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Finnish Governmentality Investigated

Comparison of the Labor Market Policies in Two Government Programs

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ABSTRACT

This comparative document analysis looks at the governmentality of the Finnish labor market policies (LMP's). This study compares Sipilä's and Marin's government programs to see if there are differences. The focus is on depicting neoliberalization and power relations in the policies while investigating the framing of unemployment. The theoretical framework consists of the theory of neoliberal turn on the background. Theories of governmentality and power are at the center of the study. Added to that, cartel polity and corporate polity theories help to distinguish the two government programs. Five main concepts, governmentality, neoliberalization, power, cartel polity, and corporate polity, were chosen for the study. Content analysis, as a method, serves the purposes of this qualitative research. The data sample consists of parts from the two programs, where the LMP's draw from neoliberal ideas. Clarke's (2005, 451-453) theory, which links neoliberalization and the citizen's abandonment, is used as a basis for coding of the four codes. Data analysis shows that both programs contain neoliberalization. These results guide the inductive research process in a different direction than the original hypothesis. The programs' differentiation is a slow change from cartel polity identified in Sipilä LMP's to corporate polity present in Marin LMP's. Lukes' (2005, 26-27) three-dimensional view of power depicts changes in power relations. The main actors, the state, and the market are slowly changing places of power. Indications to small changes in the understanding of unemployment are moving from a structural problem into an individual problem. This study raises the question of the risk of further marginalization. When the neoliberalization of the Finnish LMP's is slowly increasing, how will the withdrawal of the welfare state's responsibilities affect the younger generation?

Keywords: Governmentality, Neoliberalization, Power, Unemployment, Welfare¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, the Finnish labor market policies (further referred to as LMP's) have significantly changed and are affected by the challenges the welfare state faces. I analyze the Finnish LMP's looking at how Sipilä and Marin government programs draw from neoliberal ideas with a comparative perspective. This study's time frame is four years between 2015 and 2019.

This topic is crucial, as neoliberalization holds strong market-driven values that collide with the welfare state ideology. Finland follows the generous social democratic welfare state regime, which is characteristic of the Nordic countries. Under these conditions, it is critical to look at this complex issue.

As a researcher, this specific topic gives a significant angle on the Finnish LMP's, after a first-hand experience of seeing the neoliberalization process of one Finnish Labor Force Service Center as a former workplace a few years ago. The small steps towards the neoliberal values-driven changes on the LMP's slowly appear in Finland. As welfare expenditure is under tightened scrutiny, Finland needs more efficient ways for their governmentality.

1.1. A Closer Look at Finland

The Finnish welfare state follows as Kildal and Kuhnle (2005, 12, 16) describe, the Nordic welfare state ideology based on universalism and associated with equity and redistribution. Whitfield (2001, 133) characterizes the Finnish LMP's aiming to full employment and equality between genders and wages. What is interesting about the Finnish social policies in general and applies to LMP's? According to Saari's (2011, 8) insights, there are tendencies to make small policy changes that bring more significant changes over time, following the idea of incrementality. Ylikännö (2011, 211) presents that the driving factors in Finnish LMP's are the ideologies and values that usually do not change much. This aspect supports the idea of incrementality in the Finnish LMP's.

The LMP's have an essential role as part of the Finnish welfare distribution. Nevertheless, Ylikännö (2011, 49) argues that a strong labor market has not been a priority in Finland than in other Nordic countries. The active LMP's started slowly increasing in Finland,

becoming a more valued choice in the 1990s to answer the rise of long-term and structural unemployment (Räisänen 2003, Svedberg & Lundström 2003 quoted in Sama 2017, 119).

Within the small steps towards change in Finland, Aho and Arnkil (2008, 47) describe elements of neoliberalization in the national LMP's. Duell et al. (2009, 28) see the long-term unemployment and structural unemployment still a challenge for Finnish LMP's. Besides, the threat of a new economic depression, aging population, and low matching efficiency all heighten pressure on the LMP's (Duell et al. 2009, 28).

Further scrutinizing of how neoliberalization shows itself today in the Finnish LMP's is needed. Even though flourishing markets and efficiency in welfare state institutions have brought good results, the slowly decreasing Nordic welfare state values can be a threat if they lead to further marginalization. Liberal markets make it harder for vulnerable people groups to flourish. Simultaneously, the increase in control is from its part, creating governing cultures based on tighter control and may affect the institutional cultures in ways that are harmful (Hetzler 2018, 226). Hetzler's (2018, 226) study, which indicated this is happening in the Swedish context, is further introduced in chapter three.

While I scrutinize Finnish LMP's governmentality in this study, the possibility of further marginalization of vulnerable people groups is the reasoning behind why this study looks at the issue of power as well. From the foundational perspective, this study takes a normative stance towards the neoliberal values, which, as a lens, is further discussed at the end of chapter 1.2.2. I start the analysis building on the hypothesis that Sipilä LMP's contains governmentality not drawing from neoliberal ideas and that Marin LMP's governmentality presents neoliberal values.

1.2. Focus of Study

1.2.1. The Research Questions

This study analyzes how the latest two government programs represent governmentality in the Finnish LMP's. Ideologies that the welfare state governing changes are being increasingly led by recently have had neoliberal values embedded to them, guiding the slowly happening changes with the capitalistic perspective towards more liberal markets and heightened efficiency, as Hood (1991 quoted in Hetzler 2018, 223) explains. This study aims to see how

neoliberalization is present in the Finnish LMP's governmentality, which has led to seeking answers for the two following questions.

RQ1 In what way are neoliberal ideas present in the framing of unemployment in the Sipilä and Marin LMP's?

RQ2 What kind of power relations can be identified when neoliberal ideas are present?

1.2.2. General Concepts

I have defined citizenship in this study, according to Clarke's (2005, 447) views. Clarke (2005, 447) highlights how citizenship forms in the relationship between the citizens and the state. In the broader context of this study, I have defined the welfare state in this approach following Gösta Esping-Andersen's (1990, 105-111) definition of the social-democratic welfare state. The main idea is spreading out the welfare for all in the society Esping-Andersen's (1990, 105-111). This model differs from, for example, how in U.S. welfare is targeted to the poor (Esping-Andersen 1990, 105-111). Esping-Andersen (1990, 105-111) has based his theory on his findings of the inclusion and exclusion that follows the chosen model and affects the different people groups.

I use the concept of unemployment in this study from the perspective of a social problem. Unemployment is looked at in the Finnish welfare state's framework to solve through the LMP's. Walters (2001 in Bacchi 2009, 61) refers to it "as a 'systemic and impersonal phenomenon' ". To clarify the duality of this concept, Rose and Miller (1992 in Bacchi 2009, 62) talk about unemployment as a concept creating division between the undeserving and deserving unemployed, the ones who are actively seeking a job, and the ones who are passive receivers of the welfare benefits while being unemployed.

Rose (2000 in Bacchi 2009, 63) distinguished how a slow change happened in the 1980s, reflecting characteristics of the neoliberal turn. The welfare governmentality took small steps towards "individualization of risk" and targeting the benefits differently to specific groups (Rose 2000 in Bacchi 2009, 63).

Within this frame of unemployment Bacchi (2009, 63) talks about the idea of "welfare dependency". As a solution is seen the tying of work to the welfare benefits (Bacchi 2009, 63). Nevertheless, this way, social policy becomes conditional as Lewis (2004 in Bacchi

2009, 63) explains instead of following the universalism that the Nordic welfare state is known for. Understanding of active citizenship replaces the old regime (Lewis 2004 in Bacchi 2009, 63). Through the slowly happening changes in governmentality, the new goal is to bring change to both the service providers and the citizens receiving the service (Rose 2000 in Bacchi 2009, 63).

The LMP's in the two government programs receive names in this study after the prime ministers and called throughout the study, such as Sipilä LMP's and Marin LMP's. Now, I have introduced the general research subject. I have presented the research questions early on in this first chapter, to narrow down what kind of knowledge we aim to find with this study. Lastly, I have discussed about a few general concepts appearing in this study. Now I move on to look at the problematization that forms the background of this study.

2. NEOLIBERALIZATION OF FINNISH LMP'S

2.1. Background of Study

LMP's have a significant role and face high pressure in the Finnish welfare state (Duell et al. 2009, 12). Pierson (2007, 221-222, 228) describes the challenges that face the Finnish LMP's as a potential risk for the welfare state. While the neoliberal turn represents the market as the solution, on the other hand, the purpose of the welfare state is to protect the people, and here lies the challenge.

The question to ask could be, where goes the balance between the benefits of the market-driven policies and the people's abandoning by the neoliberalization process? This dualized dilemma is at the center of the purpose of this study. Studying the Finnish LMP's neoliberal ideas is hoped to bring the needed attention to this issue.

Clarke's (2005, 452) critical thoughts about neoliberal values present a vital perspective for this study. Clarke (2005, 452) highlights one side of neoliberalization, the abandonment of the citizen. What is problematic is the change made in the following relationships: how the market overdrives the state, the public services change to private services, and the market is replacing the social policy as well (Marquand 2004; Mishra 1999; Ferguson et al. 2002; quoted in Clarke 2005, 452-453).

2.2. Studies of Finnish LMP's

Characteristics of neoliberalization appear in the Finnish LMP's through demand for efficiency and competition by public-private partnerships (Hallitusohjelma 2003, quoted in Ylikännö 2011, 208; Hood 1991 quoted in Hetzler 2018, 223; Whitfield 2001, 284). A few studies depict in Finland a phenomenon where the private sector is being more and more involved in employing the "hard to employ" unemployed (Van Berkel et al. 2011 & Aurich-Berheide et al. 2015; quoted in Saikku 2018, 69). Different characteristics of the Finnish context about LMP's have been further presented in categories to get a clearer picture of the Finnish LMP's. The categories give an overview of the earlier studies as well.

2.2.1. Findings Linked to Individualization

Van Gerden (2008, 197, 200) presents a chain of small changes in search of work in Finland that shows signs of neoliberal values in the individualized approach. The work search has been becoming more of a responsibility of the individuals than the state's duty as it was before (Van Gerden 2008, 197, 200; Ylikännö 2011,50).

The Finnish welfare state is an exception in how Finland gives the right to social assistance, even when participation in active LMP's activities is missing among the unemployed (Kananen 2012, 568). Kananen (2012, 558-559) highlights interestingly, how in general the term “activation” has been replacing the term “workfare” in the Nordic context, which he studied from the perspective of the workfare reforms. Kananen (2012, 568) depicts as the turn side of this phenomenon the strengthening of the sanctions, which helps to strengthen the authority's power over the unemployed. The turn side's knowledge is meaningful as the former government presents the social assistance recipient as a possible free-rider (Finland 1997 quoted in Kananen 2012, 569).

Kananen's (2012, 569) findings indicate an increase in individualized framing for the problem of unemployment in Finland (Kananen 2012, 568). In general, Kananen (2012, 572) portrays how control mechanisms have been increasing, and the idea is to present obligations further as a result of individual choices instead of being a collective issue. Besides the link to the Finnish context's neoliberalization process, it is interesting how these findings are linked to power relations as well.

