the employee. An employee may be defined as "a person in the service of another under any contract of hire, express or implied, oral or written, where the employer has the power or right to control and direct the employee in the material details of how the work is to be performed" (Barnett 2003, 40). In a commercial setting, the employer conceives of a productive activity generally with the intention of making profit, while the employee contributes labour to the activity usually in return for payment.

However, the 18th International Conference of Labour Statistics (ICLS 2008) defines employment in terms of paid employment and self-employment. Paid employment consists of people who during the reference period performed some work for wage or salary, in cash or in kind. On the other hand, self-employment consists of people who during the reference period, performed some work for profit or family gain, in cash or in kind, and people who operated their own businesses. In other words, self-employment means working for one's self instead of an employer and drawing income from a trade or business that is personally owned. The distinction between paid employment and self-employment emphasizes that employment does not only mean work for a wage or salary, but it also means work for profit, family gain or production for one's own consumption. Self-employment often leads to incorporation which is the forming of a new corporation or company. In the United States for example, any person is considered self-employed for tax purposes if that person is running a business as a sole proprietor, an independent contractor, member of a partnership or member of a limited liability company (SECA 2006).

Employment is also measured in terms of the number of people employed (ICLS 2008). Employment includes people at work even if only for an hour during the reference period and people who are temporarily absent from work. The employment rate measures the number of employees in a country, region or sector. Employees are generally defined as people on payrolls or people who are paid for the work they do. In Finland, the rate of employment is measured based on monthly sample surveys compiled by Statistics Finland and the Ministry of Labour (Ministry of Labour 2005; Statistics Finland). Similarly, in Sweden, the rate of employment is also measured based on monthly sample surveys compiled by Statistics Sweden and the Ministry of Labour/Employment (Statistics Sweden).

In the Nordic countries, Sweden for example, has three types of employment contracts. The first type of employment contract in Sweden is the one where the employer hires a person for a test or probationary period lasting maximum 6 months. This probationary contractual employment can be terminated at any time without giving any reason. This type of employment contract can be offered only once to an employee by an employer in Sweden. Usually, after the test period of maximum 6 months, a long-term employment contract can be offered to the individual. The second type of employment contract in

Sweden is a time limited or temporary employment contract. In this type of contract, the employer hires a person for a specified length of time. Usually, the contract can be renewed for a certain amount of time. Lastly, the third type of employment contract in Sweden is a permanent employment contract which has no time limit and can last indefinitely until retirement. In Sweden, there are no mandatory laws about employment conditions between the employer and the employee. Instead there are agreements between the employer and the employee regarding working conditions (Ramberg 2009).

Overall, the rate of employment in some countries nowadays has been adversely affected by globalization because international competition from newly industrialized countries has led to unemployment growth and wage disparity for unskilled workers in industrialized countries (Lee 1996). Additionally, employment has also been adversely affected by globalization because imports from low-wage countries exert pressure on the manufacturing sector of industrialized countries and as a result, foreign direct investments are diverted from industrialized countries to low-waged countries. Globalization has also reduced the autonomy of the state and as a result, capital is increasingly mobile and the ability of the state to regulate economic activities has reduced (Lee 1996; Markey et al. 2002). Lastly, economic liberalization has also led to unemployment and wage inequality in developing countries due to job losses in uncompetitive industries which outstrip job opportunities in other industries.

2.1.3 NGOs as Stakeholders in Employment

NGOs consist of a vast collection of organizations which share five common characteristics: (I) they are formally constituted - meaning they are institutionalized to some extent, (II) organizationally separate from government - meaning they are private and neither part of the government nor governed by boards dominated by government officials, (III) they are non-profit seeking and non-profit distributing - meaning they are not out to make profits and even when they make profits, they do not return the profits to their owners or board of directors as in for-profit companies, (IV) they are self governing - meaning they are equipped to control their own activities and lastly, (V) they have their own internal procedures for governance and are not controlled by outside entities (Salamon & Anheier 1996). NGOs include the civil society, charities or philanthropies, foundations, trade unions, religious associations, political parties, neighbourhood organizations, self-help groups and groups advocating for a wide variety of causes ranging from environmental protection to the preservation of civil rights. Some NGOs provide services like health care and education, while others have an essentially representational role like advocating for particular causes or groups of people. Therefore, included as NGOs, are adoption agencies, hospitals and day care organizations (Gidron et al. 1992). NGOs also have a broad stream of activities and so they are distinct from each other because they have different objectives and capabilities.

Thus, among NGOs, there is a wide variety of differences in their origins, work strategies, interests, activities, clients, beneficiaries, financial arrange-

ments, management patterns, working environments and operational procedures (Hossain & Myllylä 1998). Hence, there are numerous terminologies often used interchangeably to define or describe NGOs. Some of the commonly used terms are Third Sector Organization (TSO), Non-Governmental Institution (NGI), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Private Voluntary Organization (PVO), Non-Governmental Development Organization (NGDO), Voluntary Organization (VO), People's Organization (PO), Public Service Contractor (PSC), Governmental Non-Governmental Organization (GoNGO), Grassroots Organization (GO), Charitable Organization (CO), Civil Society Organization (CSO), Quasi-Non Governmental Organization (QUANGO), Associational Organization (AO), Independent Organization (IO), Community-Based Organization (CBO) and Private Organization (PO) (Etzioni 1973; Anheier & Seibel 1990; Kortzen 1990; Tvedt 1998).

The cross-use of these terms often lead to conceptual confusion regarding the nature, types and roles of various NGOs because scholars do not realize that they are talking about the same thing using different concepts (Sama 2010). For example, sometimes different scholars use the same term like 'NGO' for different concepts. This may lead to conceptual misunderstandings because when one scholar speaks of NGOs, he may be referring to all Non-Governmental and Not-for-Profit Organizations. But for another scholar, the concept 'NGO' may refer to a different cognitive category. Since these cognitive categories are related to each other, it is very difficult to realize that the different scholars are using the same concept. As a result, scholars may easily misunderstand each other when one scholar is speaking about 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO), while another is speaking about 'Grassroots Organization' (GRO), and the third about 'Private Voluntary Organization' (PVO) or 'Non-Profit Organization' (NPO) (Sama 2010).

However, according to Kortzen (1990, 114-132), there are four generations of NGO strategies. The first generation strategy relates to "*relief and welfare*". NGOs in this field provide emergency assistance to local populations in times of catastrophes like war, famine, flood and earthquakes. NGOs involved in these types of activities are doers and they are there to solve the immediate needs of the affected people on a temporary basis. The second generation of NGO strategies relates to "*community development*" projects for neighbourhoods or villages. In comparison with the first generation of NGO strategies, the second generation focuses more on developmental activities with a short-term perspective. The third generation of NGO strategies has a longer life span of 10-20 years and it relates to "*sustainable systems development*". The main stakeholders of the third generation of NGO strategies are all relevant public and private institutions. The fourth and last generation of NGO strategies is "*People's Movements*". The fourth generation has an indefinite time frame and a national or global scope. The main stakeholders are loosely defined networks of people and organizations. Table 1 below shows the four generations of NGO strategies as described above:

TABLE 1 The four generations of NGO strategies (Korten 1990, Table 10-1)

	FIRST Relief and Welfare	SECOND Community Development	THIRD Sustainable Systems De- velopment	FOURTH People's Movements
Problem/ Definition	Shortage	Local Inertia	Institutional and Policy Constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to Twenty Years	Indefinite fu- ture
Scope:	Individual or Family	Neighbourhood or Village	Region or Nation	National or Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO plus community	All Relevant Public and Private Institutions	Loosely De- fined Net- works of Peo- ple and Or- ganizations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobiliser	Catalyst	Activist/ Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics Management	Project Man- agement	Strategic Manage- ment/Management	Coalescing and Energising Self-managing networks
Development Education	Starving children	Community self-help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Source: Korten D. C. (1990): Getting to the 21st Century Voluntary Action: Global Agenda.

As seen in Table 1 above, the generation strategies of NGOs indicate that NGOs can play active roles as doers, mobilizers, catalysts and activists in the short-term, medium and long-term. The Table also indicates that NGOs can play active roles in the welfare of people and the society at local, national and global levels.

In Finland and Sweden, NGOs involved in the provision of social services to create jobs like those of this study, fall under the third generation of NGO strategies since they have a long life span and their goal is sustainable development. These NGOs are also known as Third Sector Organizations (TSOs) because they fall under the third generation of NGO strategies (Korten 1990, 114-132) as seen in Table 1 above.

2.1.4 Role of the Third Sector in Employment Policy

The Third Sector is widely used in Europe and the USA to refer to a diverse set of organizations which lie between the market and the state. Additionally, the Third Sector is often used to refer to organizations which are not strictly government agencies or merely profit-seeking enterprises (Gidron et al. 1992). Thus, according to Korten (1990, 114-132), the Third Sector falls under the third generation of NGO strategies which relates to "sustainable systems development". These NGOs have a long-time perspective which may last from 10-20 years. The scope of their activities falls within a region or nation. Their strategies seek for changes in specific policies and institutions at local, national and

global levels. Based on Korten (1990), their chief actors are all relevant public and private institutions, their role is that of a catalyst focusing on a particular constituency with the aim of empowering a wide community such as women, and their management orientation is strategic management. Table 1 above in Section 2.1.3 presents the third generation of NGO strategies as described.

According to Korten (1990), the third generation of NGOs, otherwise known as the Third Sector, emerged as gap-fillers between the state and the market. Their clients and beneficiaries include people who belong to a certain community or share a common need. One of the main aims of the Third Sector is to serve the community or a specific group of people who may be disadvantaged such as the unemployed, homeless or socially excluded. The aim of the Third Sector is also to provide goods and services for the common good of all in the society. Hence, some of the services provided by the Third Sector may include social services, health care services, recreation services and housing services like in Finland, for example (Sama 2008). However, due to different circumstances in each country such as the legislative frameworks, there are slightly varied approaches in mapping out the Third Sector. Thus, there are different appellations of the Third Sector in different countries. For example, the Germans call it 'Verein', the French 'Economie Sociale', the British 'Public Charities', the Japanese 'Koeki Hojin', the American 'Non Profit Sector', the Central Europeans 'Foundation' and the Latin Americans and Africans 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (Salamon & Anheier 1996).

The European Union (EU) uses the appellation 'Social Economy' to define the Third Sector because according to the European Union, the Third Sector consists of co-operatives, mutual companies, associations and foundations. These entities are defined in relation to the basic principles which distinguish them from the private-profit and public sectors. The principles are solidarity, self-help, voluntarism, independence and non-profitability (Salamon & Anheier 1996). In contrast, in the USA, the equivalent terminology for the Third Sector is the Non-Profit-Sector. As seen above, the EU and USA use different appellations for the Third Sector which all mean the same thing. As argued by Sama (2010), the cross-use of terminologies such as NGOs and the Third Sector often lead to conceptual confusion regarding the nature, types and roles of various NGOs. In addition, the terms 'civil society' and 'welfare mix'¹³ have also been used to describe the Third Sector (Evers 1993; 1995). However, there are no fixed demarcations separating the Third Sector from the public and for-profit sectors because some Third Sector organizations hold an official quasi-public position.

In Finland and Sweden, the Third Sector is used to describe organized agencies which are neither part of the profit-seeking sector (controlled by private businesses) nor public sector (controlled by government or municipalities). The field of Third Sector in Finland and Sweden encompasses all associations, organizations, co-operatives, foundations and funds established and coordinat-

¹³ Welfare mix concept includes other sectors such as the public sector, private profit-seeking sector and the informal household or families (Evers 1993; 1995).

ed by a group of citizens. All Third Sector Organizations in Finland and Sweden operate for public good and on the principles of communality, solidarity and voluntarism. In the two countries, Third Sector activities are organized by people for themselves and for others (New Work Project 2000; Lundström & Svedberg 2003).

In comparison with non-Nordic countries, one characteristic of the Finnish and Swedish Third Sector is the large number of organizations involved. According to Pättiniemi (2004; 2008), the total number of organizations operating in the Finnish Third Sector amounted to over 100,000 in 2005, with over 800,000 members and over 60,000 employees, excluding volunteers. The Third Sector also produces a growing part of the social and health services in Finland. For example, in 2004, municipalities in Finland (which are the most important providers of social services in the country) bought about 17% of social services and 4% of health services from Third Sector Organizations (Huotari 2006). Similarly, in Sweden, the total number of organizations operating in the Swedish Third Sector amounted to over 190,000 in 2001. In terms of employment, in 2001, the Swedish Third Sector employed over 200,000 people of whom 100,000 were part-time. This amounted to 12% of the labour force in the service sector and 9% in the public sector in that year. If voluntary work is added, these figures will be higher because more than 50% of Swedes volunteer at least once a year. In 2001, NGOs in Sweden also produced operating expenditures of close to 100 billion Swedish Kronor which was approximately 5% of the Swedish GDP for that year (Lundström & Svedberg 2003).

Since the economic recession of the 1990s which led to high unemployment and budgetary cuts in Finland and Sweden, the role of the Third Sector increased in the two countries in the areas of service delivery and employment because of the outsourcing of services from the public sector to Third Sector Organizations (Lundström 1996; Julkunen 2000). The Third Sector and the organizations within it are said to fill a number of fundamental roles in Finland and Sweden. For example, the Third Sector in Finland and Sweden play the role of creator or facilitator of 'social capital'¹⁴. Similarly, through their income generating activities such as the sale of second hand goods in their flea markets, the Third Sector in Finland and Sweden is able to create jobs for the unemployed (Santamäki-Vuori & Parviainen 1996; Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Trydegård, 2001; Lundström & Svedberg 2003). Some of the special features of the Third Sector in Finland and Sweden are a combination of paid and voluntary work, small working communities, spontaneity, self-directedness and the central position of self-induced funding (New Work Project 2000; Trydegård, 2001).

According to Liao-Troth (2001), paid work is defined as work that involves payment for services performed. In paid work, workers enter into a binding contract with their employer to perform specified duties for payment.

¹⁴ Social capital refers to those stocks of social trust, norms, and networks that people can draw upon to solve common problems. The creation of social capital has been embraced as a solution for social problems as diverse as urban poverty and crime, economic underdevelopment and inefficient government (Boix & Posner 1998; Brewer 2003).

The incentives for a paid worker also include financial security and the possible promise of retirement and healthcare benefits. Paid work has an important role in social wellbeing because it provides people with incomes to meet their basic needs, contributes to their material comfort, and gives them options on how they want to live their lives. Paid work is also important for social contacts and the sense of self-worth or satisfaction it can give people. Meanwhile, voluntary work is unpaid work provided to parties to whom the worker has no binding contract to perform specified duties for payment. Sometimes, volunteers do the same work that their paid counterparts do with the only difference being the absence of payment (Wilson & Musick 1997). Generally, volunteers are driven by forces such as the desire to help or to contribute something meaningful to the society. Most volunteers admit that they serve their community out of personal desire. Volunteers usually work for charities, non-profit organizations and fund raising bodies. Through voluntary work, volunteers acquire skills and experience that can help them to find paid work in the labour market. Voluntary work also enables people to apply the theories they have learnt in school.

Overall, the involvement of the public sector, profit-seeking sector, Third Sector and the informal households or families is seen as a "welfare mix" by many scholars (Evers 1990; 1995; Eme 1991; Laville 1992, 1994; Evers & Laville 2004; Pestoff 1998; 2005).

2.1.5 Public Management and NGOs

Public management is of interest in this study because the study relates to social and public policies, and the study also looks at the relationship between NGOs and the Governments of Finland and Sweden. Additionally, since social and public policies are associated with public management (Esping-Andersen 1999), it was therefore imperative to examine the meaning of public management and how it relates to NGOs, which is one of the main concepts of this study. In this light, according to Ranson and Stewart (1989), the common use of the term 'public' is to distinguish between the 'public sector' and the 'private sector'. The distinction usually revolves around the differences in ownership namely, collective ownership for all citizens in case of the public sector, versus individual ownership in case of the private or for-profit sector. In the same regard, the concept 'public' is also used sometimes to distinguish 'public services' delivered by the government or government agencies, from 'private services' delivered by private organizations, business contractors and NGOs. According to Rainey (1990), the public sector is distinct from the private sector in that: (1) the public interest differs from private interests, (2) public officials are accountable to democratic values than to any particular interest group because they exercise the sovereign power of the state, and (3) in the public sector, the constitution requires equal treatment of persons and prohibits the kind of selectivity that is essential in sustaining NGOs and the profitability of the private-profit sector.

Therefore, *public management* as a concept, refers to the exercise of state authority by public managers through the lawful delegation of authority and external control over the exercise of the delegated authority (Bertelli & Lynn

2001). In other words, public management means the carrying out of managerial responsibilities in government departments, bureaus and offices. However, whenever people talk about public management, they often associate it with public administration because the two are sometimes used synonymously. Hence, Shafritz and Hyde (1992) claim that public management is a major part of public administration because public management focuses on public administration as a profession and on public managers as practitioners of that profession. In the same light, Moore (1984; 1985) affirms that the aim of public management is to implement public policies by managers in a given country for the common good of everybody.

Thus, NGOs are partners in public management in a welfare-mix system because they are recognized as collaborators of the government in the delivery of public services. As such, NGOs are considered as gap-fillers in complementing public services through contracting-out or outsourcing from the government (Lundström & Svedberg 2003). Due to the comparative advantage NGOs have in delivering social services, their space for service delivery has increased since the crisis of the welfare state. This has been possible thanks partly to the new public management (NPM) approach which encourages decentralization, downsizing and sub-contracting of public services (Kettl 1997). The NPM reforms were driven by a combination of economic, social, political and technological considerations in countries that were experiencing economic and fiscal crises. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s, some countries like those of the OECD, reduced the size and role of the public sector in delivering public services due to budget deficits and budget cuts. This led to a fundamental shift from direct service delivery through the hierarchy of public sector organizations, toward market-based competition and contractual relationships between public sector organizations, profit-seeking organizations and NGOs (Larbi 1999). The idea of cost reduction in the delivery of public services has been central to the argument in favour of competitive tendering, and a number of studies have described the cost-saving potential of contracting-out public services (e.g. Deakin & Walsh 1996; Domberger & Jensen 1997).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

There are several theories underlying this study. In this regard, according to the public goods or the performance failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual demand for public goods in the society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that people created NGOs as alternative institutions, when the government or market could not provide public goods for everybody or serve the general interests of all. Similarly, Brown and Korten (1991) argue that government or market failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as innovative responses to different types of problems. NGOs could also emerge as alternative institutions in case of government or market failure because markets tend to be potentially vulnerable to failure in many countries. Market failure arises due to high trans-

action costs or when markets produce an inefficient outcome. In such situations, NGOs could emerge because people have trust in them more than in profit-seeking organizations (Williamson 1985; Krashinsky 1986). Some scholars also argue that NGOs may be better placed to articulate the needs of the poor, provide services, undertake development projects in rural areas, encourage change in attitudes and practices necessary to curb discrimination, identify and redress threats to the environment, and nurture the productive capacity of the most vulnerable groups in society such as the disabled (Elliott 1987; Garilao 1987; OECD 1988).

Similarly, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs are capable of delivering services more economically than the government because NGOs do not seek profits for their services, and they undertake their projects at lower labour costs than business entrepreneurs since they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Based on this kind of arguments, failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the government have less impact on the economy as a whole, since nearly all NGO-led projects are undertaken at the micro-level (Anheier 1990). Additionally, comparatively, government projects are often larger in scale and undertaken at the macro level than projects of NGOs. Clark (1991) also argues that NGOs are more flexible in response to local needs like social welfare or education services, whereas government institutions believe in uniform-structured procedure with a bureaucratic hierarchy. Meanwhile, according to James (1987), the more heterogeneous a society, the more conducive it becomes for the creation of an increasing number of NGOs.

Another relevant theory of this study is the contract failure theory by Brown and Korten (1991). According to the theory, when people encounter difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs are considered to be more reliable or trustworthy as contractors than business entrepreneurs since business entrepreneurs could take undue advantage of the people's ignorance to make profit. Esman and Uphoff (1984) also argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries through the mobilization of people for participation in government initiated projects. Additionally, they argue that NGOs could be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged groups of people in the society. In this light, NGOs could be considered alternative institutions through which disadvantaged groups of people are better served than in the conventional system. Similarly, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of disadvantaged groups of people and NGOs are able to reach segments of disadvantaged groups of people which are bypassed by public service delivery systems.

Lastly, according to the theory of partnership by Salamon and Anheier (1998), the relationship between the government and NGOs could be 'conflicting' or a 'partnership'. According to the theory, the relationship between the government and NGOs depends on decisions made by the government, as well as by NGOs. In this view, the relationship could be conflicting if the government and NGOs do not share common interests. On the contrary, if the government and NGOs share resources, experiences and expertise, the relationship

would be one of a partnership or complementing each other. According to Uphoff (1987), partnership relationships between the government and NGOs may also exist where the government or individual ministries have a positive social agenda, and where NGOs are effective as service providers. In such cases, the government and NGOs may work in mutual respect as collaborators on problems facing the country or region (Uphoff 1987). The role of NGOs would be to implement government-led programmes and projects for which they receive funding from the government. Thus, NGOs would be playing a complementary role as gap fillers in public services where the government is the main service provider (Lundström & Svedberg 2003). Similarly, as partners of the government, NGOs may also play complementary roles by pressing for change in the national development strategy, in response to failures in the public and profit-seeking sectors (de Tray 1990, Salamon & Anheier 1991).

2.3 Examining NGOs as Alternative Institutions

Brown (1988) argues that despite some similarities which exist between NGOs and profit-seeking organizations, NGOs can play more effective roles in projects involving shared values and social change, and which allows flexibility for innovation and local adaptation. In the same light, Korten (1990) argues that due to their comparative advantage of reaching disadvantaged groups of people, promoting local participation, cost effectiveness, adaptability and innovativeness, NGOs can play the role of facilitators, catalysts, analysts, mobilizers and advocates of the people. A case in point is that NGOs increasingly demand change from the government regarding people who are not reached by conventional services. NGOs therefore serve as innovators, critics, advocates and policy partners. Additionally, since NGOs have grassroots attachment, manageable size, flexible programming and are cost effective in carrying out their activities, they can easily implement social development programmes like women's empowerment and community development (Meyer 1992). Furthermore, NGOs can play the role of fostering good governance, strengthening civil society, encouraging political participation at a micro level, balancing state power and advocate development discourse, address the needs of society, and promote pluralism, social mobilization and human rights (Farrington & Lewis 1993).

In the same perspective, Brown and Korten (1991) argue that NGOs have the comparative advantage of working in social experimentation projects which may result in greater value than the government, because NGOs are not hindered by political constraints. They also argue that NGOs are often the most active organizations in helping disadvantaged groups of people to have a voice of their own. Additionally, Brown and Korten (1991) argue that NGOs are distinct organizations that depend on resources freely given to them by their members and supporters, because their mission is to serve the general interests of everybody in the society. In the same view, Korten (1987) argues that NGOs have a comparative advantage because their staff can reach their clients at their door-

steps, whereas clients of public organizations have to contact public offices to seek their services.

Similarly, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs have a comparative advantage because they are capable of delivering services more economically than the government since they can use volunteers. He also argues that NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake their projects at lower labour costs than business entrepreneurs since they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Based on this, he argues that failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the government, have less impact on the economy as a whole because NGO-led projects are often undertaken at the micro level. In contrast, in case of government or market failure, the impact is felt at the macro level and the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the emergence of NGOs. Thus, NGOs could fulfill unsatisfied needs like health care or education services. Farrington and Lewis (1993) argue that as collaborators of the government, NGOs can influence and also advocate policies.

For example, the planning of projects and policies can be strongly influenced by inviting NGO leaders to serve on government commissions or by holding public consultations in which NGOs are able to voice their concerns and experiences (Hulme & Edwards 1992). Additionally, Farrington and Lewis (1993) argue that as sustainable developers, NGOs can help disadvantaged groups of people by making direct contacts with the target groups at the grassroots. Furthermore, they also argue that NGOs can play intermediary roles in the transfer of resources from the government to the people. For example, in Finland, about 15% of the GDP in the country is channeled through NGOs because NGOs have a long tradition of delivering services to the people (Yeung 2006). Similarly, in Sweden, about 17% of the GDP in the country is channeled through NGOs because NGOs also have a long tradition of delivering services to the people (Olsson et al. 2005).

Overall, NGOs could be considered alternative institutions from both a macro and micro perspective. At a macro perspective, NGOs can influence policies such as employment policies and the transfer of resources to the people. At a micro perspective, NGOs can play grassroots roles like the mobilization of local resources and the delivering of services to disadvantaged groups of people. For example, traditional NGO activities in many countries have centred on delivering services, supporting development programmes and assisting official bodies to increase the spread of their own programmes. As collaborators of the government, NGOs tend to accept the government's role in coordinating all development activities including theirs (Hulme & Edwards 1992). However, according to Brown and Korten (1991), some weaknesses of NGOs could be their small size, limited technical capacity, limited self-sustainability, limited replicability, short-term orientation and the lack of broad programming in their operations. Additionally, due to their relationship with the government, NGOs sometimes face difficulties in playing effective roles. For example, their projects are often unsustainable without subsidies (Aminuzzaman 1998). NGOs do not also

promote self-reliant development and thus, they cannot wholly replace the government (Mathur 1992). Therefore, their role is mainly to complement government-administered programmes.

2.4 Unemployment as a Social Problem

Unemployment has been defined in sub-Section 2.1.1 as the inability to find work although willing to work (Turham 1993). Unemployment is therefore a social problem in economic terms because it is a burden on the government since the government has to incur the costs of benefits and loss in income tax revenues (Showler & Sinfield 1981). The economic cost of unemployment to the individual unemployed person may be a reduction of a certain percentage of his/her disposable income. Such a reduction may lead to a fall in the living standard of the unemployed person irrespective of the level of his/her income (Hyman 1979). Additionally, unemployment is a social problem because it may lead to poor health. For example, a series of studies on health among low-paid urban workers during the recession of the 1930s in the UK found that the illness rate per person in families with unemployed persons was 48% more than in families with fully employed persons. There was also some indication that the mortality rate among the unemployed was higher than among those who were employed. Furthermore, the study found that workers in poor health were more frequently made unemployed than their healthy counterparts (Sydenstone 1936).

Similarly, unemployment is a social problem because it leads to idleness. Foremost is the destruction of a habitual time schedule for the working day. Due to unemployment, days stretch longer when there is nothing to do; boredom and waste of time become the rule particularly once the search for employment has been given up as futile (Zawadski & Lazarsfeld 1935). For example, a study by Bakke (1933) revealed that during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the unemployed spent a good part of their time on the streets watching others and waiting for something to happen. The unemployed also suffered from a sense of purposelessness, exclusion from the larger society and relative social isolation, particularly in cases where an unemployed person lived among people who were employed. One unemployed person remarked that "when you are unemployed, you're out of place. You're so different from all the rest of the people around that you think something is wrong with you. I don't care what your job is, you feel a lot more important when you come home at night than if you had been tramping around the streets all day" (Bakke 1933, 63). In the same regard, Gurney (1980) in a study to compare employed and unemployed Australian youngsters on data obtained just before leaving school and four months later, found signs of constructive psychological development among those who had found a job but not among those who had not.

Unemployment is also a social problem because it may lead to psychological stress. For example, a study by Fineman (1979) revealed that 18 out of 25

unemployed managers felt psychologically stressed due to unemployment. Hartley (1980, 20) found that unemployment leads to low self-esteem among managers because some did not put on a 'brave face' due to the absence of an acceptable status and its consequences for personal identity. Based on another study by Swimburne (1981, 99), half of the unemployed managers responded that the initial impact of unemployment "was absolute shock, a complete crushing of self respect and imagination". Lastly, unemployment is a social problem because it may lead to racial hostility and discrimination. For example, a study by Kanter (1978) in the USA found that unemployment led to heightened racial hostility and discrimination. As a result, the chances of promoting blacks who were in the minority became slimmer and their unemployment rate higher. For those not born in the USA, differences in cultural background and language as well as inappropriate levels of skills, intensified the problem of finding a suitable job (Smith 1976).

2.4.1 Early Indications of the Social Impact of Long-term Unemployment

One of the early indications of the social impact of long-term unemployment is social isolation. For example, a study by Heinemann et al. (1980, 61) found that long-term unemployed women were more isolated in terms of having fewer friends and acquaintances than their employed counterparts. Half of the interviewed women in the study wanted a job because they felt isolated and longed to be among other people. Similarly, a study by Smith (1981) found that one early indication of the social impact of long-term unemployment in the 1930s was the reduction of social contacts.

In the same view, fear and despair are also considered early indications of the social impact of long-term unemployment. For example, according to a study by Zawadski and Lazarsfeld (1935), the initial response to long-term unemployment was fear and despair, followed by apathy or the lack of interest for things that others find exciting. Gradually, this was replaced by some adaptation and efforts to find a job. As the futility of efforts to find a job became obvious, hope weakened. This was followed by a complete loss of hope which gradually changed to apathy. Based on another study by Van der Vat (1981), when unemployment lasts longer than a few weeks, those who have lost their jobs may react in several ways to the situation. For example, they may take out their resulting frustration onto themselves or their families, they may gradually adapt to unemployment by relinquishing their needs, or they may create or find alternative arrangements which meet their needs.

Similarly, a study by Muller et al. (1996) found that some early indications of the social impact of long-term unemployment were low self-esteem, depression and psychological distress. Low self-esteem arises due to the fact that self-esteem is partly measured by involvement in an employed activity. Depression arises when the long-term unemployed experience continuous job application rejections. Psychological distress arises due to feelings of irritability, anger and frustration at not being able to find a job. Hence, if repeated job applications remain unsuccessful, self-confidence may deteriorate and depending on a per-

son's tolerance for frustration, mental breakdown could follow. Sometimes, the experience of prolonged frustration may lead to withdrawal from social contacts, bad temper and moodiness - all of which are damaging to marital relations and child raising (Banks 1960).

Lastly, the early indications of the social impact of long-term unemployment also include financial and emotional problems. These arise because long-term unemployment is correlated with a decline in overall financial well-being. Due to financial difficulties, the long-term unemployed are more likely to say they increased their credit card debt to meet expenses. Additionally, the long-term unemployed are also more likely to borrow money, or have difficulties paying their bills, rent and mortgage. In the same study, the long-term unemployed said they also had difficulties sleeping (Morin & Kochhar 2010).

2.4.2 Present Indications of the Social Impact of Long-term Unemployment

Long-term unemployment has been defined as unemployment lasting a year or longer (OECD 2002). Nowadays, long-term unemployment is often considered the number one social problem in industrialized countries because of its negative effects on personal finances, relationships and the loss of self-esteem, among other things (Morin & Kochhar 2010; Saikku 2010). For example, a study by Morin and Kochhar (2010) on the recession which began in December 2007, found that long-term unemployment had affected the personal finances of the long-term unemployed because a majority of them (56%) said their family income had declined due to long-term unemployment, compared to 42% who were unemployed for less than three months. The study also found that long-term unemployment had a negative impact on their relationships as nearly half (46%) of the long-term unemployed said long-term unemployment had strained their family relationships, compared to 39% of those who were unemployed for less than three months.

Similarly, in the same study, more than four-in-ten (43%) of the long-term unemployed said they had lost contact with their close friends due to long-term unemployment. They also said they had lost their self-esteem due to long-term unemployment. Additionally, the study found that the long-term unemployed were more likely to seek professional help for depression or other emotional conditions than those who were employed. The study also found that long-term unemployment had a negative impact on the career prospects of the long-term unemployed because it hindered their ability to achieve their long-term career goals. Thus, more than seven-in-ten of the long-term unemployed said they wanted to change their careers or job fields or seriously thought about doing so. They also said they would like to pursue job retraining programmes or other educational opportunities while unemployed. Similarly, the same study by Morin and Kochhar (2010) found that long-term unemployment had a negative impact because about three-in-ten (29%) long-term unemployed said their new job was worse than the one they had lost. Additionally, they also said their new job paid less and had worse benefits than their previous one.

Lastly, the same study found that long-term unemployment had a negative impact due to the pessimism of finding a job because among the long-term unemployed, some said they were pessimistic about their chances of ever finding a job as good as the one they had lost. Overall, long-term unemployment may lead to other social and economic problems in a market economy because the longer the unemployment spell, the deeper and more complicated the social and economic problems it may cause to the individual and society. Additionally, persistent long-term unemployment may also isolate the individuals economically and socially. Furthermore, due to long-term unemployment which leads to exemption from the labour market, the individuals tend to lose their professional qualifications and consequently, there is no return on investments (Beleva 1997).

According to a study by ACOSS (2005), the long-term unemployed were more likely to have low education and skills, live in an area of high unemployment and have an unstable employment history. Based on ACOSS (2005), long-term unemployment is concentrated on a relatively small number of people in industrialized countries who face the risk of permanent detachment from the labour market. Thus, ACOSS (2005) suggests that reducing long-term unemployment in industrialized countries requires a combination of strong job growth, labour market assistance and job training policies to help the long-term unemployed find work.

In Finland and Sweden, a number of studies have also shown that long-term unemployment is a social problem in the two countries. For example, the correlation between long-term unemployment and mental ill-health was found to be strong in both Finland and Sweden, especially among men (Lahelma 1992; Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1997; Atkinson et al. 2002; Nilsson & Agell 2003). Additionally, in the two countries, poor health, alcohol abuse and problems with a partner, were found to be more common among the unemployed than the employed during the economic recession of the 1990s (Nyman 2002; Viinamäki et al. 2004).

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this doctoral study, four of the included articles namely, Articles I, II, IV and V are based on a mixed method case study approach in which primary and secondary data were collected for analysis. Meanwhile, Article III is based on a theoretical discourse and reflection approach. Thus, the five included articles of this study are based on different empirical and theoretical research data. The mixed method case study approach and the theoretical discourse and reflection approach were selected because this study needed both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, and also because the articles included are distinct from each other. As Annells (2006, 56) argues, the mixed method approach is justified if it juxtaposes understandings that acknowledge the complexity of the phenomenon studied. Therefore, it was imperative to bring these articles together with regard to the research methodology, in order to analyze the possibilities and constraints of the mixed method approach and the theoretical discourse and reflection approach. Hence, this sub-section focuses on the arguments for using a mixed method approach and a theoretical discourse and reflection approach in this study.

Having said these, in an article-based dissertation, the articles may differ in their research objectives and thus, the research methodology will depend on the objectives of each article. Since the articles may differ from each other, it is essential to create a theoretical framework for the whole study in the course of merging the results from the different articles. Hence, in this study, there are several theories which are described as the theoretical framework for binding the articles together. Of all the theories, the main ones are the public goods and the partnership theories. The public goods theory argues that NGOs emerge to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society (Weisbrod 1977), while the partnership theory argues that the relationship between NGOs and the government could be 'conflicting' if the government and NGOs do not share common interests, or could be a 'partnership' in case NGOs collaborate with the government because they share common interests (Salomon & Anheier 1998).

In this dissertation of five articles which are based on different methodological premises, it was thought that by using the mixed method approach which includes both quantitative and qualitative research methods, and also by using the theoretical discourse and reflection approach, the study will manage to build a comprehensive picture of its objectives. However, the mixed method and the theoretical discourse and reflection approaches may not cover the entire studied phenomenon without leaving gaps. Thus, the two approaches may produce extra information by revealing something that is not part of this research project.

3.1 Location of the Study Area

This study was conducted in two cities in Finland and in one city in Sweden. The two cities in Finland were Jyväskylä and Tampere, while the lone city in Sweden was Stockholm. The cities are briefly described hereby in the order of Jyväskylä, Tampere and Stockholm.

The City of Jyväskylä founded in 1837, is the headquarters of the Central Finland region. The city is located about 270 km north of Helsinki, the capital of Finland. The population of the City of Jyväskylä was 130,000 as of January 2009, and the city is said to be the seventh largest city in Finland as of 2009. Jyväskylä is known as a centre of education in Finland because it hosts two universities and a number of research institutes. The city is also famous for its many buildings designed by the famous Finnish architect - Alvar Aalto. The city was selected for this study because the researcher found that NGOs working there in the areas of services and employment could be representative of other similar NGOs in Finland as a whole. Additionally, the city was selected for this study because it is considered one of the fastest growth centres in Finland with special expertise in the areas of information technology, nanotechnology, environmental technology and paper manufacturing (Facts about Jyväskylä). Lastly, the city was selected for this study because it has several large NGOs working there in the areas of services and employment with Jyväskylän Katulähetys - the case study NGO, being the largest in terms of services and employment potential (Jyväskylän Katulähetys). However, the City of Jyväskylä is also to some extent, considered a de-industrialized area regarding traditional industries in Finland like forestry and fabric production. The de-industrialization in the City of Jyväskylä can be partly blamed for the high rate of long-term unemployment there. For example, the closure of some large companies of relevance for the local economy such as the closure of the NOKIA centre in Jyväskylä in 2009, left 320 highly skilled workers unemployed. Similarly, the closure of the fabric factory in Jyväskylä which had a 140 year history, left 150 people unemployed (Central Finland News 2011).