2.2.2. Findings Reflecting Other Sides of Neoliberalization

Adkins et al.'s (2019, 684) study has uncovered one phenomenon reflecting the Finnish context's neoliberalization process. The changing of the mechanisms leads to devaluing the labor price (Adkins et al. 2019, 684). Adkins et. al.'s (2019, 684) research is a document analysis in the Finnish context on the price of workfare related to the reform agenda started by Sipilä's government, which is one of the used documents for the data of this study. On the other hand, neoliberal values are also seen, as Paju et al.'s (2020, 10) study present, on human capitalization (Davies, 2014; Foucault, 2010; Lemke, 2001 quoted in Paju et al. 2020, 9). Paju et al.'s (2020, 10) study is an ethnographic study collecting data from several sites about activation measures targeted to young unemployed people. Paju et al. (2020, 10) highlight how the economic

priority is unseen when young employed are met in the unemployment services, nevertheless present in the activation practices.

2.2.3. Findings Related to Citizen's Abandonment

Alanko and Outinen (2016, 418, 431-432) question if activation is helpful for the unemployed, concluding that instead, there is a consequence of dualization and blaming, possibly leading to exclusion. Alanko and Outinen (2016, 418) analyze how the activation measures looks like from the point of view of mental health problems in Finland.

Further on, content analysis from Närhi and Kokkonen (2014, 95, 101-102) presents how the society sees Finnish citizens increasingly from a consumerist perspective. This perspective indicates the rhetoric of neoliberalization, where citizenship and labor market participation are tied together (Närhi and Kokkonen 2014, 95, 101-102). Närhi and Kokkonen's (2014, 95) study is focusing on government documents on the perspective of Finnish way of governing the citizens within the welfare state. On a critical note, the data from this study consists also of hidden meaning of the citizen participation, which is its limitation (Närhi & Kokkonen 2014, 99, 105-106).

Närhi and Kokkonen (2014, 105) argue that although the rhetoric in their data is dominantly rights-based, on the other hand, the marginalized people groups' dilemma is not on the surface. Närhi and Kokkonen (2014, 105) show how marginalized people are demanded more participation in fulfilling their duties while having fewer opportunities to gain from social rights. This higher demand indicates active citizenship, which poses a danger to further marginalization (Närhi & Kokkonen 2014, 105).

Why findings from Alanko and Outinen (2016, 431-432) and Närhi and Kokkonen (2014, 105) are meaningful for this research is how they connect with Clarke's (2005, 453) findings on activation as a form of neoliberal values on LMP's. Alanko and Outinen (2016, 431-432) present findings on activation leading to citizens' abandonment. Furthermore, in the study from Närhi and Kokkonen (2014, 105), there can be seen a connection with Clarke's (2005, 448, 451-452) findings, with all such aspects as activation, responsibility, and abandonment.

These several former studies in the Finnish context highlight the need for further studying this topic. They show how the Finnish LMP's are slowly changing their form while

being stewarded by the neoliberal values. The results indicated that coming out of these kinds of overtime changes can be argued to be polarizing.

I have now looked at this study's background and introduced some of the most relevant studies on this topic in Finland. I have showed what earlier studies have revealed from Finnish LMP's and what kind of findings have former studies presented from different aspects of neoliberalization. From the findings I have introduced findings linked to individualization, findings reflecting other sides of neoliberalization and lastly, findings linked to citizen's abandonment. Now we can move on. In the next chapter, we look at the former critical studies that form the theoretical framework of this study and are the basis for the used theoretical concepts.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theories of governmentality, neoliberal turn, and power relations are the foundational starting points in this research. This study's point of departure is how the neoliberal turn is affecting the governmentality of Finnish welfare state functions such as the LMP's. Then we study what kind of power relations and structures are at display within the governmentality. The further point of departure is the shift from cartel polity to the corporate polity in the Finnish welfare state to expand the analysis.

Thus, this study has five main concepts: governmentality, neoliberalization, power, cartel polity, and corporate polity. Putnam (1996, quoted in Pernecky 2016, 178) explains how the concepts help achieve the research's aim, revealing one perspective of the world and how choosing the concepts determines the truth. In the following subchapter, I look at the relationship between the concepts more closely.

3.1. Relationship between the Concepts

The first three concepts, governmentality, neoliberalization, and power, have their function in setting up the theoretical framework for the whole study. The concept of neoliberalization especially lays the foundation for the background of this study. On the other hand, the concepts of cartel polity and corporate polity set the different analytical frameworks, distinguishing between the two studied government programs.

The notion of governmentality could be a nominator to all of the other notions in this study's theoretical framework. While neoliberalization, cartel polity, and corporate polity are forms of governmentality, the notion of power is an essential governmentality component. Power is strongly related to governmentality. Furthermore, the concepts of neoliberalization and corporate polity have as governmentalities many similarities. Furthermore, corporate polity is neoliberal governmentality, which takes form in Finland.

3.2. Governmentality

3.2.1. Studies on Governmentality

Foucault has done essential studies on governmentality, which are widely known and used. The significance in Foucault's (1977-78a, 115-116) main thoughts on analyzing the notion of governmentality is in the problematic relationship between the state and its population. In this relationship, I understand the state from an economic perspective (Foucault's 1977-78a, 115-116). Foucault (1977-78a, 122) highlights an essential aspect of governing. It is always focusing on people, not the state itself or an area or political scenery (Foucault 1977-78a, 122). Foucault (1977-78b, 348) explains how the beginning of the "modern and contemporary governmentality" was in the relationship with the newly emerged economy domain. This relationship is vital due to the focus of this study. It is the phenomenon rising within the relationship between the labor market and the welfare state economy. Foucault (1977-78b, 350) also brings up the importance of the state's responsibility for civil society management.

One of the main characterizations of the concept of governmentality, this study is interested in, is the idea of discipline in the essence of governing (Foucault 1979 quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28-29). As Foucault (1979 quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28-29) describes, it creates self-governance. To understand Foucault's (1997a quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28) thoughts concerning the state and its norms, they function as the production of control in the individual's choices and social and societal living environment. In this way, as Foucault (1997a quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28) explains, power is at the display as a disciplinary element. Regulations appear as its measure in the society (Foucault 1997a quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28). This idea of 'normalizing state' from Foucault (1997a quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28) is an essential perspective on the background of the concept of governmentality in this study.

By changing the policies in the labor market, the norms change too. Neoliberal ideas influence policy changes and increase the neoliberal individualization of unemployment. In this scenario, unemployment changes from being a societal problem into an individual problem. Similarly, a lack of suitable employment changes into a lack of employability of the individuals. While the markets unleashing is the proposed solution, the individuals become increasingly responsible for finding their employment.

3.2.2. Concept of Governmentality

The analysis of neoliberalization and welfare state is in this study approached with the notion of governmentality, following Foucault's (1977-1978a, 102) ideas. Foucault (1977-1978a, 102) talks about governmentality and "the exercise of power as a practice of governments", naming "laws, edicts, and regulations" as the instruments for governing. Bacchi (2009, 26-27) explains how Foucault distinguishes one way of governmentality using social policy and economic policy to secure the citizens' lives. The welfare state itself is an institution founded on governmentality, a belief of people needing governing (Pierson 2007, 221). Changes in governmentality and institutions are tied together, happening slowly over time within the welfare state.

Bacchi's (2009, 29) way of referring to governmentality builds on Foucault's way of describing it. Bacchi (2009, 29) refers to how to set standards for people's actions stewards people to become their regulators. Thus, the government can achieve its goals with less effort from their part (Bacchi 2009, 29). Dean (1999, quoted in Bacchi 2009, 29) names the government working through the disciplinary tools to create interventions to the citizens who are not following the norms. Thus, the normalizing aspect of governmentality makes it such a vital concept in this study's theoretical framework.

3.3. Neoliberal Turn

3.3.1. Studies on Neoliberalization

Clarke's (2005, 447) study on how neoliberalization affects citizenship is a significant earlier study for this research. Clarke (2005, 447) conducted a document analysis of the citizens' dynamics and the state. He studied how society talks about citizens. He also paid attention to how the New Labor policies influence people's lives in the British context (Clarke 2005, 447). Clarke's (2005, 447) findings highlighted central dynamics: "activation, empowerment, responsabilization, and abandonment."

A recent study from Paju et al. (2020, 9) views activation through an ethnographic study. Paju et al. (2020,9) studied several activation service locations. Paju et al. (2020, 9) looked for indications of human capitalization that could be related to neoliberalization. With

the perspective of governmentality, Paju et al. (2020, 9) demonstrated a link between the practices of activation, view of human capital, and its relation to perceiving "one's self, body, and skills."

Hetzler's (2018, 224) study has its significance in how it uncovers the link between the New Public Management type of neoliberalization process in public-school management and how they use self-control mechanisms for socializing employees. As a result, Hetzler (2018, 224) presented a demanding work environment response by controlling co-workers.

Hetzler (2018, 226) suggests how this phenomenon leads employees to become inwardly disturbed in their work environment. Hetzler's (2018, 239) document analysis proposes, as a result, the connection between changes in management and strategic violence through "sorting out" mechanisms. Hetzler's (2018, 239) study shows this leading to "de-professionalism of their identities" among the employees who were the targets of the used power process.

3.3.2. Concept of Neoliberalization

In this study, I understand Neoliberalization as a shift from the state and social policies to the market and from the public to private (Marquand 2004; Mishra 1999; Ferguson et al. 2002; quoted in Clarke 2005, 452-453). The outcome of this slow change is understood appearing through governmentality as the absence of regulations. Clarke's (2005, 448) study highlights an important aspect. Clarke's (2005, 448) findings of "the activated citizen" suggest how the neoliberal turn affects the LMP's. Clarke (2005, 448) describes it happening within the underlying agenda of the liberation of citizens from the state. Clarke (2005, 448) sees it taking form in the way the governing promotes activated citizenship.

Clarke (2005, 449) depicts that the governing constructs "the empowered citizen" in the belief system of seeing "people versus the state." In this framing, empowerment comes through giving the consumers of the public services a "choice and voice" (Clarke, Smirth & Vidler 2005; Public Administration Select Committee 2005; quoted in Clarke 2005, 449). Clarke (2005, 449) explains how the individualized aspect appears as part of this change. Clarke (2005, 449) clarifies how choice is a driver for the changes in public services. Clarke (2005, 451) names responsabilization as one effect of neoliberal moralizing for the citizens.

This view highlights the meaning of the responsibilities besides the people's rights, which can have a marginalizing effect on vulnerable people groups (Clarke 2005, 451).

3.4. Power

3.4.1. Studies on Power

Mitchell Dean (2013, 19) underlines how Foucault has offered a framework for the notion of power that provides general aspects and allows us to assess it as a notion critically. Dean (2013, 19) discusses in his study the possibility to link the concept of power with resisting the social and political societal order. Dean (2013, 19) sees this resistance to be used for questioning and further for reform, to which Dean links Foucault's perspective on power. Nevertheless, Dean (2013, 19) links power to a conservative, stable order in society. In this sense, as this study focuses on policy analysis, the concept of power is relevant, reflecting both change and stability in society.

Robert Dahl (1957, 202) recognizes in his study of power the notion's problematic nature when used practically in research. Dahl (1957, 201-202) highlights this as one reason why there is no single theory considering power. Dahl (1957, 202-203) views power through the idea of "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." Dahl (1957, 203) underlines the separation of "power" and "cause" and considers power concerning humans. Dahl (1957, 203) also names objects as actors when addressing the relationships from the perspective of power.

Steven Lukes' (2005, 109) study on the three-dimensional power view builds on similar aspects as Dahl's (1957, 202-203), laying a theoretical foundation for this study. Lukes (2005, 15-16) presents different views from which the one-dimensional view represents the pluralists' view of power, the two-dimensional their critics' view, and the three-dimensional view used in this study. Lukes' (2005, 16) perception of the three dimensions' difference is that the three-dimensional one brings out a more in-depth and more satisfying analysis than the others.

3.4.2. Concept of Power

There are a lot of differing views about the notion of power. This study's notion of power follows Steven Lukes' (2005, 15) view of the nature of the power being three dimensional. The one-dimensional view focus is "on observable behavior in identifying power," which leads to studying how concrete decisions are made (Lukes 2005, 17).

Additionally, the two-dimensional view takes another path and adds another perspective to the one-dimensional view to depict the non-decision making (Lukes 2005, 22). With the non-decision in this context, Bachrach and Baratz (1970 quoted in Lukes 2005, 23) define policy issues that are not the focus or potential to be solved. The three-dimensional view does not just focus on the behavioral level of policy level and decision-making bias in policy issues (Lukes 2005, 25-26). The three-dimensional view goes down to the institutional practices in policymaking, seeing the dimension of "collective forces and social arrangements (Lukes 2005, 25-26).

The third level appears in collective activity (Lukes 2005, 26) Other way this dimension shows itself is in the organizational outcomes (Lukes 2005, 26). The essential element to the three-dimensional view, besides the decision-making behavior and the non-decision making, is how others are influenced, by a political agenda, into wanting something they did not want before, and not just to make a particular decision (Lukes 2005, 27). This view of power is similar to Foucault's (1979 quoted in Bacchi 2009, 28-29) view on self-governance and Clarke's (2005, 451) idea on responsabilization.

The definition of the notion of power in Lukes' (2005, 30) three-dimensional view has the underlying component of being value-dependent and relying on the main idea according to which A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (Lukes 2005, 30). In this study, the one-dimensional view is not present as the focus of policymaking is being studied through content analysis. This study does not cover the behavioral decision-making in the labor market policies' implementation level due to the chosen research design limitations (Lukes 2005, 17). Instead, the two- and three-dimensional views are relevant to be studied (Lukes 2005, 22, 25-26; Bachrach & Baratz 1970 quoted in Lukes 2005, 23).

In this study, the state, the local level, the market, and the individual form central power relations as the actors. In the following subchapter, the two- and three-dimensional view of power displays how these actors and their relations interact together.

3.5. Cartel Polity

3.5.1. Studies on Cartel Polity

Esping-Andersen (1990, 105-111) has conducted one of the most foundational studies on cartel polity elements as he studied different 'distribution regimes.' Esping-Andersen (1990, 105-111) categorized one of them as similar but with a different name, which we understand in this study as cartel polity. Esping-Andersen (1990, 105-111) connected the same universalism principles on a social and spatial level to this 'distribution regime.' I understand these elements as foundational ones in the cartel polity (Esping-Andersen 1990, 105-111).

Ferguson and Gupta (2002, 982) have studied cartel polity elements under another title, depicting how the state is above civil society and led by a top-down approach. Ferguson and Gupta (2002, 982) point out the state as spatialized in a scalar way. It contains the different spatial components as well, first on the family level and then on the local community level, further continuing to the regional level. Thus, Ferguson and Gupta (2002, 982) understand the state in a vertical way.

Ahlqvist and Moisio (2014, 25) have studied the cartel polity in Finland, perceiving it from the Keynesian welfare state perspective. Ahlqvist and Moisio (2014, 27) illustrate cartel polity as "a course towards extensive regulation," where the local level is the state's extension. In Finland, as Ahlqvist and Moisio (2014, 28) explain, the cartel polity started forming from 1960 to the 1980s with the perspective of competition on the national level. Cartels in the main sectors from the economic perspective were a byproduct of this Finnish regime (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 28).

3.5.2. Concept of Cartel Polity

The concept of cartel polity shows in this study through the Keynesian welfare national state model, where full employment promotion is vital, and the state's role is in the emphasis. In this sense, the state is responsible for solving the unemployment problem (Brenner 2004, 164, 168). In this perspective, unemployment is a structural problem, instead of seeing it just from an individual point of view (Brenner 2004, 164, 168). This scenario is characteristic in a society where the societal structures are changing, and consequently, low skilled jobs are becoming scarce (Brenner 2004, 164, 168). From the cartel polity perspective, the state with a top-down approach is essential in this governing.

This concept adds to this study as, besides characterizing the state's top-down approach, it highlights the welfare state's responsibility and possibilities in affecting broader structures in the society. The state's national ability to implement structural changes reaches beyond the local level's or a single unemployed person's abilities.

3.6. Corporate Polity

3.6.1. Studies on Corporate Polity

Cerny (1990, 205) has studied the change forming the state structure slowly into a competition state, which view appears as a corporate polity in this study. Cerny (1990, 205) highlights three areas of foundational changes as the outcome of international pressure in this process:

(a) a shift from macroeconomics to microeconomic interventionism... (b) a shift in the focus of that interventionism from the development and maintenance of a range of 'strategic' or 'basic' industries... and finally (c), a shift in the focal point of party and governmental politics from the general maximization of welfare within a national society (full employment, redistributive transfers, and social service provision) to the promotion of enterprise, innovation, and profitability in both private and public sectors...

Ahlqvist and Moision's (2014, 22-47) study depict a slow change towards corporate polity from cartel polity in Finland. Besides the promotion of the "entrepreneurial self" that Ahlqvist and Moision (2014, 44) mention, Jessop and Sum (2000 in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 44) describe how in Finland there has been a rise in the city-regionalism in relation with emerging of the entrepreneurial cities.

3.6.2. Concept of Corporate Polity

The concept of corporate polity is understood in this study, following Ahlqvist and Moision's (2014, 25) description, as a competition state. Within this polity, as Brenner (2004, 166) describes, the local level is seen as responsible for maintaining the ability for competition. Ahlqvist and Moision (2014, 25), together with Brenner (2004, 168), explain the change, from full employment promoting Keynesian welfare state perspective, towards the competition state. The view is that it happens through a slow change towards the promotion of "structural competitiveness" (Brenner 2004, 168). In this sense, the local areas are responsible for

sustaining their competitive features. Besides, the individuals are seen increasingly responsible for their employability.

The concept of corporate polity gives language to the challenges the changing welfare state faces. The focus is on the global competition, and answers are sought from the corporate model of governing the welfare state, finding local levels and individual roles as something that strategically used solves unemployment.

I have now characterized the essential theories and how they interact with each other in this study. I have also presented the main elements of the five different concepts that form this study's theoretical framework, concepts of governmentality, neoliberal turn, power, cartel polity and corporate polity. The concepts we have viewed from both the aspect of former studies on these topics and from the perspective of how I have used these five main notions. In the next chapter, we examine the methodology used in studying this phenomenon from the Finnish welfare state perspective.

4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1. Introduction of Method

Comparative content analysis is the method of this study (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 26). As a descriptive research design, it is most useful for examining neoliberal governmentality in the two recent government programs (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 28; Krippendorff 2013 quoted in Drisko & Maschi 2015, 32). I have categorized the contents of the two government programs considering LMP's for comparison and analysis purposes. Content analysis is a used method in several areas of science, among which Neuendorf (2017, 3) includes sociological and political science disciplines, which as fields are both related to this policy analysis.

One relevant aspect to consider is the limitations that appear, while this study relies on a methodological perspective on Neuendorf's (2017, 3, 8-10, 17-19, 38) content analysis theory. Neuendorf approaches content analysis as quantitative research following a positivistic view (Neuendorf 2017, 3, 8-10, 17-19, 38). Nevertheless, this study uses content analysis for qualitative research with the perspective of social constructionism. For this reason, only specific Neuendorf's theory guidelines have been followed in the methodology, choosing those which serve the approach of this specific study.

Neuendorf (2017, 9) emphasizes the importance of coding quality. He underlines how the application of coding should form an objective and reliable result to follow (Neuendorf 2017, 9). The research process has been systematic following this aspect of a content analysis methodology guidelines (Neuendorf 2017, 9-10). I have followed other general guidelines for research, followed in the five next paragraphs (Neuendorf 2017, 17).

Neuendorf (2017, 18) clarifies the goal of objectivity-intersubjectivity. Neuendorf (2017, 18) highlights how it helps avoid biases that the researcher may create if not careful. Neuendorf (2017, 18) also points out that there is no ultimate truth, scientifically speaking. While doing the research, I have made decisions while keeping this perspective in mind. I have used a priori design, which Neuendorf (2017, 18) suggests, and made all the coding decisions before the data analysis.

Neuendorf (2017, 38) identifies as one great cause of concern in the content analysis of a human observer factor involved in the measurement process. I discuss the reliability aspects of this research further in chapter 4.7. The study's validity is a crucial factor

showing that it measures what it says it does (Neuendorf 2017, 19). When the coding is ready, this matter has been considered, both in designing the codes and analysis. Generalizability of the study follows a thought of the study's findings to be generalized in application to the study's whole population, not just the generated data sample (Neuendorf 2017, 19).

As I have chosen a qualitative approach, we can generalize the indicating values to the whole population. I have also kept in mind that political agendas and underlying values in a government program can be manifold, and not all are showing in the generated data sample. What comes to generalizability, the generated data sample's representability is important (Neuendorf 2017, 19). I have followed this guideline when the data has been generated widely from across different policy areas.

One of the concerns when looking at the methodology is that the study needs to be replicable for reliability reasons (Neuendorf 2017, 19). Replicability also helps in avoiding overgeneralization of the findings (Neuendorf 2017, 19). In this study, the replication is possible due to the nature of the data material. A possible disadvantage of the study replication is not an issue in this study with the document's data collection. This way, it is not tied to a particular historical moment, as the document will remain the same (Hogenraad & McKenzie 1999 quoted in Neuendorf 2017, 19).

I have followed the guideline of offering enough information to replicate the study by providing detailed, clearly formulated, and easily accessed information of the performed data reduction and data analysis (Neuendorf 2017, 19; Drisko & Maschi 2015, 34). This way, this study has used the research design's strength as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 35) highlight through following a systematic, easily replicable form.

In formulating the theoretical framework, I used keywords such as neoliberalization or neoliberal, labor market policies, and Finland or Finnish in three different search engines, Lubsearch, Lubcat, and Google Scholar. I evaluated the found articles and book chapters, and I chose the ones that were essential for this study and reliable, as Blair (2016, 42) suggests.

4.2. Hypothesis and Inductive Research Process

While I chose the two programs for closer scrutiny, the reasoning behind the hypothesis's formulation was in the belief of the differences between the two major political parties of their

times in Finland. These parties are the center party in 2015 and the social democratic party in 2019. In the formulation of the hypothesis, the guiding thought was that the political parties' values reflect their following people groups' interests.

The center party's following is mostly located in rural Finland, while the social democratic party has the majority of its' following in Finland's capital area. The labor market landscapes of these different areas in Finland are very different. While the capital area has most of the available working places, rural Finland with the less inhabited population decreases in job availability.

After a quick overview of the government programs, I recognized specific values that the programs highlighted. After considering the leading political parties' values on the background, the pre-analysis led to the chosen research hypothesis. The hypothesis is that Sipilä LMP's contains governmentality that does not draw from neoliberal ideas and that Marin LMP's governmentality presents neoliberal values.

The research process was guided by an inductive approach, which started with the formulation of the hypothesis. The formulation of the research questions then followed. The aim was to define if Sipilä LMP's did not consist of neoliberal values and if Marin LMP's did. In this study's design process, there were three concepts, governmentality, neoliberalization, and power that we planned to use.