The second selected city in Finland for this study was the City of Tampere. The City of Tampere founded in 1779, is the headquarters of the Pirkanmaa region of Finland. The City of Tampere is located about 176 km northwest of Hel-

sinki, the capital of Finland. The population of the city was 204,337 as of 2009. The City of Tampere is considered the third largest city in Finland as of 2009. The city is also said to be the largest inland city in the Scandinavia and the second largest economic region in Finland after the Helsinki capital region. The City of Tampere is best known for its high-tech industries and for its five higher education institutions which work in close collaboration with each other as well as with companies in the Tampere region (Facts about Tampere). Additionally, the City of Tampere is also known for research and technology because up to 15% of Finland's national research and development budget is spent in the Tampere region. The region also has strong business activities and research expertise in some fields including machine construction, automation, electrical engineering, electronics, metalwork, mechanical engineering, health technology, biotechnology, nanotechnology, and pulp, paper and printing technology (Tampere Business Region).

The City of Tampere was selected for this study because the researcher found that NGOs working there in the areas of services and employment could be representative of other similar NGOs in Finland. Additionally, the city was selected for this study because it is one of the fastest growth centres in Finland with special expertise in the areas mentioned above. However, the City of Tampere also suffers from high unemployment due to various reasons. For example, in June 2009, 14.6% of the city's population representing 15,722 people, was unemployed, whereas throughout the country, the unemployment rate was 9.9% of the workforce. Youth unemployment has also become a perennial problem in the City of Tampere. For example, in June 2009, the number of unemployed in the City of Tampere who were less than 25 years of age numbered 2,524. This was 1,089 persons more than in the previous year. Additionally, long-term unemployment in the City of Tampere also grew by 8% annually between June 2004 - 2009 (Tampere Statistical Bulletin 2009).

Lastly, the City of Stockholm was the only city in Sweden selected for this study. The City of Stockholm was founded in 1250 and is the capital of Sweden. Stockholm is located on the southeastern coast of Sweden and is said to be the largest and most populated city in Sweden and in the Nordic countries¹⁵ as a whole. The city is also the political, economic and cultural center of Sweden. As the capital of Sweden, Stockholm is the seat of the Swedish Government and home to the King - Carl XVI Gustaf. The population of the City of Stockholm was 847,073 as of 2010 and the region is home to about 22% of Sweden's total population. Stockholm also accounts for about 28% of the GDP of the country. The City of Stockholm is known for its medieval buildings alongside its modern ones. The city is also home of the Nobel Prize (Stockholm City Profile; Nordic Council). The City of Stockholm is the fastest growth centre in Sweden and home to many high-tech companies like IBM (International Business Machines),

¹⁵ The Nordic countries are a political entity as well as cultural region where the ties between the countries are not merely historical and cultural, but based on official membership in the Nordic Council. There are five Nordic countries namely: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (Nordic Council).

Ericsson and Electrolux. Additionally, the city is also the financial centre of Sweden harbouring the headquarters of major Swedish banks like Swedbank, Handelsbanken and Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken. Furthermore, some major insurance companies like Skandia and Trygg-Hansa, and about 45% of Swedish companies have their headquarters in the city.

The City of Stockholm was selected for this study because the researcher found that NGOs working there in the areas of services and employment could be representative of other similar NGOs in Sweden. Additionally, the City of Stockholm was selected for this study because it is the fastest growth centre in Sweden. However, unemployment is also a major problem in the City of Stockholm. For example, a total of 18% of Stockholm's workforce are immigrants who face difficulties in finding a job in the city partly due to their ethnic background. Statistics also show that only 40% of immigrants educated outside the EU are able to find a job in the city, compared with over 90% of Swedes with the same qualification. Thus, unemployment among immigrants is said to be high in the city considering that the general unemployment rate in the city stood at 2.9% in early 2010 (The Sunday Times 2010).

3.2 NGOs Selection

For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection in the two countries. The two NGOs selected in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one NGO selected in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden, in terms of size and employment potential. The criteria for selecting the NGOs were based on the volume of their services, religious background and their employment potential. All the three selected NGOs in this study have a long history of providing social services under the Lutheran Church of Finland and the Lutheran Church of Sweden. In this respect, the basis for selecting the NGOs of this study are hereby described in more detail in the order of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, Pirkanmaan Sininauha and Stockholms Stadsmission.

First, Jyväskylän Katulähetys was selected for this study in 2006 when I was writing my Master of Social Sciences (M.Soc.Sc.) thesis, majoring in Social and Public Policy, in which Jyväskylän Katulähetys was the case study NGO. The Master's thesis was entitled "The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä". The present study is an extension of my Master's research in that it falls in line with the role of NGOs involved in the areas of employment and services. Overall, the reasons for selecting Jyväskylän Katulähetys for the present study was that it is the largest NGO in-

volved in employment and the provision of social services in the City of Jyväskylä and in the central Finland region as a whole (see Jyväskylän Katulähetys; Sama 2007).

Jyväskylän Katulähetys, otherwise known in English as the Jyväskylä Street Mission association is a Jyväskylä-based Christian common good organization founded in 1953 by the Finnish Lutheran Church, with the aim of providing accommodation, clothing and food distribution services to homeless people in the City of Jyväskylä. Little by little, the organization expanded its activities and as of December 2006, it provides services in the fields of institutional rehabilitation, emergencies, family work, youth work, food distribution and recreation. These services have created jobs for their employees - some of who work as social workers. The organization also undertakes some activities in recycling and income generation which have created jobs for their employees. Most of the services provided by the organization are targeted towards the homeless, alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents, ex-convicts and the youths (see Jyväskylän Katulähetys).

However, it was in 1989 that the organization began cooperating with the City Council and the local Employment Office, to enable them to employ unemployed people in the city and the municipality through their undertakings. Prior to 1989, their work was voluntary and mainly funded by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, charities and private donations (Sama 2007). Besides these sources of funding, the organization also receives financial support from the local Employment Office and the City Council of Jyväskylä. As a matter of fact, the City Council of Jyväskylä purchases services from the organization for delivery to target groups of people such as the homeless, alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents, ex-convicts and the youths because some of these groups of people like the homeless are not reached by public services and it is cheaper to deliver the services through NGOs. Additionally, the organization gets some income from the sale of their recycled and second hand products at their 3 Eko Centre flea markets in the City of Jyväskylä. Furthermore, the Ministry of Environment also gives the organization some financial support to enable them update their recycling system because the organization cooperates with the ministry in their recycling activities of textiles in the City of Jyväskylä (see Jyväskylän Katulähetys; Sama 2007). The recycling activities have also created jobs for their employees who work as seamstresses, tailors, warehouse staff and drivers in the unit.

As has been seen above, the services and activities of the organization have created paid work for their employees. However, the organization also has many people who work there as volunteers. Thus, the organization has both paid workers and volunteers. Some of their employees also work as social workers, nurses in the emergency clinics, salespersons in their flea markets and others. The organization has over 70 people who work there each day as permanent and fixed-term employees on a 1-2 year contract basis. The individuals are employed mainly from the local Employment Office and in return, the or-

ganization receives monthly employment subsidies¹⁶ for each employed person from the local Employment Office. However, the employment policy of the organization does not have any special demands regarding occupational skills, education, age, sex or any other criteria (Sama 2007). I found Jyväskylän Katulähetys back in 2006 for my Master's research with the help of Dr Miikka Pykkönen, who was a post-doctoral fellow in my Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland. He was the person who introduced me to the management of the organization during my first visit because he had previously conducted research there. From then henceforth, I kept in touch with the organization for both my Master's and PhD research.

Second, Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere was selected in 2009 as the second NGO in Finland for this study when I was looking for a second NGO in Finland, so that with Jyväskylän Katulähetys, the two NGOs could be the equivalent of Stockholms Stadsmission in Sweden in terms of services and employment potential. My supervisor agreed that I could select two NGOs in Finland which were the equivalent of Stockholms Stadsmission in Sweden, in terms of services and employment potential because I could not find a single NGO in Helsinki or elsewhere in Finland, which had the same potential like Stockholms Stadsmission. I also selected Pirkanmaan Sininauha for this study because it is a large NGO with different services and projects that have created jobs for unemployed people in the City of Tampere and the region (see Pirkanmaan Sininauha).

Pirkanmaan Sininauha, otherwise known in English as the Finnish Blue Ribbon Association is a Christian based organization founded in 1961 in the City of Tampere, located about 173 km north of Helsinki - the capital of Finland. The NGO was founded with the aim of providing their clients with services to free them from a life of intoxicant addiction through Christian values. Presently, the social services provided by the organization include housing aid services, nursing home services, day care services, rehabilitation services, recovery groups' services, therapeutic services and pastoral guidance. Additionally, the organization also carries-out different types of social projects in cooperation with the City Council of Tampere. One of the projects is the 'Opportunity for Equal Life Project' whose vision is "everyone needs basic skills in computing". The aim of the project is to help people who are in danger of becoming socially marginalized, to learn skills in computer and internet use because there is a growing tendency of public services being moved online in Finland. Another

¹⁶ Employment subsidy was introduced in Finland following the economic recession of the 1990s. The aim of the scheme is to provide temporal job opportunities for groups of disadvantaged people in order to enhance their skills and to maintain their involvement in the labour market. In addition, the aim of the scheme is to compensate the employer for the lower productivity and the extra costs incurred in hiring a less qualified unemployed person. In this vein, employment subsidy can be given to companies, associations, organizations and foundations to enable them employ long-term unemployed, disabled and other groups of people threatened by long-term unemployment and social exclusion in Finland. The subsidy is given by the State through the local Employment Offices for each person employed (see EFILWC; Sama 2007).

goal of the project is that all citizens should have access to services in the information society regardless of their social or economic status (see Pirkanmaan Sininauha).

Participants in the project include people who are re-entering society after a prison sentence or who are in rehabilitation from drug or alcohol abuse, or people with mental health problems. The training is free of charge for all participants in the project. The 3 year project started in June 2005 and is funded by the Finnish Slot Machine Association which is a governmental foundation that supports the work of various health and welfare organizations in Finland. Besides, the organization also receives some funding for their activities from the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, the City Council, the local Employment Office and the European Union - through networking and cooperation. The projects, services and activities of the organization have created both paid and voluntary work for their employees. As of November 2008, the organization has 27 permanent employees and dozens of others employed yearly on fixed-term contract basis (Pirkanmaan Sininauha). All the employees of the organization are employed from the local Employment Office and in return, the organization receives monthly employment subsidies for each employed person from the local Employment Office (Sama 2011). I found the organization through a 'google.com' search and got the contact information of the organization's officials from the website. I then made a phone call to the management expressing my intention to come and collect data there. This was approved and that is how my research began there. With a travel grant that I received from my university, I was able to travel to Tampere for my data collection at the organization.

Lastly, I selected Stockholms Stadsmission in Sweden for this study because I found the organization to be the largest NGO in the City of Stockholm and in the region, in terms of services and employment potential (see Stockholms Stadsmission). Stockholms Stadsmission is located in Stockholm, which is the capital of Sweden. Stockholms Stadsmission, otherwise known in English as Stockholm City Mission, is an NGO that works to make Stockholm a more humane city for everyone. The organization was founded by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1853 as part of the Swedish Church with the aim to help poor people - mainly children and the youth in Stockholm. Bit by bit, the organization expanded its activities and presently, the organization has three main areas of operation, namely, social welfare, social enterprises and school activities. Regarding social welfare, the organization delivers different types of social services to children and youth in need of support from adults, families in crisis, single mothers in difficulties, young adults in need of therapy, young parents in need of support and advice, elderly people living alone in need of help, and men and women living in homelessness or abuse also in need of help. The social enterprises of the organization consist of second hand shops or flea markets which they run in different locations in the City of Stockholm. In the flea markets, they sell used or second hand furniture, clothes, shoes and other household goods that have been donated to them. Besides, the organization also sells goods that they have produced from recycled materials. The so-

cial enterprises of the organization enable them to generate own income for their activities.

The organization also has its own school in central Stockholm with a total of about 400 learners. The school offers primary, secondary and vocational education under one roof. The school is open to youth and young adults who want to study in an environment where they wish to meet people from different backgrounds and experiences as part of their learning. The school also offers education to young people who have encountered setbacks in their quest of finding self-esteem and motivation in their upbringing. About 350 people work in the organization as permanent and fixed-term contract employees. The organization also has people working there as volunteers. Most of the employees of the organization are employed directly from the open labour market (see Sama 2011). The activities of the organization are predominantly financed by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church, free will donations, private businesses, trusts and foundations, income from their social enterprises, and grants from the state through public contracts and the projects that they run in cooperation with the City Council of Stockholm.

My first contact with the organization was in June 2009 when I travelled to Uppsala in Sweden, where I met Professor Tor Larsson of the Department of Sociology, at the University of Uppsala, for the purpose of research cooperation during my fieldwork in Sweden. I came to know Professor Larsson from the website of the University of Uppsala, when I was searching for a scholar there for research cooperation during my fieldwork in Sweden. After meeting with Professor Larsson in his office at the University of Uppsala, he made phone calls and wrote e-mails to several organizations and people in Sweden before we found Stockholms Stadsmission. He had to make the necessary contacts because his area of research is different from mine although both of us are sociologists. Additionally, I was also looking for an NGO with a religious background. After my request to collect data from the NGO was approved by the management, I visited Stockholms Stadsmission for the first time in June 2009, where I collected data through interviews. During my second visit to the organization in March 2010, I collected data using questionnaire.

Overall, the common thing about the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden is that they all have a religious background and traditionally, they deliver social services to disadvantaged groups of people using volunteers and donations from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden. It is after many decades of operation that the organizations have expanded their activities and can now employ many paid and voluntary workers through various sources of funding.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

As earlier said in Section 3 of the Research Methodology, the five articles of this study are based on a mixed method approach and a theoretical discourse and

reflection approach. Thus, this study is based on different empirical and theoretical research data. In this light, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for analysis depending on the objectives of each of the included articles because the articles are distinct from each other. The quantitative data for this study were collected using questionnaire, while the qualitative data were collected through interviews.

Regarding *Article I*, the empirical data was collected from 16 employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys - which was the case study NGO in the City of Jyväskylä, and from an official of the organization using questionnaire and interviews. The respondents of the questionnaire were between the ages of 26 and 53, and they consisted of 7 men and 9 women. All of them had been unemployed between 1.5 and 10 years and thus, they were considered as long-term unemployed people in Finland. Besides native Finns, some of the respondents were immigrants from Iran, Kosovo and Russia. The interviews that were collected from the respondents of the organization were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed. No names of the interviewees were taken by the researcher in order to safeguard anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Additionally, there was also the use of Participant Observation, to observe the services and activities in the various units of the organization, as well as the employees at work. On the other hand, secondary data for Article I were also collected through different sources such as internet websites, office records of the case study NGO, and from published and unpublished research.

Regarding *Article II*, the case study NGO was the same (Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä) and the primary and secondary data collection methods were the same like in Article I. The sample size was also the same and the interview data was pretty much the same like in Article I. Concerning *Article III*, the data was collected mainly through secondary sources such as books, internet websites and from published and unpublished research. This was because Article III is based on theoretical discourse and reflection. Meanwhile, the empirical data for *Article IV* was collected through questionnaire and interviews because the study is based on a mixed method case study approach. The sample size of the questionnaire was the full population of all the employees of the case study NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The case study NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. In contrast, the case study NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. The questionnaire was originally written in English, but later translated into Finnish for the employees of the selected NGOs in Finland, and into Swedish for the employees of the selected NGO in Sweden. The translations were done by native speakers in the two countries.

It is worth noting that in social research, data must be collected in the language of the respondents which in Finland is Finnish or Swedish, and in Sweden is Swedish. The questionnaire was printed for respondents who did not have e-mail addresses. Conversely, the questionnaire had an online version created in gmail and e-mailed to all respondents who had e-mail addresses. The

employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä in Finland who had e-mail addresses answered the questionnaire online, while their counterparts who did not have e-mail addresses answered the questionnaire on printed copies. The employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys who answered the printed questionnaire received the questionnaire at the various locations of the organization. Each of them filled out the questionnaire and returned it to the researcher on the same day or a few days later. Some of those who returned the questionnaire after a few days did so because they did not have time to fill it out on the same day. The researcher visited the various locations of the organization to collect the completed questionnaires in cases where they were returned later.

In contrast, all the employees of Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere in Finland and Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm in Sweden, answered the questionnaire online because all of them had e-mail addresses. Their responses came in a spreadsheet to the researcher's gmail box. The questionnaire data were then collected and transferred into an SPSS¹⁷ spreadsheet for analysis. Similarly, the questionnaires answered on printed copies were collected and the data entered into SPSS spreadsheet for analysis. The structured questionnaire of Article IV was designed to obtain employment-related information from the employees of the case study NGOs in Finland and Sweden. A total of 130 employees of the two selected NGOs in Finland responded to the questionnaire, while a total of 140 employees of the one selected NGO in Sweden also responded to the questionnaire. All the questions in the questionnaire to the employees of the NGOs in Finland and Sweden were closed ended (see Questionnaire in Appendix 1). The interview data of Article IV was collected from two senior executives of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. They were interviewed about the functioning of their organizations and other operational issues. All the interviews were recorded in a disc recorder for transcription and analysis.

Regarding *Article V*, the empirical data was mainly qualitative. The qualitative data was collected through interviews with two senior executives of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The interviews were conducted in English at the premises of the NGOs in Finland and Sweden, in February and March 2010 respectively. The interviews were conducted in English because all the interviewees spoke very good English. From informal discussions, it was found that all the interviewees had learnt English in school. The interviewees were also well educated as most of them had at least a Bachelor's degree or university level of education. Additionally, the interviewees had also worked as permanent staff for over 4 years at the administrative level of the organizations (Sama 2011). Thus, they were quite knowledgeable regarding how their organizations function on a daily basis. All the interview questions were also in English since the interviewees had very good English skills. Before each interview, the researcher promised the interviewee that he was going to keep their re-

¹⁷ SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences): Is a computer program used for statistical data analysis such as descriptive statistics which include cross tabulation and frequencies ((Levesque 2007; http://www.ehow.com/about_5138840_spss-program.html).

sponses confidential and/or anonymous in the analysis. Thus, in the data analysis quotations, no names, genders or ages are specified (see interview questions in Appendix 2). Lastly, secondary data were also collected for this study through literature reviews, published and unpublished research and from internet websites.

3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The quantitative data of Articles I and II collected using questionnaire were analyzed descriptively and/or interpretatively because the sample size was very small. Meanwhile, the quantitative data for Article IV collected using questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS - which is a software for analyzing quantitative data (Levesque 2007) because the sample size was big. The analysis of the questionnaire consisted of cross tabulations and frequencies. In contrast, the interviews were analyzed using MAXQDA¹⁸ (Lewins & Silver 2007). However, some of the interviews were also analyzed through thematic content analysis¹⁹ to complement the findings from the questionnaire.

The expected results from the analysis were fourfold: First, to find the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Second, to find the relationship that NGOs have with the Governments of Finland and Sweden in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. Third, to find the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and fourth, to find how the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, could be overcome.

Overall, the use of both quantitative and qualitative tools for the data analysis produced the expected results because the questionnaire could be analyzed using quantitative tools such as SPSS. On the other hand, MAXQDA was suitable for the analysis of the qualitative data from the interviews because the data can be analyzed in themes and retrieved in different theme segments. However, since MAXQDA does not analyze every aspect of interview data, content analyses was used to complement what was left for analysis.

¹⁸ MAXQDA is a software program designed for computer-assisted qualitative data, text and multimedia analysis in academic, scientific, and business studies (<http://www.maxqda.com/products>).

¹⁹ Content Analysis: Defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the content of communications. It is used to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify them in an objective manner (Kathleen 1990; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002).

4 FINLAND AND SWEDEN: TWO NORDIC COUNTRIES

4.1 A Brief History of Finland

The Republic of Finland is a well developed country of 5.3 million people located in northern Europe. Finland covers a total surface area of 338,145 square kilometers (130,559 square miles) and is bordered by Sweden on the west, Norway on the north, Russia on the east and Estonia on the south across the Gulf of Finland. About 70% of Finland is covered in forests, 10% by lakes and rivers, and 20% is inhabited. The capital of Finland is Helsinki. Politically, Finland is a parliamentary republic with a central government based in Helsinki (Finland Country Profile).

Historically, Finland was part of Sweden until 1809 when it became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. It was in 1917 that Finland became independent from Russia (Jutikkala & Pirinen 2000). Currently, the President of Finland is Sauli Niinistö and the Prime Minister is Mr Jyrki Katainen. Finland has a mixed economic system and the largest sector of the economy is the services sector which consists of 66% of the country's GDP, followed by the manufacturing and refining sectors at 31%. Economically, the forestry and wood processing industries are the major industries in Finland because the country derives much of its prosperity from the forests. Additionally, in the 1990s, technology industries also emerged as a leading branch of manufacturing in the country (Statistics Finland; Lilja et al. 1990). Finland became a member of the EU in 1995 and is the only Nordic EU member state to adopt the Euro as its national currency. The population of Finland consists of 93.4% Finns, 5.6% Swedes, 0.5% Russians, 0.3% Estonians, 0.1% Romas (Gypsies) and 0.1% Samis. The Lutheran Church of Finland is the largest religious denomination in the country with 82.5%, followed by the Orthodox Church at 1.1%, other Christian Churches at 1.1%, others 0.1% and none 15.1%. The two official languages of Finland are Finnish, spoken by 91.2% of the population and Swedish, spoken by

5.5% of the population. However, other minority languages spoken in Finland are Sami and Russian at 3.3% (World Factbook Finland 2011).

The local government of Finland consists of 336 municipalities as of January 2011. Unlike some OECD countries like Canada where most public services are delivered by the provincial governments, in Finland, public services are predominantly delivered by the local governments or the local authorities (Public Sector Digest 2011). This is because the local governments in Finland have more power than the regional governments whose responsibilities are limited to regional economic development and planning. Hence, the local authorities of Finland's 336 municipalities are tasked with providing their residents with public services like social services (including social welfare, health care, child day care, services for the elderly and services for the disabled), education services (including pre-school, primary school, secondary school, vocational training, adult education and library services), culture and sport services, public transportation services and the promotion of local businesses and employment.²⁰ To finance the provision of these services, the local governments in Finland are charged with the responsibility to collect a combination of taxes including income tax, real estate tax, corporate tax, transfers from the central government, sales revenues and numerous other local charges (Kaarakainen et al. 2010).

However, there is currently a heated political debate in Finland about reforming the municipality system because having a large number of small municipalities is seen as detrimental to the provision of public services. Hence, since 2007, there have been suggestions of state-imposed mergers into a two-tier system of municipalities with different powers - which is favoured by the Ministry for Regional and Municipal Affairs, or a system where municipalities would be units of at least 20,000–30,000 inhabitants - which is favoured by the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities. Recently, a large number of voluntary mergers were completed whereby several cities merged with surrounding rural municipalities. For example, in 2009, several cities merged with surrounding rural municipalities in Hämeenlinna, Loviisa, Salo, Kouvola, Seinäjoki, Jyväskylä and Oulu (Finnish Local Government).

4.1.1 The Unemployment Situation in Finland

Finland is a country of 5.3 million (Finland Country Profile), with a labour force of 2,522,000 people, aged between 15-74 years as of December 2010 (Statistics Finland). In the 1990s, there was an economic recession which led to high unemployment in Finland. Due to the economic recession of the 1990s, long-term unemployment has become a perennial problem in the country because there are many people who cannot find a job. The long-term unemployed in Finland are mostly people who have difficulties in finding a job, particularly in big cities. This situation is due to a mismatch between required and existing qualifications, a change in technology, the lack of vocational training, poor health, disa-

²⁰ Council of European Municipalities and Regions: Local and Regional Structures in Finland (http://www.ccre.org/finlande_en.htm).

bility or the ethnic background of the person (Jaakkola 2005; LOCIN 2006). Other problematic groups of long-term unemployed people in Finland are those who have interrupted their studies and young people with problems such as drug abuse.

The long-term unemployed in Finland mostly suffer from social exclusion and the majority comes from the lowest social strata in the society (Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1997; Kangas & Ritakallio 2003). In 2009 for example, the long-term unemployed in Finland comprised 28% of all unemployed job seekers in the country (Eurostat 2009; Statistics Finland). Additionally, in 2009, Finland had about 80,000 people who had been unemployed for more than a year, and about 40,000 people who had been unemployed for at least 2 years. The majority of the long-term unemployed in Finland are in the age group 25-49 years (Statistics Finland). To employ the long-term unemployed in Finland, special measures are required to enhance their employability. Due to this perennial problem of long-term unemployment in Finland, the government has come to recognize NGOs as viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of the country (Julkunen 2000; Böckerman & Kiander 2002).

4.1.2 Government Strategies to fight Unemployment in Finland

Since the aftermath of the 1990s economic recession which led to high unemployment in Finland, the government has designed various strategies to fight unemployment in the country. One of the strategies is ALMPs (Matthies 1996; Ministry of Labour 1998). Through ALMPs, employment subsidies can be given to companies, associations, organizations and foundations to enable them employ long-term unemployed people, the disabled and other groups of people threatened by long-term unemployment and social exclusion in the country. The aim of ALMPs in Finland is to provide temporary job opportunities for disadvantaged groups of people in order to keep them in the labour market and to enhance their skills. Additionally, the aim of ALMPs is to compensate the employer for the lower productivity and extra costs incurred in hiring a less qualified unemployed person (EFILWC; Furåker et al. 1990). The employment subsidy is funded by the Finnish Government, but decisions on granting it are made by the local Employment Offices. The exact amount of the subsidy varies from person to person and it covers about 30% to 60% of the employer's total labour cost (EFILWC). In 1995, the subsidy was granted for a period of 22 weeks, but it was later increased to 6 and then 10 months respectively. This is an indication that the time frame for the subsidy increases from time to time (Santamäki-Vuori & Parviainen 1996; Koskela & Ilmakunnas 2002).

However, the implementation of ALMPs in Finland rests with the Labour Market Policy Implementation Department in the Ministry of Labour²¹. The Labour Market Policy Implementation Department is also responsible for the la-

²¹ The Ministry of Labour of Finland recently changed its name to the Ministry of Employment and the Economy. This change was caused by the merger of two ministries (Ministry of Labour and Economy). See more in the website of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy at: www.tem.fi

bour administration's services for job seekers and employers. The department guides and supports among other things, the local Employment Offices which are responsible for employment services at the local level. The local Employment Offices take care of customer services at the local level and they also promote the links between jobs and employees in Finland (Ministry of Labour 2005).

Besides ALMPs, some other strategies put in place by the Finnish Government to fight unemployment in the country include job search assistance, remedial education, job training and social problem counseling. Additionally, since 1997, the Finnish Government encourages local area based partnerships in an effort to fight unemployment in the country. Local area based partnerships involve extensive cooperation between the municipalities, local Employment Offices, NGOs and businesses (Ministry of Labour 1998; LOCIN 2006). Through the local area based partnerships, many marginalized groups of people in Finland have been able to find a job and have also benefited from the learning opportunities offered by their involvement (Cinneide 2000; World Bank 2000). Furthermore, to fight unemployment in the country, the Finnish Government also encourages self-initiative and cooperation between people threatened by long-term unemployment in the country. For example, the role of businesses in fighting unemployment has been fostered in different ways. Additionally, through cooperation, voluntary and paid jobs are created in various parts of the country for the unemployed. For example, in the 1990s, over 600 new cooperatives were established in Finland and more than half of their 15,000 members have found work through them (LOCIN 2006).

In sum, the 'Finnish National Action Plan for Employment' contains the development of a network of social enterprises and cooperatives as part of a strategy to integrate people with low professional skills (Ministry of Labour 1998; New Work Project 2000).

4.2 A Brief History of Sweden

The Kingdom of Sweden is a highly developed country located in northern Europe. The population of Sweden was 9.3 million at the end of 2010. The country covers a total surface area of 449,964 sq km (173,732 sq miles). Sweden borders Norway on the west, Finland on the northeast and Denmark on the southwest through the Öresund Bridge²², which is claimed to be the longest road and rail bridge in Europe (Sweden Country Profile). The capital of Sweden is Stockholm. Politically, Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary

²² The Öresund Bridge is a combined twin-track railway and dual carriageway bridge-tunnel across the Öresund strait linking Sweden and Denmark. The bridge is approximately 16 km long and connects the Danish capital City of Copenhagen with the Swedish City of Malmö. The bridge also connects the road and rail networks of Scandinavia with those of Central and Western Europe. It is the longest combined road and rail bridge in Europe (see the Öresund Bridge Website at: <http://uk.oresundsbron.com/page/976>).

system of government like Finland. Sweden became an independent and a unified country during the Middle Ages. In the 17th and early 18th Centuries, Sweden was an empire which grew to be one of the Great Powers of Europe. However, most of the conquered territories of Sweden outside the Scandinavian Peninsula were lost during the 18th and 19th Centuries, including Finland, which was lost to Russia in 1809 (Nordstrom 2002).

The current King of Sweden is Carl XVI Gustaf, while the Prime Minister is Mr Fredrik Reinfeldt who is of the Moderate Party. The current coalition government of Sweden consists of four center-right parties, namely - the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrats and the Center Party. The Moderate Party in Sweden emphasizes personal freedom, free enterprise, and a reduction in the growth of the public sector. However, the Moderate Party supports social benefits which were introduced in the 1930s. Economically, Sweden has a mixed system in which the main industries include services, machineries, transportation equipments, paper products and chemicals. Sweden became a member of the EU in 1995 but is not a member of the Euro currency. The population of Sweden, besides native Swedes, includes Finnish and Sami minorities, foreign-born or first-generation immigrants, Yugoslavs, Danes, Norwegians, Greeks and Turks. Meanwhile, the Lutheran Church of Sweden is the main religious denomination in the country with 87% of the population as members, followed by other religious denominations like Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Baptists, Muslims, Jewish and Buddhists, making a total of 13%. The official language of Sweden is Swedish but Sami and Finnish are also spoken by Sami and Finnish speaking minorities (Magnusson 2000; World Factbook Sweden 2011).

In Sweden, the local government consists of 290 municipalities since 1 January 2006. Like in Finland, there is a long tradition of local self-government in Sweden (Ministry of Finance 2005). The local government or local authorities in Sweden are responsible for providing public services such as health care, education, child care, care for the elderly, water supply, rescue services, refuse disposal services and public transportation services. The local government in Sweden is also responsible for levying income taxes on individuals and various services. The local government in Sweden also has enormous powers in deciding what services they want to provide to the people (The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions).

4.2.1 The Unemployment Situation in Sweden

Sweden is a country of 9 million people (Sweden Country Profile). During the fourth quarter of 2010, the labour force of Sweden was 4,070,000 persons aged 15-74 corresponding to 57.8% of the total population (Statistics Sweden). In the 1990s, there was an economic recession which led to high unemployment in Sweden. Due to the recession, between 1990 and 1993, unemployment in Sweden increased by over half a million people, representing about 13% of the workforce. The recession at the beginning of the 1990s was widespread and affected other western European countries including Finland (Korpi & Stenberg 2001). Owing to the recession of the 1990s, long-term unemployment has also

become a perennial problem in Sweden like in Finland, because there are tens of thousands of people who cannot find a job in the country. The long-term unemployed in Sweden are mostly people who have difficulties finding a job. This situation is due to many reasons among which are changes in technology and the lack of required professional qualifications. Some of the long-term unemployed in Sweden include unskilled young people, people without job experience, ethnic minorities and young high school drop-outs.

In 2009 for example, the long-term unemployed in Sweden comprised 24% of all unemployed job seekers in the country. Additionally, in 2009, Sweden had almost 120,000 people who had been unemployed for more than a year, and about 90,000 people who had been unemployed for at least 2 years. The majority of the long-term unemployed in Sweden are in the age group 25-49 years (Press Release from Statistics Sweden 2011). To employ the long-term unemployed in Sweden, special measures are required to enhance their employability. Due to this perennial problem of long-term unemployment, the Government of Sweden has also come to recognize NGOs as important actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of the country.

4.2.2 Government Strategies to fight Unemployment in Sweden

Since the 1990s' economic recession which led to high unemployment in Sweden, the government has designed various strategies to fight unemployment in the country. One of the strategies is ALMPs. Through ALMPs, employment subsidies can be given to companies, associations, organizations and foundations to enable them employ long-term unemployed, disabled and other groups of people threatened by long-term unemployment and social exclusion in the country. The aim of ALMPs in Sweden is to provide temporary job opportunities to disadvantaged groups of people in order to maintain their involvement in the labour market and to enhance their skills. Additionally, the aim of ALMPs in Sweden is to compensate the employer for the lower productivity and extra costs incurred in hiring a less skilled unemployed person. The employment subsidy is funded by the Swedish Government, but decisions on granting it are made by the local authorities (Statistics Sweden).

Second, to fight unemployment in Sweden, the government introduced an "activity guarantee" labour market programme²³ in the year 2000. According to the programme, people who have been unemployed for over 2 years are required to visit a local Employment Office everyday and after 27 months, a place on a labour market programme is offered to them (OECD 2001a). Other strategies introduced by the Swedish Government to fight unemployment in the country include reforms in the tax system to increase work incentives, the reorganization of the public employment service, a shift away from labour market

²³ Labour market programmes are aimed at tackling problems like individual skill deficits, lack of work experience and barriers to information in the labour market. When benefit disincentives are involved, labour market programmes are aimed at linking recipients of benefits to programmes that have a motivation effect, in order to encourage them to work instead of depending on benefits (Ackum Agell et al. 1995).

training measures toward more activation of short-term employment through improved counselling, subsidies to employers who hire long-term unemployed people, “step-in” jobs for immigrants and a “job guarantee” for the long-term unemployed and young job seekers. Additionally, jobseekers in the country who have not found a job after 450 days are referred to the “third phase”, where they are offered a job in the “second labour market”, usually with a social firm or a non-profit organization (Borg 2008; Government of Sweden 2008a; Labour Market Measures 2009).

Lastly, to fight unemployment in Sweden, the government has increased the decentralization of funding and decision-making mechanisms, as well as increased flexibility for local Employment Offices. The government has also given the local authorities or municipalities more power to organize and fund their own employment schemes, in order to cope with the growing number of people not covered by national security programmes. Furthermore, to fight unemployment in Sweden, the government has gradually transferred its responsibility as a labour market agent to the municipalities. For example, in 1995, the municipalities took over the entire responsibility of fighting unemployment for young people under the age of 20, and in 1998, this was extended to include the long-term unemployed between the ages of 20 and 25 (Kildal 2007).

Overall, the peculiarity about Finland and Sweden in the fight against unemployment is that they are “*social democratic*” welfare state regimes²⁴ in which the governments are committed to full employment guarantee. In social democratic welfare states, the right to work has equal status to the right of income protection. Thus, there is a fusion of welfare and work in them, to maintain a solidaristic, universalistic and de-commodifying welfare system. These states try to minimize social problems and to maximize revenue by getting most people into work and the fewest possible, living off on social benefits (Esping-Andersen 1990).

²⁴ The other two welfare state regimes are the “liberal” welfare state regime and the “corporatist” welfare state regime. In the “liberal” welfare state regime, there is means-tested assistance and modest universal transfers of benefits. The state encourages the market and minimizes the de-commodification of welfare services. Archetypical examples of this model are the USA, Australia and Canada. Meanwhile, the “corporatist” welfare state regime is typically shaped by the church and is strongly committed to the preservation of traditional family values. Here, social insurance usually excludes non-working wives and family benefits encourage motherhood. Day care and similar family services are perceived as underdeveloped and the principle of subsidiarity emphasize that the state will interfere only when the family’s capacity to provide for its members has been exhausted. Archetypical examples of this model are Austria, France, Germany and Italy (Esping-Andersen 1990).

4.3 The Common history of Finland and Sweden as two Nordic Countries

Finland and Sweden are two of the five Nordic countries, which include Denmark, Iceland and Norway. The two countries have a common history because first, historically, the cornerstone of their social welfare system is a combination of the Poor Law and philanthropy or charities (Almqvist 1954; Satka 1995; Lundström & Wijkström 1997). Until 1809, Finland was part of the Swedish Kingdom and shared its legal and institutional system (Jussila et al. 1999). Through the Poor Law, poor relief was organized by the Lutheran parishes which were the only local administrative bodies in rural areas in Finland and Sweden (Steven 1975; Lundström & Wijkström 1997). This was facilitated by religious homogeneity and organized in a way that each local community had to take care of its own poor, though the state regulated the relief. There was division of relief for the poor between the state and the parishes in that child care and moral education were taken care of by the parishes, while the care for the incurable sick was taken care of by the state. Those entitled to poor relief included children in need of protection, the insane, the disabled and the aged infirm. The old, sick and disabled who were able to work and the poor in need of temporary support were entitled to public support.