After the coding and data sampling was ready, the data analysis led to different results answering the first research question than the hypothesis suggested. In the inductive research process, this is a possible scenario. It is also a strength of the research design, leading to new findings. In this process it became clear how two more concepts were necessary for this study, distinguishing between the two programs. The cartel and corporate polity concepts were added to the study, resulting in that the study has five concepts.

From the concepts, I use the first three in setting up the general framework of the study. The last two concepts set up the framework for analyzing the findings, bringing further understanding of the studied programs' distinction.

4.3. Formulation of Research Questions

I formulated the research questions before the actual data analysis. Studying the theories of neoliberalization and governmentality helped to formulate the research questions. The theory has guided in choosing the actual method. The theory of power was added to the theoretical framework to formulate and answer the second research question.

This study's investigation orientations followed both the elements of a comparative and a processual study (Mason 2018, 12). Mason (2018, 12) explains how differences and similarities are searched, with changes happening in a particular setting. According to Mason (2018, 12), this search helps distinguish specific interactions between different things in the studied phenomenon.

The nature of the knowledge this study is searching for is value-based. Ylikännö (2011, 211) highlights how ideologies and values are essential in the Finnish LMP's. I formulated the research questions to help find this kind of knowledge from Sipilä and Marin LMP's governmentality. I search the answers, whether the LMP's draw from neoliberal values or not, with the hypothesis represented in chapter 4.2.

4.4. Coding

When looking at coding in this study, I follow Drisko and Maschi's (2015, 21) advice on the deductive approach. Drisko and Maschi (2015, 21-22) explain how coding usually happens before the data collection. I have formulated the coding closely related to the theoretical framework (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 21-22). Krippendorff (2013, quoted in Drisko & Maschi 2015, 26) explains how findings from studies are in this kind of study type, often used as a base for evidence in abductive argument making. The purpose of this study, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 26) explain, is mainly descriptive.

This study uses four definitions from Clarke's study findings (2005, 451-453). The findings I have formulated into four codes. Clarke (2005, 451-453) defines neoliberal values in the British LMP's concerning the citizens. Clarke's (2005, 451-453) views are in a simplified form for coding, as appears in the following sections.

Abandonment as a code follows Clarke's (2005, 452-453) idea about neoliberal ways of seeing the people as "flexible" and "market ready" workers. Clarke's (2005, 452-453)

code consists of rearranged benefits "to make them more closely associated with waged work." Clarke's (2005, 452-453) abandonment code also shows in public services that appear more as "sites for potential capital accumulation (public-private partnerships; service provision; management contracts: and varieties of 'outsourcing')." Clarke's (2005, 452-453) ideas show as well in "publicly funded and provided services" that appear more in "commodified - or perhaps - recommodified - forms (health insurance, pensions, education and so on)."

Activation is a code following Clarke's (2005, 453) understanding of the neoliberal turn. In this view, Clarke (2005, 453) names two things, the need to make people into "'market-ready' workers" and making them "available to the extended hire and fire flexibilities demanded by corporate capital".

Empowerment is used as a code following Clarke's (2005, 453) idea of neoliberal values seen in "the systematic stripping of forms of power and protection developed in western capitalist states institutionalized in conceptions of welfare, the public sector and realm, and embodied in social citizenship." The code also consists of the "view of the people versus the state, with the people requiring rescue from an over-bearing, intrusive and dominating public power", of the need for "reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice" (Clarke's 2005, 453).

Furthermore, the code covers Clarke's (2005, 453) view of "people as consumers of public services". Clarke's (2005, 449) findings link the "individualized choice among the population" also to the code. Finally the code consists of Clarke's (2005, 450) identification of the "forms of 'voice' - exhibiting a deep commitment to processes of consultation, participation and 'listening' to citizens in the widest sense"

As a code, responsibility follows Clarke's (2005, 453) view of the neoliberal lens of seeing people as "responsible and independent agents". The code also consists of the neoliberal idea of the state being "systematically divesting its responsibilities - to manage the economy, to safeguard citizens, and to regulate capital." Furthermore, the code consists of Clarke's (2005, 451) findings how through the neoliberal lens the "citizens are moralized, choice-making, self-directing subjects".

The data is analyzed using the formulated coding categories, and I compare the government programs, looking for content that is following Clarke's (2005, 451-453) views. When matching or contradicting content has been found, I have analyzed it using this coding

as a tool. The coding has helped recognize where the LMP's reflect on the neoliberal agendas and when they do not.

I have chosen a broader version of this study's coding categories (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 44-45). Drisko and Maschi (2015, 44-45) mention this consisting of several components sometimes. I want to use the codes as a tool to recognize when there are indications of the neoliberal turn in the LMP's. The government program text may not always reflect very clearly the values where the governmentality draws from. This way, the broader descriptions may reveal the content in such a light that the emphasis becomes clear. The main concern that Drisko and Maschi (2015, 44-45) mention in the coding categories is that they need to help answer the research question. I have considered this advice when I have done the coding.

For validity in coding, there is a need to display that the coding is done appropriately and measures the aimed matters (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 45-46). I have paid attention to validity in coding when I have made coding decisions. When the data description follows traditional methods, as in this study, validity is often not a concern, according to Drisko and Maschi (2015, 46).

Furthermore, Drisko and Maschi (2015, 46) remind about the importance of transparency and clarity in coding, which comes to ties to the original information. I have kept this guideline in mind from Drisko and Maschi (2015, 46) and kept the information in the most original form possible, using quoting and representing a table of the coding in subchapter 4.4.2.

Drisko and Maschi (2015, 46) also discuss content validity, pointing out that it is crucial to validly represent the content. Their advice has been followed to the best ability when, in the analysis, I have presented the content. Clarifying the study representing a sample is highly valuable, following Drisko and Maschi's (2015, 46) ideas, and this has been addressed in the text when necessary.

Table 1. Coding Categories

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Abandonment | (Clarke 2005, 452-453.) | people as “flexible” and “market ready” workers benefits rearranged “to make them more closely associated with waged work” |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---|

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | | <p>public services more as “sites for potential capital accumulation (public-private partnerships; service provision; management contracts; varieties of ‘outsourcing’)”</p> <p>“publicly funded and provided services” that appear more in “commodified - or perhaps - recommodified - forms (health insurance, pensions, education and so on).”</p> |
| Activation | (Clarke 2005, 453.) | <p>making people into “‘market-ready’ workers” and “available to the extended hire and fire flexibilities demanded by corporate capital”</p> |
| Empowerment | (Clarke 2005, 449-450, 453.) | <p>“the systematic stripping of forms of power and protection developed in western capitalist states institutionalized in conceptions of welfare, the public sector and realm, and embodied in social citizenship.”</p> <p>”view of the people versus the state, with the people requiring rescue from an over-bearing, intrusive and dominating public power”,</p> <p>”reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice”.</p> <p>”people as consumers of public services”</p> <p>”individualized choice among the population”</p> <p>”forms of ‘voice’ - exhibiting a deep commitment to processes of consultation, participation and ‘listening’ to citizens in the widest sense”</p> |
| Responsibility | (Clarke 2005, 451- 453.) | <p>people as “responsible and independent agents”</p> <p>the state being “systematically divesting its responsibilities - to manage the economy, to safeguard citizens, and to regulate capital”</p> <p>”citizens are moralized, choice-making, self-directing subjects”</p> |

4.5. Data Sampling

As data is one of the essential parts of the methodological considerations, Mason (2018, 21) presents data being generated instead of collected. Following Mason's (2018, 21) views in this study, the researcher has been an active part-taking subject in the research, which affects the generating of the data. Mason (2018, 21-22) points out how epistemologically speaking, this perspective views the researcher's role wider and understands the importance of the researcher's stance in generating the data while using intellect, analysis, and interpretation a guiding thought throughout the process.

Neuendorf (2017, 19) explains how from the defined population, which in this study is the sections considering all the LMP's in the two Finnish government programs, the study's sample is drawing from. The sample consists of the sections collected among the LMP's, which contain neoliberal values.

A government program is a policy document with a wide range of goals planned for the next four years of the government work in Finland. This document reflects the national situation and the aims that the government has for governing, for smaller or sometimes more significant changes that they see as necessary for the nation to thrive. As I want to look at national, macro-level policy, I chose these documents to generate the data. While the local level has variations of the policy applications, the government program sets the tone for the local level, affecting their work, if not immediately, eventually in the long run.

Neuendorf (2017, 20) distinguishes a difference between the data collection unit and unit of data analysis. These elements may appear to be the same thing in some studies, although distinguished as different matters (Neuendorf 2017, 20). In this study, the data collection unit is the policy section or area (Neuendorf 2017, 20). On the other hand, the unit of analysis in this study is the framing linked to neoliberalization, following the goal of analyzing and comparing the governmentalities and drawing from neoliberal ideas if found in the Sipilä and Marin LMP's (Neuendorf 2017, 20).

One of the sampling methods that Drisko and Maschi (2015, 38) identify with being suitable in the basic content analysis follows the purposive sampling techniques used in this study. During the sampling process, Drisko and Maschi (2015, 36) identify multiple stages present in this research process. A specified sample of texts has been collected (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 36). As Drisko and Maschi (2015, 36) suggest, I have identified subunits in this

defined set. Even from this limited part of the whole data, further sampling has been done, segmenting specified parts of it, following Drisko and Maschi's (2015, 36) idea.

All these stages mentioned above have been present in this study's sampling, as segments of similar policy areas have been sought and compared between Sipilä's and Marin's government programs. I have sampled the data with the guiding thought of choosing the most relevant parts, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 36) propose. For the sake of addressing the research questions, it has been necessary to make definitions of what is sufficient for the study, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 37) clarify. In this study, it has been the generated data collected from three to five different policy areas.

I made this specific decision in sampling since LMP spread out over different government program sections. I evaluated this chosen amount of areas to generate enough data for the sample from different LMP areas. This nonprobability sampling method that I use has a limitation (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 40). It has to do with generalizations drawn from the data to cover the wider population, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 40) explain. Nevertheless, in this study, we do not have this danger, as the approach is qualitative. A qualitative approach can reflect the political agendas that the program represents as part of its sometimes manifold values.

Drisko and Maschi (2015, 41) talk about dividing data in the sample into smaller sample units, which I have done. This way of unitizing the data for analysis makes it easier to handle (Drisko & Maschi 2015, 41). The sample for this research uses units, following the idea of having more manageable, organized data, which Drisko and Maschi (2015, 41) introduce. These sections are paragraphs from the government texts.

4.6. Generating Data Sample

I have generated the data sample content using codes formulated from Clarke's (2005, 448-449, 451-453) ideas of how neoliberal ideas affect citizenship through LMP's. At first, I have sought the LMP related policy texts from Sipilä's and Marin's government programs. I analyze the data units with coding. If needed, the surrounding sentences are analyzed. With the analysis, I can better understand what context the specific sentences are related to if it is unclear otherwise. Then, I have sorted out the generated data sample into four sections for comparison.

The specific LMP related issues are not the focus of the study, but the governmentality. For this reason, looking at data as sentence units is seen as a practical way of arranging data for analysis. During the data generation and coding, if there have been unclear sentences, what comes to the meaning, both the original language Finnish and the primary analysis language English have been compared to get a clearer picture.

The generated data consist of forty data units from Sipilä's program with two data units having double perspective and from Marin's program with seven data units having double perspective. The data in Sipilä's program contains twenty five abandonment data units, thirteen activation data units and four empowerment data units. Marin's program contains thirty six abandonment data units, twenty nine activation data units and twelve empowerment data units.

It has become clear that the central chapter in both Sipilä's and Marin's programs, which is labeled to cover LMP's, has the most generated data. Other areas and chapters go under categories of education, taxation and wellbeing, and health. From the last category, the chosen data covers mainly social security. The data closely connected to employment has been sought out and generated into a data sample from these three additional categories.

As the government programs are analyzed, considering what I will generate into the data sample, we have certain limitations. I have not gathered general introduction texts for the generated data sample. I want to keep the focus on the text parts that are actual policy guidelines. The two compared government programs are different in their text style. Sipilä's program covers the introduction first, while Marin's government program has also integrated it between the different chapters.

In general, the included chapters in Sipilä's government program consist of twenty-nine pages. Surprisingly, the included chapters from Marin's government program consists of one hundred and forty-two pages. This difference in the page volume between these two different data units is a surprising factor to keep in mind. For evaluating the generated data sample, the amount difference of the pages does not make a difference, as the study is qualitative. Thus, this factor does not cause issues with representability.

Sipilä's government program follows a more explicit structure than Marin's government program, which consists of titles with a broader meaning, containing several different topics under them. I have taken into account this structure difference providing clear instructions of where I have generated the data sample content.

I have applied a general rule in the generating process for the data sample, that I have left out chapters one and two from Sipilä's government program analysis. The first chapter and the beginnings of each other chapter in Marin's government program are left out. I have searched through the chapters from three to twelve in Sipilä's program to generate the data sample. I have searched through the chapters from two to three in Marin's government program to see which specified subtitles are related to LMP's. The most apparent LMP related chapters, from which I have generated most of the data sample, are chapter four in Sipilä's government program and chapter three, subtitle five in Marin's government program.

I have left out some areas not related to LMP's or when they have been too broad due to the limited timeframe. Specific topics have been too large in content. I have left out of the generated data sample in specific taxation-related text parts, as my expertise in this area is limited. This narrowing down helps to avoid altered study results. I have generated into the data sample general taxation text parts that will not demand specific taxation knowledge. I have done this when the text has clearly stated that these taxation matters are closely related to LMP's.

I have left out parts related to wellbeing at work for the sake of a limited timeframe. Nevertheless, this area could be a fruitful and helpful area for further study. When successfully governed, it is an area that supports as one necessary measure, high national employment rates. It also works as one precaution area for unemployment.

Areas in the government programs covering LMP's from the international perspective I have left out of the generated data sample. I have narrowed this section down to focus on national LMP's. Another area that I have left out is related to social and health services. Although this area is closely related to LMP's, I have not covered it for the sake of timeframe limitation. Areas that I have included in the generated data sample are generally related to entrepreneurship as it is one form of employment. I have also included education-related text parts linked in the text with employment in the generated data sample.

It is essential to realize that the researcher's understanding and perception positively influence the generated data sample's contents in generating data samples. First, I started the analysis with the generated data sample, specifically from Sipilä's government program, chapter four. This chapter consists of two pages. From Marin's government program, chapter three, subtitle five, I have generated data. This area consists of fourteen pages.

Then if I need added data, I will generate more text into the data sample. This sampling method follows the idea that Drisko and Maschi (2015, 36) explain that I choose

specific chapters from the whole government programs. After that, I segment more specific parts, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 36) suggest, while the researcher's starting points are the most prominent parts of the text.

After these chapter areas mentioned above, the focus has been on education linked to LMP's, which in Sipilä's government program is chapter five. In Marin's government program, this area is in chapter three, subtitle seven. I have studied the general taxation area more closely to generate data in Sipilä's government program, chapter three. In Marin's government program, it is chapter two subtitle one. Lastly, I have searched the area of employment for disabled persons. In Sipilä's program, Chapter six and Marin's program in chapter three, subtitle six.

4.7. Reliability

Neuendorf (2017, 38) identifies as a great cause to concern, which also is seen as an essential ethical factor in the content analysis, that a human observer is involved in the measurement process. One positive side to respond to this is how this study uses an already existing text as data, which according to Drisko and Maschi (2015, 43), minimizes the reactivity from the person conducting the study.

For the first time, this wide of research conducting individual, the researcher's position as the evaluator of the coding for this study sets them into an ethically concerning position. The areas where the researcher has an influential part in this approach is when they choose the sample and coding, according to Drisko and Maschi (2015, 32).

While an individual is conducting the coding, hoping to gain satisfactory results from the research, this provides a possibility for the study's findings to end up biased. If I have not done the coding correctly, the complete study results may look like they are revealing something that is not actually how it seems to appear. The biased result might also appear if I have not done the data generating selectively based on reflective, self-aware, and transparency following ethics, I might end up with unclear results.

To avoid these different biased results, when I have struggled with clarity, I have paused the current work, studied the concerning area more closely, and asked for feedback from the supervisor. I have read the theory repeatedly to see where the confusion came from,

to gain clarity. I have also listened and followed advice from supervision to the best of my ability.

Furthermore, I have read the data through again in different data generation phases, when needed. Furthermore, I have clarified the generated data in different ways. I have numbered the data units not to mix them or that I would not lose track of the parts that I am working with.

What comes to reliability in coding, Drisko and Maschi (2015, 47) point out how it showcases the way categorizing of data matches between the current research and other similar studies. The question of replicability has to do with the person doing the research, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 47) explain. It is necessary to question if someone could do the same study to get similar results or if someone else would get similar coding results from the same source, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 47) underline.

One main concern with the study is that while I used the coding to generate the data from government programs, it was not always clear how to interpret if the data units draw from neoliberal values. To clarify this phase of the process, I color-coded the data sample with different colors representing specific codes. The generated data was worked through several times to check that I use the codes accurately. I looked through the data units in the light of whether the units represented several codes, and some of the units formed long, manifold sentences.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

There is a broader discussion about ethics if they are abstract and universal or situational, differing in specific contexts and relative, from where the latter one is the perspective in this research (Miller et al. 2012 quoted in Mason 2018, 85). In this sense, the western world perspective and the Finnish context in the 21st century time frame create the foundational ethical framework for this study. Furthermore, methodological choices affect the ethics of this study, which we discuss next.

I based the coding on Clarke's previous study (2005, 451-453) to gain a professional's view from the field. Clarke's findings from the effects of neoliberalization on citizenship created the foundation for the coding as he, as a professional researcher, could offer

a knowledgeable understanding of the phenomenon this study aimed to study. I evaluated the foundation for the coding to be firmer when looked at the ethical perspective.

On the one hand, while I did this study in document analysis form, particular ethical concerns that Drisko and Maschi (2015, 29) suggest avoiding, if people are studied, do not apply. As I derived the data from a public source, there was no need to ask permission for its use from any institutional source, although Drisko and Maschi (2015, 29) underline it.

What is necessary to keep in mind as viewing the findings and results of this study is its research design's weakness. In this approach, the findings do not assure the conclusion to be valid, as Drisko and Maschi (2015, 26) explain. Drisko and Maschi (2015, 26) underline how: "Researchers and readers of content analyses must be careful to distinguish empirical results from their abductive logical extension to likely, but unconfirmed, explanations."

Furthermore, the ethical considerations significant in this study are the concerns rising from the scenario that this research would be published. It is another aspect that needs consideration besides the weakness mentioned above concerning the used research design.

As in Finland, the LMP's affect the vast group of people who, as unemployed or in an otherwise vulnerable position on the labor market, are already easily marginalized people group. Besides the possibility of biased results, policymakers could also use these findings to legitimize further promotion of the market's needs. This concern is rising from the phenomenon in the political field. The use of research may appear in forms of using it to serve the political party's current agenda to legitimize it, even if the research may not fully represent what the political actors are using it for.

In Finland, the political field is often changing compared to, for example, the neighboring country Sweden. In Sweden, the social democratic party has been holding political power for over forty years. The political position in Finland has led to a certain kind of governmentality and policy-making turbulence in the labor market. Specific incentives are offered and then taken away, and different agendas are projected and then changed again. For the long term unemployed, especially, this may appear as more of a discouraging factor. One scenario may be that if they have gained progress in the labor market services and end up falling into a gap in the new service structure or losing those helpful services.

I have now introduced the methodology I use in this study from different perspectives. I have clarified how I have formulated the hypothesis and the research questions. We now understand how I have implemented the coding and data generation and sampling in this study. I have discussed about the four different codes, abandonment, activation, empowerment and responsibility. The coding I have also presented in Table 1, to give a clear understanding of how the codes have been specifically formulated and used in this study. Furthermore, we are now familiar with the general research guideline aspects, such as reliability and discussed about ethical matters, which are both essential in this study. Thus, we are ready to dive into the actual data analysis phase.

5. DESCRIPTIVE DATA ANALYSIS

5.1. Employment

5.1.1. Sipilä LMP's Related to Employment

In Sipilä's government program, the used language indicates the values of neoliberal turn, which I focus on in this study (Sipilä 2015, 14-16). The language that draws from neoliberal ideas in Sipilä LMP's includes activation, efficiency, procurement, public-private partnerships, and rearranging benefits to encourage work (Sipilä 2015, 14-16). Related to the coding used in this study, indications of abandonment and activation codes appear in the government program. There are also indications of understanding unemployment from a Keynesian welfare state view as a structural problem.

5.1.2. Marin LMP's Related to Employment

Similarly, in Sipilä LMP's and Marin's program, language can be argued to draw from neoliberal ideas (Marin 2019, 139-150). Marin's government program has no trace of the views, including Keynesian welfare state philosophy, seeing the structural problems affecting unemployment (Marin 2019, 139-150).

Marin's government program has content related to coding from Clarke (2005, 451-453) such as activation, how there appear discussions about increasing labor market participation of certain people groups aiming to move from passive to active LMP's. Also, talking about more efficient targeting of services and strengthening skills and supporting participation in social activities are discussed besides strengthening skills through active integration measures for immigrants. Lastly, there is mention of strengthening Employment Fund functions for developing skills (Marin 2019, 139-140, 143, 148).

The abandonment code is also in Marin's government program (Marin 2019, 140, 148-150). There is content describing public-private partnerships, strengthening the experts' skills to recognize skills, and emphasizing skill development (Marin 2019, 140, 148). These both are understood as seeing people through the lens of making the "market-ready" (Marin 2019, 140, 148). Another aspect of the abandonment code shows how the government program content covers restructuring protection to improve workers' skills and employment (Marin

2019, 149). Lastly, the content highlights promoting the improvement of skills (Marin 2019, 149-150).

Marin's government program includes the code of empowerment, which appears when renewing the Employment services is discussed related to making it into a more effective unit (Marin 2019, 140). In this view, the renewed service responds to individual needs, diversity, and personal service, possibly considering personal budgeting (Marin 2019, 140). The emphasis appears widely throughout the whole chapter on an individual perspective, as besides the word personal, the word individual appears in it several times (Marin 2019, 139-150). The used language indicates the value of deciding for the people by expanding individualized choice and viewing the people as consumers (Clarke 2005, 449, 453).

5.1.3. Comparison of Employment Policies

When comparing the two government programs, what stands out is how the neoliberal turn values are discovered widely in both. Sipilä LMP's consist of the Keynesian welfare state type of view on seeing unemployment as a structural problem, which is the most significant difference (Sipilä 2015, 14-16). In Marin LMP's these values are missing (Marin 2019, 139-150).