Second, Finland and Sweden have a common history as two Nordic countries because of their philanthropic culture. Philanthropy was borne in Finland and Sweden because of the reluctance of the local administration and the state to assume responsibility for everyone in need of care. Hence, philanthropic associations were created in Sweden before the 17th Century and in Finland in the 18th Century to help those in need (Esping-Andersen & Korpi 1984; Baldwin 1989). Many philanthropic associations such as City Missions, worked on a religious basis and they undertook voluntary social work. Other traditional philanthropic associations in Finland and Sweden included the Red Cross and Save the Children (Markkola 1993). Christian philanthropic organizations played a key role in the struggle against the effects of poverty and destitution in the last half of the 19th and early part of the 20th Century in Finland and Sweden. In Finland and Sweden, old age, sickness, accidents and unemployment benefits were the core areas of social security and public concern.²⁵ NGOs in Finland and Sweden also played a significant role in the growth of the welfare state in the 19th Century through the establishment of charities, the provision of services, the mobilization of voluntary labour and the emergence of a discourse around social policy at the turn of the 20th Century. Charities in the two countries were important in relief for the poor (Satka 1995; Lundström 1996; Lundström and Wijkström 1997).

Third, Finland and Sweden have a common history as two Nordic countries because the two countries are relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnicity

²⁵ An Introduction to the General History of the Nordic Welfare Systems, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2001.

and religion. The relative homogeneity stems from the fact that the Lutheran version of Christianity for many centuries had a hegemonic status in the two countries. For example, in Finland until the end of the 19th Century, every Finn had to belong to either the Lutheran or the Orthodox Church. Additionally, there was a close link between the Lutheran Church and the state in the two countries before the 18th Century (Stenius 1997; Knudsen 2000). Thus, Lutherianism has also contributed to the work ethics and equality culture that exist in the two countries. For example, the principles of Lutherianism stipulate that daily work is a fulfillment of vocation by God. Similarly, Lutherianism has also promoted a culture of equality in Finland and Sweden because centuries of hegemonic state churches have contributed to the relatively uniform administrative structure in the two countries (Stenius 1997; Christiansen et al. 2001).

Fourth, Finland and Sweden have a common history as two Nordic countries because of a long tradition of universalism and gender equality whereby, women and men are equal as breadwinners and equal in the labour market of the two countries. The two countries also have a common history because they have a large and expensive public sector where welfare benefits and public services are financed primarily by taxes (Sainsbury 1994; Lewis 1997; Julkunen 1999; Lewis 2000). The reason given by the state for the institutionalization of social welfare in Finland and Sweden was that they were of such great importance that they should be guaranteed by the state rather than by philanthropic organizations. Additionally, it was thought that the quality of the services would be better controlled and standardized if provided publicly by the state. After the so-called 'friendly takeover', the voluntary sector in Finland and Sweden has continued to provide welfare services to homeless people, battered women, children in need and HIV/AIDS victims, among others (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Lundström and Svedberg, 2003; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2004).

Overall, Finland and Sweden have a common history as two Nordic countries because according to Esping-Andersen (1990), the two countries like the other Nordic countries are considered "social democratic" welfare states with distinctive features such as gender equality and universal social benefits.

4.4 The Role of NGOs in Finland and Sweden

The Finnish and Swedish social welfare system is based on the Nordic welfare model and to a great extent, is public and financed through taxes (Abrahamson 1999). Since the aftermath of the economic recession of the 1990s, the Governments of Finland and Sweden have come to recognize the increasing role NGOs play in the two countries. Part of this recognition can be attributed to the key characteristics of NGOs which are not only in terms of resources and inputs, but also in terms of their social and political productivity. Thus, NGOs are said to play a number of fundamental roles in Finland and Sweden (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997; Särkelä 2004).

In this light, NGOs in Finland and Sweden play the role of an advocate for different socio-economic groups of people, as well as the creation of social capital (Helander & Laaksonen 1999; Lundström and Svedberg 2003). They also play the role of providing mainstream social services within what can be viewed as the core domains of the welfare state. For example, in Finland, as far back as during the Winter War against the Soviet Union (1939–1940), Church NGOs in the country were a source of support because they took on tasks in social work like food distribution, family counselling and youth work, which later expanded rapidly until today. Besides, since independence in 1917, although the state has taken over some of the functions that formerly belonged to Church NGOs, the Evangelical Lutheran and Orthodox Churches in Finland still perform duties that could in principle be performed by the state. A case in point is that at the beginning of the 1990s, when the country was hit by an unusually severe recession which created a divide between the poor and the rich, Church NGOs filled many of the gaps left open by the social welfare system because many people - some of who were of working age, sought help from Church NGOs. These NGOs have continued to provide meals for the unemployed and have introduced more food banks in the country (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland).

Thus, NGOs in Finland and Sweden complement public services since they do not exist to replace the government but rather to “fill the gaps” left by the government (Korten 1990, 20). In this regard, they are there to play a gap-filling role in Finland and Sweden. For example, in Finland, 17% of social services and 5% of health services are provided by NGOs. Similarly, in Sweden, 18% of social services and 6% of health services are provided by NGOs (Statistics Finland; Statistics Sweden). Thus, NGOs are regarded as Third Sector Organizations in the two countries because they fall between the public and profit-seeking sectors.

Additionally, NGOs in Finland and Sweden play the role of mobilizing people for social work in their communities. In this vein, they are distinguished as catalysts and mobilizers in their communities. Through social work, NGOs in the two countries play the role of recruiting marginalized people to work as volunteers - some of who acquire skills through their involvement, which can help them to find a job in the open labour market (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Cinneide 2000; Wijkström & Lundström 2002). Furthermore, NGOs in Finland and Sweden play the role of improving employment possibilities for unemployed people through cooperation and partnership with the City Councils and the local Employment Offices. Thus, NGOs have found employment paths for and boosted the working ability of many unemployed people in the two countries (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; New Work Project 2000). For example, in 2003, over 32,000 people worked in NGOs in Finland, and over 100,000 people worked in NGOs in Sweden, excluding volunteers (Särkelä 2004; Statistics Sweden).

NGOs in Finland and Sweden also play the role of a cooperation partnership which produces joint visions and innovative ideas for employment, and

alternative forms of employment. They are distinct employers because they combine paid and voluntary work. Since there are tens of thousands of people who are unemployed in Finland and Sweden, NGOs play the role of creating job opportunities in the border area between the services provided by the state and those provided by the profit-seeking sector. They also play the role of enhancing the employability of long-term unemployed people so that they can become employable in the labour market. Hence, through their engagement with NGOs in Finland and Sweden, some people have come in contact with working life and have been able to boost their employability and self-esteem. They have also been able to shorten their unemployment period and have gained valuable work experience. NGOs in Finland and Sweden have employed young people through practical training and an increasing number of long-term unemployed, through employment subsidies (New Work Project 2000; Statistics Sweden).

The role of NGOs in Finland and Sweden increased following the economic recession of the 1990s, which led to high unemployment and cut-backs in public spending. As a result, some public services were outsourced to the NGO sector through projects and joint delivery of services, which enabled the NGO sector to expand their operations and to employ more people in the two countries (Saari 2001; Nordfeldt et al. 2005).

However, the roles of NGOs may vary largely depending on the country, culture and welfare system. In this study, Finland and Sweden are rather similar for obvious reasons that have been explained in sub-Section 4.3 of "The Common history of Finland and Sweden as two Nordic Countries". But in many other EU countries, the principle of subsidiarity is interpreted in a communitarian manner. The principle of subsidiarity states that the state will intervene only when individuals or the family's capacity to provide for its members has been exhausted (Esping-Andersen 1990). It also states that government intervention in social life should be the last resort, and that when NGOs (including the civil society, trade unions, religious associations etc) can do something, it should preferably be done by them and not by the government unlike in Finland and Sweden. Archetypical examples of EU countries where the principle of subsidiarity applies - meaning the government intervenes only when individuals or the family can no longer cope are Austria, France, Germany and Italy (Esping-Andersen 1990). The principle of subsidiarity is also a form of conservatism in social policy often based on Catholic doctrine. Therefore, the question concerning the "viability" of NGOs in ALMPs, can be viewed differently in various welfare state regimes.

5 SUMMARY OF INCLUDED ARTICLES

In this Chapter, the author presents a summary of each of the articles included in this dissertation. For each article, the aim or objective of the research is highlighted and discussed.

5.1 ARTICLE I: The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study.

Thomas Babila Sama & Marja Outi Järvelä (2008): The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study. *International Journal of Social Work and Society*. Volume 6, 2008, Issue 1 [ISSN: 1613-8953]

Article I is entitled "The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study." The article examines the role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the improvement of employment in Finland with Jyväskylän Katulähetys as the case study NGO in the City of Jyväskylä. The article is based on empirical data and is grounded on both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The main research question was to find whether an NGO could be a viable alternative institution in the improvement of employment in Finland, with Jyväskylän Katulähetys as the case study NGO in the City of Jyväskylä. Meanwhile, the sub-research questions were as follows: (1) what role does the case study NGO play in the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, (2) what kind of relationship does the NGO have with the government in carrying out their services and activities aimed at improving employment in the City of Jyväskylä and (3), have the employees of the case study NGO found an outlet to address their problem of long-term unemployment through their employment with the NGO?

Regarding the research methodology, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from the case study NGO for analysis. Quantitative data was collected from 16 employees and from an official of the organization using questionnaire. The respondents were between the ages of 26 and 53, and they comprised of 7 men and 9 women. All of them had been unemployed between 1.5 and 10 years and thus, were considered as long-term unemployed people in Finland. Besides native Finns, some of the respondents were immigrants from Iran, Kosovo and Russia. On the other hand, the qualitative data for this study was collected through interviews and Participant Observation. The interviewees consisted of some randomly selected employees of the organization and two senior executives of the organization. The interviews were recorded on a disc recorder and later transcribed. Participant Observation was used to observe the services and activities in the various units of the organization, as well as the employees at work. Apart from these, secondary data was also collected for this study through different sources such as internet websites, office records of the case study NGO, and from published and unpublished research. In terms of the data analysis, the data from the questionnaire were analyzed through descriptive interpretation because the quantitative data was a very small sample. This was done to complement the findings from the interviews. Meanwhile, the interviews were analyzed through content analysis.

The findings of the study revealed that first, Jyväskylän Katulähetys plays complementary role by delivering social services to underprivileged groups of people such as alcoholics and drug addicts, who are not reached by conventional delivery systems. Through the delivery of these services, the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä. Thus, the relationship between the NGO and the government was found to be one of cooperation partnership through the local Employment Office and the City Council of Jyväskylä. Second, the findings revealed that the organization mobilizes local resources in the study area through their income generating activities. As a result, 30% of their budget comes from their income generating activities. Their income generating activities were found to have also created jobs for their employees. Third, the findings revealed that the organization was involved in environmental protection through their recycling activities which have also created jobs for their employees. As a result, environmental pollution in the study area had reduced. Fourth, the findings revealed that the employees of the organization work for 6.5-7 hours daily from Monday-Friday, while week-ends were free. Their monthly salaries varied between 900-1500 Euros. Fifth, since one of the roles of NGOs in Finland is to boost the working ability of the long-term unemployed (Siisiäinen et al., 2000), the skill development training of the organization was found to be inadequate for boosting the employability of their employees in the open labour market at the end of their 1-2 year contract. This was because the employees were not very sure they could find a job in the open labour market based on the training they had received in the organization.

Therefore, the employees were still trapped in a situation of recurring long-term unemployment because the findings revealed that, only 5-15% of them could find a job in the open labour market based on the training they had received from the organization, and at the end of their contract. The reason for the inadequate training was due to insufficient funding from the government, and the training period of between 2 days to 2 months was considered very short due to financial constraints. Sixth, the study found that the organization employs on short-term contract basis of between 1-2 years rather than long-term contract basis compared with the public and profit-seeking sectors. This was due to the agreement they had with the government through the local Employment Office. Seventh, the study found that the organization practices a target group approach of employing only long-term unemployed people from marginalized groups such as drug addicts and alcoholics. This was also due to the agreement they had with the government through the local Employment Office.

However, although employment in Jyväskylän Katulähetys is on short-term rather than long-term contract basis compared with the public and profit-seeking sectors, the organization was found contributing to the improvement of employment in the study area particularly regarding vulnerable groups of people in the labour market such as the long-term unemployed because through the organization, some long-term unemployed said they had found a path into working life. Additionally, thanks to the organization, 5-15% of their employees are able to find a job in the open labour market at the end of their contract based on the experience and training received from the organization. As of 2006, without the organization, many of the long-term unemployed in the City of Jyväskylä may hardly find a job and so, they will be trapped in long-term unemployment (Sama 2007). However, the study concluded that for the NGO to become a viable alternative institution for the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, it must improve the skill development training of its employees, as well as increase collaboration with other actors that are working toward the same goals.

5.2 ARTICLE II: NGOs as Employers in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä.

Thomas Babila Sama (2008): NGOs as Employers in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. Volume 3, 2008 [ISSN 1833-1882]

Article II is entitled "NGOs as Employers in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä". The study examines NGOs as employers in Finland with Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä as the case study NGO. The study is empirical and it employed both quantitative and

qualitative research methods. The main research question of the study was to find whether an NGO could be a potential employer in Finland with Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä as the case study NGO. The sub-research questions were (1) what role does the case study NGO play as an employer in the City of Jyväskylä, (2) what kind of relationship does the NGO have with the government as an employer in the City of Jyväskylä and (3), have the employees of the NGO found an outlet to address their problem of long-term unemployment through their employment in the NGO?

Regarding the research methodology, the data for this study is the same like in Article I. Similarly, the data analysis for this study is similar to Article I. Thus, Articles I and II are similar but different in their approaches. Articles I and II are similar because the two articles are based on the same empirical data. On the other hand, the two articles are different because Article I examines the role of the case study NGO from the perspective of improving employment in the City of Jyväskylä, while Article II examines the role of the case study NGO from the perspective of an employer in the City of Jyväskylä. Another difference between Articles I and II is that in Article I, the findings revealed that the NGO makes a contribution in improving the employment of long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä, while in Article II, the findings revealed that the NGO makes a contribution as an employer by employing disadvantaged groups of people in the labour market of the City of Jyväskylä. As an employer in the City of Jyväskylä, the findings revealed that the NGO employs mainly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts. This was due to the partnership cooperation agreement which the organization has with the local Employment Office which states that the organization has to employ specifically long-term unemployed people on a 1-2 year contract basis. In return, the organization receives monthly employment subsidies for each person employed from the local Employment Office. This study found that the people employed in the organization are people registered as unemployed by the local Employment Office, and are people who face difficulties in finding a job either in the public sector or the profit-seeking sector because they lack the required professional qualifications.

The findings also revealed that the relationship between the organization and the government was that of partnership cooperation through the local Employment Office and the City Council. Through the local Employment Office, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Labour and through the City Council, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Additionally, the findings revealed that the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Environment through their recycling activities. In return, the Ministry of Environment gives the organization grants which also help them to create jobs for the unemployed in recycling of textiles.

5.3 ARTICLE III: Conceptualizing Non-Governmental Organizations: Still Searching for Conceptual Clarity.

Thomas Babila Sama (2010): Conceptualizing Non-Governmental Organizations: Still Searching for Conceptual Clarity. *Journal of Social and Psychological Sciences*, 2010. Volume 3 (1):32-54. ISSN 1756-7483 (print) 1756-7491 (online). Oxford Mosaic Publications Ltd 2010

Article III is entitled “Conceptualizing Non-Governmental Organizations: Still Searching for Conceptual Clarity”. The article is a qualitative study which examines the concept of ‘NGOs’ with the argument that there is a lack of conceptual clarity regarding the concept because different terms are often used interchangeably when referring to NGOs such as Third Sector Organization (TSO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) and Voluntary Organization (VO). The study was designed to review some of the conceptualizations of NGOs namely, Private Voluntary Organization (PVO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO) and the Third Sector. There were no primary or empirical data for this study. Instead, secondary data were collected for this study through books from libraries, internet websites, Journal articles and published and unpublished research. Thus, the data were qualitative and the study based on theoretical discourse and reflection on the concept of ‘NGOs’.

Regarding the data analysis technique for this study, the qualitative data were analyzed through content analysis for relevant information to support the argument that there is a lack of conceptual clarity regarding the concept of NGO.

The findings revealed that first, in spite of the increasing importance of NGOs as partners in the development of both Northern and Southern countries, there is a lack of conceptual clarity about the diversity of NGOs because academic research has not systematically followed and conceptualized NGOs in a manner that differentiates their various types, functions, networks, rationalities and the complex interactions within themselves and with other actors working in the same field. Hence, there is a cross-use of different concepts to conceptualize NGOs which sometimes lead to conceptual confusion regarding the nature, types and roles of various NGOs. For example, some scholars working on the same area of research often use different concepts to group NGOs, leading to different categories of NGOs like Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Public Voluntary Organization (PVO), Membership Organization (MO), Grassroots Organization (GRO), People’s Organization (PO), Civil Service Organization (CSO) and Third Sector Organization (TSO). Second, the findings revealed that the current literature used in conceptualizing NGOs is full of generalizations about NGOs as if all NGOs were the same. This is because sometimes, scholars use the concept ‘NGO’ but give it a different name. For example, when one scholar talks of ‘Non-Governmental Organization’ (NGO), the other may talk of ‘Grassroots Organization’ (GRO) and the next may talk of ‘Civil Society Organ-

ization' (CSO). In all these, the scholars are talking about the same concept - 'NGO'. Third, the findings also revealed that the literature that is often used to conceptualize NGOs is based on the assumptions about the differences between the public and the profit-seeking sectors, rather than what the NGOs really are. For example, by identifying all the different types of organizations as 'non-governmental', 'private' or 'voluntary' organizations, scholars fail to reflect the diversity of the organizations.

However, the study concluded that it is not advocating for scholars working in the field of NGOs to change the concepts which they are currently using, but rather, the study tries to make them more aware of the conceptual problems relating to the terms they are currently using and the hidden implications behind them.

5.4 ARTICLE IV: Role of NGOs in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden.

Thomas Babila Sama (2011): Role of NGOs in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden. Submitted for consideration by the *International Journal of Leadership in Public Services*

Article IV is entitled "Role of NGOs in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden". Article IV is a mixed method comparative case study which investigates the role of NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also the relationship²⁶ that NGOs have with the government in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. This study is empirical and employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods. For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two NGOs selected in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one NGO selected in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two selected NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one selected NGO in Sweden in terms of size and employment potential.

Regarding the empirical data collection for this study, the quantitative data were collected through questionnaire and the qualitative data were collected through interviews. A total of 130 employees of the two selected NGOs in Finland responded to the questionnaire, while a total of 140 employees of the one selected NGO in Sweden also responded to the questionnaire. The sample size was full population sampling involving all the employees of the selected NGOs

²⁶ In this study, when I refer to the relationship between NGOs and the government, I mean the central government with its ministries, government agencies and publicly-owned establishments at the national, regional and local levels.

in Finland and Sweden. The interview data for this study were collected from two senior executives of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The two executives of each of the selected NGOs were interviewed regarding the functioning of their organization. All the interviews were recorded on a disc recorder and later transcribed. The names of the interviewees were taken by the researcher but kept anonymous in the analysis to safeguard confidentiality of their responses. On the other hand, secondary data were also collected for this study through literature reviews, published and unpublished research and from internet websites.

Concerning the data analysis of this study, the quantitative data from the questionnaire were analyzed using SPSS²⁷. The analysis of the questionnaire comprised of frequencies and cross tabulations. In contrast, the interview data were analyzed using MAXQDA²⁸ which is a software for analyzing qualitative data such as interviews. Some of the interview data were also analyzed through content analysis to complement the findings from the questionnaire.

The findings of this study revealed that first, the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by employing long-term unemployed people in the labour market. For example, of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland, 76.9% (100 respondents) had been unemployed for over a year before they found the job with the NGOs. Similarly, of the respondents of the selected NGO in Sweden, 62.1% (87 respondents) had been unemployed for over a year before they found the job with the NGO. Second, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by creating jobs for unemployed people through the delivery of social services, mobilization of local resources and the undertaking of other types of activities. For example, the NGOs collect second hand goods such as clothes and furniture from charity and sell them in their second hand shops. The income generated from the sales is ploughed back into the budget of the organization. Third, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden through the provision of voluntary work to disadvantaged groups of people in the labour market - some of who acquire skills that can enable them to find a job in the labour market. These findings suggest that ALMPs help long-term unemployed people to find work and to boost their career prospects in Finland and Sweden.

The relationship between the NGOs and the Governments of Finland and Sweden was found to be one of partnership cooperation at the local level, through the City Councils and the local Employment Offices. In this regard, the study found that the NGOs cooperate with the Ministry of Labour through the

²⁷ SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) is a computer application that provides statistical analysis of data. The SPSS website is at www.spss.com.

²⁸ MAXQDA is a state-of-the-art instrument for professional text analysis. The first version was released in 1989. Online Available at: http://www.scienceplus.nl/index.php?gclid=CP76xIWZ0qQCFQiS3wodijGMlg&option=com_virtuemart&category_id=36&page=shop.browse&Itemid=2&vmcchk=1&Itemid=42

local Employment Offices, and with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, through the City Councils. The City Councils actually purchase services from the NGOs which the NGOs have to deliver to disadvantaged groups of people such as the homeless in the study areas. Through this partnership cooperation with the government at the local level, the NGOs are able to create jobs for the unemployed where they are located in the two countries.

However, the findings revealed some similarities and differences between Finland and Sweden regarding the implementation of their ALMPs by NGOs. The main similarity between Finland and Sweden regarding the implementation of their ALMPs by NGOs was that the implementation takes place at the local level through the City Councils and the local Employment Offices. This was because the study found that in the two countries, the local governments carry-out most of the decision and policy-making concerning NGOs due to the decentralized administrative system. In contrast, the main difference between Finland and Sweden regarding the implementation of their ALMPs by NGOs was that Finland had a more bureaucratic system than Sweden in recruiting their employees because all the employees of the selected NGOs in Finland were employed through the local Employment Offices, while those of the NGO in Sweden were employed directly from the open labour market. Thus, the study concluded that although Finland and Sweden are two Nordic countries, they slightly differ in the implementation of their ALMPs with regard to NGOs.

5.5 ARTICLE V: NGOs and Challenges confronted in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden.

Thomas Babila Sama (2011): NGOs and Challenges confronted in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden. Submitted for consideration by *Voluntary Sector Review*

Article V is entitled “NGOs and Challenges confronted in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden”. The article is a qualitative comparative case study which investigates the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and how to overcome the challenges. For purposes of the study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden are the same as in Article IV above. However, the two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere, while the selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equiva-

lent to the one NGO selected in Sweden in terms of size and employment potential.

Regarding the data collection, the qualitative data for this study were collected through interviews with two senior executives of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The interviews were conducted in English and in the premises of the NGOs in Finland and Sweden in February and March 2010. The interviewees were selected based on the fact that as senior executives of the NGOs, they know perfectly the operation of the NGOs on a daily basis. All the interviews were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed for analysis. The interviews included questions about the challenges confronting the NGOs and how the challenges could be overcome. Secondary data were also collected for this study through literature reviews, brochures from the selected NGOs, published and unpublished research, and from internet websites. The interview data were analyzed thematically using MAXQDA which is a software for analyzing qualitative data such as interviews. The interview data were also analyzed through content analysis.

The findings of this study revealed that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden were confronted with (1) funding challenges, because they did not have sufficient funding for their operations; (2) workforce recruitment challenges, because they had to employ mainly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups in the labour market like alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts - some of who had little or no professional skills - particularly in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland; and (3) competition challenges, with other stakeholders to win bids from the City Council - particularly in the case of the selected NGO in Sweden. The main suggestion regarding how these challenges could be overcome was that the Governments of Finland and Sweden should provide the NGOs with adequate funding for their activities.

Overall, the study found that the main similarity between the two countries was that the selected NGOs were faced with the same problem of insufficient funds to operate smoothly. Meanwhile, the main difference was that the NGO in Sweden competes with profit-seeking organizations and businesses to win bids for the delivery of social services from the City Council, whereas this was not the case with the NGOs in Finland. The NGOs in Finland do not compete with profit-seeking organizations and businesses to win bids for the delivery of social services from the City Councils, but rather, they are given services by the City Councils for delivery to certain target groups of underprivileged people for which they get paid by the City Councils. Thus, this study concluded that although Finland and Sweden are both Nordic welfare states, they differ in some ways in the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of their ALMPs.

6 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this doctoral study was to discuss whether NGOs are viable actors in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. For purposes of the study, Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere were selected in Finland for the data collection, while Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm was selected for the data collection in Sweden. The focus of this study was to find the role played by the case study NGOs with regard to the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, to review the existing relationship between the NGOs and the Governments of Finland and Sweden, to investigate the challenges confronting the NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden and lastly, to find how the challenges confronting the NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden could be overcome. This study has also reviewed unemployment as a social problem and has summarized the five articles included in this dissertation. Thus, this Chapter summarizes the main findings of the study with focus on the role played by the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden, regarding the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries.

6.1 NGOs in the Changing Organizational Landscape

The growing social problems in Finland and Sweden such as long-term unemployment and the difficulty of finding solutions to them have created space for different actors like NGOs to play a role (Trägårdh 2005). Owing to the bureaucracy that prevails in public organizations, their role in reaching disadvantaged groups of people has not been very effective. Profit-seeking organizations on the other hand are comparatively effective, but are less sensitive to the needs of disadvantaged groups of people because of their desire to make profit (Weisbrod 1977; Brown & Kortén 1991). Hence, this situation invites an alternative institution which would be able to reach the target groups of people. In Finland and Sweden, the government has come to recognize NGOs as cooperation

partners in the implementation of their ALMPs and due to this recognition, the roles of NGOs have increased in the areas of service delivery and employment. However, the roles of NGOs in Finland and Sweden can be found in diversity because of the nature of the problems which they have to address. Hence, NGOs in the two countries can play the roles of doer, mobilizer, catalyst and activist.

In Finland and Sweden, the growth of NGOs particularly since the 1990s can be attributed to a number of factors. First, the economic recession of the 1990s created a large number of socio-economic problems in the two countries which created space for the intervention of NGOs. Second, the change in the national social welfare and employment strategies by which the Governments of Finland and Sweden have come to recognize NGOs as cooperation partners, has also encouraged the participation of many people in the delivery of social services through NGOs in the two countries. As a result, many people have become employed in NGOs in Finland and Sweden (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Helander & Laaksonen 1999).

However, in the two countries, the roles of NGOs as cooperation partners of the government have not been clearly specified in government policies.²⁹ Therefore, in the absence of these policies, NGOs in Finland and Sweden freely exercise their functions according to their own wishes. In this regard, some of the main policy shortcomings for the emergence of NGOs as partners in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden are first, some of the NGOs in the two countries are guided by service delivery, project cycle and short-term contract approach, rather than by long-term contract approach. This implies that at the end of the service delivery, project cycle or short-term contract, their employees have to become unemployed again. Thus, it is challenging to implement ALMPs through a short-term approach in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden.

Second, there is a lack of monitoring and evaluation of NGOs in Finland and Sweden, in the case of the selected NGOs in the two countries. This is because there is no institution responsible for this function in the two countries since the governments have allowed NGOs to function independently (see Legislationline Finland; Nordfeldt et al. 2005). One of the reasons for this *laissez-faire* attitude of the governments toward NGOs could be that most of the NGOs involved in the delivery of social services in Finland and Sweden, have a religious background and long history of delivering services under the church. Thus, the governments have trust in them because they function on the principles of religiosity (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Yeung 2006). In this vein, since NGOs in Finland and Sweden are responsible for monitoring and evaluating their own undertakings, it is hard to judge if they are effective service providers or employers in the cases of the selected NGOs in the two countries.

²⁹ For a more detailed description of Finland and Sweden, see Nordfeldt et al. (2005) and Pättiniemi, P. (2008).

6.2 NGOs and Policy Implications

The role of the selected NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden gives a mixed picture because the organizations practice a target group approach. The target group approach is based on the fact that the organizations have to employ mainly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups in the labour market like alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts - particularly in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland. The long-term unemployed in Finland and Sweden are people who have been unemployed for a period of at least a year (Ackum Agell 1995; Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1997). The targeting of mainly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups - particularly by the selected NGOs in Finland is connected to the partnership cooperation agreement which the organizations have with the government through the local Employment Offices. Similarly, in Sweden, the case study NGO (Stockholms Stadsmission) also practices a target group approach in the employment of some of their employees, although this is marginal compared to the selected NGOs in Finland.

However, as intervening organizations, the selected NGOs are able to employ long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups who otherwise would have little or nothing to do - particularly in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland. Thus, the implication of the organizations' role provides useful input in the design of policies for NGOs and effective ways of future NGOs-Government cooperation in Finland and Sweden. Additionally, the implication of the organizations' role also provides useful input in assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of NGOs, with regard to the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Overall, being culturally embedded, NGOs in Finland and Sweden are heavily influenced by historical traditions as seen in sub-Section 4.3 of "The Common history of Finland and Sweden as two Nordic Countries".

6.2.1 Resource Mobilization

NGOs in Finland and Sweden have attachment with disadvantaged and socially excluded groups of people and in this light, they can better understand 'local problems' and also motivate people to participate in the delivery of social services to vulnerable groups of people (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Nordfeldt et al. 2005). Thus, the Governments of Finland and Sweden have come to recognize NGOs as cooperation partners in the delivery of services and employment. Hence, about 15% of resources in Finland and Sweden are channeled through NGOs because NGOs have a long tradition of delivering services to people in the two countries (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Yeung 2006). Through the delivery of social services, some people have found both paid and voluntary work in NGOs in Finland and Sweden. On the other hand, NGOs in Finland and Sweden also mobilize local resources to generate their own income. As a result, about 30% of their budget comes from their income generating activities, while

70% of their budget comes from government subsidies (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Siisiäinen 2000).

In this vein, the findings of this study revealed that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden mobilize local resources in the form of income generating activities like the sale of second hand clothes in their flea markets. Local resource mobilization helps to meet project inputs and it also contributes to the long-term sustainability of the organizations. Sustainability is important to any organization and it usually depends on effective management and reliable sources of financial resources. Similarly, generating their own income is very important for the sustainability of the organizations in case the financial support from the governments is reduced or comes to an end. Lastly, own income is very important because the governments may use their funding position to influence policies in the NGO sector of the two countries.

6.2.2 Gender Roles Enhanced

The findings of this study revealed that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden play active role in promoting gender equality by employing a large percentage of women in the organizations. For example, 55.4% of the respondents of the selected NGOs in Finland were found to be women, and 69.3% of the respondents of the selected NGO in Sweden were also found to be women. This is a significant percentage considering that women are more at risk of long-term unemployment than men (EFILWC). From the interviewees of the organizations, the high rate of women's employment there was due to the fact that the jobs offered there are more suitable for women than men. For example, most of the employees working as salespersons in the flea markets run by the organizations were found to be women.

Hence, the organizations contribute in enhancing the general status of women and in improving their employment rate. Additionally, the organizations also contribute in the social integration of women and in their empowerment. Furthermore, the organizations contribute in helping women to become employable through their voluntary work. According to the interviewees, there are also many women working in the organizations as volunteers. Through their involvement as volunteers, the women acquire professional skills which can enable them to find a job in the open labour market. Overall, the implication of the organizations may contribute to policy-making for the empowerment of women in Finland and Sweden.

6.2.3 The Combined Effect of the NGOs - Governments Relationship

One of the main issues often raised in different circles is the relationship between NGOs and the government. The findings of this study revealed that in Finland and Sweden, the relationship between the selected NGOs and the governments was that of partnership cooperation in the areas of social services delivery and employment. Thus, in the home cities of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden, the study found that the NGOs were delivering social ser-

vices such as care for the homeless, in cooperation with the City Councils. This cooperation was due to the fact that the City Councils purchase services from the organizations for delivery to certain disadvantaged groups of people.

In delivering the social services, the organizations were found cooperating with the governments through the City Councils which are under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Similarly, in delivering the social services, the organizations were found creating both paid and voluntary work for unemployed people in the study areas. Additionally, the organizations were also found cooperating with the governments through the local Employment Offices which are under the Ministry of Labour. The social services delivered by the organizations support the national plan for delivering social services to the target groups of people in the two countries. In addition, their implication in employment also supports the national plan for employment policies targeting particularly long-term unemployed and other disadvantaged groups of people in the labour market of the two countries. Hence, this study found that due to the cooperation between the organizations and the governments, the rate of employment in the study areas has improved, the income of the long-term unemployed has increased, and the delivery of social services in the study areas has also increased. By their involvement, the NGOs play an advocacy and lobbying role through the promotion of their clients' interests. For example, NGOs in Finland and Sweden have become more active in the process of public policy and the development of legislation through lobbying. There are also various ways in which NGOs take part in national policy processes, especially as part of government commissions in the two countries. NGOs in the two countries also play active roles in referral considerations and consultations on various topics such as social exclusion, social welfare and employment (Julkunen 2000; Wijkström & Lundström 2002; Nordfeldt et al. 2005).

However, since about 70% of the budget of NGOs in Finland and Sweden comes from the governments through projects and subsidies - particularly from the City Councils and the local Employment Offices (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997; Hokkanen & Laaksonen 1999), the governments may use their funding position to influence policies in the NGO sector of the two countries. In another sense, the funding position of the governments may also affect the independence of NGOs as 'non-governmental organizations'. Additionally, since in Finland and Sweden the local governments carry out most of the decision and policy-making concerning NGOs, it becomes difficult for there to be a national policy for the NGO sector, although the governments of the two countries can influence national policies through legislation and the subsidy system. Furthermore, since in Finland and Sweden most NGOs operate within a diverse set of fields at the local level, it becomes difficult to create a harmonious policy environment at the national level for NGOs in the two countries.

6.3 Contribution of the Study

This study is the outcome of research undertaken since 2007 with Jyväskylän Katulähetys and Pirkanmaan Sininauha as the case study NGOs in Finland, and Stockholms Stadsmission as the case study NGO in Sweden. The case study NGOs' social services, income generating and other activities have created jobs for unemployed people in the study areas and as a result, have improved employment there. Some disadvantaged groups of unemployed people like the long-term unemployed in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland, found the organizations as one through which they could address their problem of long-term unemployment. Hence, in delivering social services such as institutional rehabilitation services, the organizations were found contributing to the social wellbeing of people in the study areas. Additionally, through their income generating activities, the organizations were found generating income in the study areas.

In this regard, since various factors contribute to unemployment and particularly long-term unemployment in Finland and Sweden, and since it is difficult for the public and profit-seeking sectors to tackle the problem alone, the cooperation partnership between the NGOs and the governments is a welcome initiative to tackle the problem of particularly long-term unemployment in the two countries. Therefore, this study provides the basis for more effective roles and also the limitations of NGOs as cooperation partners of the governments in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. This study also contributes to the development of policies for NGOs in the areas of social services delivery and employment in the two countries.

6.4 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Study

NGOs in Finland and Sweden such as those selected for this study could deliver various social services for the welfare of their target groups of people in order to create jobs for the unemployed in the two countries. However, the challenge facing NGOs in their operation is how they can establish their role among the other actors, and how they can become more sustainable without the governments' financial support. Another challenge facing NGOs in the two countries is how they can be better institutionalized since they operate at the local level in cooperation with the City Councils and the local Employment Offices. Additionally, NGOs in Finland and Sweden face the challenge of employing people on short-term rather than long-term contract basis and thus, their employees were vulnerable to becoming unemployed again at the end of their contract period. Furthermore, despite the important roles that NGOs in Finland and Sweden play in the delivery of social services for the creation of jobs, there are still some policy shortcomings regarding their roles.

However, despite these challenges and policy shortcomings confronting NGOs in Finland and Sweden, the governments have come to recognize them as cooperation partners in the implementation of their ALMPs. In recognition of their increasing role, further research is imperative on how NGOs can establish their role among the other actors such as the public and profit-seeking sectors. Similarly, concerning the sustainability of NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, many people doubt if NGOs can effectively function on their own resources. In this regard, another area of research could be “NGOs and the mobilization of local resources”. Additionally, since NGOs in Finland and Sweden are not well institutionalized because of the lack of national policies due to the fact that they operate at the local level in cooperation with the City Councils and the local Employment Offices, further research is needed to better institutionalize NGOs in the two countries. Furthermore, due to the policy shortcomings of NGOs in Finland and Sweden, further research is imperative to explore effective ways of cooperation in terms of monitoring and evaluating the undertakings of NGOs in the two countries. Lastly, since NGOs in Finland and Sweden employ on short-term contract basis after which their employees have to become unemployed again as in the case of the selected NGOs in this study, further research is imperative on how NGOs can employ permanently or on long-term contract basis in the two countries.

YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Tämän väitöskirjan tarkoituksena on tarkastella ovatko kansalaisjärjestöt kyvykkäitä toimijoita aktiivisen työvoimapolitiikan (ATP) toimeenpanossa Suomessa ja Ruotsissa. Väitöskirja perustuu mixed-method lähestymistavalla toteutettuun tapaustutkimukseen, jossa analyysia varten kerättiin sekä primääri- että sekundääriaineistoa. Päättökysymys oli: "Ovatko kansalaisjärjestöt kyvykkäitä toimijoita Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa?" Tarkentavina tutkimuskysymyksinä olivat: (a) mikä rooli kansalaisjärjestöillä on Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa, (b) mikä suhde kansalaisjärjestöillä on valtioon näiden kahden maan ATP:n toimeenpanossa, (c) mitä haasteita kansalaisjärjestöt kohtaavat Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa, ja (d) kuinka nämä kansalaisjärjestöt voivat vastata Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa kohtaamiin haasteisiin? Tutkimusta varten valittiin kaksi kansalaisjärjestöä Suomesta ja yksi Ruotsista. Kaksi Suomesta valittua järjestöä olivat Jyväskylän Katulähetys Jyväskylästä ja Pirkanmaan Sininauhaliitto Tampereelta, kun taas Ruotsista valittiin Stockholms Stadmission Tukholmasta. Suomesta valittiin kaksi ja Ruotsista yksi kansalaisjärjestö, koska kahden suomalaisen kansalaisjärjestön katsottiin vastaavan ruotsalaista kansalaisjärjestö kooltaan ja työllistämispotentiaaliltaan. Tutkimuksen primääriaineisto kerättiin kyselylomakkeilla ja haastatteluin. Yhteensä 130 työntekijää valituista kahdesta suomalaisesta järjestöstä ja 140 työntekijää ruotsalaisesta kansalaisjärjestöstä vastasi kyselyyn. Otoksena oli koko tutkittava populaatio käsittäen kaikki kyseisten kansalaisjärjestöjen työntekijät. Haastatteluaineisto kerättiin kunkin kansalaisjärjestön kahdelta johtajatasen työntekijältä. Haastatteluilta kysyttiin organisaation toimivuudesta ja muita sen toimintaan liittyviä kysymyksiä. Tutkimusta varten kerättiin myös sekundääriaineistoa kirjallisuuskatsauksien, julkaistujen ja julkaisemattomien tutkimusten sekä Internet-sivujen kautta. Kyselyaineistoa analysoitiin SPPS-ohjelman avulla, joka on tarkoitettu tilastollisten aineistojen, kuten kyselyiden, analysoimiseen. Haastatteluaineisto analysoitiin puolestaan MAXQDA-ohjelmalla ja sisällönanalyysin keinoin kyselyaineistosta johdettujen tulosten täydentämiseksi. Tutkimuksen tulokset paljastavat, että valituilla kansalaisjärjestöillä on aktiivinen rooli Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa pitkäaikaistyöttömien ja muiden heikossa työmarkkina-asemassa olevien työllistämisen kautta – erityisesti näin on valitun kahden suomalaisen kansalaisjärjestön tapauksessa. Kansalaisjärjestöjen ja valtion suhde ATP:n toimeenpanossa Suomessa ja Ruotsissa näyttäytyi kumppanuusyhteistyösuhteena, joka tapahtui kaupunkien ja paikallisten työvoimatoimistojen kautta. Tulokset myös osoittivat, että suurimmat kansalaisjärjestöjen kohtaamat haasteet Suomen ja Ruotsin ATP:n toimeenpanossa olivat rahoitushaasteet, jotka johtuivat toimintojen riittämättömästä rahoituksesta, työvoiman rekrytointihaasteet liittyen siihen, että kansalaisjärjestöjen täytyy työllistää erityisesti pitkäaikaistyöttömiä ja muita heikossa työmarkkina-asemassa olevia – erityisesti kahden suomalaisen kansalaisjärjestön tapauksessa – ja kilpailuhaasteet muiden sidosryhmien kanssa

koskien kaupunkien järjestämiä tarjouskilpailuja – erityisesti ruotsalaisen kansalaisjärjestön tapauksessa. Tulokset myös osoittavat, että tärkein ehdotus näiden haasteiden voittamiseksi on, että valtion tulisi rahoittaa kansalaisjärjestöjä riittävästi mahdollistaakseen niiden tehokas toiminta. Suurin yhtäläisyys näiden kahden maan välillä oli, että ATP:n toimeenpano suhteessa kansalaisjärjestöihin tapahtuu paikallisella tasolla kaupunkien ja paikallisten työvoimatoimistojen kautta, koska paikallishallinto toteuttaa suurimman osan kansalaisjärjestöjä koskevista kansallisista päätöksistä. Suurin ero kahden maan välillä koskien kansalaisjärjestöjen toimeenpanemaa ATP:aa oli, että kansalaisjärjestöt Suomessa pyrkivät tekemään enemmän yhteistyötä paikallisten työvoimaviranomaisien kanssa työntekijöiden rekrytoimisessa, kun taas Ruotsissa yhteistyötä pyritään tekemään enemmän kaupunkien kanssa. Näin ollen tutkimus päättyi siihen, että vaikka Suomi ja Ruotsi ovat molemmat pohjoismaisia hyvinvointivaltioita, nämä kaksi maata eroavat hieman mitä tulee kansalaisjärjestöihin ATP:n toimeenpanijoina. Tämä väitöskirja koostuu johdannosta ja viidestä artikkelista, jotka käsittelevät kansalaisjärjestöihin ja ATP:n toimeenpanoon liittyviä teemoja Suomessa ja Ruotsissa.

Asiasanat: kansalaisjärjestöt, kolmas sektori, pitkäaikaistyöttömyys, aktiivinen työvoimapolitiikka, Suomi, Ruotsi

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: The Questionnaire questions to employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, Pirkanmaan Sininauha and Stockholms Stadsmission

1. Age
2. Marital Status
3. Highest level of academic qualification
4. What is your professional qualification?
5. In which Department do you work in this organization?
6. What is your job in this organization?
7. How long have you worked in this organization?
8. What type of contract do you have in this organization?
9. How long is your contract with this organization?
10. What was your previous job?
11. How long were you unemployed before you got this job?
12. Were you trained for this job by the organization?
13. How long were you trained for this job by the organization?
14. How many days do you work per week?
15. Do you work on weekends?
16. How many hours do you work per day?
17. How many hours do you work per week?
18. How did you know about this job vacancy?
19. What were you receiving as unemployment benefits before you got this job?
20. What is your monthly salary?
21. Are you satisfied with this job?

**APPENDIX 2: Interview Questions to officials of Jyväskylän Katulähetys,
Pirkanmaan Sininauha and Stockholms Stadsmission**

1. Briefly describe your organization?
2. Do you have any cooperation with the Government and what kind of cooperation do you have with the Government?
3. Which groups of people do you provide your services to?
4. Does the Government control, monitor or evaluate the work that you do?
5. Which are the sources of your organization's income?
6. Does the Government consider how much you have in your budget before providing you with financial support?
7. Does the Government influence the kind of services that you provide using its funding position?
8. Who are the people you employ to provide the services and how do you employ them?
9. Do some of your employees come from certain groups of people?
10. Do you participate in employing long-term unemployed people and how do you do this?
11. When did you start cooperation with the Government and other stakeholders?
12. Do you sign any contract with your employees and for how long is the contract?
13. What is the organizational structure of your organization?
14. Who manages your organization on a day to day basis?
15. Does the Government supervise, monitor or evaluate your work?
16. How many people work in your organization per day?
17. What role do you think your organization is playing?
18. Is there a way employment in your organization can be made more permanent?
19. Which major problems do you face in your organization?

APPENDIX 3: Letter of intent to collect data by Questionnaire in Stockholms Stadsmission – Stockholm, Sweden

Thomas Babila Sama,
Lehdokintie 2D 32,
40520 - Jyväskylä,
Finland.
20th January 2010

PhD Student of Social and Public Policy,
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy,
University of Jyväskylä (www.jyu.fi),
P.O. Box 35, FIN- 40014 Jyväskylä, Finland

To/
The Director,
Stockholms Stadsmission,
Stockholm - Sweden

Dear Madam,

Letter of intent to collect data by Questionnaire in Stockholms Stadsmission, Stockholm - Sweden

I am writing to explain why I wish to collect data for my doctoral research from all the employees of Stockholms Stadsmission in Stockholm using questionnaire. First of all, I am a Cameroonian citizen of the male sex and since 2004, I have been living in Finland and studying in the University of Jyväskylä where I completed my Master of Social Sciences (M.Soc.Sc.) degree, majoring in Social and Public Policy in 2007, in the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, at the Faculty of Social Sciences. Presently, I am in the third year of my PhD study majoring in the same Social and Public Policy, in the same Department and in the same University. My Supervisor is Professor Marja Outi Järvelä, who is the Head of the Unit and her contact information is as follows: e.mail address: mjarvela@yfi.jyu.fi; Office Telephone: +358 14 26 03 111.

That said, the Topic of my PhD research/dissertation is “NGOs and the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden”. The aim of the research is to discuss the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) of Finland and Sweden. To fulfill this, I have decided to select two NGOs in Finland and one NGO in Sweden for a case study which could be generalized in the two countries because the NGOs have a religious background and share common interests to help underprivileged groups of people through which they are able to create jobs. Thus, I have selected “Jyväskylän Katulähetys” in the City of Jyväskylä and “Pirkanmaan Sininauha” in the City of Tampere, for the case study in Finland. On the other hand, I have selected “Stockholms Stadsmission” in Stockholm – Sweden for the case study in Sweden. My reason for collecting data by questionnaire is that I will be able to collect socio-demographic infor-

mation about the employees of the organizations, which I will analyze statistically using SPSS software to come out with quantitative findings/results on the role played by these NGOs in the labour market. The aim is to show how NGOs or the Third Sector is playing an important role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden.

The findings of this study may lead to similarities and differences on how the NGO sector functions in both countries since the chosen NGOs are of the same type. The term 'Third Sector' will be used interchangeably for NGOs in this study. It is worth noting that this research is a continuation of my Master of Social Sciences (M.Soc.Sc.) research-study entitled "The Role of an NGO in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: The Case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä." The present study is an extension of my M.Soc.Sc. research in that it falls in line with the role of NGOs involved in the areas of services and employment. Since this is a doctoral research, I decided to take another country and Sweden was the most suitable because Sweden and Finland share a lot of things in common.

This research will be useful in contributing to existing knowledge on the role of NGOs in general, and specifically on the role that NGOs play in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden. Additionally, this study may be useful to the NGOs in terms of improving their work. Finally, the outcome/results of this study may be useful to local, regional and national policy makers in Finland and Sweden, for the formulation of policies for NGOs that are involved in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries.

This questionnaire is anonymous because it contains no names or identification of the respondents. The respondents are required to only tick the correct box or write where it is necessary. They can do this either online when the questionnaire is e.mailed to them or write on the printed questionnaire. On this note, I look forward to a favourable collection of data with the questionnaire in your organization. Thank you.

Sincerely Yours,

Thomas Babila Sama

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

THE ROLE OF A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN FINLAND: A CASE STUDY

by

Thomas Babila Sama and Marja Outi Järvelä (2008)

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The Role of a Non-Governmental Organization in the Improvement of Employment in Finland: A Case Study

Thomas Babila Sama and Marja Outi Järvelä (2008)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND

Abstract

This study discusses one Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) as an alternative institution for the improvement of employment in a Finnish city. Empirical data was collected from 16 employees and from an official of the organization using questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. The data was analyzed qualitatively and the findings revealed that, the organization plays complementary role in cooperating with the government to provide social services to underprivileged groups of people, through which the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä. However, the skill development training of the organization was found to be inadequate for boosting the employability of their employees in the open labour market, once their 1-2 year contract ended. The study concluded that for the organization to become a viable alternative institution for the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, it must improve the skill development training of their employees, as well as increase collaboration with other actors that are working towards the same goals.

Keywords: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Third Sector, employment, unemployment, employment subsidy, Finland.

1. Introduction

Since the mid 1970s, there was a new trend in institution building and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) appeared as the third sector in achieving decentralized, sustainable and equitable development (Fowler, 1992). It has now been recognized that NGOs with their flexibility, responsiveness and adaptability can also play important roles in the improvement of employment in the society (Korten, 1987; Clark, 1991). As NGOs gained expertise and experience over the years, their roles have expanded and changed. Several reasons can be held accountable for the emergence and proliferation of NGOs since the 1970s. Among the leading ones are 'market' and 'government' failure in African, European, Asian and Latin American countries (Hossain and Mälkiä, 1996).

Similarly, national public sectors in several countries are being downsized and at the same time, there is a need to find new ways of improving employment. Thus, NGOs have become an area of interest among different actors such

as academicians, practitioners, taxpayers, policy implementers, planners, the unemployed and also their clients, regarding their role. The lack of sufficient job growth in the public sector and the lack of professional skills of a large section of the labour force have resulted in the growth of unemployment in some countries. Additionally, the rapid change in technology has made it difficult for some who lack academic and professional qualifications to find a job in the open labour market. This situation has been compounded by the highly selective and competitive labour market policies which exclude those with low education, long periods of unemployment and other setbacks, thus creating space for NGOs and other social actors to play a role (Julkunen, 1999).

In Finland, unemployment has become a major social problem. The deep economic recession which plagued Finland in the 1990s, resulted to a sudden and steep rise in unemployment and the problem has become even more acute for the central government and the municipalities to handle (Julkunen, 1999). On the other hand, despite the growth in employment in the aftermath of the 1990s' recession, the share of women, the aged and the long-term unemployed out of all the unemployed is increasing. Geographical variation in the rate of unemployment is also alarming. Economic growth has been of benefit to growth centres around large cities but even within these, the growth of urban unemployment and social exclusion is on the rise, particularly among those with poor health, disability, lack of vocational training or due to their ethnic background (LOCIN, 2006). In the face of this situation, traditional government-led interventions and labour market policies have been insufficient in themselves, to tackle the problem of mounting unemployment, that has resulted to the alienation of a significant number of people from the Finnish society (Cinneide, 2000).

Consequently, the Finnish government has come to consider NGOs as vital cooperation partners in the improvement of employment in the country (Matthies, 1996; Ministry of Labour, 1998; Cinneide, 2000; Siisiäinen et al., 2000; Särkelä, 2004). However, many people doubt whether NGOs are viable alternative institutions for the improvement of employment in Finland. It is in this regard that the present study was undertaken with the aim of examining the role of one NGO in the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, in Finland.

2. Research Questions and Previous Literature

The main research question in this study was: is an NGO a viable alternative institution for the improvement of employment in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä? To answer this question, the sub research questions were:

- What role does the case study NGO play in the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä?
- What kind of relationship does the NGO have with the government in carrying out their services and activities aimed at improving employment in the City of Jyväskylä?

- Have the employees of the case study NGO found an outlet to address their problem of long-term unemployment through the employment with the NGO?

An examination of the previous literature to this study reveals that it was in the 1980s researchers started publishing a number of researches on the third sector in Finland. At that time, the researchers made a study of three distinct phases of the third sector in their discussion. Their main focus in the first and second phases was to explore the social issue of discussion in the Finnish third sector since the concept was still vague. But around the mid-1990s, a wider discussion began on the Finnish third sector due to the launching of a number of small scale research projects. The third phase of the discussion was characterized by the launching of several pilot and development projects on the third sector in Finland (New Work Project, 2000). Since then, several researches have been done on the third sector in Finland by both Finnish and foreign scholars.

In this regard, Weijola (1985) made one of the most significant study entitled: 'The Third Sector from the Perspective of Work and Employment'. The study analyzed the differences between the third, private and the public sectors as well as the third sector's dependency on the last two. The study also investigated the employment structures of the third sector and estimated its role as an employer. A similar study was also done by Helander (1998) and Hokkanen (1998).

Another researcher in the person of Rifkin (1995) conducted a research on the theme: 'End of Work' in which he introduced a model for a "civil exchange income" as a cure for growing unemployment. This led to the triggering of a lively debate on the role of the third sector in Finland. Overall, the focus of the debate was on the third sector's potential to tackle work-oriented problems in the country. There were two clearly distinct viewpoints on the subject. While some people thought the third sector could "obliterate" unemployment, others had a marginal perception for such a potential.

According to the interim report of a study called 'New Work Project' (2000), a group of Finnish researchers conducted a pilot research on the third sector in Finland. The title of the study was the 'Third Sector Employment Project' and it was done in two phases. Based on the interim report of the first phase in 2000, the study was a joint employment project of Finnish NGOs to investigate what is required in terms of knowledge, skills and financial support to enable NGOs create new jobs and long-term employment in the country than was the case. The purpose of the project was to find job descriptions for the third sector and to come-up with employment practices and funding mechanisms appropriate for NGOs in Finland. The organizations behind the project were the Finnish Youth Co-operation, the Finnish Sports Federation and the Finnish Federation for Social Welfare and Health. The two-year project (1998-2000) was funded by the European Union and the Finnish Ministry of Labour. The project leaders represented central NGOs in Finland and the project was undertaken in five cities of Helsinki, Joensuu, Jyväskylä, Oulu and Rovaniemi. Ten to fifteen organizations participated at each location and the work to achieve the purpose of the

project began with local working sessions. All the selected organizations had been central in employment related activities and were committed to the aims of the project both at local and national level. The research team was headed by Professor Kyösti Urponen and the research was done at the pilot project locations. The study provided a joint forum for NGO development work of a sort that had not been possible before. The project was going to facilitate an NGO partnership that produced joint visions and innovative ideas for improving employment and alternative forms of employment in Finland. The research methodology was both qualitative and quantitative, and the data was collected using questionnaires and interviews. Thanks to the result of the 'New Work Project', three nationwide federations commented on the insufficiency of funding for job creation in their 1999 budget. The project generated great interest on presentation of the first phase to the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. On 22nd September 1999, the government updated the project portfolio and included it on the list of projects to be followed-up under the heading "Economy and Employment".

Cinneide (2000) did a research on 'Local Employment Partnerships in Finland' on behalf of the OECD following a visit to Finland in February of 2000. The study was done within the framework of the OECD/LEED study of local partnerships in 8 countries. It was part of a wider national project initiated by the Finnish Ministry of Labour in July of 1999, to explore ways by which long-term unemployment could be tackled through local partnerships in Finland. The study examined three case studies of local partnerships that were active in the fight against unemployment and social exclusion in Finland at the time. In each of the cases, a general description of local socio-economic conditions was followed by an account of the nature of the partnership, its objectives and principal activities, together with an overall assessment of its contribution. This overview was based on a short working visit to each of the partnerships, written responses provided by them on request, as well as statistical data and related studies provided by the Finnish Ministry of Labour. The three selected partnerships represented a wide range of local economic and employment conditions prevailing in Finland. They were illustrative of many contrasting features of local partnerships in existence throughout the country. As such, they represented a good foundation on which to construct an overall analysis and assessment of local partnerships against unemployment and social exclusion in Finland. The study revealed that one of the weaknesses of local area partnerships in Finland is that, lack of clarity with regards to functions has caused confusion and tension within partnerships, between partnerships and funding bodies, and in the programme as a whole. However, it noted that the tripartite negotiations between the government, trade unions and employer federations have generated several national level agreements that have contributed significantly to the economic development and to the general prosperity of the country. The study concluded that local partnerships are regarded by many as having the potential of giving communities more control over their own lives, but that decision

makers may lack objective reality as frequently they have no direct experience of the problems which they seek to address.

Finally, Juvonen et al. (2002) undertook a research project in Finland entitled 'Pathway-to-Work' on behalf of the International Journal of Rehabilitation Research. The study was aimed at tailoring return-to-work plans for 140 middle-aged long-term unemployed participants with various disabilities, and getting half of them into work or training. The study had two research objectives. The first was to evaluate the outcomes of the return-to-work rehabilitation project, and the second was to determine what combination of different measures were necessary and effective in rehabilitating long-term unemployed people with disabilities. The research design was quantitative-quasi-experimental with a tailored control group and a registered follow-up group. The study concluded that even carefully tailored client work enables only some of the long-term unemployed people with disabilities to cross the job threshold and that other means of policy, strategy and intervention are needed to link the return-to-work interventions more closely with work, work places and enterprises.

The previous studies did not examine the viability of one NGO as an alternative employer in Finland and thus, the present study was significant because of its contribution to the understanding of how one NGO's services and activities are useful in job creation, for long-term unemployed people in order to improve employment in a Finnish city.

3. Research Methodology and Data Analysis Technique

This study is descriptive and empirical. It consists of primary and secondary data. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected for analysis in this study. A qualitative approach was employed for the purpose of getting the perspectives of the participants, while the quantitative component was vital in providing numerical data and the precise number of people involved in the study. On this account, both qualitative and quantitative data was collected to either complement or supplement each other, and also to contextualize the findings. Primary data was collected from 16 of the case study NGO employees and from an official using Questionnaires and Interviews. The employees were contacted to find out information relating to their employment, while the case study NGO official was contacted for information on the functioning of the organization and other operational issues. The respondents were between the ages of 26 and 53, and they consisted of 7 men and 9 women. All of them had been unemployed between 1.5 and 10 years, and thus, they were considered as long-term unemployed in Finland. They were also people of target groups like drug addicts and alcoholics. Besides native Finns, some of the respondents were immigrants from Iran, Kosovo and Russia.

Most of the Questionnaire questions were closed ended, while those of the interviews were mostly open ended. The interviews were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed. No names of the interviewees were taken by the researcher in order to safeguard anonymity and confidentiality of their re-

sponses. Thus, in the data quotations, no names, sex or age are specified. Altogether, four fieldwork visits were undertaken for the purpose of the data collection. Additionally, there was also the use of Participant Observation, to observe the services and activities in the various units of the organization, as well as the employees at work. Apart from these, secondary data was also collected through different sources such as internet websites, office records of the case study NGO, and also from published and unpublished research.

Concerning the data analysis technique, after collecting the qualitative and a small amount of quantitative data, the qualitative data was subjected to content analysis for appropriate information. The quantitative data provided justifications to the statements that were made in the qualitative data. However, much of the data was analyzed descriptively and/or interpretatively. The focus of the analysis was to assess the role played by the case study NGO in the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä. To the extent that the NGO helps the long-term unemployed to get back to working life, their role would have been positive and vice-versa. This analysis is based on the researcher's own judgement with respect to the data.

This study was undertaken in 2006 in the City of Jyväskylä located in Central Finland. The case study NGO was Jyväskylän Katulähetys otherwise known in English as the Jyväskylä Street Mission Association. The NGO is a Jyväskylä-based Christian common good organization, founded in 1953 with the aim of providing accommodation, clothing and food to the homeless and alcoholics in the City of Jyväskylä. Little by little, the organization expanded its undertakings and as of December 2006, it provides services in the fields of institutional rehabilitation, emergency, family work, youth work, food distribution and recreation. The organization also undertakes some activities in recycling and income generation. Most of the services provided by the organization are targeted towards alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents, ex-convicts and the youths (see Jyväskylän Katulähetys's website). However, it was in 1989 that the organization began receiving financial support in the form of employment subsidies from the City Council and the Employment Office, to enable them employ long-term unemployed people in the city through their undertakings. Prior to 1989, their work was voluntary and mainly funded by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and private donations (based on Questionnaire and Interview with official).

Since 1989, the role of the organization as a major service provider and as an employer has been enhanced by a cooperation partnership agreement with the City Council, and another with the Employment Office. According to the agreement with the City Council, the organization has to provide accommodation services to alcoholics and drug addicts besides other disadvantaged groups of people in the City of Jyväskylä. On the other hand, according to the agreement with the Employment Office, the organization has to employ specifically people who have been registered as unemployed for more than 500 days in the local Employment Office. This group of people is known as the long-term unemployed in Finland. The employment agreement also states that each year, the

organization has to employ 70 long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä.

The long-term unemployed people are employed to the organization from the Employment Office in the City of Jyväskylä. The Employment Office signs a one year contract agreement with the organization for each newly employed person. At the end of the one year contract, if the employee is appreciated by the organization, his/her contract would be renewed for a maximum of another one year, after which the employee has to leave the organization to seek for employment elsewhere. Of the 70 people the organization employs yearly, about 10 can get a 2 year contract and similarly, 70 people work for the organization each day (based on Interview with official). The employment at the organization is not without training. Newly employed people are trained without a salary for a maximum period of 2 months. However, the Employment Office pays the trainees 8 euros per day for the length of their training. During the training period, the organization does not receive any employment subsidy on behalf of the trainee (based on Questionnaire and Interview with official).

In relation to sources of income, the NGO receives financial support from the Employment Office and the City Council in the form of employment subsidies per employee. In fact, the City Council purchases social services from the organization for delivery to targeted groups of underprivileged people. Besides, the organization gets some additional income from the sale of their recycled products and second hand items at their 3 Eko Centre flea markets. Furthermore, the Ministry of Environment also gives them some financial support to enable them update their recycling system because the organization cooperates with them in the recycling of textiles in the City of Jyväskylä (based on Interview with official). Thus, the organization cooperates at the local level with three Ministries in Finland in connection with their work. They are the Ministries of Social Welfare and Health, Employment, and that of the Environment. The organization is headed by a General Manager who is assisted by units' Managers of the different services and activities. However, the General Assembly of the organization is the supreme decision making body made up of 150 members of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (based on Interview with official). Jyväskylän Katulähetys was selected as the case study NGO because the organization is the largest NGO with employment potentials in Central Finland, and it is also the largest employer of long-term unemployed people there. In 2005, the age variation of the organization's employees was; below 25 years of age, 12.9%; between 26-49 years, 54.0%; and above 49 years, 28.8% (based on Questionnaire and Interview with official).

3.1 Theoretical Framework

There are several theories underlying this study. In this regard, according to the public goods or the performance failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that people created NGOs as alternative institutions, when the government

or market could not provide public goods for everybody or serve the general interests of all. Similar views were also expressed by Brown and Korten (1991, 48) in which they argued that, state failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as innovative responses to different types of problems. On the other hand, Anheier (1990) claims that NGOs are capable of providing services more economically than the government. Additionally, NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake projects at lower labour costs than business entrepreneurs because they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Based on this kind of claims, failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the government, have less impact on the economy as a whole since nearly all NGO-led projects are undertaken at micro-level. On the contrary, in case the government or market fail, the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the emergence of NGOs. NGOs could fulfill unsatisfied needs like health care, social work or education services. On his part, James (1987) claims that the more a society is heterogeneous, the more conducive it becomes for the creation of an increasing number of NGOs.

Another relevant theory to this study is the contract failure theory. Based on the theory, when people encounter difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs could be more reliable or trustworthy as contractors between the people and business entrepreneurs because, business entrepreneurs could take undue advantage of the people's ignorance to make profit. Brown and Korten (1991, 48) argue that, NGOs could emerge as alternative institutions in case of market failure because, markets tend to be potentially vulnerable to failure in developing countries. In such situations, NGOs could emerge because people have trust in them more than the profit making organizations (Krashinsky 1986; Williamson 1985). Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in government initiated projects. Additionally, NGOs could also be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people in the society. In this regard, NGOs could be considered as alternative institutions through which socially disadvantaged groups of people are better served than the conventional system. Similarly, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of the underprivileged and are able to reach those segments of disadvantaged societies which are bypassed by public service delivery systems.

Finally, according to the theory of partnership or interdependence, the relationship between the government and NGOs could be 'conflicting', 'interdependent' or 'partnership'. If it happens that they have to share resources, experiences and expertise, the relationship might be one of complementing each other (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Under such circumstances, the 'theory of interdependence' or the 'theory of partnership' could be argued for the emergence of NGOs as partners.

4. Roles of NGOs in Finland

The Finnish social security policy is based on the Nordic welfare model and to a great extent, is organized through public sector services and financed through taxes. The role of NGOs is mainly to complement the range of public services available. Additionally, NGOs play the role of delivery and production of services, provision of voluntary work, expertise and mutual support. In this regard, 17% of social services and 5% of health services are produced by NGOs in the country.

Owing to the fact that local cooperation partnerships are regarded by many as having the potential of giving communities more control over their own lives, and owing to the fact that decision makers may lack objective reality as frequently they have no direct experience of the problems which they seek to address, NGOs in Finland play a catalyzing role of mobilizing the people for the purpose of undertaking social work in their communities. In this perspective, NGOs are seen as catalysts and mobilizers of the community. Additionally, NGOs in Finland play the role of recruiting marginalized people in their undertakings, and this has undoubtedly benefited the latter through the experiential learning and training opportunities offered by their involvement (Cinneide, 2000). As far as employment in NGOs in Finland is concern, their role is to improve employment possibilities through cooperation and partnership, and not to compete with either the public or private sector. Their role is also to find employment paths and to boost the working ability of the unemployed (New Work Project, 2000). In this regard, in 2003 for example, 32,000 people worked with NGOs in Finland (Särkelä, 2004).

NGOs in Finland also play the role of a cooperation partnership that produces joint visions and innovative ideas for improving employment, and alternative models of employment in the country. They are distinct employers from the others in that, they have special characteristics such as varied assignments and duties, a combination of paid and voluntary work, small working communities, expectations of spontaneity, self-directedness, and the central position of self-induced funding. Since there are many people without a job in Finland, the role of NGOs is to develop the ability of creating new job opportunities in the borderline between the services provided by the private and public sectors in order to improve employment in the country. NGOs in Finland also play the role of enhancing the employability of long-term unemployed people so that they can join the open labour market (New Work Project, 2000).

Through their engagement with NGOs, some people have received a contact with working life and they have been able to boost their self esteem. They have also been able to cut their unemployment period and have gained valuable work experiences. NGOs have employed young people through practical training and an increasing number of long-term unemployed, through the combined labour market subsidy (New Work Project, 2000). All in all, the role of NGOs increased in the Finnish social welfare system during the 1990s as a result of the economic recession which plagued the country (Saari 2001, 70).

5. Case Description

Due to the fact that the public and private sectors are unable to improve employment in Finland all by themselves, the role of NGOs like Jyväskylän Katulähetys as 'gap filler', mobilizer and cooperation partner has been given recognition by the Finnish government because the government cooperates with NGOs, in providing some social services through which the NGOs are able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the country (Helander and Laaksonen, 1999). Jyväskylän Katulähetys was found to be playing a complementary rather than a competitive role in providing a range of social services that are provided by the government. Based on research findings, the following social services were being provided by Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and its municipality, as of December 2006, to create jobs for long-term unemployed people, in order to improve employment there:

- Institutional rehabilitation services;
- Emergency services;
- Family Work services;
- Youth Work services;
- Food distribution services;
- Recreational services; and
- Buns' church services.

To provide the institutional rehabilitation services to their clients who are mostly alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents and ex-convicts, Jyväskylän Katulähetys owns about 200 flats for this purpose. Some of the flats are located in the City of Jyväskylä, while others are found in the Jyväskylä municipality. The duration of the institutional rehabilitation could be long or short-term. It is long-term when the clients have to be rehabilitated on a step-by-step basis for their situation to improve before they can return to normal life. In this context, the organization helps ex-convicts for example, to start a new life. Clients on short-term or emergency services are mostly people found drunk in the City of Jyväskylä and brought to the emergency unit of the organization by the police. Such people are given first aid, temporary accommodation and/or counseling at the emergency unit. The unit is open round the clock and has created employment for 2 employees in the organization.

Similarly, the organization provides accommodation and rehabilitation services to families with alcohol and drug addiction problems in order to keep the families together. The family services are also aimed at protecting the children of the families from the bad behaviour of their parents. The accommodation given to the families could be a single or multiple flat depending on the size of the family. The length of their stay there is from 1-2 years. Between 1999 and 2006, the family services unit supported 23 families with 28 children. During the period of accommodation, employees of the organization provide rehabilitation, counseling and psychiatric services to all the families. The ages of the families vary from 20-70 years, and some are in serious health condition. Whenever their health deteriorates, the employee(s) on duty will call for a doctor. Some of

the clients have no close associates other than the employees of the organization. However, the accommodation given to the families is not entirely free of charge because each of them has to pay a monthly rent of 200 euros to the organization. The Finnish government pays 150 euros, while the families have to complete the rest. The family work services unit has created jobs for a number of employees in the organization.

On the other hand, the organization provides Youth Work services to kids such as after school activities, which have created jobs for a few of their employees. Added to this is a youth cafeteria run by the organization at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the youths can gather for some kind of activity to prevent them from idling. Besides, the organization also runs a club equipped with video games and music at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the unemployed can pass their leisure time but without consuming alcohol. The club has created employment for 2 employees in the organization.

Furthermore, the organization provides food distribution services at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the unemployed and some groups of disadvantaged people can get free food once in a fortnight. Some of the food is donated by shops such as LiDL, and as many as 2400 people could be served there at a time. The food distribution services has created employment for about 10-15 employees in the organization. The unit of Recreational Services of the organization is in charge of providing recreational services to their clients and other groups of people in need of recreation. The unit owns a cottage and places where groups of people can spend their leisure time on prior arrangement. Boating and horse-riding are also part of the services provided by the recreational services unit. The unit has created jobs for a few employees in the organization. The buns' church services are provided to their clients who are interested in the making of buns. The recreational and buns' church services units have also created jobs for a number of employees in the organization.

Recycling Activities

The Recycling unit of Jyväskylän Katulähetys specializes in recycling textiles and product development. It is the largest unit of the organization in terms of number of employees and output. In this recycling unit, the received textiles are carefully sorted out according to fibre types. Then, the clothes and shoes fit for sale are taken out and delivered to the three different Eko Centre flea markets run by the organization. Textile wipes are cut for industrial and car repair shop use, while synthetic and woolen clothes are recycled into wad and felt materials in the carding machines. The residue textile is made fit for fuel to be used in local heat energy plants. About 20% of the textile is discarded and from this recycled textile, a lot of different recycled products are manufactured and sold all over Finland, under the brand name JYKA.

The production machinery of the recycling unit consists of 8 textile wipe cutters, of a cutting reeler, of a three unit carding machine, of a four thousand needle weaving machine, and of a quilting machine. In the recycling unit, the

work is segmented into different tasks to make it easy for new employees to get acquainted with what they have to do. The unit has a storage capacity of 2500 square metres and it has created jobs for people in various tasks in recycling. About 34 employees of the organization work there. In 2003, the unit handled and sorted 270,000 kilograms of waste textiles. The unit has 2 cars and a delivery van.

Income Generating Activities

Besides the financial support Jyväskylän Katulähetys receives from the government, the organization also has a number of sources to generate additional income for their undertakings. According to official sources, 30% of their budget is comes from their income generation activities while 70% is from the government. In this regard, the organization runs 3 Eko Centre flea markets where second hand clothes and shoes are sold. The items fit for sale are selected from the recycling unit. There are also other second hand items such as furniture, books, equipments and inherited property on sale at their flea markets. The flea markets have created jobs for a number of employees in the organization who work there as salesmen and saleswomen.

Similarly, the organization generates income through 'Moving and Transportation' services. In this unit, clients of the organization and non clients who wish to transfer can pay a moderate fee to seek for the services of the organization. A driver employed by the organization and a pick-up truck owned by the organization are available for the 'Moving and Transportation' services. On the other hand, the organization also runs a meeting facility which can be rented out for conferences and other forms of gatherings. There are 2-3 large meeting rooms there. The main room for conferences can seat 80 people and there is also a cafeteria therein. This unit has also created jobs for a few employees in the organization.

5.1 Analysis of the NGO's Services and Activities for Improving Employment

Based on the fact that the services of Jyväskylän Katulähetys are services normally provided by public institutions and run in public facilities, the role of the organization in complementing them is positive because the organization reaches out to underprivileged groups of people such as alcoholics and drug addicts, who are not reached by conventional-delivery systems. Through these services, the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the study area.

In this respect, to know if the organization was following normal working regulations as was told through an official, the researcher put the following question to the employees in the Questionnaire: "how many hours do you work per day?" Of the 16 respondents, 15 replied that "I work for 6.5 hours a day", while only 1 of them replied that "I work from 8.00-15.00 a day"; meaning the re-

spondent works for a total of 7 hours daily. Thus, the working hours of the organization ranges between 6.5 and 7 hours daily. It therefore means the organization follows normal working time as in other sectors. This led to a related question to find out if the employees were working regularly or not within their contract period. Thus, the following question was asked to the employees in the Questionnaire: "how many days do you work per week and do you work on week ends?" All the 16 respondents gave the same response by saying "*I work from Monday to Friday, but I do not work on week ends*". This implies that the organization also follows normal working days as in the other sectors.