The same two codes, activation, and abandonment appear in both government programs (Sipilä 2015, 14-16; Marin 2019, 149). In both, there is content using such words as efficiency, public-private partnerships, and rearranging benefits to encourage work, activation, and procurement (Sipilä 2015, 14-16; Marin 2019, 149). Marin LMP's also include the code of empowerment, which does not appear in Sipilä LMP's (Marin 2019, 140, 150; Sipilä 2015, 14-16).

5.2. Education

5.2.1. Sipilä LMP's Related to Education

From the education chapter, I find that neoliberalization indicates a connection to the code of abandonment (Sipilä 2015, 18). The emphasis is on developing individuals' skill sets in the workplace (Sipilä 2015, 18). This perspective points out how citizenship appears within this view through the importance of the workers' skillsets for the market (Sipilä 2015, 18; Clarke

2005, 452-453). Also, working life itself shows up as a place for further developing flexible, market-ready workers, and in this sense code of abandonment can be depicted (Sipilä 2015, 18; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Another indication of abandonment is in the emphasis of seeking measures to earlier started working life, which can point out to viewing people through the perspective of flexible and market ready citizens (Sipilä 2015, 18; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

Other ways of how both codes of abandonment and activation appear in Sipilä's government program are in the context of various co-operations that either accumulate as results innovations to be used for the market or to coordinate more enthusiastic support for the youth (Sipilä 2015, 18). These policy sections mirror the neoliberal values' perspective with the market being in the center (abandonment) (Sipilä 2015, 18, 20; Clarke 2005, 452-453). The youth is also an object for more intensified support, which is aiming for better" life management skills and employment" (activation) (Sipilä 2015, 18, 20; Clarke 2005, 452-453)—added to that the government program contains youth-related parts where the perspective is either on activation of the youth who graduate or in abandonment in the form of arranging benefits to present work as a more attractive choice.

5.2.2. Marin LMP's Related to Education

Marin's government program talks about education linked to neoliberalization only from the perspective of activation (Marin 2019, 174-177). One activation perspective that comes up in the generated data in this section focuses on" addressing the lack of skilled workers across sectors and regions" (Marin 2019, 175; Clarke 2005, 453). There can be seen the value in making people market-ready through generating skills (Marin 2019, 175; Clarke 2005, 453). The university studies appear as making people market-ready (Marin 2019, 176; Clarke 2005, 453). The plan is to design student places with relation to the market's needs; this way, the graduating university students are being made available to serve the market's needs (Marin 2019, 176; Clarke 2005, 453).

Working life stands out as lifelong learning of skills in Marin's program (Marin 2019, 177; Clarke 2005, 453). This part is related to a parliamentary reform, where people are made available to serve the market (Marin 2019, 177; Clarke 2005, 453). Within the reform, the aim reads to be to" meet the needs arising in the world of work" and do it within every level of education nationwide (Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005, 453). One practical aim is to" make visible the competence" through education and working life (Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005,

453). The code of activation appears here as the policy focuses on packaging people's skills into a form that can serve the market, showing them to be market-ready (Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005, 453).

Under this topic of adult education, underrepresented groups and low engagement groups are mentioned by name, especially with an illustration of the intention of training people who have a lack in their skills or have " low level of basic skills" (Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005, 453). These are all linked to activation through the perspective of people needing help with making them into market-ready individuals (Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005, 453).

5.2.3. Comparison of LMP's Related to Education

Sipilä and Marin LMP's slightly differ in their focus on education (Sipilä 2015, 18; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Only Sipilä LMP's have data linked to abandonment (Sipilä 2015, 18; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Both government programs contain activation related language, where Sipilä LMP's highlight the youth and Marin LMP's underline the underrepresented groups or with low engagement in adult education (Sipilä 2015, 18; Marin 2019, 178; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Activation related language emerge from Sipilä LMP's in an expression of coordination of support or Marin's program using words like reform, services, and guidance, related in both programs for developing further skills for citizens (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 18; Marin 2019, 177-178).

5.3. Taxation

5.3.1. Sipilä LMPs Related to Taxation

The generated data contains LMP related data units from the taxation area from Sipilä LMP's that draw from neoliberal ideas in forms of empowerment, abandonment, and activation (Sipilä 2015, 10-13; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Data units that reflect empowerment in Sipilä LMP's appear in " structural reforms which will promote employment, entrepreneurship and economic growth" and gaining the objective of " employment, competitiveness and growth, training and skills" through one measure example of " removing unnecessary regulation and bureaucracy" (Clarke 2005, 453; Sipilä 2015, 10,12).

Clarke's one idea of empowerment presents itself as a "view of the people versus the state, with the people requiring rescue from an overbearing, intrusive and dominating public power" (Clarke 2005, 453). Clarke's understanding of empowerment further appears with "the systematic stripping of forms of power and protection developed in western capitalist states institutionalized in conceptions of welfare, the public sector and realm, and embodied in social citizenship" (Clarke 2005, 453). Clarke's (2005, 453) empowerment further appears with "view of the people versus the state, with the people requiring rescue from an overbearing, intrusive and dominating public power."

Data units that reflect activation in Sipilä LMP's are related to educational reform (Clarke 2005, 453; Sipilä 2015, 10-11). It promotes the generation of skills among the citizens to respond to the working life needs (Clarke 2005, 453; Sipilä 2015, 10-11). Skill generation relates to making people "market-ready" (Clarke 2005, 453).

Data units that review abandonment in Sipilä LMP's are related to improving business or work (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 10). The focus is on building a social contract supporting employment, implementing economic policies that contain "a tax policy supporting work and employment" and "employment-boosting reforms" (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 10). These data units reflect the abandonment through the form of rearranged benefits "to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Clarke 2005, 452-453).

There are also data units linked to abandonment in Sipilä LMP's related to increasing market competition (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 11,13). The link mirrors forms of "public services opened to private competition" (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 11). Furthermore, abandonment shows in coordinating social security in a way that it does not contain incentive traps, easing "taxation on earned income, focusing on the earned income deduction and those who on low and medium incomes in order to encourage acceptance of work" as well as finally dedicating six billion Euro's for these "employment-promoting measures" (Clarke 2005, 452-453; Sipilä 2015, 13). In these data units, there can be seen from abandonment perspective elements of public services transformed more into "sites for potential capital accumulation" as well as arranging benefits in a new way "to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Clarke 2005, 452-453).

5.3.2. Marin LMP's Related to Taxation

The generated data contains LMP related data units from Marin's government program's taxation area that reflects neoliberalization in the form of abandonment (Marin 2019, 28-29; Clarke 2005, 452-453). One data unit in Marin LMP's is linked to " a modest reduction in income tax to compensate for increases in indirect taxes affecting employees, pensioners, entrepreneurs and the self-employed in the low and middle-income bands" (Marin 2019, 28-29). This unit can be linked to Clarke's understanding of abandonment in the form of changing the arrangement of benefits in the area of taxation" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Clarke 2005, 452-453).

Some other data units relate to a future possibility of implementing earned income subsidy (Marin 2019, 29). This implementation would affect" taxation of earned income" so that it" could be damaging for those employees, pensioners, entrepreneurs and self-employed people who are in the low-income band" and would thus offer for example," an employment incentive in such areas as part-time and gig work" (Marin 2019, 29).

Other areas of data units in Marin LMP's are related to the mobility of labor that is" promoted by adjusting the taxable component of compensation paid by an employer for removal costs" as well as related to supporting" newly established small-scale entrepreneurs by introducing more flexible payment schedules for tax prepayment" (Marin 2019, 29). All these data units can point out Clarke's understanding of abandonment is practically seen in the new arrangement of taxation benefits" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Clarke 2005, 452-453).

5.3.3. Comparison of LMP's Related to Taxation

In Sipilä LMP's taxation, there appears a wide variety of codes, from which the code of abandonment is common to both Sipilä and Marin LMP's (Sipilä 2015; 10-13; Marin 2019, 28-29; Clarke 2005; 452-453). It shows in several data units, highlighting rearranging benefits" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Sipilä 2015; 10-13; Marin 2019, 28-29; Clarke 2005; 452-453).

Some additional codes which Marin LMP's do not consist of are in data units in Sipilä LMP's (Sipilä 2015, 10-11, 13; Clarke 2005, 452-453). They are related to activation and empowerment and viewing abandonment from the perspective of opening public services

to private competition and seeing public services as" sites for potential capital accumulation (Sipilä 2015, 10-11, 13; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

5.4. Well-being and Health

5.4.1. Sipilä LMP's Related to Well-being and Health

The data generated in well-being and health area is related to the social security perspective (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 452-453). In Sipilä LMP's, this data draws from neoliberal ideas, appearing in code forms of abandonment, activation, and empowerment (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Specific data units in Sipilä LMP's link to renewing social protection to encourage employment (Sipilä 2015, 21; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

Promoting work opportunities" for people with partial work ability" appears in the data units and abolishing incentive traps (Sipilä 2015, 21; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Clarke's idea of abandonment shows in here through arranging benefits" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Sipilä 2015, 21; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

The data units related to activation in Sipilä LMP's appear methods increase inclusion, such as improving entrepreneurial skills and increasing work-related coaching (Sipilä 2015, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). These matters connect to people with compromised working ability (Sipilä 2015, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). This view reflects the value of making people" market-ready" (Sipilä 2015, 23; Clarke 2005, 453).

Clarke's idea of empowerment appears in some data units in Sipilä LMP's presenting views on encouraging participation (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). This matter relates to" forms of voice" (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). Enhancing the service providers' skillsets for further developed services also occurs in the content (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). Also, enhancing the service providers' methods and their benefits and customer-orientation arises in the discussion (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453). All this links to" reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice" (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453).

5.4.2. Marin LMP's Related to Well-being and Health

Clarke's ideas on empowerment and abandonment can be found from the data units in the area of well-being and health in Marin LMP's (Marin 2019, 170-172; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Clarke's idea on empowerment can be found from one data unit related to improvements done to the benefit application system, representing the view of " people as consumers of public services" and " reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice" (Marin 2019, 171; Clarke 2005, 453).

Multiple data units cover cases like making income coordination easier, especially unemployment benefits through changes to social security (Marin 2019, 170). Making unmonitored working hours included in the system is also talked about (Marin 2019, 170). Developing a " time-at-work requirement" is also present in the content (Marin 2019, 170). Furthermore, Marin LMP's discuss compensating losses in finances caused by unemployment and possibly improving pension security for those working through their own business (Marin 2019, 170).

All these matters above highlight abandonment through the thought of arranging the benefits" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Marin 2019,170-171; Clarke 2005, 452-453). One more data unit appears as abandonment through the possibility of " linking benefits to functional capacity instead of diagnoses", which represents the perspective of viewing people as " flexible" and " market-ready" (Marin 2019, 172; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

5.4.3. Comparison of LMP's Related to Well-being and Health

The two government programs differ in this area in how only Sipilä LMP's contain the code of activation (Sipilä 2015, 23; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Still, both LMP's contain both the codes of empowerment and abandonment (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Marin 2019,170-172; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

What comes to empowerment Marin LMP's view" people as consumers of public services" and values the importance of " reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice" (Marin 2019, 171; Clarke 2005, 453). Sipilä LMP's highlight the empowerment in the form of importance of " forms of voice" as well as of " reforming public services, seeking to empower citizens by expanding the reach of choice and voice" (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Clarke 2005, 453).