Based on Participant Observation, the employees were found to be very happy in connection with their employment at the organization. Happiness and smiles were most visible on the faces of particularly employees of the recycling unit. Most of them were women and they worked in different tasks in recycling such as sorting, cutting into rags and sewing. Since income is one of the main indicators to measure happiness and the level of change that employment brings, the researcher sought to know from the employees how much they earned in a month, by asking them the following interview question: "what is your monthly salary?" Of the 16 respondents, 3 who were trainees said "*I earn 8 euros a day since I am on training and so, I do not know what would be my salary*". 7 of the respondents had salaries ranging from 1000 to 1200 euros a month, while 2 respondents had salaries of between 900 and 990 euros a month. Only 1 respondent had a monthly salary of 1500 euros perhaps because the respondent was group leader of the activity. The last 2 respondents did not know what their monthly salary was (interviewed on 4.12.2006). This confirms the fact that the average monthly salary of the organization is 1170 euros as was revealed through an official (based on Questionnaire to official on 11.05.2006). Therefore, the organization actually enhances the wellbeing of long-term unemployed people in the study area because their monthly salary with the organization is more than what they were receiving as unemployment benefit from the government. In addition, through the employment, the employees have regained their self-esteem in the society and thus, social exclusion suffered by long-term unemployed people was no longer a problem.

Due to the fact that salary is a motivation behind every job, and that it contributes to job satisfaction, it was necessary to find out if the employees were satisfied or not with their monthly salary. Thus, the following interview question was asked to the employees: "are you satisfied with your monthly salary?" Mixed responses were given between men and women to this question. Most of the male respondents thought the salary was small, while a majority of the female respondents were happy about the salary. Some of the female respondents also thought that in spite of the salary, they felt much happier being on the job than when they were unemployed because through the job, they have been able to make new friends and to socialize with colleagues. The respondents expressed their views in the following ways: "*I am happy with my salary because I was for a longtime unemployed and it feels good to be on the job*"; "*I have to be happy with the present situation*"; "*I want my salary to be increased*"; "*I want my salary to be*

increased considering the work load”; “I am not happy with my salary because my apartment costs 700 euros a month” (interviewed on 4.12.2006).

5.2 Skill Development Training of the Case Study NGO

According to the background of this study, one of the main reasons for especially long-term unemployment is the lack of professional skills which matches that of the open labour market. In this regard, one of the roles of NGOs in Finland and in relation to employment, is for them to give the necessary training that can enable their employees to join the open labour market. Through social services, recycling and income generation activities, Jyväskylän Katulähetys is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the study area. But the question that may be asked is; what kind of training does the organization give its employees in order to enhance their employability for the open labour market?

Actually, Jyväskylän Katulähetys trains their newly employed staff in order to enhance their employability. According to an official source, the maximum period for training by the organization is 2 months (based on Questionnaire to official on 11.05.2006). Thus, it was necessary to find out what kind of training is given to the newly employed staff. In this regard, the following interview question was asked to an official: “what kind of training do you give to your newly employed staff?” The respondent said “*we train them in social services, customer services, production services, assistance to supervisors, cleaning, gardening, transportation, warehousing etc.*” Based on Participant Observation, some other forms of training were vocational like sewing, sorting of textile fabrics and cutting of disposable clothing into rags; all of which are provided at the recycling unit of the organization. Additionally, the skill development training process of the organization basically consists of learning by doing. That is to say, the newly employed personnel have to watch what the older ones are doing, and then learn from them.

However, in the course of research findings, it was discovered that not all the employees were given training or trained for a period of up to 2 months. Some of them merely learnt how to do the task from their older colleagues without any training. This was evident when the following interview question was asked to the employees: “Did you receive any training for this job?” Of the 16 respondents, 8 said “*No, I did not receive any training for the job; colleagues thought me how to do it*”; while each of another 2 responded: “*I was trained for 2 months*” and “*I was trained for a day*” respectively. Finally, 2 in the last 4 respondents said “*I am on a 2 month trial period*” and the other 2 said “*I am on a 1 month trial period*” (interviewed on 4.12.2006). Through Participant Observation, all the employees were found doing their work accordingly. This was very visible in the recycling unit where the work is stratified into different tasks and each one can easily observe and learn from the other.

As a matter of fact, skill development training even in such a short period of time or learning by doing, could be of considerable importance to the employees if it helps them to find a job in the open labour market. Moreover, all

the respondents had been unemployed between 1.5-10 years; some had no professional training, while others were working for the first time (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). In addition, the tasks that some of the respondents got did not match their previous work experience or professional qualification (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). Hence, the skill development training acquired at the organization, could have served as a big boost to their future career if it enhanced their employability. In this regard, the following interview question was asked to the employees concerning the effectiveness of their training. "Do you think this training can help you to find employment in the open labour market?" Of the 16 respondents, the researcher got varied responses. 6 of the respondents answered "yes" because they thought the training could expand their employment opportunities; 5 responded "yes perhaps" and "I hope so" because they were not very sure that the training could boost their employability. The responses of the last 5 respondents was "probably" and "probably not" because they were also not very sure that the training could enhance their career prospects. This therefore means the organization merely employs long-term unemployed people for a contract period of 1 or 2 years, without adequately training them to meet the challenges of the open labour market.

Similarly, due to the fact that everything in life has to undergo improvement, the following question was asked during the interview with an official of the organization: "What do you think can be done to improve the training of your employees?" His response was "improvement in money" because he thought the financial support that the organization receives from government is insufficient to give the employees the necessary training they need to meet the challenges of the open labour market. In a follow-up question in the Questionnaire, the official was asked the following question: "How many of your employees have found employment in the open labour market at the end of their contract?" His response was "5-15% depending on the year" (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). Thus, it is not every year that employees of the organization can find employment in the open labour market. Therefore, this situation raises some unanswered questions such as: where do the employees go at the end of their contract? Do they become unemployed again?

Based on the above findings, the skill development training of Jyväskylän Katulähetys is insufficient to enhance the employability of their employees for the open labour market. This is due to the fact that a majority of the respondents were very skeptical about their employability in the open labour market based on the training acquired in the organization. One of the reasons for this inadequacy as seen in the findings is that, the organization does not have enough financial resources to provide adequate training for their employees. Additionally, the training period is comparatively short. To support this argument, only 5-15% of the employees can find employment in the open labour market at the end of their contract with the organization; which means the rest have to be trapped in long-term unemployment or recurring periods of unemployment. In this regard, the employment in the organization is on short-term rather than long-term compared with employment in other sectors.

6. Findings

In Finland, the government plays a strong guiding role through the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, in setting the basic principles of social services and in monitoring their implementation (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004). However, the actual provision of social services is undertaken at the local level by the municipalities. The municipalities produce most social services themselves, but they can also provide social services jointly with other municipalities, or purchase the services from another municipality, an NGO or a private services provider. Since the social services provided by Jyväskylän Katulähetys are services normally provided by the government, the organization was found playing a complementary role by providing social services to underprivileged groups of people such as alcoholics and drug addicts, who are not reached by conventional delivery systems. Through the provision of these services, the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä.

Second, the study found that Jyväskylän Katulähetys mobilizes local resources in the study area through income generation activities. As a result, 30% of their budget comes from their income generation activities. Their income generation activities were found to have also created employment for their employees. Third, the organization was found involved in environmental protection through their recycling activities which have also created jobs for their employees. As a result, environmental pollution in the study area has reduced. Fourth, the study found that employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys work for 6.5-7 hours daily from Monday-Friday, while week-ends were free. Their monthly salaries varied between 900-1500 Euros. Fifth, since one of the roles of NGOs in Finland is to boost the working ability of the long-term unemployed (Siisiäinen et al., 2000), the skill development training of Jyväskylän Katulähetys was found to be inadequate for boosting the employability of their employees in the open labour market at the end of their 1-2 year contract. This is because the employees were not very sure they could find a job in the open labour market based on the training they had received in the organization. Therefore, the employees were still trapped in a situation of recurring long-term unemployment because the findings indicated that, only 5-15% of them could find employment in the open labour market based on the training in the organization, and at the end of their contract. The reason for the inadequate training was due to insufficient financial support from the government, and the training period of two months was considered too short due to financial constraints.

Sixth, the study found that the organization employs on short-term contracts of between 1-2 years rather than long-term compared with other sectors. This was due to the agreement they have with the government through the local representation - the Employment Office. Seventh, the organization was found to be practicing a target group approach of employing only long-term unemployed people from marginalized groups such as drug addicts and alco-

holics. This was also due to the agreement they have with the government through the local representation – the employment office.

Nonetheless, although employment in Jyväskylän Katulähetys is on short-term rather than long-term compared with the public and private sectors, the organization contributes in the improvement of particularly long-term unemployment in the City of Jyväskylä because through the organization, some long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä have got into working life. Additionally, the organization improves employment in the City of Jyväskylä by way of employing and training long-term unemployed people who cannot find a job in either the public or private sector due to their lack of academic and professional qualifications required in these sectors. Thanks to the organization, 5-15% of their employees have found a job in the open labour market at the end of their contract, based on the experience and/or training they have acquired in the organization. Therefore, the organization acts as a bridge between the long-term unemployed in the City of Jyväskylä and the open labour market. Overall, the organization improves employment in the City of Jyväskylä by a few percentage because those employed there, are recorded in the statistics of employment in the City of Jyväskylä by the Employment Office. As of 2006 when this study was conducted, without this organization in the City of Jyväskylä, many of the long-term unemployed there may never find a job and will have to continue living on unemployment benefits.

6.1 Contribution and Limitations of the Study

Since various factors contribute to especially long-term unemployment in Finland, and since no single sector can tackle the problem alone (New Work Project 2000), the cooperation partnership between the government and NGOs in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys is a good initiative to improve employment in the country. Therefore, this study provides the basis of more effective roles by NGOs in Finland.

As far as the limitations of this study are concerned, the first limitation of the study is that it is a case study of one NGO. Therefore, the findings may not be generalized. However, the findings may be generalized to theory in relation to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory, for irrespective of how large the sample is, it is still likely to justify a generalization from one case study to another (Yin 1984). Second, this study may be limited to the long-term unemployed in the City of Jyväskylä in Finland.

6.2 Suggestions for Further Study

NGOs in Finland such as Jyväskylän Katulähetys, may deliver various social services for the welfare of their target groups in order to create jobs for the improvement of employment in the country. However, the challenge facing NGOs in their operation is how to establish their role among the other actors. That is to say, should NGOs deliver social services in all fields of welfare for job crea-

tion or are they to concentrate on specific areas; and how can NGOs be better institutionalized in the country?

That notwithstanding, the Finnish Government has come to consider NGOs as cooperation partners and in recognition of their increasing role, further research is imperative to explore effective ways of cooperation in terms of areas and volume of services/activities. Additionally, with regards to the 'dependency' of NGOs on governmental financial support in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, many people are doubtful if NGOs can effectively function on their own resources. In this regard, the other area of research could be; NGOs and the volume of local resource mobilization. Furthermore, since the employment contracts of NGOs in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys have to last for 1-2 years, after which the employees have to become unemployed again, further research is needed to find ways by which NGOs could make future plans of moving their employees to another employer once their contract ends. In this perspective, it would be possible for their employees to continue working until a permanent solution is sought for their problem of long-term unemployment.

6.3 Practical or Research Implications

The main practical implication of this study is that greater emphasis on training is required to increase the employability of the employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys for the open labour market.

7. Conclusion

Since the 1990s, the roles of NGOs in Finland have increased and hence, they can also play key roles in the area of improving employment through the delivery of social services and income generation activities in the country. As a result, they have been considered as cooperation partners by the government (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004; Ministry of Labour, 1998). Jyväskylän Katulähetys was found making an important contribution in the improvement of the employment of particularly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as drug addicts, alcoholics and ex-convicts, in the City of Jyväskylä. However, the organization was found employing on short-term basis and the training given to their employees was found to be inadequate for boosting their employability in the open labour market. The study concluded that for the organization to become a viable alternative institution for the improvement of employment in the City of Jyväskylä, it must improve the skill development training of their employees, as well as, increase collaboration with other actors that are working towards the same goals.

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Abbreviations

LOCIN	Database on Local Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

II

NGOs AS EMPLOYERS IN FINLAND: A CASE STUDY OF JYVÄSKYLÄN KATULÄHETYS IN THE CITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

by

Thomas Babila Sama (2008)

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NGOs as Employers in Finland: A Case Study of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä

Thomas Babila Sama (2008)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND

Abstract

This is a qualitative study which examines one NGO as an employer in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä. The case study NGO is Jyväskylän Katulähetys and empirical data for the study was collected from 16 employees and from an official of the NGO, using questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. All the respondents were aged between 26 and 53, and they had been unemployed between 1.5 and 10 years. The data was analysed through content analysis and the findings revealed that, the NGO employs predominantly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts, on a 1-2 year contract basis. As a result, the NGO was found playing an important role in the employment of long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä, because the long-term unemployed face difficulties in getting employed both in the public and private sectors, due to their lack of academic and/or professional qualifications. However, the skill development training of the NGO was found to be inadequate for enhancing the employability of their employees in the open labour market at the end of their contract. Thus, the study concluded that for the NGO to become a potential employer in the City of Jyväskylä, it must improve the skill development training of their employees, and also increase collaboration with other stakeholders that are working towards the same objectives.

Keywords: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Third Sector, Finland, employment, unemployment, employment subsidy.

1. Introduction

Since the mid 1970s, there has been a new perspective in institution building and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have appeared as third sector organizations, in undertaking equitable, decentralized and sustainable development (Fowler, 1992). It has now been acknowledged that NGOs due to their adaptability, flexibility and responsiveness, can also play active roles in the sphere of employment (Korten, 1987; Clark, 1991). This is owing to the fact that over the years, NGOs have gained experience and expertise that have expanded and changed their roles. Several reasons can be attributed for the emergence and expansion of NGOs since the 1970s. Of the leading ones are 'government'

and 'market' failure in Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America (Hossain and Mälkiä, 1996).

Equally, national public sectors in many countries are being downsized and at the same time, there is need to find new alternatives of employment. It is for this reason that the role of NGOs has aroused interest amongst various stakeholders such as practitioners, taxpayers, policy makers, planners, academicians and also the unemployed (Gidron et al., 1992). According to Gidron et al. (1992), the lack of sufficient job growth in the public and private sectors and the lack of professional skills of a significant section of the labour force, have led to the increase of unemployment in many countries. Besides, the rapid change in technology has made it difficult for those lacking professional qualifications to find a job in the open labour market. This situation has been worsened by the highly selective and competitive labour market policies which discriminate against those with low education, long periods of unemployment and other setbacks, thus creating space for NGOs (Julkunen, 1999).

In Finland, unemployment has become one of the main social problems in the country (Siisiäinen et al., 2000). The deep economic recession which plagued Finland in the 1990s led to a sudden rise in unemployment, and the problem has become peculiar to both the central government and the municipalities (Julkunen, 1999). Nonetheless, despite the growth in employment after the 1990s' economic recession in Finland, the number of women, the aged and the long-term unemployed amongst all the unemployed is increasing. Geographical variation in the rate of unemployment has also become a matter of concern. Economic growth has benefited growth centres around large cities but that notwithstanding, the growth of urban unemployment and social exclusion is still on the rise particularly among those with an ethnic background, poor health, disability or the lack of vocational training (LOCIN, 2006). Owing to this precarious situation, traditional government-led interventions and labour market policies have not sufficed to tackle this problem of rising unemployment, which has resulted to the alienation of a significant number of people in Finland (Cinneide, 2000).

Consequently, the Government of Finland has come to recognise NGOs as employers, in tackling this growing problem of unemployment in the country (Matthies, 1996; Ministry of Labour, 1998; Cinneide, 2000; Siisiäinen et al., 2000; Särkelä, 2004). However, many people in Finland doubt whether NGOs could be potential employers because traditionally, their work is limited to volunteering in the country (Siisiäinen et al., 2000). In this regard, the present study was undertaken with the aim of examining one NGO as an employer in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä.

Thus, the main research question in this study was: is an NGO a potential employer in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä? To answer this question, the sub-research questions were:

- What role does the case study NGO play as an employer in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä?

- What kind of relationship does the NGO have with the government as an employer in the Finnish City of Jyväskylä?
- Have the employees of the NGO found an outlet to address their problem of long-term unemployment through their employment in the NGO?

2. Research Methodology

This is a qualitative study which is descriptive and empirical. Nonetheless, both qualitative and quantitative data was collected to either complement or supplement each other, and also to contextualize the findings. A qualitative approach was employed to get the perspectives of the participants, while the quantitative component was vital in providing numerical data for the study. Primary data was collected from 16 of the case study NGO employees, and from an official using questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. The employees were contacted to find out information relating to their employment, while the case study NGO official was contacted for information relating to the functioning of the organization and other operational issues. The respondents were between the ages of 26 and 53, and they included 7 men and 9 women. All of them had been unemployed between 1.5 and 10 years, and thus, they were considered as long-term unemployed in Finland. They were also people of target groups such as drug addicts, ex-convicts and alcoholics. Besides native Finns, some of the respondents were immigrants from Iran, Kosovo and Russia.

Most of the questionnaire questions were closed ended, while those of the interviews were open ended. The interviews were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed. No names of the interviewees were taken by the researcher for purposes of safeguarding anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Thus, in the data quotations, no names, sex or age are mentioned. Altogether, four fieldwork visits were conducted for purposes of the data collection. Apart from these, secondary data was also collected through different sources such as internet websites, office records of the case study NGO, as well as from published and unpublished research.

Data Analysis Technique

The data of this study was analyzed through content analysis. Specifically, the qualitative data was subjected to content analysis for relevant information, while the quantitative data provided justifications to the statements that were made in the qualitative data. Nonetheless, much of the data was analyzed descriptively. The researcher examined each questionnaire and interview deeply and thus, the focus of this research is purely on the quality of the data rather than the quantity.

This study was conducted in 2006 in the City of Jyväskylä, located in Central Finland. The case study NGO was Jyväskylän Katulähetys, otherwise known in English as the Jyväskylä Street Mission Association. The NGO was

founded in the City of Jyväskylä in 1953 by the Finnish Lutheran Church, with the aim of providing shelter for the homeless (see Jyväskylän Katulähetys website). It was in 1989 that the organization began employing long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä, with the help of employment subsidies from the government through the local Employment Office, and the Social Affairs and Health Office. In this regard, the organization receives employment subsidies in the form of income per employee from the local Employment Office (under the Ministry of Labour), and also from the Social Affairs and Health Office (under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health). The organization also gets some additional income from the Ministry of Environment due to their recycling activities. Their cooperation with the local Social Affairs and Health Office under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health is based on the fact that, the organization provides social and health services to disadvantaged groups of people in the City of Jyväskylä, who are not reached conventionally. These services are being purchased by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health through their local representation.

According to the agreement which the organization have with the government through the local Employment Office under the Ministry of Labour, each year, the organization has to employ 70 long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä, on a 1-2 year contract basis. To qualify as a long-term unemployed in Finland, the individual must have been registered as unemployed for up to 500 days in any local Employment Office in the country (Ministry of Labour, 1998). It is the local Employment Office in the City of Jyväskylä which sends the long-term unemployed for selection to the case study NGO (Jyväskylän Katulähetys). After selecting those whom Jyväskylän Katulähetys thinks are worthy, the NGO signs a work contract of one year for each of them with the local Employment Office. After the first year, only 30% of the employees can have their contract renewed for a maximum of another one year.

Jyväskylän Katulähetys was selected as the case study NGO because it is the only NGO in the City of Jyväskylä which employs long-term unemployed people, due to the agreement the organization have with the Ministry of Labour through their local representation – the Employment Office.

3. Theoretical Framework of the Study

There are a few theories underlying this study. In this perspective, according to the public goods or the performance failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that people created NGOs when the government or market could not provide public goods for everybody or serve the general interests of everybody. Similarly, Brown and Kortan (1991, 48) argue that state failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as innovative responses to different types of problems. On the other hand, Anheier (1990) claims that NGOs are capable of providing services more economically than the government. In addition, NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake their projects at lower

labour costs than entrepreneurs because they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Based on this sort of argument, failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the government have less consequences on the economy as a whole, since nearly all NGO-led projects are carried out at micro-level. On the contrary, in case of government or market failure, the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the emergence of NGOs. NGOs could therefore, fulfill unsatisfied needs like health care, social work or education services. On his part, James (1987) claims that the more a society is heterogeneous, the more conducive it becomes for the creation of many NGOs.

Similarly, according to the contract failure theory, when people confront difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs could be more trustworthy as contractors between the people and entrepreneurs because entrepreneurs could take undue advantage of the people's ignorance for profit making (James, 1987). Brown and Kortzen (1991, 48) argue that, NGOs could emerge in case of market failure because markets tend to be potentially vulnerable to failure in developing countries. In such situations, NGOs could emerge because people have trust in them more than profit making entities (Krashinsky 1986; Williamson 1985). Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in government initiated projects. Additionally, they also claim that NGOs could be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people in the society. In this regard, NGOs could be considered as alternative institutions through which the underprivileged are better served than conventionally. Similarly, Anheier (1990) claims that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of the underprivileged and are able to reach those strata of society which are bypassed by public service delivery systems.

Finally, with regards to the theory of partnership or interdependence, the relationship between the government and NGOs could be 'conflicting', 'interdependent' or a 'partnership'. If it is such that they have to share experiences, resources and expertise, the relationship might be one of complementing each other (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Under such arrangements, the 'theory of interdependence' or the 'theory of partnership' could be argued for the emergence of NGOs as partners.

3.1 Roles of NGOs in Finland

The Finnish social security system is based on the Nordic welfare model and to a great extent, it is organized through public sector services and financed through taxes. The role of NGOs is mainly to complement the range of public services available. Additionally, NGOs play the role of delivery and production of services, provision of voluntary work, expertise and mutual support. In this regard, 17% of social services and 5% of health services are produced by NGOs in Finland (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004).

Similarly, NGOs in Finland play a catalyzing role of mobilizing the people for purposes of undertaking social work in their communities. In this perspective, NGOs are seen as catalysts and mobilizers of the community. Additionally, NGOs play the role of recruiting marginalized people in their undertakings, and this undoubtedly benefits the latter through the experiential learning and training opportunities offered by their involvement (Cinneide, 2000). As far as employment in NGOs in Finland is concern, their role is to improve employment possibilities through cooperation and partnership, and not to compete with either the public or private sector. Their role is also to find employment paths, and to develop the ability of creating new job opportunities in the borderline between the services provided by the private and public sectors, in order to improve employment in the country. NGOs in Finland also play the role of enhancing the employability of long-term unemployed people, so that they can join the open labour market (New Work Project, 2000).

Similarly, NGOs in Finland play the role of a cooperation partnership which produces joint visions and innovations for improving employment, and alternative forms of employment in the country. They are distinct employers from the public and private sectors because they have special characteristics such as varied assignments and duties, a combination of paid and voluntary work, small working communities, expectations of spontaneity, self-directedness, and the central position of self-induced funding (New Work Project, 2000).

Through their engagement with NGOs in Finland, some people have received a contact to working life and they have been able to boost their self-esteem and employability. They have also been able to cut their unemployment period and have gained valuable work experiences. NGOs have employed young people through practical training and an increasing number of long-term unemployed, through the combined labour market subsidy (New Work Project, 2000). For example, in 2003, 32,000 people worked with NGOs in Finland (Särkelä, 2004). Overall, the role of NGOs increased in Finland during the 1990s, as a result of the economic recession which plagued the country back then (Saari, 2001, 70).

4. Case Description for Employment Creation

Due to the fact that the public and private sectors are unable to employ all the unemployed in Finland, NGOs like Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä have been recognized by the government as employers in the improvement of employment in the country. Thus, the government cooperates with NGOs in the provision of social services, through which the NGOs are able to create jobs for particularly long-term unemployed people in the country (Helander and Laaksonen, 1999). In this regard, the following social services were being provided by Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä, as of December 2006, to create jobs for long-term unemployed people there:

- Institutional rehabilitation services;

- Emergency services;
- Family Work services;
- Youth Work services;
- Food distribution services;
- Recreational services; and
- Buns' church services.

In the process of providing the institutional rehabilitation services to their clients who are mostly alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents and ex-convicts, Jyväskylän Katulähetys owns about 200 flats for this purpose. Some of the flats are located in the City of Jyväskylä, while others are in the Jyväskylä municipality. The duration of the institutional rehabilitation could be long or short-term. It is long-term when the clients have to be rehabilitated on a step-by-step basis for their situation to improve before they can return to normal life. In this light, the organization helps ex-convicts for example, to start a new life. This rehabilitation unit has created employment for a few long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as social workers, to provide the institutional rehabilitation services to their clients. Clients on short-term or emergency services are specifically people found drunk in the City of Jyväskylä and brought to the emergency unit of the organization by the police. Such people are given first aid, temporary accommodation and counseling at the emergency unit. The unit is open round the clock and has created employment for 2 long-term unemployed people in the organization. Their job is to provide the first aid and counseling services to their clients so that they can decrease from their drinking habit and live a normal life.

Similarly, the organization provides accommodation and rehabilitation services to families addicted to alcohol and drugs in order to keep the families together. The family services are also meant to protect the children of the families from the bad behaviour of their addicted parents. The accommodation given to the families could be a single or multiple flat depending on the size of the family. The duration of their stay there is between 1-2 years. Between 1999 and 2006, the family services unit accommodated 23 families with 28 children. The ages of the families vary from 20-70 years, and some are in critical state of health. Whenever their health declines, the employee(s) on duty will call for a doctor. Some of the clients have no close associates other than the employees of the organization. However, the accommodation given to the families is not entirely free of charge because each of them has to pay a monthly rent of 200 euros to the organization. The Finnish government pays 150 euros, while the families have to complete the rest. This unit has created employment for some long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as social workers and psychiatrists.

On the other hand, the organization provides Youth Work services to kids such as after school activities, which have created jobs for a few long-term unemployed people in the organization. In addition to this, the organization runs a youth cafeteria at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the youths can gather for some kind of activity to prevent them from idling. Besides, the organization

runs a club equipped with video games and music at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the unemployed can spend their leisure time but without consuming alcohol. The club has created employment for 2 long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as waiters or waitresses.

Furthermore, the organization provides food distribution services at the city centre of Jyväskylä, where the unemployed and some groups of underprivileged people can get free food once in two weeks. Some of the food is donated by supermarkets and as many as 2400 people could be served there at a time. The food distribution unit has created employment for about 10-15 long-term unemployed people in the organization, who are charged with distributing the food. On the other hand, the unit of Recreational Services of the organization provides recreational services to their clients and other groups of people in need of recreation. The unit owns a summer cottage and places where groups of people can spend their leisure time on prior arrangement. Boating and horse-riding are part of the services provided by the recreational services unit. The unit has created employment for a few long-term unemployed people in the organization, who work there as supervisors and coordinators. The buns' church services are provided to their clients who are interested in the making of buns. This unit has also created employment for some long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as instructors.

4.1 Recycling Activities

The Recycling Unit of Jyväskylän Katulähetys is specialized in recycling textiles and product development. It is the largest unit of the organization with regards to the number of employees and output. In this recycling unit, the received textiles are thoroughly sorted out according to fibre types. Then, the clothes and shoes fit for sale are extracted and delivered to the 3 Eko Centre flea markets run by the organization. The textile wipes are cut for industrial and car repair shop use, while synthetic and woolen clothes are recycled into wad and felt materials in their carding machines. The leftover textile is made fit for fuel to be used in local heat energy plants. About 20% of the textile is dispensed and from this recycled textile, a lot of differing recycled products are manufactured and sold in the entire Finland, under the brand name JYKA.

The production machinery of their recycling unit comprises of 8 textile wipe cutters, of a three unit carding machine, of a quilting machine, of a cutting reeler, and of a four thousand needle weaving machine. In the recycling unit, the work is stratified into different tasks to make it easy for their new employees to familiarize themselves with what they have to do. The unit has a storage capacity of 2500 square metres and in 2003 for example, the unit handled and sorted 270,000 kilograms of waste textiles. The unit has created employment in different tasks in recycling for long-term unemployed people in the organization. They work there as warehouse staff, seamstresses, tailors, sorters of textile fabrics, cutters of disposable clothing into rags, among others. The unit has 2 cars and a delivery van and about 34 employees of the organization work there.

4.2 Income Generating Activities

Apart from the financial support Jyväskylän Katulähetys receives from the government, the organization also has several sources to generate own income for their undertakings. According to official sources, 30% of their budget comes from their income generation activities while 70% comes from the government. In this perspective, the organization runs 3 Eko Centre flea markets where second hand clothes and shoes are sold. The items fit for sale are selected from their recycling unit, and there are also other second hand items such as furniture, books, equipments and inherited property on sale at their flea markets. The flea markets have created employment for a few long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as salesmen and saleswomen.

Similarly, the organization generates income through their 'Moving and Transportation' services. In this unit, clients of the organization and non clients wishing to move can pay a moderate fee to seek the services of the organization. The unit owns a pick-up truck for the moving and transportation and thus, has created employment for a driver in the organization. On the other hand, the organization also runs a meeting facility which can be rented out for conferences and other forms of gatherings in order to generate income. There are 2-3 large meeting rooms therein. The main conference room can seat 80 people and it also contains a cafeteria. This unit has also created employment for a few long-term unemployed people in the organization who work there as cleaners and attendants.

4.3 Analysis of the NGO's Services and Activities as an Employer

Owing to the fact that the services provided by Jyväskylän Katulähetys are services conventionally provided by the government and run in public facilities, the role of the organization in complementing them is plausible because the organization reaches out to underprivileged groups of people such as alcoholics and drug addicts, who are not reached by conventional delivery systems. Through the provision of these services, the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people and thus, serve as an employer in the City of Jyväskylä.

In this regard, to find out if the organization was following normal working regulations as was told by an official, the researcher asked the following question to the employees in the Questionnaire: "how many hours do you work per day?" Of the 16 respondents, 15 replied that "I work for 6.5 hours a day", while only 1 of them replied that "I work from 8.00-15.00 a day"; meaning the respondent works for 7 hours daily. Thus, the working hours of the organization ranges between 6.5 and 7 hours daily. It therefore means the organization follows normal working time as employers in the other sectors. This led to a related question to find out if the employees were working regularly or not within their contract period. Thus, the following question was asked to the employees in the Questionnaire: "how many days do you work per week and do you work

on week ends?" All the 16 respondents gave the same response by saying "*I work from Monday to Friday, but I do not work on week ends*". This implies that the organization also follows normal working days as employers in the public and private sectors.

Based on Participant Observation, the employees were found to be very happy in connection with their employment at the organization. Happiness and smiles were most visible on the faces of particularly employees of the recycling unit. Most of them were women and they worked in different tasks in recycling such as sorting, cutting into rags and sewing. Since income is one of the main indicators to measure happiness and the level of change that employment brings, the researcher sought to know from the employees how much they earned in a month, by asking them the following interview question: "what is your monthly salary?" Of the 16 respondents, 3 who were trainees said "*I earn 8 euros a day since I am on training and so, I do not know what would be my salary*". 7 of the respondents had salaries ranging from 1000-1200 euros a month, while 2 respondents had salaries of between 900-990 euros a month. Only 1 respondent had a monthly salary of 1500 euros perhaps because the respondent was group leader of the activity. The last 2 respondents did not know what their monthly salary was (interviewed on 4.12.2006). This confirms the fact that the average monthly salary of the organization is 1170 euros as was revealed by an official (based on Questionnaire to official on 11.05.2006). Therefore, the organization certainly elevates the wellbeing of long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä because their monthly salary with the organization, is more than what they were receiving as unemployment benefit from the government. In addition, through the employment with the organization, the employees have regained their self-esteem in the society and thus, social exclusion suffered by long-term unemployed people was no longer a problem.

Due to the fact that salary is a motivation behind every job and that it contributes to job satisfaction, it was necessary to find out if the employees were satisfied or not with their monthly salary. Thus, the following interview question was asked to the employees: "are you satisfied with your monthly salary?" Mixed responses were given between men and women to this question. Most of the male respondents thought the salary was small, while a majority of the female respondents were happy about their salary. Some of the female respondents also thought that in spite of the salary, they felt much happier being on the job than when they were unemployed because through the job, they have been able to make new friends and to socialize with colleagues. The respondents expressed their views in the following ways: "*I am happy with my salary because I was for a longtime unemployed and it feels good to be on the job*"; "*I have to be happy with the present situation*"; "*I want my salary to be increased*"; "*I want my salary to be increased considering the work load*"; "*I am not happy with my salary because my apartment costs 700 euros a month*" (interviewed on 4.12.2006).

4.4 Skill Development Training of the Case Study NGO

According to the Introduction of this study, one of the main reasons for especially long-term unemployment is the lack of professional skills which can enable the long-term unemployed find a job in the open labour market. As a result, one of the roles of NGOs in Finland and in relation to employment is for them to give adequate training that can enable their employees to join the open labour market at the end of their work contract with the NGOs (Siisiäinen et al., 2000). This is because most of the long-term unemployed in Finland have obsolete professional skills due to changes in technology and some have no skills at all. Therefore, NGOs can either train or retrain them in the activities which they undertake for employment (Siisiäinen et al., 2000). Through social services, recycling and income generation activities, Jyväskylän Katulähetys is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä. But the question that may be asked is; what kind of training does the organization give its employees in order to enhance their employability in the open labour market?

Actually, Jyväskylän Katulähetys trains their newly employed staff in order to enhance their employability. According to an official source, the maximum period for training by the organization is 2 months (based on Questionnaire to official on 11.05.2006). Thus, it was necessary to find out what kind of training is given to the newly employed staff. In this regard, the following interview question was asked to an official: "what kind of training do you give to your newly employed staff?" The respondent said "*we train them in social services, customer services, production services, assistance to supervisors, cleaning, gardening, transportation, warehousing etc.*" Based on Participant Observation, some other forms of training in the organization were vocational like sewing, sorting of textile fabrics and cutting of disposable clothing into rags; all of which are provided at the recycling unit of the organization. Additionally, the skill development training process of the organization basically consists of learning by doing. That is to say, the newly employed staff has to watch what the older ones are doing, and then learn from them.

However, in the course of research findings, it was discovered that not all the employees were trained for a period of up to 2 months. Some of them merely learnt how to do the task from their older colleagues without any training. This was evident when the following interview question was asked to the employees: "Did you receive any training for this job?" Of the 16 respondents, 8 said "*No, I did not receive any training for the job; colleagues thought me how to do it*"; while each of another 2 responded: "*I was trained for 2 months*" and "*I was trained for a day*" respectively. Finally, 2 in the last 4 respondents said "*I am on a 2 month trial period*" and the other 2 said "*I am on a 1 month trial period*" (interviewed on 4.12.2006). Through Participant Observation, all the employees were found doing their work accordingly. This was very visible in the recycling unit where the work is stratified into different tasks and each one can easily observe and learn from the other.

As a matter of fact, skill development training even in such a short period of time or learning by doing, could be of considerable importance to their newly employed staff if it enhances their employability in the open labour market. Moreover, all the respondents had been unemployed between 1.5-10 years; some had no professional training, while others were working for the first time (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). Besides, the tasks that some of the respondents got did not match their previous work experience or professional qualification (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). Hence, the skill development training acquired in the organization, could have served as a big boost to their future career, if it enhanced their employability in the open labour market. In this regard, the following interview question was asked to the employees concerning the effectiveness of their work training. "Do you think this training can help you to find employment in the open labour market?" Of the 16 respondents, the researcher got varied responses. 6 of the respondents answered "yes" because they thought the training could boost their employment opportunities; 5 responded "yes perhaps" and "I hope so" because they were not very sure that the training could boost their employability. The responses of the last 5 respondents was "probably" and "probably not" because they were also not very sure that the training could enhance their career prospects. This therefore means the organization merely employs long-term unemployed people for a contract period of 1-2 years, without adequately training them for employability in the open labour market.

Similarly, due to the fact that everything in life has to undergo improvement, the following question was asked during the interview with an official of the organization: "What do you think can be done to improve the training of your employees?" His response was "improvement in money" because he thought the financial support that the organization receives from the government, is insufficient to give the employees adequate training that can boost their employability in the open labour market. In a follow-up question in the Questionnaire, the official was asked the following question: "How many of your employees have found employment in the open labour market at the end of their contract?" His response was "5-15% depending on the year" (based on Questionnaire of 11.05.2006). Thus, it is not in every year that employees of the organization can find employment in the open labour market at the end of their work contract. Therefore, this situation raises some unanswered questions such as: where do the employees go at the end of their contract? Do they become unemployed again?

5. Findings

In Finland, the government plays a strong guiding role through the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, in setting the basic principles of social services and in monitoring their implementation (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004). However, the actual provision of social services is undertaken at the local level by the municipalities. The municipalities produce most social services them-

selves, but they can also provide social services jointly with other municipalities, or purchase the services from another municipality, an NGO or a private services provider. In this regard, the findings of this study were as follows:

First, since the social services provided by Jyväskylän Katulähetys are services conventionally provided by the government, the organization was found playing complementary role by providing social services to underprivileged groups of people such as alcoholics and drug addicts, who are not reached by conventional delivery systems. Through the provision of these services, the organization is able to create jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä. Similarly, the organization was found creating jobs for long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä, through their recycling and income generation activities.

Second, the organization was found playing an important role of improving the employment of particularly long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts, in the City of Jyväskylä. This was due to the agreement which they have with the government through the local Employment Office, under the Ministry of Labour.

Third, the relationship between Jyväskylän Katulähetys and the government was found to be that of a cooperation partnership whereby, the organization has to employ only long-term unemployed people from underprivileged groups such as alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts, on a 1-2 year contract basis. In return, the government pays the organization monthly employment subsidies through the local Employment Office, for each long-term unemployed which they have employed.

Fourth, the organization was found practicing a target group approach of employing only long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as drug addicts and alcoholics. This was due to the agreement which they have with the government through the local Employment Office, under the Ministry of Labour.

Fifth, the study found that the organization employs on short-term contract basis of between 1-2 years, rather than long-term compared with the private and public sectors. This was also due to the agreement they have with the government through the local Employment Office, under the Ministry of Labour.

Sixth, the study found that employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys work for 6.5-7 hours daily from Monday-Friday, while week ends were free. Their monthly salaries varied between 900-1500 euros. Therefore, their employment status was similar to that of the public and private sectors.

Seventh, the study found that Jyväskylän Katulähetys mobilizes local resources in the City of Jyväskylä, through their income generation activities. As a result, 30% of their budget comes from their income generation activities. Their income generation activities were found to have also created employment for their employees.

Eighth, the organization was found involved in environmental protection through their recycling activities which have also created jobs for their employ-

ees. Through their recycling activities, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Environment and also gets some financial support from them. As a result, environmental pollution in the City of Jyväskylä has reduced.

Finally, since one of the roles of NGOs in Finland is to boost the employability of the long-term unemployed (Siisiäinen et al., 2000), the skill development training of Jyväskylän Katulähetys was found inadequate for boosting the employability of their employees in the open labour market, at the end of their 1-2 year work contract. This is because the employees were not very sure that they could find a job in the open labour market, based on the training they had received in the organization. Therefore, the employees were still trapped in a situation of recurring long-term unemployment because, the findings indicated that only 5-15% of them could find employment in the open labour market at the end of their work contract with the organization. The reason for the inadequate training was due to insufficient financial support from the government, and the training period of 2 months was considered too short due to financial constraints.

5.1 Contribution of the Study

Since various factors contribute to particularly long-term unemployment in Finland, and since no single sector can tackle the problem alone (New Work Project, 2000), the cooperation partnership between the government and NGOs in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, is a plausible initiative to tackle the problem of long-term unemployment in the country. Therefore, this study provides the limitations of one NGO as an employer in Finland.

5.2 Suggestions for Further Study

NGOs in Finland such as Jyväskylän Katulähetys may provide varied social services and/or undertake various activities for income generation, in order to create jobs for particularly long-term unemployed people in the country. However, the challenge facing NGOs in their operation is how to establish their role among the other actors.

That notwithstanding, the Finnish Government has come to recognize NGOs as vital cooperation partners in the improvement of employment in the country, and in recognition of their role, further research is necessary to explore effective ways of cooperation in terms of areas and volume of services/activities. Additionally, regarding the reliance of NGOs on governmental financial support in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, many people are doubtful whether NGOs can effectively function on their own resources. In this regard, the other area of research could be NGOs and the volume of local resource mobilization. Furthermore, since the employment contract of NGOs in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys have to last for 1-2 years, after which the employees become unemployed again, further research is needed to find ways by which NGOs could make future plans for moving their employees to another

er employer once their contract ends. In this regard, it would be possible for their employees to continue working until a permanent solution is sought for their problem of long-term unemployment.

5.3 Practical/Research Implications of the Study

The main practical/research implication of this study is that greater emphasis on training is required to increase the employability of the employees of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the open labour market.

6. Conclusion

Since the 1990s, the roles of NGOs in Finland have increased and hence, they can also play key roles as employers in the country through the delivery of social services, income generation activities and other undertakings. Consequently, the government has recognized them as cooperation partners in the country (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004; Ministry of Labour, 1998). Jyväskylän Katulähetys was found making an important contribution in the employment of long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups such as drug addicts, alcoholics and ex-convicts, in the City of Jyväskylä. However, the organization was found employing on short-term contract basis, and the training given to their employees was found to be inadequate for boosting their employability in the open labour market. In this perspective, their employees were still trapped in recurrent long-term unemployment after their 1-2 year work contract with the organization. Thus, the study concluded that for the organization to become a potential employer in the City of Jyväskylä, it must improve the skill development training of its employees, as well as, increase collaboration with other stakeholders that are working towards the same objectives.

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Abbreviations

LOCIN	Database on Local Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

III

CONCEPTUALIZING NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS: STILL SEARCHING FOR CONCEPTUAL CLARITY

by

Thomas Babila Sama (2010)

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Conceptualizing Non-Governmental Organizations: Still Searching for Conceptual Clarity

Thomas Babila Sama (2010)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND

Abstract

This is a qualitative study which argues that there is a lack of conceptual clarity of the concept of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The study was designed to assess the current concept of 'NGOs' by reviewing some of the conceptualizations of NGOs namely Private Voluntary Organization (PVO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO) and the Third Sector. The data for this study was collected through books from libraries, internet websites, Journal Articles and published research relating to NGOs. On the other hand, the data was analyzed qualitatively through content analysis. The findings revealed that first, in spite of the increasing importance of NGOs as partners in the development of both Northern and Southern countries, there is still a lack of conceptual clarity about the diversity of NGOs because academic research has not systematically followed and conceptualized NGOs in a manner that differentiates their various types, functions, networks, rationalities and the complex interactions within themselves and with other actors working in the same field. Second, the study found that the current literature is full of generalizations about NGOs as if all NGOs were the same or similar. Third, the study found that the literature that is often used to conceptualize NGOs is based on assumptions about the differences between the public and the private sector, rather than what the NGOs really are. The study concluded that it is not trying to encourage scholars working in the field of NGOs to change the concepts which they are currently using, but instead, what the study does is that it tries to make them more aware of the potential problems related to the concepts they are currently using, and the hidden implications behind them.

Keywords: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Third Sector, Development, Voluntary, Northern Countries, Southern Countries.

Introduction

In 1945, the United Nations (UN) coined the term "Non-Governmental Organization" (NGO) and since then, there has been a continuous proliferation of NGOs particularly due to government and market failure in both Northern and Southern countries (Edwards & Hulme 1996; Fisher 1997; Hossain & Mälkiä 1996; Markowitz 2001; Martens 2002, 271). The proliferation of NGOs is in part

a response to the growing awareness of the limitations of the state as an agent of development (Hyden 1997; Lindenberg & Dobel 1999). Nonetheless, historically, it is argued that NGOs emerged from the civil society in Northern countries with a liberal tradition, due to the gradual retreat of the government in public service delivery which left a vacuum for NGOs to fill. Thus, since World War II, NGOs have emerged to undertake projects that were formerly undertaken by government agencies in Northern and Southern countries (Lewis 2005). As a result, through NGOs, governments in especially Northern industrialized countries have been able to channel huge sums of money with the aim of funding projects in and out of the country. Similarly, through NGOs, governments in Northern industrialized countries have been deeply involved with developmental projects in Southern countries, which were initially undertaken by the government in those countries through their own governmental or international intergovernmental organizations such as UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and the World Bank (Hossain & Myllylä 1998). In this regard, NGOs serve in different ways to fulfill numerous functions and sometimes they are used as intermediaries to channel funds and in the execution of projects to local individuals and target groups of people (Rice 1983; Masoni 1985; Kortan 1990; Carroll 1992).

Owing to the increasing role of NGOs, many governments in Northern and Southern countries have come to recognize them as partners in development and to rely on them for the execution of projects, instead of relying only on government agencies on the one hand, and private profit seeking entities on the other. Thus, today, NGOs have grown more complex and ambiguous, and the institutional landscape in which NGOs are embedded has undergone rapid change. Additionally, the field of NGOs has become an extensive one, with a large and diverse universe of organizations and activities (Anderson et al. 2005). However, within the current NGO literature, we can identify conceptual shortcomings regarding the concept (Fisher 1997).

In this regard, this study aims at examining the concept of NGOs with a conceptual perspective. Precisely, this study aims at examining the conceptual problems of NGOs in relation to their operation rather than only on their organisational attributes. Our aim in this study is to present three different conceptions of NGOs which taken together, illustrate the need to conceptualize the concept more clearly. In this respect, some of the main conceptions of NGOs namely Private Voluntary Organization (PVO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), and the Third Sector will be examined for purposes of this study. The arguments are presented below in the next sections.

Need for Conceptual Clarification of NGOs

In the literature of NGOs, the concepts that are used for the conceptualization of NGOs and the terms that are used to communicate them to others are often unsystematic and confusing. This is justified by the fact that the cross-use of incompatible concepts, often leads to conceptual confusion regarding the nature,

types and roles of various NGOs (Hossain & Myllylä 1998). For instance, different scholars working on the same area of research may use different concepts and concept systems to group NGOs according to their similarities and otherwise. This may lead to cognitive categories of NGOs such as Non-Profit Organization (NPO), Public Voluntary Organization (PVO), Membership Organization (MO), Grassroots Organization (GRO), People's Organization (PO), Civil Service Organization (CSO), Third Sector Organization (TSO), Non-Governmental Development Organization (NGDO), Charitable Organization (CO), Community-Based Organization (CBO), Private Organization (PO), Civil Society Organization (CSO), Public Service Contractor (PSC), Non-Governmental Institution (NGI) and Quasi-Non Governmental Organization (QUANGO) (Etzioni 1973; Anheier & Seibel 1990; Korten 1990; Tvedt 1998). Since the conceptualization of these organizations are often overlapping and incompatible with each other, conceptual confusion emerges when overlapping concepts taken from different concept systems are used together especially without regard to the fact that they are part of different conceptual identities (Mälkia 1995).

Additionally, sometimes different terms are used to refer to the same concept because different scholars may use the same concept but give it a different name. For example, when one scholar talks of 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO), the other may talk of 'Grassroots Organization' (GRO) and the third may talk of 'Civil Society Organization' (CSO). In all these, they are talking about the same conceptual phenomenon. However, when this happens, problems of conceptual misunderstandings emerge because scholars may not realize that they are talking about the same thing using different concepts (Riggs et al. 1997). Furthermore, sometimes different scholars use the same concept like 'NGO' as a concept for different concepts. This may also lead to conceptual misunderstandings because when one scholar speaks of NGOs, he may be referring to all Non-Governmental and Not-for-Profit Organizations. But for another scholar, the concept 'NGO' may refer to a different cognitive category. Since these cognitive categories are related to each other, it is very difficult sometimes to realize that different scholars are using the same concept. As a result, scholars may easily misunderstand each other when one is speaking about 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO), while another is speaking about 'Grassroots Organization' (GRO) and the third about 'Private Voluntary Organization' (PVO) or 'Non-Profit Organization' (NPO).

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative study which was designed to argue that there is a lack of conceptual clarity of the concept - Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Thus, some of the main concepts of NGOs namely Private Voluntary Organization (PVO), Non-Profit Organization (NPO), and the Third Sector were reviewed for purposes of this study. The data of this study was collected through books from libraries, internet websites, Journal Articles and published research.

On the other hand, the data was analyzed through content analysis. Precisely, the data was subjected to content analysis for relevant information to support the arguments leading to the findings of the study.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

There are a few theories underlying the emergence of NGOs in the society. In this perspective, according to the public goods or the performance failure theory, NGOs emerged to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in the society. Weisbrod (1977) argues that people created NGOs when the government or market could not provide public goods for all or serve the general interests of everybody. Similarly, Brown and Korten (1991) argue that state failure creates a situation in which NGOs emerge as innovative responses to different types of problems. On the other hand, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs are capable of providing services more economically than the government. In addition, NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake their projects at lower labour costs than entrepreneurs because they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Based on this sort of argument, failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the government have less consequences on the economy as a whole, since nearly all NGO-led projects are carried out at micro-level. On the contrary, in case of government or market failure, the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by such a failure attracts the emergence of NGOs. NGOs could therefore, fulfill unsatisfied needs like health care, social work or education services. James (1987) claims that the more a society is heterogeneous, the more conducive it becomes for the creation of many NGOs.

Similarly, according to the contract failure theory, when people confront difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs could be more trustworthy as contractors between the people and entrepreneurs because entrepreneurs could take undue advantage of the people's ignorance for profit making (James 1987). Brown and Korten (1991) argue that NGOs could emerge in case of market failure because markets tend to be potentially vulnerable to failure in developing countries. In such situations, NGOs could emerge because people have trust in them more than profit making entities (Williamson 1985; Krashinsky 1986). Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing the people for participation in government initiated projects. Additionally, they also claim that NGOs could be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged people in the society. In this regard, NGOs could be considered as alternative institutions through which the underprivileged are better served than conventionally. Similarly, Anheier (1990) claims that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of the underprivileged and are able to reach those strata of society which are bypassed by public service delivery systems.

According to the theory of partnership or interdependence, the relationship between the government and NGOs could be 'conflicting', 'interdependent' or a 'partnership'. If it is such that they have to share experiences, resources and expertise, the relationship might be one of complementing each other. Under such arrangements, the 'theory of interdependence' or the 'theory of partnership' could be argued for the emergence of NGOs as partners (Salamon & Anheier 1998). Politically, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs are relatively immune from political manoeuvring, whereas government policies and agencies are vulnerable to unexpected change. Moreover, the government may politicize its services if we consider the services as political in global politics. However, by using NGOs as local and international operators, the problems of politicization or hidden agenda can be better handled. Thus, generally speaking, NGOs are believed to be more reliable and less guided by political considerations. Culturally, NGOs grounded in the local culture are more sensitive to local needs and adaptation. Thus, rather than replace the indigenous social culture by large scale organizations, NGOs try to nurture the local organizations within their own cultural sphere.

In sum, although the above mentioned arguments are often repeated in contemporary NGO discuss, it should be reiterated that there is no concrete empirical evidence for or against these claims. However, if case by case is considered, some of these claims may be true while others may be false. Basically, most of these arguments are said to be general assumptions, feelings, beliefs and expectations (Anheier 1990; UNDP 1993).

Typical Conceptions of NGOs

Some scholars have argued that even though there is a lot of literature about 'Non-Governmental' and 'Not-for-Profit Organizations', there is a lack of agreement about how these organizations should be conceptualized. This is because in most cases, the concepts that are used to conceptualize these organizations are not well developed due to the fact that they are based on assumptions about the differences between the public and the private sectors and sometimes between the public, private and the Third Sector (Anheier 1990; Korten 1990; Smillie 1993; 1995). Thus, the main assumption here is that when we talk of 'Non-Governmental', 'Private-Voluntary', 'Non-Profit' or 'Third Sector' organizations, we are talking about developmental organizations which on the one hand are not governmental, meaning they are not 'traditional' government agencies and which on the other hand are not private, profit-seeking corporations (Hossain & Myllylä 1998).

Therefore, from this perspective, 'Non-Governmental' and 'Not-for-Profit Organizations' are conceptualized not by what they are, but by the fact that they lie between conventional government agencies and profit-seeking corporations (Anheier 1990). Thus, for most scholars, these organizations are some how distinct because they lie between conventional government agencies and profit-seeking corporations. The main problem with this conceptualization is that this

category of organizations is by definition very broad because besides Voluntary Grassroots Organizations which are often understood as some type of 'traditional' NGOs, they may also include organizations such as international humanitarian organizations, cooperatives, self-help organizations, various types of membership associations and sometimes, organizations like churches, labour unions, political parties, Private-Not-for-Profit schools, hospitals and religious sects. Similarly, when the concepts 'Non-Governmental', 'Private-Voluntary' and 'Not-for-Profit' organizations are examined, it may be argued that too often, both the extension and intention of these concepts are unclear (Mälkiä 1995). In this regard, the distinctive features of these concepts are still open for conceptual clarification.

That said, the next sections of this Paper will discuss some of the problems pertaining to the concepts of 'Non-Governmental', 'Private-Voluntary', 'Non-Profit' and the 'Third Sector'. After that, the need to develop more complex conceptual classifications and typologies of different types and subtypes of NGOs will be discussed.

Problems with the Concept - 'Non-Governmental'

Whenever the concept 'Non-Governmental' or 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO) is used, the main emphasis is on the difference between the governmental and non-governmental sectors (Hossain & Myllylä 1998). In simplistic terms, this means 'non-governmental' or Non-Governmental Organizations' are separate from the government or government agencies. Given that the concept 'non-governmental' defines in the widest sense all organizations that are not considered as 'governmental', it could be argued that a cross section of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) could be seen otherwise. This is because there are some spheres where the concept 'non-governmental' may cause confusion or even misdirect the readers. For example, how should we conceptualize foundations, intergovernmental organizations, quasi non-governmental organizations or organizations belonging to the indirect public administration? Should these organizations be conceptualized as 'governmental', 'non-governmental' or what? On the other hand, what should be the criteria that define various organizations as either 'governmental' or 'non-governmental'? Is it their economic, political, legal or administrative independence from the government that makes these organizations non-governmental or otherwise? In the current literature, these types of questions are sometimes asked, but seldom answered. A case in point is that in much of the literature about organizations, private-for-profit organizations are often conceptualized as 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (NGOs).

However, in developmental literature, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are typically conceptualized not as organizations which fall between governmental and non-governmental agencies, but rather as organizations which fall between the public and private, government and corporate or lately, the state and the market. The historical development leading to this conception

can be understood from the fact that in the early days of official development cooperation, government-funded development projects were usually implemented by the governments in third world countries. But when modern non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations emerged and began gaining wide recognition, they were understood as important alternatives to government oriented development activities. As a result, developmental activists began to call these new organizations - 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (NGOs). The emphasis was to stress the difference between the widely criticized conventional government-led development organizations, and the emerging new organizational types (Edwards & Hulme 1992).

At first, this categorization might have been very useful to enhance the use of these new organizations. However, the idea was that the new 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (NGOs) were everything that government agencies were not such as they were effective, more reflective of the needs of the poor, non-corrupted, flexible, innovative, non-bureaucratic, participatory and non-politicized. Thus, in the framework of third world development, the term 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO) became accepted as an appropriate and useful description for this emerging type of organizations. With time, the diversity and complexity of the NGO sector became apparent and problems relating to these became obvious when it was already too late to change the expression (Brown 1990). The concept 'Non-Governmental Organization' (NGO) was already accepted as an appropriate description for this new type of organizations. By this description, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are understood to be organizations that are private, not responsible to the government but operating under state laws, having charity as their objective, working on a non-profit-seeking basis, as well as working in development-oriented activities. Additionally, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are understood to be people's organizations working against poverty. Furthermore, they are also understood to be grassroots organizations (Sartori 1994).

However, instead of speaking about Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Theunis (1992) for example, argues that we should speak of Non-Governmental Development Organizations (NGDOs) because he wants to show a distinction between development-oriented Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and those that are active in other areas of activity such as culture, health, politics, education, relief or the Civil Society. Thus, as seen in this Section, there is a lack of conceptual clarity about the concept 'non-governmental', because scholars seem not to agree on a common concept for the different emerging types of organizations.

Problems with the Concept - 'Private Voluntary'

'Private Voluntary' Organization (PVO) is one other way by which 'non-governmental' and 'not-for-profit organizations' are conceptualized or understood. This form of conceptualization is common in the United States of America (USA) where the concept Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) is largely

used as a synonym for Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) (Korten 1990, 2; Smillie 1995, 22). However, when the concept 'private voluntary' is used, the emphasis is on the fact that we are thinking of a private instead of a public organization. As there seems to be several types of private organizations, the qualifier 'voluntary' is used with the purpose of differentiating the intended category from the other types of private organizations. From a conceptual perspective, this conception may seem distinctive because the target is now clearly identified but in which way are these organizations 'voluntary'? Is it based on voluntary labour or what? As argued by Kalimullah (1990), non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations are often called Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) although in practice, most of the PVO workers receive payment for their services. Additionally, there are many cases of PVO workers receiving higher salaries than workers in say public organizations in third world countries. This conceptual problem creates confusion whatever the case may be so long as our thinking of 'voluntary', is work without pay.

Additionally, it has been proven that most Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) are more dependent on funding from the government or donor agencies than from voluntary contributions or charities. Therefore, in practice, Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) are more like government agencies or government contractors. For example, in Finland, the Department for International Development Cooperation in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs provides 75% of funding for Finnish NGOs working abroad (FINNIDA 1994). Similarly, most domestic NGOs in Finland are also largely funded by the government besides the church and the Finnish Slot Machine Association (Heino 1997, 291-294; Kansanaho & Hissa 1979, 54-62; Sama 2007). This is the same case with most NGOs in other OECD (Organization of Economic Community and Development) countries according to the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (Salamon 2008). Thus, Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) are far less voluntary than the concept 'private voluntary' seemingly indicates because they are largely funded by the government. So they can be seen as government agencies or government contractors. In this light, the relationship between the government and Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) would be one of partnership or interdependence according to the theory for NGOs (Salamon & Anheier 1998).

However, in the recent discourse, the concept 'Private Voluntary Development Organization' (PVDO) has emerged (Hossain & Mälkiä 1998). This concept may be useful because it makes a clear differentiation between development-oriented organizations and those that are not working for development purposes. Nonetheless, the concept 'Private Voluntary Development Organization' (PVDO) has not solved the problem with the qualifier 'voluntary' because the question of, in which way are these organizations 'voluntary'? has not yet been answered.

Problems with the Concept - 'Non-Profit'

In much of the academic literature, 'non-governmental' and 'not-for-profit' organizations that are emerging are often conceptualized as Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs). Here, the emphasis is on the distinction between 'non-profit-seeking' and 'profit-seeking'. However, it can be argued that even the qualifier 'non-profit' may be misleading because some of the Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) are highly involved in income generating activities through which they make profit. Some of the income generating activities may include the production and sale of various types of products. For example, there is the widely called 'third world shops' which is involved in the sale of third world products like handicrafts, in Western countries. Additionally, many emerging Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) in third world countries are deeply involved in business and some even compete with private business entities to maximize profit (Edwards & Hulme 1992; Gidron et al. 1992).

Similarly, in Western countries, some domestic Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) are also involved in income generating activities through which they make profit. This is the case with some Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) in Finland, for example. Some of them have a number of income generating activities such as the sale of recycled products, second hand clothes, shoes and furniture in their flea markets located in the city of their operation, and in other parts of the country (Sama 2007). Thus, since Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) are also involved in profit making or income generating activities in which they make profit, we must ask ourselves, what qualifies these organizations as 'non-profit' organizations?

In their attempt to show the distinction between 'non-profit' and 'profit-seeking' organizations, Salamon and Anheier (1996) argue that organizations are said to be 'non-profit' if they are not returning their profits to their owners or directors. In this case, the profits are plowed back into the organization. Additionally, they argue that 'non-profit' organizations are organizations that do not exist mainly for profit seeking motives like private businesses, but rather, they are there to serve the general interests of all. If this is the case, it would mean that cooperatives for example would probably not be considered as 'non-profit' organizations. This is because many 'non-profit' organizations make profits although the profits are plowed back in to the organization rather than distributed to their owners or board of directors like in the case of profit-seeking corporations (Gidron et al. 1992). Based on the fact that tax laws and the definition of 'profit' vary significantly from country to country because American 'non-profits' for example are taxed on unrelated business income while those of Europe are not, Salamon and Anheier (1996) argue that it may be better to conceptualize this type of organizations as 'Third Sector' organizations instead of 'non-profit' organizations.

Problems with the Concept - 'Third Sector'

The 'Third Sector' is widely used as a concept in Europe and in the United States to refer to a diverse set of organizations which lie between the market and the state, and which are neither government agencies nor profit-seeking corporations (Gidron et al. 1992). In this perspective, some scholars have tried to use the concept 'Third Sector' to conceptualize emerging types of Private Voluntary and Non-Profit organizations. For example, Anheier (1990) argues that since Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs), philanthropic organizations, foundations and other similar types of organizations are located between the private, for-profit-seeking and government agencies, they should be conceptualized as 'Third Sector' organizations because of their intermediary position.

However, some scholars on these organizations have tried to use the concept 'Third Sector Organizations' and 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (NGOs) synonymously (Anheier & Seibel 1990; Gidron et al. 1992; Salamon & Anheier 1996), but Uphoff (1996) argues that NGOs should not be conceptualized as 'Third Sector Organizations.' His main argument is that there is a distinction between NGOs and the Third Sector. According to him, NGOs are service organizations which belong to the private rather than the Third Sector, while the Third Sector belongs to people's associations, membership organizations and cooperatives. For him, the defining criterion is that NGOs are not-for-profit organizations that are there to serve the general interests of their clients or beneficiaries, while Third Sector organizations are organizations that are there to serve the interests of their members. Additionally, as clients or beneficiaries, those receiving services from NGOs have no formal influence or power to decide the administrative arrangements, goals or operational patterns of these organizations. Therefore, NGO clients and beneficiaries are in a relationship of 'take it or leave it' similar to customers and employees of private companies. This relationship is totally different from that of people belonging to and served by Third Sector Organizations such as cooperatives or membership organizations. Therefore, based on this argument, it may be problematic to consider these emerging non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations as 'Third Sector Organizations.' At the same time, it can be clearly argued that the need for scholars to develop clear conceptual differentiation between NGOs, the Third Sector and other similar forms of organizations is still open to research.

Towards More Differentiated Conceptions

We have seen in the previous sections that there is a lack of conceptual clarity on the new forms of emerging organizations such as NGOs, PVOs, NPOs and the Third Sector. We have also seen that among these organizations, there is a wide variety of differences in their origins, activities, interests, financial arrangements, clients and beneficiaries, work strategies, management patterns, working environments and operational procedures. In this regard, there is need

for more differentiated conceptualizations of these different types of organizations. Also since the conceptual systems that are used to conceptualize these organizations are often too broad and too general, by conceptualizing these different types of organizations as 'non-governmental' or 'private' and 'voluntary' organizations, scholars fail to reflect the diversity of the organizations. This is because instead of conceptualizing these different types of (non-governmental, not-for-profit) organizations with different functions and different roles, scholars often tend to conceptualize them by using broad conceptual categories like NGOs, as if all NGOs were the same or similar.

Due to this lack of conceptual clarity of the different types of NGOs, some scholars have attempted to establish a clear differentiation of the different types of NGOs. In this regard, one of the leading scholars is David Korten. In his attempt to establish the different types of NGOs, Korten (1990, 114-132) has identified four generations of NGO strategies based on the changing role of NGOs in development. The first generation strategy deals with "relief and welfare". NGOs involved in this field of activities provide emergency assistance to local populations in times of catastrophes like war, famine, flood and earthquakes. These types of NGOs are doers and they are there to solve the immediate needs of the people on a temporary basis. Their aim is to give relief to individuals or families in need in order to help them recover. After they are done with their work, these NGOs change location to provide their services elsewhere. The second generation of NGO strategies is involved in the arrangement of small-scale community development projects for neighbourhoods or villages. Compared to the first generation, the second generation is more involved in developmental activities with a short-term perspective. Their chief actors are NGOs with the local community. These NGOs work to develop the capacities of their beneficiaries so that they may meet their own needs through self reliant local activities. The third generation of NGO strategies is sustainable systems development. These NGOs have a longer time perspective of 10-20 years. The scope of their activities covers a region or nation and so, their work goes beyond the individual community because they seek for changes in specific policies and institutions at local, national and global levels. Their main actors are all relevant public and private institutions and their role is that of a catalyst, while their management orientation is strategic management. Finally, the fourth generation of NGO strategies is 'people's movements'. These NGOs have an indefinite time frame and their management orientation consists of networks of different organizations which have different roles to play in the development process of developing countries. Table 1 below shows the four generations of NGO strategies as described above:

Table 1: Strategies of Development Oriented NGOs: Four Generations (Korten 1990, Table 10-1)

	FIRST Relief and Welfare	SECOND Community Development	THIRD Sustainable Systems Development	FOURTH People's Move- ments
Problem/ Definition	Shortage	Local Inertia	Institutional and Policy Constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to Twenty Years	Indefinite future
Scope:	Individual or Family	Neighbour- hood or Village	Region or Nation	National or Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO plus community	All Relevant Public and Private Institutions	Loosely Defined Networks of People and Or- ganizations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobiliser	Catalyst	Activ- ist/Educator
Manage- ment Orien- tation	Logistics Manage- ment	Project Man- agement	Strategic Manage- ment/Management	Coalescing and Energising Self- managing net- works
Develop- ment Educa- tion	Starving children	Community self-help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Source: Korten D. C. (1990): Getting to the 21st Century Voluntary Action: Global Agenda.

From Table 1 above, Korten (1990) has shown that there are different types of NGOs with little in common. Thus, when we speak about the concept of NGOs, it is important to specify what type of NGO we are talking about. Korten (1990) has also identified four main types of NGOs as follows: The first is Voluntary NGOs, which pursue a social initiative driven by a commitment to shared values; the second is Public Service Contractors (PSCs), which operate as market oriented non-profit organizations for the purpose of serving the public; the third is People's Organizations (POs), which represent their members' interests, have member accountable leadership and are highly self reliant, and the fourth is Governmental-Non-Governmental Organizations (GONGOs), which are creations of government that serve as instruments of government policy. McKelvey (1982) argues that more systematic classifications of NGOs could be generated by way of identifying their various roles or functions. He also suggests that one way of doing this is by differentiating between NGOs in the North and those in the South. According to him, NGOs in the North and those in the South play very different roles in development because NGOs in the North are seen as donors to those in the South, while NGOs in the South are seen more as local organizations at the grassroots. If this is the case, Smillie & Helmich (1993) argue that the difference between these two types of NGOs would be that of a top-down and bottom-up approach in development. However, whatever the case may be, we have seen that the NGO field is full of organizations that are different from each other but unfortunately, scholars do not often consider these differences.

Findings and Conclusion

Since 1945, there has been a continuous proliferation of non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations in both Northern and Southern countries particularly due to government and market failure. As a result, governments in Northern and Southern countries have channeled substantial amounts of funding and projects through NGOs because they have come to consider NGOs as partners in development. However, in spite of the fact that NGOs are increasingly important as partners in the development of both Northern and Southern countries, there is still a lack of conceptual clarity about the diversity of the NGO sector. This is because academic research have not followed and systematically conceptualized the rapid growth and heterogeneity of NGOs. For example, much of the literature on NGOs is full of generalizations as if all NGOs were the same. Additionally, NGOs have not been studied systematically in a manner that differentiates their various types, functions, networks, rationalities and the complex interactions within themselves and with other actors working in the same field. Furthermore, the concepts that are often used to conceptualize NGOs are often based on assumptions about the differences between the public and the private sector, rather than what the NGOs really are.

However, in this study, we are not suggesting that scholars have failed to conceptualize NGOs properly. Our argument is that there is a lack of conceptual clarity about the different types of new emerging non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations because academic research has not yet followed and systematically conceptualized them. That is the reason why there is conceptual misunderstanding whether these organizations should be conceptualized as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) or the Third Sector. Thus, we have argued that there are some distinctive features among these organizations such as their origins, operational procedures, working environments, interests, clients or beneficiaries, activities, financial arrangements, working strategies and management patterns which makes it important to differentiate them according to their various types. Currently, the concepts that are used to conceptualize these organizations are often too broad and too general. For example, by identifying all the different types of organizations as 'non-governmental', 'private' or 'voluntary' organizations, scholars fail to reflect the diversity of the organizations. Nonetheless, the conclusion of this study is that we are not trying to encourage scholars working in the field of NGOs to change the concepts which they are currently using, but instead, what we try to do is make them more aware of the potential problems related to the concepts they are using, and the hidden implications behind them.

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IV

ROLE OF NGOs IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES: THE CASE OF FINLAND AND SWEDEN

by
Thomas Babila Sama (2011)

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Role of NGOs in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden

Thomas Babila Sama (2011)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND

Abstract

This is a mixed method comparative case study whose aim was to find the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) of Finland and Sweden, and also the relationship that the NGOs have with the Government of the two countries. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Primary data was collected through Questionnaire and interviews, while secondary data was collected from literature reviews, books and internet websites. A total of 130 employees responded to the Questionnaire from the two selected NGOs in Finland, while 140 employees responded from the one selected NGO in Sweden. The Questionnaire were analyzed using SPSS and the findings revealed that first, the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by employing long-term unemployed people in the labour market. Second, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by providing social services, mobilizing local resources and undertaking other types of activities which have created jobs for the unemployed. Lastly, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by providing voluntary work to volunteers - some of who acquire skills that can help them to find a job in the open labour market. The relationship between the NGOs and the Government of Finland and Sweden was found to be one of partnership cooperation through the local Employment Office and the City Council. However, Finland was found to have a more bureaucratic system than Sweden in the implementation of their ALMPs with regards to NGOs. The main similarity between the two countries was that the implementation of ALMPs with regards to NGOs, takes place at the local level through the City Council and the local Employment Office. This study concluded that although Finland and Sweden are two 'Nordic countries', the two countries slightly differ in the implementation of their ALMPs with regards to NGOs.

Keywords: Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs), Employment Subsidies, Long-term Unemployment, NGOs, Finland, Sweden

1. Introduction

Finland and Sweden are two 'Nordic countries' thought to be 'Welfare States' (Esping-Andersen 1990) which enjoyed full employment due to rapid economic growth from the 1950s to the 1970s. However, at the beginning of the 1990s, due to an international economic slowdown, the two countries suffered from a severe economic recession which led to an exceptionally sharp rise in unemployment that had not been seen since the Great Depression (Seppo et al. 1996; Räisänen 2003; Roos 2008). After the 1990s recession, unemployment in Finland and Sweden became considerably high because the recession led to the emergence of a new form of structural or long-term unemployment which has become a perennial problem in the two countries (Pehkonen & Klas 2008). Thus, today, there are tens of thousands of people in Finland and Sweden who have been unemployed for over a year due to structural or long-term unemployment. These groups of people are commonly referred to as the long-term unemployed in the two countries. For example, in June 2010, the number of long term unemployed in Finland was 83,000 people (see Statistics Finland). Similarly, in Sweden, the number of long term unemployed in June 2010 was 161 000 people (see Statistics Sweden). The long-term unemployed in Finland are mostly people who are difficult to employ particularly in the big cities, due to their lack of vocational training, poor health, disability or their ethnic background. Other problematic groups of long-term unemployed people in Finland include those who have interrupted their studies, young people with multiple health problems, alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts (LOCIN 2006). Similarly, in Sweden, the long-term unemployed include young people, ethnic minorities and the disabled (Pehkonen & Klas 2008).

Owing to this perennial problem of long-term unemployment in Finland and Sweden, the Government of the two countries have come to recognize NGOs as major actors in the implementation of their Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) (Räisänen 2003; Svedberg & Lundström 2003). However, there are some doubts whether NGOs can play an important role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, considering that NGOs are voluntary organizations. Thus, the aim of this study was to find the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also the relationship¹ that NGOs have with the Government of the two countries. For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden in terms of size and employment potentials. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of

¹ In this paper, when we refer to the relationship between NGOs and the Government, we refer as much to the central Government with its ministries and Government Agencies as to the Governmental authorities and publicly-owned establishments at the local and regional levels.

Stockholm. The next Section is going to look at the Comparative Setting of this study.