What comes to abandonment, both LMP's view it from a perspective of arranging benefits" to make them more closely associated with waged work" (Sipilä 2015, 21; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Besides that, Marin LMP's view of people as "flexible" and "market-ready" (Marin 2019, 172; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

5.5. Overall Comparison

On both government programs, the most emphasis is on activation and abandonment on the area related explicitly to LMP's (Sipilä 2015, 11, 13-18, 21-23; Marin 2019, 29, 143, 147-150, 170-172, 175-176; Clarke 2005, 452-453). On the other hand, activation is highlighted the most on education linked to LMP's (Sipilä 2015, 20; Marin 2019, 175-176; Clarke 2005, 452-453). On taxation issues, in the LMP's, the central perspective is on abandonment (Sipilä 2015, 11, 13; Marin 2019, 21-25, 28; Clarke 2005, 452-453). Lastly, the area of well-being and health in the LMP's reflect both empowerment and abandonment (Sipilä 2015, 21, 23; Marin 2019, 170-172; Clarke 2005, 452-453). From the four codes, abandonment is appearing the most in the generated data from the government programs, whereas the code of responsibility does not appear at all (Sipilä 2015, 11, 13-23; Marin 2019, 21-25, 28, 140, 142-143, 147-150, 170-172, 175-178; Clarke 2005, 452-453).

There is one significant yet surprising difference that stands out when we compare the government programs. Small changes show a new direction in the generated data from the programs. Ahlqvist and Moisio (2014, 21-55) depicted this difference in direction through their study and found it characteristic for the Finnish welfare state. The direction moves from the cartel polity towards the corporate polity, which will be discussed more in detail below, in chapter 6.1. (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 22-47).

This chapter of data analysis has introduced us more closely to the two government programs and the generated Sipilä and Marin LMP characteristics. We are familiar with the areas I chose for closer scrutiny to find answers to the two research questions. I have presented the essential characteristics of the Sipilä and Marin LMP's from areas of employment, education, taxation and wellbeing and health. After presenting both programs related to each area I have every time compared these LMP's with their specific elements. Lastly, I have presented an overall comparison of the LMP's. In the next chapter, we discuss the arguments that arise from the data analysis for further analysis.

6. THEORETICAL DATA ANALYSIS

6.1. Findings of Neoliberalization

Answering the first research question, both Sipilä and Marin LMP's have neoliberal values present in their governmentality. This result was surprising, not what I expected when the study's design phase was ongoing. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that the two programs are a mixture of different value systems, as not all of their content is reflecting neoliberalization. This has led to the data sample being generated from parts of the government programs, where the link to the LMP's drawing from neoliberal ideas can be depicted. The data analysis results show that the governmentality is slowly moving from cartel polity to corporate polity. While this kind of change may happen over time, it is significant to find how these two programs contain this difference as they are following each other in four years.

This study argues that Sipilä LMP's have cartel polity values (Sipilä 2015, 13). This argument I base on the presented Keynesian welfare national state values (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27). Thus, the state is responsible for solving unemployment with a top-down approach (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27). The Sipilä LMP's see the unemployment problem as structural instead of seeing it purely as an individual problem (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27).

From the actor perspective, the structural element of unemployment appears from the point of view of who is responsible for solving unemployment. Due to this understanding, it is fascinating how Sipilä LMP's, what comes to reforms or unemployment in general, mentions structural dimension several (3) times. A few examples from this in Sipilä LMP's are highlighted here: "The Government will implement structural reforms, which will promote employment, entrepreneurship and economic growth" (Sipilä 2015, 10). Another policy content continues with similar style: "Achievement of the objectives requires structural reforms, which the Government will primarily promote in dialogue with social partners" (Sipilä 2015, 14).

On the other hand, Marin LMP's follows more of the perspective of the corporate polity. In the corporate polity model, the responsibility appears at the local and individual level (Brenner 2004, 164, 168; Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 44; Jessop & Sum 2000 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 44). Interestingly, in Marin LMP's vocabulary highlighting the individual perspective is appearing several times. In Marin LMP's the perspective of unemployment as

an individual problem is visible. For several (over 10) times, expressions such as the term ‘individual’ in adjectival and noun form appear, together with ‘personal’ and ‘subjective’ words. Marin LMP’s present these values in various ways. “The necessary staffing resources will be set aside to guarantee a personal service and service package for unemployed people” (Marin 2019, 142).

“The third sector’s pay subsidy will be reformed. The aim is that strong individual support, review of work capacity and other services are linked to the third sector’s present pay subsidy so that the model will become new support for moving to the open labour market” (Marin 2019, 147).

“The system of rehabilitative work will be remodelled to incorporate social rehabilitation, allowing for the individual rehabilitation needs of people who are long-term unemployed or disadvantaged in the labour market with a view to strengthening their working life skills and ensuring their social participation” (Marin 2019, 143).

Interestingly, when comparing the language in this sense, similar individual language is not even one time used in Sipilä LMP’s where neoliberal values are present. Another way the difference between Sipilä and Marin LMP’s shows is how Marin LMP’s contain three times wordings linked to the local level, such as “different areas” and “regions.” This language presents corporate polity values, where local areas appear as responsible for solving unemployment. Interestingly, Sipilä LMP’s that present neoliberal values do not use this kind of language. An example of Marin LMP’s local level emphasis shows in the area of education:

“Over this government term, we will increase the number of available student places in tertiary education with a view to increasing the general level of education, reducing the backlog of applicants and addressing the lack of skilled workers across sectors and regions” (Marin 2019, 175).

“As part of this increase, we will ensure that the number of available student places at universities and universities of applied sciences meet the needs of society and that the number of places is based on employment foresight for each sector and region, while keeping in mind that higher education also creates new jobs” (Marin 2019, 176).

6.2. Power Relations

6.2.1. Notion of Power

Moving on to the second research question, we look at the power relations that appear within the neoliberalization process in the two studied government programs' content. While studying power relations, the focus of this study will be on the actor level. In this sense, I analyze the different actors presenting themselves through this study from the power relations angle.

For purposes of answering the second research question, I have defined the notion of power following Steven Lukes' (2005, 15) view of power as three-dimensional. When the one-dimensional view follows the pluralists' view of power, the two-dimensional view follows their critics' view of power (Lukes 2005, 15-16). Lastly, the three-dimensional view follows a deeper and more satisfying view of power, reflecting the political agenda with its perspective (Lukes 2005, 15-16).

Among the three dimensions, the one-dimensional view is practically looking at the decision-making where the two-dimensional view is looking at the non-decision making while the three-dimensional view focuses on policymaking on the institutional practices (Lukes 2005, 17, 22, 25-26). Lukes' (2005, 26-27) perspective's major takeaway is that if another is influencing someone, as the outcome's wants change towards the same direction as the ones who exercise power. An important question to ask is on Lukes' (2005, 30) opinion: "what makes A's affecting B significant?"

In this study, I find the two- and three-dimensional views of power from the generated data. The one-dimensional view does not appear due to behavioral decision-making not appearing within this document analysis (Lukes 2005, 17, 22, 25-26; Bachrach & Baratz 1970 quoted in Lukes 2005, 23). The analysis is focusing on the actor level. I recognize actors such as the state, market, local level, and individuals from the data analysis. I formulate the argument that answers the second research question using Lukes' (2005, 30) notion of power by answering a specific question. Lukes' (2005, 30) idea is that when "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests," revealing what kind of power relations are present.

6.2.2. Power Relations between the Actors

6.2.2.1. Power Relations in Sipilä LMP's

Sipilä LMP's present cartel polity values with the state's top-down approach (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27). I recognize these values in the state's decision making and non-decision making towards the local level (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27). The state is treating it as its extension with the political agenda to solve unemployment through structural changes (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 27).

Furthermore, the state decides which decisions and non-decisions of specific structural changes need pursuing, while the local level is not involved. However, the state's dimension aims to help the local level through decision-making, non-decision making, and institutional practices that affect the local level's power position. The state's content is the powerful actor and decision-maker over the local level, is related to the reform of "social and unemployment security" (Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 15-16). We see this reform reducing "structural unemployment" (Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 15-16).

On a practical level, Sipilä LMP's reform within the employment services activities is an initiative to affect the local level services interpretations (Sipilä 2015, 16). This reform is a practical top-down approach in policymaking (Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 16). The state practices harmonizing and unifying governmentality measures, exercising power over the local level interests (Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 16). From the state's perspective, there is a need to implement the LMP's in a similar way across different areas, not looking at the specific local level's needs or interests (Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 16).

The state's top-down approach shows how the state makes decisions and uses non-decision making in LMP's towards the individuals (Sipilä 2015, 15). They aim to solve the problem of unemployment through structural changes (Sipilä 2015, 15). Nevertheless, the state decides which structural changes need implementing. The individuals themselves are not involved. The power relations between the state and the individual, as one example, can be seen when the state is through reforming the "vocational upper secondary education" aiming to increase individuals: "Learning in the workplace" (Sipilä 2015, 19).

Some other examples that the content mentions, where the state exercises power over the individuals, are such as: "Measures will be sought that support earlier start of working life" and when "Accelerated graduation and faster transition to working life will be

encouraged" (Sipilä 2015, 19). Although the state's dimension aims to use power to help individuals, it happens within the state's framework as the best. One practical example of the non-decision making, which has to do with the state and its exercise of power towards the individual, is governing the youth LMP's.

On the other hand, Sipilä LMP's generate data is also describing the activation of job-seeking as the individual's role, which aims to be the result of reform in the employment service activities (Sipilä 2015, 16). I see a contradiction in Sipilä LMP's when the state exercises power over the individual (Sipilä 2015, 16; Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27-28). The state projects its agenda over the individuals, who in the process, become willing to be independent job seekers while they are affected by the sanctions that heighten through the reform (Sipilä 2015, 16; Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27-28).

In this sense, we can see the cartel polity values through the state's role (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27-28). Nevertheless, at the same time, this approach is getting closer to the corporate polity values where the individual is serving the needs of the market in their role as an activated jobseeker, ready to be employed more with the market's terms than what the original cartel polity values represent (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27-28, 31-33).

What comes to the three-dimensional view of Sipilä LMP's, the content which contains the values of cartel polity, represents its political agenda of economic nationalism: "The objective of the reform is to ease labour market matching problems...harmonise interpretations made at employment services..." (Sipilä 2015, 16). The state is seen in the center solving the unemployment problem, that will financially benefit the national economy and orchestrates it in a way that the local level acts as an extension of the state through the harmonized state designed services (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27; Lukes 2005, 30; Sipilä 2015, 16).

The state aims to rule over the market with the used decision and non-decision-making styles (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27, 28). Domestic competition's principle dominates these styles, appearing between the institutions, social classes, private companies, or different places (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27, 28). Practically we see this as the state creates specific regulations or leaves certain areas free from regulation (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27, 28). We see it also when the state decides to bridge inevitable conflicts or leaves some conflicts unsolved (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 27, 28). Within Sipilä LMP's there are contradictory traces

as well. Furthermore, we see this through the co-operation of the education and the business sphere where innovations serve the market (Sipilä 2015, 20).