1.1 Comparative Setting

The choice of selecting Finland and Sweden for this study was based on the fact that first, Finland and Sweden are two Nordic Welfare States with a universalistic welfare regime (incorporating comprehensive high-level benefits with an extensive employment policy) where unemployed people have the lowest risk of poverty and social exclusion from the labour market (Gallie & Paugam 2000; Timonen 2003). Second, in both countries, the ALMPs are aimed at guaranteeing and increasing the employment of vulnerable groups of people in the labour market. In practice, both countries have a wide range of active labour market measures such as vocational rehabilitation, training, and special employment schemes based on incentives or direct job creation to guarantee and increase the employment of their vulnerable groups of people in the labour market (Meager & Evans 1998; Hvinden et al. 2001). Third, the Government of Finland and Sweden have set high targets for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs through training, retraining, work practice, a job or other employability measures. In the case of Finland, all unemployed people for more than 500 days are considered as long-term unemployed and so, they are offered places for training, retraining, work practice, subsidized jobs or other employability measures (World Bank 2000; Kvist 2001). Similarly, in Sweden, all unemployed people of between 6 months for young people and 12 months for adults are considered as long-term unemployed and so, they are also offered training, retraining, work practice, a job or ongoing job search assistance.²

Fourth, to achieve the target for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs, the Government of Finland and Sweden have built local partnerships based on extensive cooperation involving the municipalities, local Employment Offices, NGOs and businesses. The local partners also have a central role in implementing the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden (Katajamäki 1998; Cinneide 2000; Olsson et al. 2005). Hence, both countries channel financial resources to local, non-governmental initiatives, for the development of new forms of co-operation between the employment services, social services and local businesses (LOCIN 2006). Fifth, the employment rate for women in Finland and Sweden is among the highest in the European Union. The high rate of women's employment in Finland and Sweden is partly due to the high-level of social services in both countries such as public childcare for women with kids and care for the elderly (Kjeldstad 2001; Sørensen 2001). Finally, both countries want to reduce the number of long-term unemployed people and to make it easier for particularly vulnerable groups of people like the disabled, youths, and ethnic minorities to enter or re-enter the labour market

² The Swedish Reform Programme for Growth and Employment 2005-2008: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/05/28/62/c0ecb152.pdf>

(Bergqvist & Nyberg 2002; Brochures of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006).

2. Background

According to some studies undertaken on the roles of NGOs, the roles of NGOs within a society may include (a) filling in the gaps in Government services through the delivery of their own services often in partnership with the Government, (b) the identification and addressing of new social problems, (c) helping certain groups of people, (d) pressing for change in the national development strategy, (e) encouraging official Government agencies to adopt successful approaches developed within the NGO sector, (f) educating and sensitizing the public on their rights and entitlements under Government programmes, (g) acting as a conduit for public opinion and local experience, (h) influencing local development policies of national and international institutions, (i) operational collaboration with official bodies to help Government fashion a more effective development strategy, (j) helping communities to articulate their concerns and preferences, (k) manoeuvring into a negotiating position with official bodies in order to amplify the concerns of their communities, and (l) mixing advocacy and networking skills to give power to and to enhance the existing power of the underprivileged (Clark 1991; Edwards & Hulme 1992).

On the other hand, the relationship between NGOs and the Government maybe competitive, subcontracting, third party, coexistence, supplementary or co-constructive. The relationship maybe (a) 'competitive,' when the Government and NGOs are competing in the field to provide certain types of services and to obtain resources from the community, (b) 'subcontracting,' when the Government while remaining important, delegates some operations to NGOs for delivery of certain services, (c) 'third party,' when the Government delegates not only operations but also responsibilities to NGOs, thus, sharing a substantial degree of its prerogatives, (d) 'coexistence,' when the Government is sympathetic with NGOs but not necessarily proactive in supporting them, (e) 'supplementary,' when the Government sets up public services according to average preferences of the population, but agrees to partly support the minority preferences that NGOs deal with and, (f) 'co-constructive,' when the Government shares its responsibilities and operations with NGOs while each party maintains its autonomy, values, and mission. Co-constructive relationship may also imply the participation of NGOs in the development of public policies. Sometimes, Co-constructive relationship is referred to as "mutualist strategy" or "rationalized welfare pluralism" (Clark 1991; Coston 1998, 10).

However, some scholars have come up with four main types or models of NGO-Government relationship based on the financing of services, authorization of services, and the actual delivery of the services (Kramer 1981; Salamon 1987). In this regard, the first type of NGO-Government relationship is the Government-Dominant model in which the Government plays the dominant role in both the financing and delivery of the services. This means the Government is

both the main financier and the principal provider of the services using the tax system to raise the funds. This model is predominant in Social Democratic Welfare States such as the Nordic countries (Esping-Andersen 1990). The second type or model of NGO-Government relationship is the NGO-Dominant model in which NGOs play the dominant role in both the financing and delivery of the services. This model typically prevails where opposition to Government involvement in the delivery of services is strong either for ideological or sectarian reasons, or where the need for such services has not yet been widely acclaimed. The third type or model of NGO-Government relationship is the Dual-Model which falls between the Government-Dominant model and the NGO-Dominant model. In the Dual model, the financing and delivery of the services are shared between NGOs and the Government. The Dual model can take two different forms: The first form is that NGOs can supplement the services provided by the Government through the delivery of the same type of services mainly to clients who are not reached by the Government. The second form is that NGOs may complement the services that are not met by the Government. In this vein, NGOs will be playing a complementary or gap-filling role. Finally, the last type or model of NGO-Government relationship is the Collaborative Model in which NGOs and the Government work together rather than separately. Typically, this takes the form of Government providing the funding, and NGOs delivering the services. The collaborative Model is a partnership which is said to be the most prevalent in many countries although patterns may vary within a particular country (Salamon 1987; Kangas 1994).

As a matter of fact, ALMPs have moved from 'passive' to 'active' measures focusing on the labour market, work and welfare (Walters 1997; Esping-Andersen 1999; Goodin 2001). Thus, ALMPs have become one of the most utilised policy options in Welfare States such as Finland and Sweden because they are central to the new discourse of 'activation' and 'supply-side' policies of the Governments and supranational organisations like the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the European Union (OECD 1994; Deacon 1997; Waters 1997; Lodemel & Trickey 2000; Shin 2000; Sinfield 2001). In broad terms, ALMPs include measures to improve access to the labour market by the unemployed and investment in the skills of the unemployed. These are in contrast to the traditional passive income maintenance benefits. The rise in spending on ALMPs as a proportion to GDP has become a feature in some countries, especially since the late 1970s and 1990s. For example, spending in ALMPs has increased significantly in Finland and Sweden since the late 1990s, due to a high rate of long-term unemployment following the economic recession of the 1990s (Hokkanen and Kinnunen 2000; Timonen 2003).

3. Theoretical Framework

There are several theories underlying this study. In this regard, according to the dominant economic theory, NGOs or Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) exist

because of the inherent failure or limitations of the market and the Government in providing public goods (Weisbrod 1977). Based on this theory, the market is not sufficient to meet the demand for public goods because such goods can be enjoyed even by those who do not pay for them. Meanwhile, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs do not seek profits for their services and they undertake their projects at lower labour costs than business entrepreneurs since they rely on voluntary local inputs that do not include transaction costs. Therefore, failures with NGO-led projects compared with those of the Government have less impact on the economy as a whole since nearly all NGO-led projects are undertaken at the micro-level. Similarly, Anheier (1990) argues that NGOs try to stimulate the participation of disadvantaged groups of people and are able to reach those segments of society which are bypassed by conventional institutions.

Another relevant theory to this study is the contract failure theory by Brown and Korten (1991). According to this theory, when people encounter difficulties in pursuing contracts, they turn to find reliable agents in NGOs. This is because NGOs could be more reliable or trustworthy as contractors between the people and business entrepreneurs since business entrepreneurs could take undue advantage of the people's ignorance to make profit. Similarly, Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that NGOs could play the role of local intermediaries by mobilizing people for participation in Government initiated projects. Additionally, they argue that NGOs could also be profoundly effective as intermediaries for the delivery of services to disadvantaged groups of people in the society. In this regard, NGOs could be considered as alternative institutions through which socially disadvantaged groups of people are better served than conventional institutions. Finally, according to the theory of partnership or interdependence, the relationship between NGOs and the Government could be 'interdependent', 'partnership' or 'conflicting'. If it happens that they have to cooperate or share resources, experiences and expertise, the relationship would be one of complementing each other. So too is the case if it happens that NGOs exist only to do those things that the Government is not doing. Under such circumstances, the 'theory of interdependence' or 'partnership' would be argued for the emergence of NGOs as partners. However, if it happens that NGOs and the Government have to compete, their relationship would be conflicting.

4. Research Methodology

This study is a mixed method comparative case study. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected for analysis. Primary data was collected through Questionnaire. The main respondents of the Questionnaire were employees of two selected NGOs in Finland and one selected NGO in Sweden. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys (Jyväskylän Katulähetys) in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha (Pirkanmaan Sininauha) in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission (Stockholms Stadsmission) in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in

Sweden because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden, in terms of size and employment potentials. A total of 130 employees of the two selected NGOs in Finland responded to the Questionnaire, while a total of 140 employees of the one selected NGO in Sweden also responded to the Questionnaire. The sample size was full population sampling involving all the employees of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. Primary data was also collected through interviews from two officials of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. Precisely, two senior officials of each of the selected NGOs were interviewed about the functioning of their NGOs. All the interviews were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed. The names of the interviewees were taken by the researcher but kept anonymous in the analysis to safeguard confidentiality of their responses.

On the other hand, secondary data was also collected for analysis through literature reviews, published and unpublished research and from internet websites. Regarding the data analysis, the questionnaire were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) which is a software used for analyzing quantitative data such as questionnaire. The analysis of the questionnaire comprised of frequencies and cross tabulations. In contrast, the interviews were analyzed through content analysis to complement the findings from the Questionnaire.

4.1 Description of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden

One of the two selected NGOs in Finland for this study was Jyväskylän Katulähetys otherwise known in English as the Jyväskylä Street Mission Association. The NGO is a Jyväskylä based Christian common good organization founded in 1953 by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church with the aim of providing social services such as accommodation, clothing and food distribution services to homeless people in the City of Jyväskylä, located in Central Finland, about 270 km north of Helsinki - the capital of Finland. Today, the services of the organization have expanded to other fields including institutional rehabilitation services, emergency services, family work services, youth work services, food distribution services and recreation services. The organization also undertakes some activities in recycling and income generation such as the sale of second hand goods from charity. Most of the services provided by the organization are targeted towards alcoholics, drug addicts, ex-convicts and the youths (Jyväskylän Katulähetys).

The second selected NGO in Finland for this study was Pirkanmaan Sininauha otherwise known in English as the Finnish Blue Ribbon Association. The NGO is a Christian based organization which was founded in 1961 in the City of Tampere, located about 173 km north of Helsinki - the capital of Finland. The NGO was founded with the aim of providing their clients with a life free of intoxicant addiction through Christian values. The social services provided by the NGO include housing aid services, nursing home services, day care services, rehabilitation services, recovery groups' services, therapeutic services,

pastoral guidance, support and counselling services and spiritual services. Additionally, the organization also carries-out different types of social projects in cooperation with the City Council of Tampere (Pirkanmaan Sininauha).

On the other hand, the selected NGO in Sweden for this study was Stockholms Stadsmission. The NGO was founded by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in the City of Stockholm, the capital of Sweden in 1853 as part of the Swedish Church. The NGO was formed to help poor people - mainly children and the youths in Stockholm. The NGO has grown since then and today, it provides different types of social services including housing aid services, nursing home services, day care services, rehabilitation services, therapeutic services, and support and counseling services among others. The NGO also has its own school and a number of income generating activities such as second hand shops where second hand clothes and household equipments donated by charity are sold (Stockholms Stadsmission). Overall, the common thing about the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden is that they all have a religious background and traditionally, they provide social services to disadvantaged groups of people using volunteers and donations from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and Sweden.

As a matter of fact, it was in the 1990s that the Government of Finland and Sweden started partnership cooperation with NGOs in the area of employment following the economic recession of the 1990s, which led to high unemployment in the two countries. The reason was that it was thought that jobs could be created for unemployed people in NGOs because NGOs had a history of providing social services in Finland and Sweden. Hence, due to cutbacks in public spending, some social services were outsourced from the public sector to NGOs, and the NGO sector grew in both Finland and Sweden. NGOs also began to receive more funding from the Government of the two countries for their work which have enabled them to create jobs for the unemployed (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Helander and Laaksonen 1999; Olsson et al. 2005). For example, in 1996, NGOs in Finland employed 82,000 people and 655,000 volunteers (Helander & Laaksonen 1999). Meanwhile, in Sweden, in 1996, NGOs employed 100,000 people and more than 800,000 volunteers (Lundström and Wijkström 1997).

4.2 Historical roots of NGOs in Finland and Sweden

The NGO movement in Finland and Sweden arose out of fundamentally similar traditions because they had their historic roots from the church. In Finland, the NGO movement began as 'charity associations' dating back for centuries. The historic roots of the role of the church in the Finnish welfare system brought about the emergence of NGOs as far back as the 17th, 18th and early 19th century when the State and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church were strongly intertwined (Jaakkola 1994a). Traditionally, the church of Finland undertook a number of public duties such as social welfare, in addition to worship and religious rituals. Through the delivery of social services under the church, people

in Finland got involved in voluntary work either individually or as a group from within or outside the community. Volunteering - which in this study means a helping action by an individual conducted out of free will and without pay, has long been a tradition in Finland. Traditionally, volunteers worked as group leaders in children's work, youth work and in mission circles (Mäkeläinen 2001b). Volunteers usually worked for tasks of the church that were handled by charity associations. For example, in the 1880s, women's charity NGOs was one of the few ways for women to participate in social work in Finland (Jaakkola 1990; 1994a; Pulma 1994).

Apart from volunteers, there was also a large number of paid employees in the NGOs of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the context of the church, NGOs were created for Sunday school, youth work, home mission and social work services (Heininen & Heikkilä 1996). It was by the late 1950s and early 1960s (Aho 1991; Satka 1994) that Finland experienced rapid economic growth and the State was now able to offer a more extensive system of social welfare. In this vein, the official responsibilities of social welfare were moved from the church to the municipalities. The NGOs - especially those of the church wanted to complement the social services provided by the municipalities and not to compete with them. The church NGOs found their social work confined in those areas where the State did not reach. Their activities became centred on social work, home mission services, missionary work and Sunday school teaching (Heininen & Heikkilä 1996).

Besides the Church, the Poor Law which was established in 1852 is a historical cornerstone of the Finnish welfare system (Satka 1995; Jussila et al. 1999). The Poor Law was based upon a long tradition of local administration and local funding in Finland. Under the Poor Law, Poor Relief was organized by the Lutheran parishes which were the only local administrative bodies in rural areas. The local community had to take care of its own poor, but the State dictated the organizing of Poor Relief. Poor Relief, child care and moral education belonged to the parishes, whereas the care of the incurable sick, were regarded as matters for the State. Those entitled to Poor Relief included children in need of protection, the insane, the disabled and the aged infirm. Moreover, the old, sick or disabled who were able to work and the poor in need of temporary support, were entitled to public support. Nevertheless, the able-bodied poor were expected to earn their assistance by working for the community (Jaakkola 1996). The principles of the Poor Law seemed to be generosity and so everyone in real need of help had the right to receive it. The direct model was taken from the Swedish Poor Law of 1871 since until 1809, Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom and shared its legal and institutional system (Jussila et al. 1999). In 1922, a new Act of Poor Relief was passed which was an improvement in the making of social security in Finland. The new law expanded entitlement to Poor Relief. Thus, if someone was not able to support him/herself or get maintenance from the family, the municipality was to help. Outdoor relief, i.e. cash payments to the poor was upheld and extensive control practised by the authorities was to continue (Markkola 2000).

Meanwhile, in Sweden, historically, the NGO movement also began as charity organizations under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church dating back centuries. Before the 18th century, NGOs under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church established charities and worked in the area of social welfare (Lundström and Wijkström 1997). The NGOs mobilized volunteers to undertake welfare services such as health care, under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. Apart from volunteers, there was also a large number of paid employees in the NGOs of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. It was by the mid 19th century that Sweden experienced rapid economic growth and the State was now able to offer an extensive system of social welfare. The official responsibilities of social welfare were then moved from the church to the municipalities. The NGOs, especially those of the church wanted to complement the social services provided by the municipalities. The church NGOs found their social work confined in those areas where the State did not reach such as homeless people (Lundström and Svedberg 2003).

Besides the Church, the "poor relief laws" of Sweden also contributed to the Swedish welfare system. The poor relief laws of Sweden date back to the period before the 1760s. However, it was in 1847 and 1853 that Sweden passed "poor relief laws" in taking the first step towards implementing the Welfare State (Rosenthal 1967). As early as 1913, Sweden's Liberal Party Government (non-Socialist) began broadening the range of social benefits in the country. In 1913, the Liberal Party Government passed the National Pension Act to provide security for the aged and in 1918, a liberal-social democratic coalition Government passed a new poor law, which turned the responsibility of assisting anyone in need over to the local Governments, while the central Government contributed in administrative support. This law was to remain the cornerstone of Sweden's welfare programs. Sweden's social welfare continued to develop during the 1950s and 1960s, during which time Sweden was the third wealthiest country in the world for a period, with practically zero unemployment. The Welfare State then reached its peak in the 1970s, when it in effect, included everyone from child care to the pension system (see Social Security Sweden).

Based on the above historical facts, it can be concluded that the social welfare system in Finland and Sweden was partly borne and developed from religious values by the church as well as the poor relief laws. In terms of governance, both countries until the 20th century had a dual social welfare system whereby the State and NGOs took clearly demarcated roles in the provision of welfare services. But during the first half of the 20th century, this gradually changed to a more collaborative system with the State financing NGOs in a number of fields (Lundström & Svedberg 2003; Yeung 2004; Olsson et al. 2005). The next Section will present the data and analysis of this study.

5. Data Presentation and Analysis

As earlier mentioned in the Methodology Section of this study, a total of 130 employees responded to the Questionnaire from the two selected NGOs in Fin-

land, while a total of 140 employees responded to the Questionnaire from the one selected NGO in Sweden. Thus, the respondents' profile involved in this study is as seen below:

5.1 Age and Gender

The Age and Gender of the respondents involved in this study are as seen in Tables 1 and 2 below, for the two selected NGOs in Finland and the one selected NGO in Sweden:

Table 1: Cross tabulation of the respondents' Age and Gender of the two NGOs in Finland

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Age	Between 19 - 30 years old	4	9	13
	Between 31 - 45 years old	29	38	67
	Between 46 - 54 years old	16	20	36
	Above 55 years old	9	5	14
Total		58	72	130

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 2: Cross tabulation of the respondents' Age and Gender of the NGO in Sweden

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Age	Between 19 - 30 years old	2	26	28
	Between 31 - 45 years old	15	28	43
	Between 46 - 54 years old	20	22	42
	Above 55 years old	6	21	27
Total		43	97	140

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 1 above, 44.6% (58 respondents) of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland were men, while 55.4% (72) were women. These figures suggest that more women work in the two NGOs in Finland than men. On the other hand, 89.2% (116) of the respondents of the two NGOs in Finland were aged between 19-54, while 10.8% (14) were aged above 55. These suggest that most of the employees of the two NGOs in Finland come from the most active age group in the labour market. Meanwhile, Table 2 indicates that 30.7% (43) of the respondents of the one selected NGO in Sweden were men, while

69.3% (97) were women. These figures also suggest that there are more women in the NGO in Sweden than men. 80.7% (113) of the respondents of the NGO in Sweden were aged between 19-54, while 19.3% (27) were aged above 55. These also suggest that most of the employees of the NGO in Sweden come from the most active age group in the labour market. Thus, comparatively, more women than men work in the selected NGOs in both Finland and Sweden, and most of the employees come from the active age group of between 19-54 in the labour market.

5.2 Occupations of the Respondents

This study tried to look at the different occupations of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland and the one selected NGO in Sweden. Thus, Tables 3 and 4 below, show the occupations of the respondents of the NGOs in Finland and Sweden respectively.

Table 3: Occupations of respondents of the two NGOs in Finland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Administrative staff	14	10.8	10.8	10.8
Sales person	9	6.9	6.9	17.7
Social worker	44	33.8	33.8	51.5
Warehouse staff	2	1.5	1.5	53.1
Supervisor	22	16.9	16.9	70.0
Driver	3	2.3	2.3	72.3
Tailor/Seamstress	22	16.9	16.9	89.2
Nurse	4	3.1	3.1	92.3
Other	10	7.7	7.7	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 4: Occupations of respondents of the NGO in Sweden

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Administrative staff	15	10.7	10.7	10.7
Sales person	14	10.0	10.0	20.7
Social worker	78	55.7	55.7	76.4
Warehouse staff	4	2.9	2.9	79.3
Supervisor	7	5.0	5.0	84.3
Driver	2	1.4	1.4	85.7
Tailor/Seamstress	1	.7	.7	86.4
Teacher	14	10.0	10.0	96.4
Nurse	1	.7	.7	97.1
Other	4	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	140	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 3 above, the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland were employed in different occupations namely, Administrative Staff 10.8% (14 respondents), Sales person 6.9% (9), Social worker 33.8% (44), Warehouse staff 1.5% (2), Supervisor 16.9% (22), Driver 2.3% (3), Tailor/Seamstress 16.9% (22), Nurse 3.1% (4), and in other occupations not specified, 7.7% (10). These findings show that most of the respondents in the two NGOs in Finland were Social workers representing 33.8% (44). Thus, the findings confirm the claim that most of the people that NGOs employ in Finland work as Social workers to deliver social services to particularly disadvantaged groups of people in the country. These NGOs have both paid and voluntary workers as was told by an interviewee. NGOs in Finland like the ones in this study, usually deliver social services to disadvantaged groups of people in cooperation with the Government through the City Councils. The City Councils purchase services from NGOs or subcontracts services to them. In this vein, the NGOs in Finland cooperate with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health through the City Councils. The 'space' for NGOs in Finland often increases when the Government decides to outsource some of their services to NGOs through the City Councils (Brochures of the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006; Pättiniemi 2007).

On the other hand, Table 4 above shows that the respondents of the one selected NGO in Sweden were also employed in different occupations namely as, Administrative staff 10.7% (15), Sales person 10.0% (14), Social worker 55.7% (78), Warehouse staff 2.9% (4), Supervisor 5.0% (7), Driver 1.4% (2), Tailor/Seamstress .7% (1), Teacher 10.0% (14), Nurse .7% (1), and in other occupations not specified, 2.9% (4). These findings also indicate that most of the re-

spondents of the selected NGO in Sweden work as Social workers representing 55.7% (78). Thus, the findings also confirm the claim that most of the people employed by NGOs in Sweden work as Social workers to deliver social services particularly to disadvantaged groups of people in the country (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). These NGOs also have both paid and voluntary workers as was told by an interviewee. The NGOs often work in cooperation with the Government through the City Councils. NGOs in Sweden like the one in this study, usually deliver social services to disadvantaged groups of people in cooperation with the Government through the City Councils. The City Councils often purchase services from NGOs or subcontracts to them. In this regard, the NGOs in Sweden cooperate with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health through the City Councils. The 'space' for NGOs in Sweden often increases when the Government decides to outsource some of their services to them through the City Councils (Lundström and Wijkström 1997).

Overall, these findings suggest that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden play an active role in the provision of social services through which they are able to create jobs for unemployed people and volunteers in the two countries. However, it was necessary to find out the educational level of the employees since it is claimed that most employees of NGOs particularly in Finland, have little or no academic qualification (Sama 2007). Thus, the educational level of the respondents is as seen in the next Section below.

5.3 Education

Education is an important element in the job market because many employers require that those they employ should be educated and should have the skills to do the job for which they are employed (Lundström and Svedberg 2003). Thus, people who have little or no academic qualification are often disadvantaged in the labour market. In this regard, Tables 5 and 6 below, show the educational level of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland and the one selected NGO in Sweden.

Table 5: Highest Educational Level of respondents of the two NGOs in Finland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Secondary School	36	27.7	27.7	27.7
High School	39	30.0	30.0	57.7
University	27	20.8	20.8	78.5
None of the above	28	21.5	21.5	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 6: Highest Educational Level of respondents of the NGO in Sweden

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Secondary School	15	10.7	10.7	10.7
High School	20	14.3	14.3	25.0
University	98	70.0	70.0	95.0
None of the above	7	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	140	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 5 above, 27.7% (36 respondents) of the respondents in the two selected NGOs in Finland had Secondary Education, 30.0% (39) had High School Education, 20.8% (27) had University Education, and 21.5% (28) had none of the above. Thus, these findings confirm the claim that in Finland, NGOs usually employ mostly people with low levels of education while those who are highly educated are employed by the public or private-profit sectors (Sama 2007). This is because only 20.8% (27) of the respondents in the two selected NGOs in Finland, had University level Education. On the other hand, in Table 6 above, 10.7% (15) of the respondents in the NGO in Sweden had Secondary Education, 14.3% (20) had High School Education, 70.0% (98) had University Education, and 5.0% (7) had none of the above. These findings indicate that those employed in the NGO in Sweden had a higher level of education than those employed in the two NGOs in Finland because 70.0% (98) of the respondents had University level Education, while in Finland, only 20.8% (27) of the respondents had University level Education. Comparatively, these findings suggest that the selected NGO in Sweden employs more highly educated people than the two NGOs in Finland. However, in both countries, the findings suggest that those employed in the selected NGOs have at least basic education because most of the respondents had Secondary School level Education.

5.4 Length of Unemployment of Respondents

Considering the claim that most of the people who are employed in NGOs in Finland and Sweden are long-term unemployed people and people who are difficult to employ in the open labour market, it was necessary to find out how long the respondents had been unemployed before they found the job in the respective NGOs in Finland and Sweden. Thus, Tables 7 and 8 below, show the length of unemployment of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland and the one selected NGO in Sweden.

Table 7: Length of unemployment of respondents of the two NGOs in Finland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Below 1 year	29	22.3	22.3	22.3
Between 1 - 2 years	48	36.9	36.9	59.2
Between 3 - 5 years	13	10.0	10.0	69.2
Between 6 - 10 years	5	3.8	3.8	73.1
Above 11 years	28	21.5	21.5	94.6
I was never employed	1	.8	.8	95.4
Other	6	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 8: Length of unemployment of respondents of the NGO in Sweden

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Below 1 year	53	37.9	37.9	37.9
Between 1 - 2 years	24	17.1	17.1	55.0
Between 3 - 5 years	8	5.7	5.7	60.7
Between 6 - 10 years	3	2.1	2.1	62.9
Above 11 years	5	3.6	3.6	66.4
I was never employed	25	17.9	17.9	84.3
Other	22	15.7	15.7	100.0
Total	140	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 7 above, 22.3% (29 respondents) of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland had been unemployed below 1 year, 36.9% (48) had been unemployed between 1-2 years, 10.0% (13) had been unemployed between 3-5 years, 3.8% (5) had been unemployed between 6-10 years, 21.5% (28) had been unemployed above 11 years, .8% (1) had never been unemployed, while 4.6% (6) declined to say for how long they had been unemployed before they found the job in the NGOs in Finland. Based on these findings, 76.9% (100) of the respondents of the two NGOs in Finland had been unemployed for more than a year before they found the job in the NGOs. Thus, these findings confirm the claim that NGOs in Finland often employ mostly long-term unemployed people in the labour market. The long-term unemployed in Finland are mostly

people who have been registered by the local Employment Office as unemployed, for at least 500 days (Siisiäinen et al. 2000).

On the other hand, Table 8 above shows that 37.9% (53) of the respondents in the selected NGO in Sweden had been unemployed below 1 year, 17.1% (24) had been unemployed between 1-2 years, 5.7% (8) had been unemployed between 3-5 years, 5.7% (8) had been unemployed between 6-10 years, 2.1% (3) had been unemployed above 11 years, 17.9% (25) had never been unemployed, while 15.7% (22) declined to say for how long they had been unemployed before they found the job in the NGO. Based on these findings, 62.1% (87) of the respondents of the NGO in Sweden had been unemployed for more than a year before they found the job in the NGO. Thus, these findings also confirm the claim that in Sweden, NGOs often employ long-term unemployed people in the labour market like in Finland (Svedberg & Lundström 2003). Comparatively, the findings show that the NGO in Sweden has a bigger percentage of people who had been unemployed below 1 year representing 37.9% (53), than the two NGOs in Finland representing 23.1% (30). In contrast, the two NGOs in Finland have a bigger percentage of people who had been unemployed between 1-2 years representing 36.9% (38), than the NGO in Sweden with 17.1% (24). Overall, these findings suggest that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden often employ people who have been long-term unemployed, because the majority of the respondents had been unemployed for over a year before they found the job. Thus, the NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries by employing long-term unemployed people in the labour market.

5.5 Cross tabulation of Respondents' Gender and Occupation

Tables 9 and 10 below show a cross tabulation of the respondents' Gender and Occupation of the two selected NGOs in Finland and the one selected NGO in Sweden.

Table 9: Cross tabulation of respondents' Gender and Occupation in the two NGOs in Finland

		What is your occupation in this organization?									Total
		Adminis- trative staff	Sales per- son	Social worker	Warehouse staff	Supervisor	Driver	Tai- lor/Seams tress	Nurse	Other	
Gen- der	Male	12	4	13	2	11	3	7	2	4	58
	Fe- male	2	5	31	0	11	0	15	2	6	72
Total		14	9	44	2	22	3	22	4	10	130

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 10: Cross tabulation of respondents' Gender and Occupation in the NGO in Sweden

		What is your occupation in this organization?										Total
		Adminis- trative staff	Sales person	Social worker	Ware- house staff	Super- visor	Driver	Tailor/ Seamstress	Teacher	Nurse	Other	
Gen der	Male	6	1	24	3	5	2	0	2	0	0	43
	Fe- male	9	13	54	1	2	0	1	12	1	4	97
	Total	15	14	78	4	7	2	1	14	1	4	140

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 9 above, in the two selected NGOs in Finland, there are 12 men and only 2 women working as Administrative staff, while there are 4 men and 5 women working as Sales persons, 13 men and 31 women working as Social workers, 2 men and 0 women working as Warehouse staff, 11 men and 11 women working as Supervisors, 3 men and 0 women working as Drivers, 7 men and 15 women working as Tailors and Seamstresses, 2 men and 2 women working as Nurses, and 4 men and 6 women working in other occupations not specified. These findings show that in the two NGOs in Finland, more men than women work in certain occupations and vice versa. For example, men outnumber women as Administrative and as Warehouse Staff, while women outnumber men as Social Workers and as Seamstresses. These findings suggest that there is gender division of labour in the selected NGOs in Finland. As a matter of fact, in Finland, there is gender division of occupations because more men work in some occupations than women and vice-versa. For example, more men work in the construction and engineering industries, while more women work in the social service sector like in nursing (Helander and Laaksonen 1999).

On the other hand, Table 10 above shows that there are 6 men and 9 women working as Administrative staff in the selected NGO in Sweden, while there is 1 man and 13 women working as Sales persons, 24 men and 54 women working as Social workers, 3 men and 1 woman working as Warehouse staff, 5 men and 2 women working as Supervisors, 2 men and 0 women working as Drivers, 2 men and 12 women working as Teachers, 0 men and 1 woman working as a Nurse, and 0 men and 4 women working in other occupations not specified. These findings also show that in the selected NGO in Sweden, more men than women work in certain occupations and vice-versa. For example, men outnumber women as Warehouse staff and as Drivers, while women outnumber men as Sales persons and as Social workers. Thus, these findings suggest that there is also gender division of labour in the Swedish labour market. In Sweden, just like in Finland, there is gender division of occupations because more men than women work in certain occupations and vice-versa. For example, more men tend to work in the construction industry, while more women tend to work in

the social sector such as in nursing (Lundström and Wijkström 1997). Comparatively, these findings suggest that Finland and Sweden have similar gender division of labour with regards to the selected NGOs of this study. The next section looks at the sources through which the respondents found the job in the NGOs.

5.6 Sources of Information for the Job Vacancy

According to previous studies, the local Employment Office, the National Press, Newspapers, Magazines and Advertisement on the Internet were considered important sources of information for job vacancies in both Finland and Sweden. Hence, this study used similar sources to find out by what source the respondents found the job vacancies in the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden as seen in Tables 11 and 12 for Finland and Sweden.

Table 11: Sources of Information for the Job vacancy by respondents of the two NGOs in Finland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Through Advertisement on the Internet	6	4.6	4.6	4.6
Through the National Press/Newspapers/Magazines	5	3.8	3.8	8.5
Through the Local Employment Office	114	87.7	87.7	96.2
Other	5	3.8	3.8	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: January 2010

Table 12: Sources of Information for the Job vacancy by respondents of the NGO in Sweden

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Through Advertisement on the Internet	114	81.4	81.4	81.4
Through the National Press/Newspapers/Magazines	8	5.7	5.7	87.1
Through the Local Employment Office	11	7.9	7.9	95.0
Other	7	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	140	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research Data: February 2010

As seen in Table 11 above, 4.6% (6 respondents) of the respondents in the two selected NGOs in Finland found the job through Advertisement on the Internet, 3.8% (5) found the job through the National Press, Newspapers and Magazines, 87.7% (114) found the job through the local Employment Office, while 3.8% (5) did not specify through which source they found the job. Thus, the findings show that most of the respondents of the selected NGOs in Finland representing 87.7% (114), found the job through the local Employment Office. This confirms the claim that in Finland, the local Employment Office is the most important source of information for job seekers in the country. For example, as was told by an interviewee of Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä, since 1989, the organization has a partnership agreement with the local Employment Office to employ mainly people who have been unemployed for more than 500 days. This group of people is known as the long-term unemployed in Finland. The partnership agreement between the organization and the local Employment Office also states that each year, the organization would employ 60 long-term unemployed people from the City of Jyväskylä, and 10 from the Jyväskylä region, making a total of 70 long-term unemployed people that the organization has to employ annually on a 1-2 year contract basis.

In the first year of employment, the organization receives a monthly employment subsidy from the local Employment Office per person employed, while in the second year of employment, the organization receives a lesser sum. Through this partnership agreement with the local Employment Office, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Labour of Finland. Additionally, the organization also has a partnership agreement with the City Council through which the City Council purchases social services from the organization. The partnership agreement with the City Council stipulates that the organization provide social services and housing aid services to homeless people in the City of Jyväskylä and the municipality. Through this partnership agreement with the

City Council, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health of Finland. Furthermore, the organization also cooperates with the Ministry of Environment of Finland, through their recycling activities in textiles. Thus, they get some funding from the Ministry of Environment to maintain their recycling machines and this has also enabled them to create jobs in textile recycling, for their employees.

On the other hand, the findings in Table 12 above show that 81.4% (114 respondents) of the respondents in the NGO in Sweden found the job through Advertisement on the Internet, 5.7% (8) found the job through the National Press, Newspapers and Magazines, 7.9% (11) found the job through the local Employment Office, while 5.0% (7) did not specify through which source they found the job. Thus, the findings show that most of the respondents in the NGO in Sweden representing 81.4% (114), found the job through Advertisement on the Internet. This confirms what was told by an interviewee of the NGO in Sweden who said whenever there is a vacancy, the NGO advertises it on their website for people to send in their job applications; the best ones are selected and offered the job without the involvement of any Government agency such as the local Employment Office, like the case of the NGOs in Finland. During the interviews, the interviewees said the City Council of Stockholm provides the organization with some funding to pay for the services that they run independently. Additionally, the organization also runs a number of services on behalf of the City Council which they have won in competition with other competitors. Furthermore, they also sell services to the City Council which they want to provide. These findings show that the NGO in Sweden has extensive cooperation with the City Council of Stockholm to provide social services to target groups of people and in this regard, the organization cooperates with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health of Sweden. Similarly, through their role in employment, the organization also cooperates with the Ministry of Employment (Labour) of Sweden.

However, comparatively, the findings show that although Finland and Sweden are considered as two Nordic Welfare States, the two countries slightly differ in the way NGOs cooperate with the Government in the implementation of their ALMPs. This is because the selected NGOs in Finland have extensive cooperation with the Government through the local Employment Office to employ a target group of long-term unemployed people, while in Sweden, the selected NGO instead has extensive cooperation with the City Council to provide social services to target groups of people through which they are able to create jobs for the unemployed. Additionally, in Finland, most information about jobs and employment are dealt with at the local Employment Office, while in Sweden, this is more liberalized because jobs are advertised on the websites of NGOs like Stockholms Stadsmission for example, and people can apply and get the jobs directly without passing through the local Employment Office like it is the case in Finland. It therefore means Finland is more bureaucratic than Sweden in the implementation of their ALMPs with regards to NGOs. Nonetheless, the main similarity between the two countries is that the implementation of

ALMPs regarding NGOs, takes place at the local level through the City Council and/or the local Employment Office. In another sense, the NGOs in Finland and Sweden also have an informal partnership agreement with the Government where they meet to discuss different ideas such as joint development policies. Thus, the NGOs contribute in the formulation of policies for their target groups of people in the two countries. The NGOs also lobby the Government on how to provide different types of services (Lundström & Wijkström 1997; Siisiäinen et al. 2000).

6. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to find the role played by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also the relationship that the NGOs have with the Government of the two countries. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two selected NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one selected NGO in Sweden, in terms of size and employment potentials.