The state exercises power over all the other actors in Sipilä LMP's, revealing cartel polity values. Besides, Sipilä LMP's contain the values of neoliberal ideas and lean towards Marin LMP's governmentality style. In a wide variety of data, the state does not exercise power over any other actor in Sipilä LMP's. In this sense, I argue that Sipilä LMP's have a somewhat strongly contradictory content. My concluding argument is that Sipilä LMP's are moving slowly from cartel polity towards corporate polity.

6.2.2.2. Power Relations in Marin LMP's

Marin's government program presents corporate polity values among the actors; the market exercises power over other actors (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 31-33). Marin LMP's reflect the competition state's neoliberal values (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 31-33). One example of this is how: "The aim is to change the course of labour market policy from passive to active, as in other Nordic countries, and to target services more efficiently than at present" (Marin 2019, 140). This decision-making appears in increased activation in LMPs and efficiency in the services link the content to neoliberal turn values (Clarke 2005, 453; Hetzler 2018, 226).

The market exercises power over the local level in Marin's program to commodify the promotion of such matters as constant learning and strengthening of skills, responding to the market's needs in different locations (Marin 2019, 150). The local level aims to be kept competitive enough by strengthening the individual's skill sets serving the local areas (Lukes 2005, 30; Marin 2019, 150).

When looking through the three-dimensional view in this actual policy presented above, the local level unwillingly holds a position reflecting city-regionalism as political agenda (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 31-33, 45). It holds the values of international competition where the local level has the responsibility to solve unemployment by generating the skill sets of the commodified individuals trained by the service structure (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014, 31-33, 45).

Marin's program initiates a renewal of the employment services to affect the individuals' immediate employment (Marin 2019, 140). This renewal reflects the scenario where the market's needs exercise power over the individuals (Lukes 2005, 30). Marin LMP's

present some other contents where the market exercises power over the individuals in the paragraph below. We see the market exercising its power for example as:

"Positive and active integration will be promoted by strengthening the language and vocational skills of immigrants, accelerating placement in employment, and fostering knowledge of society and social participation" (Marin 2019, 148).

One practical example of the non-decision making that has to do with Marin LMP's and its exercise of power towards the individual is governing the LMP's towards the youth. I cover this governing issue in subchapter 6.2.2.3.

As the examples mentioned above reveal, the one- and two-dimensional view, Marin LMP's base the decision making and non-decision making on the market's needs (Marin 2019, 140, 150). Thus, the market is the actor exercising power over both the local and the individual level (Lukes 2005, 30). Marin LMP's three-dimensional view with the corporate polity values represents one example of city-regionalism as a political agenda. In the following three paragraphs, we take a view on the contents which are reflecting this.

We can see the political agenda of city-regionalism through the content in policies such as: "The aim is to promote continuous learning, improve employees' employment protection, strengthen adults' missing basic skills and respond to the labour need of different areas and sectors" (Marin 2019, 150,175-176).

Another example of city-regionalism is the government's aim in education: "Over this government term, we will increase the number of available student places in tertiary education with a view to increasing the general level of education, reducing the backlog of applicants and addressing the lack of skilled workers across sectors and regions" (Marin 2019, 150,175-176).

Finally, we find a similar phenomenon of city-regionalism when: "As part of this increase, we will ensure that the number of available student places at universities and universities of applied sciences meet the needs of society and that the number of places is based on employment foresight for each sector and region, while keeping in mind that higher education also creates new jobs" (Marin 2019, 150,175-176).

The examples above showcase city-regionalism as I perceive it through social arrangements and institutional practices and as the result of collective forces (Marin 2019, 150,175-176; Lukes 2005, 25-26). Marin LMP's content reveals these three-dimensional view

indicators to promote continuous learning and strengthening of individuals' lacking skills and increase the number of tertiary students through more available places and matching the needs of the market with the study places in different kinds of universities.

Thus, this scenario serves the competitive abilities of the local level. The aim is that through this multifaceted promotion, both the local level and the individuals take part in the political agenda of the corporate polity; they are independent actors whose responsibility is to solve the problem of unemployment through the political agenda of city-regionalism (Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 45; Jessop & Sum 2000 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 45).

The concluding remark concerning the market is the argument that in Marin LMP's, the actor exercises power over all the other actors. This actor perspective has to do with the parts in generated data that depict the corporate polity values. The market aims to control the state through the decision making and non-decision making. Specific regulations are for the market's needs, demanded to be removed while other areas are still regulated as they used to be as the change is happening slowly. The dominating actor exercises power with the principle of competition and spatial restructuring.

In this study, I also argue that in Marin LMP's the indicated values of corporate polity represent the state as more of a background actor (Osborne & Gaebler 1993 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 32). The state is an actor providing and maintaining the "critical societal infrastructure and services" that comes to power relations, which one can see as vital for the local level (Osborne & Gaebler 1993 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 32). Ahlqvist and Moision (2014, 22) explain the state aiming "to protect markets against monopolies and harmful governmental interventions that do not support expanding and deepening of markets". In this sense, this study argues that in Marin LMP's the state does not exercise power over any other actors, the local level, the individual, or the market.

I argue that corporate polity values in Marin LMP's represent the state in relations to individuals as an actor providing and maintaining the societal structures and services for the individuals who "are increasingly perceived as having a customer-like relationship with the state (Osborne & Gaebler 1993 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 32). The state's role helps the competitiveness of the local level (Osborne & Gaebler 1993 quoted in Ahlqvist & Moision 2014, 22, 32).

6.2.2.3. Comparing the Power Relations in the LMP's

When we compare the two government programs, we find as their differences how the two main power exercising actors, the state and the market, change places in Sipilä and Marin LMP's. In Sipilä LMP's, the local level is seen as the extension of the state, whereas in Marin LMP's, we find the local level as an independent actor solving the international competition challenge in the globalized world locally.

On the one hand, in Sipilä LMP's, some content areas showcase cartel polity values at the local level as part of the national structure. In this scenario, I perceive that the national level faces structural unemployment that needs structural reforms. On the contrary, Marin LMP's corporate polity values present the local level as a separate area with unique challenges. The local level faces the individualized problem of unemployment and, as a solution training the individuals' skills to meet the market's needs.

In Sipilä LMP's we find the individual facing the problem of matching within the labor market's structures. On the other hand, Sipilä LMP's perceive the individual as the one who needs to be activated. This dual perspective is one of Sipilä LMP's contradictory features, representing both the corporate polity's neoliberal values and cartel polity.

The local level has a role in Sipilä LMP's as an extension of the state when in Marin LMP's, it is the actor solving the unemployment problem. In the content containing cartel polity values, Sipilä LMP's present the state's ruling over the local level, solving the structural unemployment problem. In Marin LMP's, the corporate polity values show how the local level acts through its unique needs and competitive assets as the solving actor of the problem.

To showcase one example of non-decision making similar in both Sipilä and Marin LMP's, we can look at the youth, one vulnerable group within LMP's framework. From 2012 to 2015, youth unemployment rose in Finland to the level that it was during the recession of 2008 (Tilastokeskus 2016).

In 2019, the youth's needs in policymaking rose to the surface, and a proposing statement appeared to the government (Eduskunta 2019). The simplifying and unifying of the shattered service system under one ministry's umbrella is nevertheless not yet seen as something to be chosen to be lifted to the center of policymaking, although it has been an issue for an extended time. Currently, the unemployed youth's services scatter under three different ministries, and none of them has an overseeing role.

Despite the need for policymaking and suggested reform in this specific area in Finland, the policymaking decisions focus on smaller scale policies in Sipilä LMP's. They appear in Sipilä LMP's as such: "Co-operation between the public, private and third sectors in efforts to support young people will be intensified" or "Pay subsidies for young people and the Samsi card will be developed in order to make work more attractive" (Sipilä 2015, 20). Moreover, in Marin LMP's the focus goes towards policies such as:

"All young people aged under 25 years of age and all graduates under 30 years of age will be guaranteed a job or work trial, traineeship, workshop, apprenticeship or rehabilitation placement no later than three months into the period of unemployment" (Marin 2019, 142).

"Access to employment-promoting and individual services will be enhanced for those in need of special support (including people with partial work capacity, immigrants, people with disabilities, young people and older members of the workforce)" (Marin 2019, 142).

The argument chapter has introduced us to Sipilä and Marin LMP's presenting themes and their specific characteristics. We have looked at the similarities and differences between the two LMP's. We have also found out what kind of answers to my two research questions these LMP's have brought. I have started with answering the first research question, of the findings of neoliberalization in the two government programs. After that we have had a long discussion on power relations between the different actors in the two LMP's.

I have started the discussion of power relations with defining the notion of power. This has introduced to us the three-dimensional view of power; the decision making, non-decision making and the political agenda elements of power. The discussion has continued with comparing power relations between different actors. After that I have characterized how power relations appear in Sipilä's and Marin's government programs. Lastly, we have compared the power relations between the different programs. In the next chapter, we end this study with discussion of the concluding thoughts. I focus on the significance of this study and reflect upon what this study has led us to understand.

7. CONCLUSIONS

When we look at why the governmentality in the Finnish LMP's is something worth evaluating from the value perspective, I ask whether the policies are part of the phenomenon of increasing marginalization. If we view unemployment following the perspective from Rose and Miller (1992 quoted in Bacchi 2009, 62) as a phenomenon that creates division and sees the unemployed either as undeserving and deserving, we come to the core value question background of this study.

As a normative study, I aim to look at this issue from an objective stance, keeping the research perspective and avoiding politicizing; I see a need to raise the topic of marginalization into a discussion at the end of this study. As the framing of unemployment in Sipilä and Marin LMP's are drawing increasingly from neoliberal ideas, the somewhat contradictory mixture of neoliberal values and welfare state ideology underline this need.

There is no denying that unemployed people are in a vulnerable position. As they are outside of the job market, they may need social assistance in one form or another. For the younger generation, this position sets them at even greater risk. Dahlstedt (2015, 65-72) studied the link between certain aspects of LMP's and exclusion in a Swedish context. He has highlighted the Swedish government's worry of the young people who grow up in residential district environments where the alarming marginalizing aspects appear.

Dahlstedt's (2015, 72-73) study highlights the importance of seeing the full spectrum of the effect of governmentality's underlying values in LMP's. He describes exclusion that has been financed by the welfare benefits and the culture that it took part in creating. Within the slow changes towards neoliberalization in the Finnish LMP's, it is necessary to look at the whole bigger picture's aspect.

While making changes to the LMP's, there is a need to consider the citizens' abandonment. This perspective helps to avoid unnecessarily increasing exclusion in society. If the Finnish state abandons specific vital responsibilities, the whole environment where the younger generation is growing may be at risk of increasing marginalization.

Interestingly, while this study is ongoing, the Finnish youths' exclusion is on the national news (Yle 2020). This current theme includes arguments from Marin's government and the opposition (Yle 2020). One perspective of the discussion is the Swedish experiences

and what Finland can learn from them. This national discussion is one good concluding example of why the full spectrum of Finnish LMP's drawing from neoliberal ideas is a relevant policy aspect to consider for further studies. The question is about how to steer the Finnish LMP's towards a healthy balance.

Based on this study's findings, the indications are that the Finnish LMP's are increasing the withdrawal of the welfare state's responsibilities. The area of concern is how the young generations are affected by these slowly increasing changes. The aim is to balance between a sustainable social expenditure of the welfare state and, at the same time, to still build on a value system that helps to avoid further marginalization in the future. The similarities and differences between the LMPs in the Nordic welfare states, including their differing results in this area, can be the unique sounding board for finding helpful perspectives on solving these policy challenges that are ahead.

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