The findings of this study revealed that first, the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by employing long-term unemployed people in the labour market. For example, of the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland, 76.9% (100 respondents) had been unemployed for over a year before they found the job with the NGOs. Similarly, of the respondents of the one selected NGO in Sweden, 62.1% (87 respondents) had been unemployed for over a year before they found the job with the NGO. Second, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by providing social services, mobilizing local resources and undertaking other types of activities which have created jobs for the unemployed. For example, the NGOs collect second hand goods such as clothes and furniture from charity and sell them in their second hand shops to create jobs for their Salespersons. Lastly, the findings revealed that the selected NGOs play an active role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden by providing voluntary work to volunteers - some of who acquire skills that can help them to find a job in the open labour market. These findings suggest that ALMPs actually help long-term unemployed people to find work in NGOs in Finland and Sweden.

In terms of the relationship that the NGOs have with the Government of Finland and Sweden, the findings revealed that the relationship was one of partnership cooperation through the local Employment Office and the City Council. Thus, the NGOs cooperate with the Ministry of Employment through the local Employment Office, and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health through the City Council. However, there were some slight differences in the relationship

that the NGOs have with the Government of Finland and Sweden with regards to the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. For example, Finland was found to have a more bureaucratic system than Sweden because all the employees of the two selected NGOs in Finland, had to be employed through the local Employment Office. In contrast, in Sweden, almost all the employees of the selected NGO were employed directly from the open labour market. Thus, Sweden has a more liberal system in the implementation of their ALMPs with regards to NGOs than Finland. However, the main similarity between the two countries was that the implementation of ALMPs with regards to NGOs, takes place at the local level through the City Council and the local Employment Office.

The limitations of this study are that the study focused only on two selected NGOs in Finland and one selected NGO in Sweden. Thus, future studies could consider a more representative number of NGOs. Second, this study focused only on NGOs with a religious background in Finland and Sweden. Thus, future studies could include NGOs with a non-religious background. The conclusion of this study is that although Finland and Sweden are two 'Nordic countries', the two countries slightly differ in the implementation of their ALMPs with regards to NGOs.

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V

**NGOs AND CHALLENGES CONFRONTED IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET
POLICIES: THE CASE OF FINLAND AND SWEDEN**

by

Thomas Babila Sama (2011)

Submitted for consideration by Voluntary Sector Review

NGOs and Challenges confronted in the Implementation of Active Labour Market Policies: The Case of Finland and Sweden

Thomas Babila Sama (2011)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND

Abstract

This is a qualitative comparative case study whose aim was to find the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) of Finland and Sweden, and also how to overcome the challenges. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two selected NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one selected NGO in Sweden, in terms of size and employment potentials. Primary data was collected through interviews with some senior executives of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. Secondary data was also collected through literature reviews, brochures from the NGOs, published and unpublished research and from internet websites. The interview data was analyzed thematically using MaxQDA, which is a software for analyzing qualitative data such as interviews. The findings revealed that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden were confronted with the challenges of funding, workforce recruitment and competition with other stakeholders to win bids from the City Council in the case of Stockholms Stadsmission in Sweden. On the other hand, the suggestion on how these challenges could be overcome was that the Government of the two countries should provide the NGOs with sufficient funding for their activities. However, some of the findings varied between the two countries. Thus, the study concluded that although Finland and Sweden are two Nordic countries, they differ in some way in the challenges that NGOs face in the implementation of their ALMPs.

Keywords: Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs), Employment Subsidies, Long-term Unemployment, NGOs, Finland, Sweden

1. Introduction

The 'Nordic countries' are thought to be 'Welfare States' with a distinct 'Nordic welfare model' characterized amongst other things by a generous income trans-

fer system, local and public funded social and health care services, high social expenditure, a political commitment to full employment and the reduction of inequalities on several fronts (e.g. gender, income and family situation) (Kangas 1994; Sipilä 1997; Kautto et al. 1999). Thus, the Nordic welfare model has achieved low income and gender inequality, low poverty rates and small disparities in living standards (Kvist 1999). In this regard, Finland and Sweden are two 'Nordic countries' which had one of the highest rates of employment from the 1950s to the 1970s due to rapid economic growth and favourable international trade (Garrett 1998; Gough 1999). However, at the beginning of the 1990s, the two countries suffered from a severe economic recession due to an international economic slowdown which led to a sharp rise in unemployment never seen before in the two countries since the Great Depression (Seppo et al. 1996; Räisänen 2003; Roos 2008). Due to the 1990s' recession, there emerged a new form of structural or long-term unemployment which has become a perennial problem in the two countries (Pehkonen & Klas 2008).

Thus, today, there are tens of thousands of people in Finland and Sweden who have been unemployed for over a year due to structural or long-term unemployment. This group of people is commonly referred to in the two countries as the long-term unemployed. For example, in June 2010, the number of long term unemployed in Finland was 83,000 people (see Statistics Finland). Similarly, in Sweden, the number of long term unemployed in June 2010 was 161 000 people (see Statistics Sweden). The long-term unemployed in Finland are mostly people who are difficult to employ particularly in the big cities due to their lack of vocational training, poor health, disability or their ethnic background. Other problematic groups of long-term unemployed people in Finland include people who have interrupted their studies, young people with multiple health problems, alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts (LOCIN 2006). Similarly, in Sweden, the long-term unemployed are mostly people who are difficult to employ and they include young people, ethnic minorities and the disabled (Pehkonen & Klas 2008). Owing to this perennial problem of long-term unemployment, the Government of Finland and Sweden introduced Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) in the late 1990s to fight against the problem (Räisänen 2003; Svedberg & Lundström 2003). The ALMPs include subsidized employment in NGOs and in other sectors aimed at getting unemployed people back to work.

However, there is scepticism whether NGOs can play a significant role in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, due to the voluntary nature of NGOs. Thus, the aim of this study was to find the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and how to overcome the challenges. For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden in terms of size and employment potentials. In this vein, the two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO

in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm. The next Section is going to dwell on the Comparative Setting of this study.

1.1 Comparative Setting of the Study

The choice of selecting Finland and Sweden for this study was based on the fact that first, Finland and Sweden are two Nordic Welfare States with a universalistic welfare regime (incorporating comprehensive high-level benefits with an extensive employment policy) where unemployed people have the lowest risk of poverty and social exclusion from the labour market (Gallie & Paugam 2000; Timonen 2003). Second, in both countries, the ALMPs are aimed at guaranteeing and increasing the employment of vulnerable groups of people in the labour market. In practice, both countries have a wide range of active labour market measures such as vocational rehabilitation, training, and special employment schemes based on incentives or direct job creation to guarantee and increase the employment of their vulnerable groups of people in the labour market (Meager & Evans 1998; Hvinden et al. 2001). Third, Finland and Sweden have set high targets for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs through training, retraining, work practice, a job or other employability measures. In the case of Finland, all unemployed people for more than 500 days are considered as long-term unemployed people and so they are offered places for training, retraining, work practice, subsidized jobs or other employability measures (World Bank 2000; Kvist 2001). Similarly, in Sweden, all unemployed people of between 6 months for young people and 12 months for adults are considered as long-term unemployed people, and they are also offered training, retraining, work practice, a job or ongoing job search assistance.¹

Fourth, to achieve the target for the participation of long-term unemployed people in their ALMPs, the Government of Finland and Sweden have built local partnerships based on extensive cooperation with the municipalities, NGOs and businesses. The local partners also have a central role to play in the implementation of the ALMPs of the two countries. Thus, the two countries channel financial resources to local, non-governmental initiatives, for the development of new forms of cooperation between the employment services (LOCIN 2006). Fifth, gender equality in the labour market is of top priority to the Government of Finland and Sweden and thus, in the European Union, the two countries are among the highest in terms of gender equality in the labour market (Kjeldstad 2001; Sørensen 2001). The high rate of gender equality in the labour market of Finland and Sweden is partly due to the high-level of social services in both countries such as public childcare for women with kids and care for the elderly. Generally speaking, the 'Nordic countries' are distinct in social policies because their development of gender policies follows almost identical paths (Kvist 1999, 2000). Lastly, both the Finnish and Swedish Governments want to reduce the number of long-term unemployed people in the two coun-

¹ The Swedish Reform Programme for Growth and Employment 2005-2008: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/05/28/62/c0ecb152.pdf>

tries, and to make it easier for them to find a job in the labour market - particularly vulnerable groups like the disabled, youths and ethnic minorities (Bergqvist & Nyberg 2002).

1.2 Background of the Study

Since the Second World War, NGOs have increasingly been recognized as important actors in socio-economic and political developments in both developing and developed countries (Clark 1991; Edwards & Hulme 1992). According to Weisbrod (1988), NGOs exist to fulfil the unmet demands of Government or the market. Thus, the relationship between NGOs and the Government could be one of complementing each other through cooperation to address social problems. However, NGOs that are promoting socio-economic and political change sometimes face a lot of challenges. Some of these challenges emerge from contextual forces such as the NGOs' interactions with actors outside the sector. The challenges faced by NGOs may also include their relationship with institutions of the State such as Government Agencies and institutions of the market such as businesses. For example, in some countries, NGOs of various kinds working in solving social problems face challenges because there is little recognition of their legitimacy. The lack of public legitimacy can also increase the sector's vulnerability to attack from many sources especially when Government is deeply suspicious of NGOs as competitors in delivering services. In such circumstances, Government may curtail the space within which NGOs operate. The challenges that NGOs face may also shift radically with the election of a new Government because that may create major challenges and opportunities for NGOs (Coston 1998).

According to Salamon & Anheier (1996), due to the expansion of the Welfare State, NGOs found themselves in a competitive relationship with the Government in which one actor's gains were the other's losses. Thus, the relationship between NGOs and the Government in some Welfare States has elements of cooperation as it does of conflict. This is because those who favour the establishment of Governmental systems of welfare provision, have little incentive to emphasize the important role that NGOs play in helping the Government to carry out its functions. The conflict between NGOs and the Government may also arise because of changes in the political system which may lead to the outsourcing of public services to NGOs by Welfare States. Hence, those on the left have criticized NGOs as barriers to the establishment of an effective system of public services available to all as a matter of right, while conservatives have faulted Welfare States for undermining the position of NGOs (Trydegård 2001; Trydegård 2005).

In order to build a convincing argument for public provision, liberals have had to discredit NGOs which conservatives see as efficient in solving social problems. Sharp distinctions therefore have been drawn between the effectiveness of NGOs and the Government in solving social problems. Thus, a new perspective has surfaced in leftist thinking about the relationship between NGOs

and the Government, due to the expansion of the Welfare State and the bureaucratization of social welfare services which has had harmful effects on NGOs (Trydegård 2001; Trydegård 2005). The Welfare State has therefore, come to be dominated by professionals and middle-class concerns despite its good intentions. Consequently, the New Left faults it for transforming NGOs into extensions of the Government. Overall, the recent “crisis of the Welfare State” has significantly posed huge challenges for NGOs because conservative regimes are committed to reducing Government support to NGOs thereby, limiting their ability to function effectively (Pehkonen & Klas 2008).

2. Research Methodology

This is a qualitative comparative case study whose aim was to find the challenges faced by NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also how to overcome the challenges. For purposes of this study, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden for the data collection. The two selected NGOs in Finland were Jyväskylän Katulähetys (Jyväskylän Katulähetys) in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha (Pirkanmaan Sininauha) in the City of Tampere. Meanwhile, the one selected NGO in Sweden was Stockholms Stadsmission (Stockholms Stadsmission) in the City of Stockholm. Two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because the two NGOs in Finland were considered equivalent to the one NGO in Sweden in terms of size and employment potentials. Additionally, two NGOs were selected in Finland and one NGO was selected in Sweden because no single NGO was found in any Finnish city, which was equivalent to Stockholms Stadsmission in terms of size and employment potentials. The NGOs were specifically selected because they were founded by the church, and due to their history of providing welfare and employment services. On the other hand, the cities were selected because they are large cities where the selected NGOs employ a significant number of people in the labour market.

Primary data for this study was collected through interviews with two senior executives of each of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The interviews were conducted in English and in the premises of the NGOs in Finland and Sweden in February and March 2010 respectively. The interviewees were selected based on the fact that as senior executives of the NGOs, they know perfectly the operation of their respective NGOs. All the interviews were recorded in a disc recorder and later transcribed for analysis. The names of the interviewees were kept anonymous in this study for confidentiality of their responses. The interviews included questions about the challenges confronting the NGOs and how the challenges could be overcome. On the other hand, secondary data was also collected for this study through literature reviews, brochures, published and unpublished research and from internet websites, to complement the interview data. For example, some data was collected from published books and articles as well as from online websites. In terms of the data analysis, the interview data

was analyzed thematically to identify similarities and differences between the interviewees' accounts in each of the two countries using MaxQDA², which is a software for analyzing qualitative data such as interviews.

3. Shifts in the Finnish and Swedish Welfare Mix

Since the Second World War, the changing role of the State in welfare across the globe is widely acknowledged. The changing role of the State in welfare such as the outsourcing of welfare services to NGOs can be attributed to the relationship that the State may have with NGOs (Gidron et al. 1992). Thus, the Government's relationship with NGOs may differ widely depending on whether the national, regional, provincial or local Government is the subject of attention. This is because the local Government is the primary point of contact with the State for a significant number of NGOs, and it is through the local Government that the relationship between the Government and NGOs is often established. Thus, the status and power of the local Government can likely be crucial in the implementation of welfare reforms (Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector 1996). On the other hand, NGOs are shaped by different traditions. Hence, the various traditions of NGOs include the tradition of philanthropy and civic commitment, and fostering equality and democracy as in the 'Nordic countries' for example (DeForney & Pestoff 2002).

Similarly, in the European Union (EU), the importance of NGOs which are distinct from profit-seeking and public organizations is increasingly being recognized from various perspectives. First, NGOs have gained economic recognition in the EU in terms of employment and the production of goods and services. Second, NGOs have been recognized as partners in the implementation of public policies through a variety of partnership with the State. One form of this partnership is that the State has deferred the delivery of some welfare services to NGOs with the State providing the funding. This has led to the decentralization of the State and this decentralization has been associated with an increase in the number of NGOs because local Governments which do not have the institutional capacity to deliver services that are their responsibility, look to NGOs for support (Mizrahi-Tchernonog 1992). However, despite the increasing recognition of NGOs, the transformation of Welfare States in the last few decades led to drastic changes in their relationship with NGOs. In a nutshell, new types of partnerships were set up with the State focused on its regulatory function and contracting the delivery of services to NGOs. Thus, with the development of welfare pluralism, NGOs have found themselves in a situation of competition

² MAXQDA is a state-of-the-art instrument for professional text analysis. As one of the pioneers in the field (the first version was released in 1989) it is the number one choice for researchers and research institutions from a wide range of scientific disciplines across the world. Online:
http://www.scienceplus.nl/index.php?gclid=CP76xIWZ0qQCFQiS3wodijGMlg&option=com_virtuemart&category_id=36&page=shop.browse&Itemid=2&vmcchk=1&Itemid=42

with other actors such as private-profit companies, public entities and unofficial service providers like families (DeForney & Pestoff 2002).

In the case of Finland and Sweden which are the focus of this study, NGOs are increasingly being recognized as creators or facilitators of social capital. However, despite this increasingly recognition, the economic recession of the 1990s in Finland and Sweden led to fundamental changes which had major implications for NGOs (Lundström & Svedberg 2003). In Finland for example, there were cutbacks in public spending which affected NGOs. Similarly, in Sweden, austerity policies pursued by subsequent Social Democratic Governments also led to cutbacks in public spending which affected NGOs (Pestoff 1991). These changes brought about differences in opinion between those who supported a monopoly of public provision of services and those who wanted services to be privatized. Overall, these suggest that the changing role of the State has major implications for NGOs.

3.1 Historical roots of NGOs in Finland and Sweden

The NGO movement in Finland and Sweden were borne out of fundamentally similar traditions because they had their historic roots from the church. In Finland, the NGO movement began as 'charity associations' dating back for centuries. The historic roots of the role of the church in the Finnish welfare system brought about the emergence of NGOs as far back as the 17th, 18th and early 19th century when the State and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church were strongly intertwined (Jaakkola 1994a). Traditionally, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church undertook a number of public duties such as social welfare, in addition to worship and religious rituals. Through the delivery of social services under the church, people in Finland got involved in voluntary work either individually or as a group from within or outside the community. Volunteering - which in this study means a helping action by an individual conducted out of free will and without pay, has long been a tradition in Finland. Traditionally, volunteers worked as group leaders in children's work, youth work and in mission circles (Mäkeläinen 2001b). Volunteers usually worked for tasks of the church that were handled by charity associations. For example, in the 1880s, women's charity organizations were one of the few ways by which women participated in social work in Finland (Jaakkola 1994a).

Apart from volunteers, there was a large number of paid employees in the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the context of the church, NGOs were created for Sunday school, youth work, home mission and social work services. These NGOs were gender mixed and they encouraged the participation of both men and women (Heininen & Heikkilä 1996). It was by the late 1950s and early 1960s (Aho 1991; Satka 1994) that Finland experienced rapid economic growth, and the State was now able to offer a more extensive system of social welfare. The official responsibilities of social welfare were then moved from the church to the municipalities. The church NGOs found their social work confined in those areas where the State did not reach. Their activities became centred on so-

cial work, home mission, missionary work and Sunday school teaching. The NGOs - especially those of the church wanted to complement the social services provided by the municipalities and not to compete with them (Heininen & Heikkilä 1996). However, due to the aftermath of the economic recession of the 1990s which led to budgetary cuts and high unemployment in Finland, municipalities began seeking cooperation with NGOs in the areas of social welfare and employment (Heino 1997). This is partly because it was thought that paid works could be created in the NGO sector through the delivery of welfare services. For example, in 1996, NGOs in Finland employed 82,000 people and 655,000 volunteers (Helander & Laaksonen 1999).

Besides the Church, the Poor Law established in 1852 is a historical cornerstone of the Finnish welfare system (Satka 1995; Jussila et al. 1999). The Poor Law was based on a long tradition of local administration and local funding in Finland. Under the Poor Law, Poor Relief was organized by the Lutheran parishes which were the only local administrative bodies in rural areas in Finland. The local community had to take care of its own poor, but the State dictated the organizing of Poor Relief. Under the Poor Law, Poor Relief, child care and moral education had to be taken care of by the parishes, while the care of the incurable sick had to be taken care of by the State. Additionally, the old, sick or disabled and the poor in need of temporary support, were entitled to public support. Those entitled to Poor Relief included children in need of protection, the insane, the disabled and the aged infirm. However, the able-bodied poor were expected to earn their assistance by working for the community (Jaakkola 1996). The principles of the Poor Law in Finland seemed to be generosity and thus, everyone in need of help had the right to receive it. The direct model was taken from the Swedish Poor Law of 1871 since until 1809, Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom and shared its legal and institutional system (Jussila et al. 1999). Nonetheless, in 1922, a new Poor Relief Act was passed which was an improvement in the making of social security in Finland. The new Act expanded entitlement to Poor Relief. Hence, if someone was not able to support him/herself or get help from the family, the municipality was to help. Outdoor relief, i.e. cash payments to the poor was established by the authorities (Markkola 2000).

On the other hand, the NGO movement in Sweden also began as charity associations under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church dating back centuries. In Sweden, before the 18th century, NGOs under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church established charities and they worked in the area of social welfare (Lundström and Wijkström 1997). The NGOs mobilized volunteers to provide welfare services such as health care services, under the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. Apart from volunteers, there were also paid employees in the NGOs of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. However, it was by the mid of the 19th century that Sweden experienced rapid economic growth and the State was now able to provide an extensive system of social welfare to its citizens. The official responsibilities of social welfare were then moved from the church to the municipalities. The church NGOs in Sweden found their social

work services confined in those areas where the State did not reach such as homeless people. The NGOs, especially those of the church wanted to complement the social services provided by the municipalities (Lundström and Svedberg 2003). Just like in Finland, the severe economic recession of the early 1990s also led to budgetary cuts in Sweden and municipalities in the country started seeking cooperation with NGOs in the areas of social welfare and employment services. This is partly because it was thought that jobs could be created in the Swedish NGO sector due to the sector's potential to provide social services and to mobilize a paid labour force (Wijkström and Lundström 2002). For example, in 1996, NGOs in Sweden employed 100,000 people and more than 800,000 volunteers (Lundström and Wijkström 1997).

Besides the Church, "poor relief laws" also contributed to the Swedish welfare system. The poor relief laws of Sweden date back to the period before the 1760s (Rosenthal 1967). However, it was in 1918 that a liberal-social democratic coalition Government passed a new poor law, which turned the responsibility of assisting anyone in need over to the local Government, while the central Government contributed in administrative support. This law was to remain the cornerstone of Sweden's welfare programmes. Sweden's social welfare services continued to develop during the 1950s and 1960s and during this time, Sweden was the third wealthiest country in the world with almost zero unemployment. The Welfare State then reached its peak in the 1970s, when in effect, it included everything from child care to the pension system (see Social Security Sweden).

Based on the above historical facts of Finland and Sweden, it can be concluded that the social welfare system of the two countries, were partly borne and developed from religious values by the church and the poor laws. In terms of governance, both countries until the 20th century had a dual social welfare system whereby the State and NGOs under the church took clearly demarcated roles in the provision of welfare services (Yeung 2004). But during the first half of the 20th century, this gradually changed to a more collaborative system with the State financing NGOs in a number of services. As a matter of fact, currently, in Finland and Sweden, social welfare provision is primarily the responsibility of the State. NGOs are there to complement what the State is doing and not to compete with the State in the provision of welfare services (Lundström and Wijkström 1997).

4. Description of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden

One of the two selected NGOs in Finland for this study was Jyväskylän Katulähetys otherwise known in English as the Jyväskylä Street Mission Association. The NGO is a Jyväskylä based Christian common good organization founded by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1953 with the aim of providing social services such as accommodation, clothing and food to homeless people in the City of Jyväskylä, located in Central Finland, about 270 km north of Helsinki - the capital of Finland. Today, the services of the organization

have expanded to other areas including institutional rehabilitation services, emergency services, family work services, youth work services, food distribution services and recreational services. The organization also undertakes some activities in recycling and income generation such as the sale of second hand goods donated to them. Most of the services provided by the organization are targeted towards alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents, ex-convicts and the youths. These services have enabled the organization to create paid jobs for particularly long-term unemployed people in the City of Jyväskylä and its environs. The organization also has volunteers working there (Jyväskylän Katulähetys).

The second selected NGO in Finland for this study was Pirkanmaan Sininauha otherwise known in English as the Finnish Blue Ribbon Association. The NGO is a Christian based organization which was founded in 1961 in the City of Tampere, located 173 km north of Helsinki - the capital of Finland. The NGO was founded with the aim of providing everyone a life free of intoxicant addiction through Christian values. Its sphere of operations include the provision of social services like housing aid, nursing home services, day care services, rehabilitation services, recovery groups' services, therapeutic services, pastoral guidance, counselling services and spiritual services. The organization also undertakes some project work of various kinds in cooperation with the City Council. These services and projects have enabled the organization to create paid jobs for unemployed people in the City of Tampere and its environs. The organization also has volunteers working there (Pirkanmaan Sininauha).

On the other hand, the selected NGO in Sweden for this study was Stockholms Stadsmission. The NGO was founded in the City of Stockholm - the capital of Sweden in 1853 by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. The NGO was founded by the Church to help the poor - mainly children and the youths in Stockholm. The NGO has grown since then and currently, it provides different types of social welfare services including housing aid services, nursing home services, day care services, rehabilitation services, therapeutic services, pastoral guidance and counseling services. Additionally, the NGO also has its own school and a number of income generating activities such as second hand shops where second hand clothes and household equipments donated to them are sold. Furthermore, the organization also undertakes some project work of various kinds in cooperation with the City Council (Stockholms Stadsmission). These services and projects have enabled the organization to create paid jobs for unemployed people in the labour market. The organization also has volunteers working there.

Overall, the common thing about the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden is that they all have a Christian or church background and traditionally, they worked in the provision of social welfare services under the Church to disadvantaged groups of people. It was in the 1990s, following the aftermath of the economic recession in Finland and Sweden, that cooperation began between the NGOs and the Government of the two countries in the areas of providing services and employment (SOU 2000; Lundström & Svedberg 2003; Sama 2007).

The idea was that through cooperation with the City Council, jobs could be created for unemployed people in the NGOs. However, this slightly varied between Finland and Sweden as seen in the next Section of the Findings below:

5. Findings

This Section contains the findings of this study. The findings are based on interviews conducted at the premises of the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden. The findings of the two selected NGOs in Finland are grouped, while those of the one selected NGO in Sweden are separated. In the first research question, the respondents were asked to give the main challenges facing their organization, while in the second research question, the respondents were asked to suggest ways by which the challenges could be overcome. Details of the findings are as seen below:

5.1 Main challenges facing the NGOs

The three main challenges which the respondents highlighted that their respective NGOs were facing in Finland and Sweden were the challenges of (1) funding, (2) workforce recruitment and (3) competition with other stakeholders to win bids from the City Council in the case of the selected NGO in Sweden. However, these challenges varied between the NGOs of the two countries. The data presentation and analysis of each challenge is as seen in the sub-Sections below:

5.1.1 Funding Challenge

Regarding the funding challenge, the respondents of the two selected NGOs in Finland thought that funding was their major challenge because their NGOs did not have sufficient funding for their operations. Thus, the employees could only be employed for a period of 1-2 year contract basis in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys. The funding challenge was also due to the partnership agreement which the organization has with the City Council and the local Employment Office. According to the partnership agreement with the City Council, the organization has to provide accommodation and other social services to particularly homeless people in the City of Jyväskylä, for a renewable period of 3 years at a time. For this purpose, the organization owns more than 200 flats in the City of Jyväskylä and the region. The organization receives some funding from the City Council for these services. In fact, the City Council purchases social services from the organization. On the other hand, according to the partnership agreement which the organization has with the local Employment Office, the organization has to employ specifically people who have been unemployed for more than 500 days for a period of 1-2 years contract basis. This group of people is known as the long-term unemployed in the Finnish context. In return, the organization receives employment subsidies for each person employed

from the local Employment Office. Similarly, in Pirkanmaan Sininauha, the interviewees also said funding was a major challenge and that was why they could employ only on short-term contract basis - some of which depended on project cycles, after which their employees had to become unemployed again or look for another job. Some comments on this included:

"We do not have sufficient money to employ our workers permanently. You know in this area, we think that we need this kind of support in our organization because our income is not enough to offer employment to this number of people in our organization. But I know that in Finland, there are many organizations that are not getting support from the Government. The Employment Office is giving this kind of money - 960€ a month to every organization which employs unemployed people. Not all city Councils in Finland give this type of support to NGOs. Jyväskylä city Council is an exception. Our partnership is very good because we get money from the Employment Office and the City Council per person every month. So we pay out a salary and 30% more for every worker. But we also pay our administrative staff and for the running costs of our facilities. The agreement we have with the Employment Office states that we must employ only people who have been unemployed for more than 500 days. We only get money from the City Council, but we employ our workers from the Employment Office."

"Our employees are employed based on the projects we have and at the end of the project, they have to leave"

In Sweden, the interviewees said funding was also a challenge and due to insufficient funding, the organization was sometimes forced to cutback on their volume of services. Additionally, the interviewees also said due to insufficient funding, their non-administrative staff could only be employed on contract or project cycle basis. The following are some of their comments:

"Funding is our main problem and so from time to time, we trim our services."

"We're also vulnerable because when people give us less money or buy less of our products, we have to cut down. For example, this day shelter cost about 11 million kronors to run, but now we only get 1.4 million Kronors from the City Council to run this project. So we actually provide the main cost of running this project ourselves through donations, through funding from companies that want to contribute for the various campaigns that we run, through selling goods."

"Everyone who works for the organization has a contract. You can either have a permanent contract or a temporary contract. One part of the temporary contract is called intermittent contract which is basically on an hourly basis which means that we sign you up for shifts. There's also what's called a project contract which defines a set period. Say for example, for the next 6 months, you're gonna be working in this project. During that time you always have a contract, you always get holiday, you get holiday pay. If you're ill, you get paid, you have to take time off for your children if they're sick. So you have all of the benefits as long as you have that contract."

Similarly, the interviewees of the NGO in Sweden also highlighted the challenge of credibility faced by faith based organizations like theirs because Sweden is a very secular country. Thus, due to secularism, there is political resistance for public money being given to faith based organizations in the country. The political resistance in Sweden against State funding for NGOs mostly comes from the Swedish Left in politics. Besides, the Socialists and Social Dem-

ocrats in Sweden are also opposed to NGOs providing services that traditionally are provided by the State (Lundström & Svedberg 2003). Additionally, some also argue that the political resistance against State funding for NGOs in Sweden is due to the fact that NGOs make up a very small part of welfare provision in the country compared with the public and private-profit sectors (Olsson et al. 2005). The interviewees gave the following comments on this:

"I think it's important to point out that we're a faith based organization and it's more to do with our history and our values. But daily, the way we operate our services is such that a lot of our staff are not religious and a lot of our clients and services aren't religious. In the services that we provide for example, you don't have to express religion; you don't have to be a Christian; it's a kind of inter-faith. And in fact, one of the services we recently started is in partnership with the Catholic Church and the Moslem Congregation. So it's a kind of inter-faith project. So I think the notion of Christianity is there but not in the form of evangelizing."

"There are some problems of credibility because NGOs in Sweden are not well established as those in Britain and the US particularly if they belong to a faith based organization. I think Sweden is a very circular society and as a faith based organization, there is political resistance to public money being given to faith based organizations. Political resistance comes particularly from Swedish Left in politics. Socialists and Social Democrats are opposed to NGOs providing services that traditionally are provided by the State. But I think times are changing and so this year for example, the Swedish Government took out what is called a sort of Third Sector Contract which is a very broadly drawn up agreement between the Third Sector and the Government in terms of cooperation, roles and funding. So it kind of opens the door to new partnerships but I think credibility and a kind of political resistance are potential issues."

5.1.2 Workforce Recruitment Challenge

The second major challenge which the interviewees said their NGOs were facing in both Finland and Sweden was workforce recruitment challenge. In Finland, the interviewees said the challenge of workforce recruitment stems from the fact that the NGO has to employ specifically long-term unemployed people from disadvantaged groups in the City of Jyväskylä and its municipality such as alcoholics, drug addicts and ex-convicts. Some of these unemployed people had little or no professional skills. Additionally, each time the NGO requests for workers in the case of Jyväskylän Katulähetys, the local Employment Office often selects those who have little or no professional skills and send to them, whereas the best ones are sent to the private-profit and public sectors.

The challenge here was that the NGOs in Finland have to cope with their newly recruited workers who have little or no skills by training them. In Jyväskylän Katulähetys for example, the training lasts for between 2 days to 2 months. Most often, the training in the organization consists of learning by doing (Sama 2007). Some responses on this included:

"We have that kind of system that when we need a worker, we ask from the Employment Office and they send us people who when they come here, we interview them and decide which to take. We have the right to make the decision of who to take for our

work. So we're not told who to employ. But we think that sometimes when we call the Employment Office that we need workers, they send us not so good people like alcoholics and drug addicts. Many of the people do not have very good education. We think that they send the best people to other sectors and the not so good ones to us. But it's okay because the main thing is that these unemployed people can get work with the private sector."

In Sweden, the interviewees also said their NGO faces a challenge in the recruitment of their workforce because some of their newly employed have little or no professional training. Some of them may not have had any formal school training at all. It therefore means some come from disadvantaged groups of people in the labour market. However, these people in the NGO in Sweden are employed directly from the open labour market and not from the local Employment Office like in the case of the selected NGOs in Finland. The less skilled employees of the organization are mostly employed on temporary basis while the skilled ones who may have some sort of qualifications are employed on permanent basis. Here are some comments on this:

"A lot of the people have very little training at all; they may not have had any school training at all and so there's a long gap between where they're now and where they would need to go in order to get formal employment. So it almost becomes a social project in itself to provide purposeful activities for people who would otherwise do nothing with their days. People when they're trying to change their lives, when they're trying to get well, when they're trying to give up drugs, to have that, enables many of them to feel better. Not necessarily does it enable them to get a job, but it also enables them to change their lives and so they can change their lifestyle. While they're here, they're in a kind of stepping stone one."

"The majority of the people who are employed full time and permanently have some sort of qualifications - either a social work qualification or a therapeutic qualification, and they also tend to have quite a lot of experience. They are mostly on a permanent contract. Then we also employ some people with less experience maybe they are doing their training, their studying, but they tend to be on temporary contracts and they often aren't full time. They maybe coming and helping out."

Similarly, the interviewees of the NGO in Sweden said they face a workforce challenge because whenever they have to compete with other stakeholders for a bid to win a project funded by the City Council of Stockholm, the City Council of Stockholm often demands that about 80% of their staff need to have a social work qualification, otherwise they will not be considered for the bid. In this regard, it becomes challenging for the NGO to look for people with a social work qualification. In the same vein, for the services that they run, they also have to show that they have highly qualified employees before they can get funding from the City Council of Stockholm. This is not the case with the selected NGOs in Finland who employ mostly people who are disadvantaged in the labour market such as the long-term unemployed. Some comments on this included:

"Another difficulty is that when we compete with other actors for providing services, the City Council often demands a certain level of qualification for our staff. They say for example, in order for you to run this independent living scheme, 80% of your staff needs to have a social work qualification otherwise you can't provide the service for

us. So instead of us competing with other actors, often, we're competing with commercial profit-seeking companies."

"For the services that we run, in order to get funding, we have to show that we have very highly qualified staff. So we can't necessarily employ this people in the social services that we run, but we can employ them in other parts of the organization."

5.1.3 Competition with other Stakeholders to win bids from the City Council

The third major challenge which the interviewees of mainly the NGO in Sweden said their organization was facing was the challenge of competing with other stakeholders like private-profit companies to win bids for projects funded by the City Council of Stockholm. This challenge sometimes occurred because whenever there is a project to deliver social services, the City Council of Stockholm often advertises it and the best bidder wins the project. Due to this bidding system, the NGO will be competing with other actors in the delivery of services. This was challenging to the NGO because if they did not succeed in winning a certain bid, they might not be able to have more services and to create jobs for people to deliver them. Some of the comments on this included:

"We also run on behalf of the City Council a number of services that we won in competition with other competitors. Some of the competitors have been commercial while others have been other NGOs. Like we found yesterday that we've won another bid to start in Autumn. The bid is to run advocacy services for people with very severe mental health problems. We also run a number of housing schemes and with all these services, we have a very strict regulated contract with the City Council. This sets out what we are allowed to do and not to do, and we get a certain amount of money for running the services. In a sense the City Council still maintains the responsibility for providing the services. We're merely service providers without any influence on how the services are structured and what types of services have to be provided. They just say this is what they want to provide when there's a bid. This is one way we interact with the government. Then, we also sell services to the City Council. When we do that, we decide what type of services we want to provide and we contact the City Council and say to them, this is what we provide, this is our price and the City Council can then buy the services. But this is not the same negotiated deal with the other services where we are service providers."

5.2 Suggestions on how to Overcome the Challenges

The second research question was for the interviewees to give suggestions on how the challenges that they highlighted could be overcome. The interviewees in both Finland and Sweden gave one main suggestion related to funding. In Finland, the interviewees of the two selected NGOs suggested that they needed more funding from the Government to provide their employees with better training and employment opportunities considering that most of them are employed with little or no training at all. This was the case particularly with Jyväskylä Katulähetys, where the employees are employed for a period of be-

tween 1-2 years contract basis and trained for between 2 days – 2 months. Some of the interviewees' suggestions on this included:

"We need more money to provide our staff with better training."

Similarly, the respondents of the NGO in Sweden also suggested that the Government should provide the NGO with more funding to enable the NGO to operate more effectively. Some suggestions on this included:

"Government should be more relaxed with regards to funding organizations."

"We need more funding"

6. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to find the challenges confronting NGOs in the implementation of the ALMPs of Finland and Sweden, and also how to overcome the challenges. Jyväskylän Katulähetys in the City of Jyväskylä and Pirkanmaan Sininauha in the City of Tampere were selected as the case study NGOs in Finland. Meanwhile, Stockholms Stadsmission in the City of Stockholm was selected as the case study NGO in Sweden. The study found that the selected NGOs in Finland and Sweden were confronted with the challenges of funding, workforce recruitment and competition with other stakeholders to win bids funded by the City Council particularly, in the case of Stockholms Stadsmission in Sweden. On the other hand, the suggestion on how the challenges could be overcome was that of providing the NGOs with sufficient funding for their operations. The findings indicate that although Finland and Sweden are two Nordic countries with a universalistic welfare regime, the two countries differ in some way in the challenges that NGOs face in the implementation of their ALMPs. The limitations of this study are that the study focused only on two NGOs in Finland and one NGO in Sweden. Thus, in order to generalize the findings to cover the whole country, there is need for a bigger representative sample of NGOs in future studies. Second, this study focused only on NGOs with a religious background in Finland and Sweden, hence, future studies could include NGOs with a non-religious background.

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