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WHO SUPPORTS PRIVATELY PROVIDED PUBLIC SERVICES? – AN ANALYSIS OF FINNISH CITIZENS' ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLIC SERVICE MARKETIZATION

Abstract: This study examines Finnish citizens' attitudes toward public service marketization. Traditionally the public sector has dominated the market of public services, such as education, healthcare and social care. Since the mid-1990s, the market of public services has been diversified thus allowing the third and private sector more avenues to provide services. However Finnish citizens have held a reserved attitude toward privately provided services. Support for public service marketization has decreased at the same time that the role of the private sector has increased. In this regard this study explores which factors (demographic, practical, or ideological) predict positive attitudes towards public service marketization, based on a survey of 1,135 respondents. The main results of the study indicate that ideological factors predict the respondents' positive attitude towards marketization. Ideological factors especially choice (OR = 2.052***) and inequality (OR = 1.555***) had key roles in supporting marketization. Demographic factors had the most significant influence: the older the respondents, the more they have reservations about marketization. Practical justifications (such as high taxes) were not associated with positive attitudes towards marketization. Supporting marketization is an ideological issue which is not necessarily justified by demographic and practical factors, although the practical justifications are the most commonly presented in the media when quoting politicians and top officials.

Keywords: social policy, healthcare markets, educational policy.

JEL codes: I11, I10, I30.

Introduction

Diversifying the market structure of public services has been on the agenda of the Nordic welfare states since the 1990s. Modelling the public sector along the lines of the private sector and opening the market to private service providers are regarded as the key to the development of economic competitiveness and dynamics. Welfare states have sought to create a mixed economy of welfare [Powell 2007]. This process is considered a major transformation of the welfare state from its universalist and statist, mid-20th century form to a more market-oriented model of the new millennium [Le Grand 2003].

The Finnish welfare state is a typical example of the Nordic welfare model [Esping-Andersen 1990], which rests on the principle of universal public services [Anttonen and Sipilä 2012]. However since the 1990s the market of public services has been diversified, allowing the third and private sectors more leeway to provide services. The public sector has outsourced public services to the third and private sectors. This structure is called a quasi-market because it simulates open markets but is nevertheless firmly directed by the public administration. The public administration can arrange public services by outsourcing them to third-party and private sector providers. The public administration covers all costs of services, even if they are produced by third or private sectors providers.

The idea of a Nordic welfare model is broadly shared amongst the Finnish people and has enjoyed popularity despite the recent major economic challenges and the ongoing retrenchment debate. According to A. Muuri [2010] the Finnish welfare model has been clearly supported by adult citizens [cf. Kallio 2010]. On the other hand, T. Rantanen, T. McLaughlin, and T. Toikko [2015] point out that young people also support the Nordic welfare model. Kallio [2010] even argues that support for public service marketization has decreased at the same time as the private sector has obtained more latitude to provide services.

This study is motivated by the question: Who supports privately provided public services? The main trend has led to increasing marketization in public services but at the same time the Finns seem to have reservations about this development. The study explores which factors predict positive attitudes towards marketization.

1. Public service marketization

The Nordic welfare state model (existing in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) is founded on the strong and key role of the state as the insurer of welfare. The public sector has enabled the provision of wide-ranging and universal, tax-funded public services. It has assumed the main responsibility for both the arrangement and provision of services. In this sense universalism and equality have been the principal aims in constructing the Nordic welfare model [Vabo and Brau, 2011].

The public services' market situation can be conceptualized by means of the public, third and private sectors. Public services' market diversity can be created through competitive tendering and bidding processes for service provision and supply contracts [cf. Le Grand 2007; Gustafsson and Szebeheli 2009; Einhorn and Logue 2010; Peck and Cabras 2010]. On the other hand, the public sector has a dual role in the market; it purchases services but also provides them alongside the third and private sectors. A market structure that is dominated by the public sector can be called a monopsony which lets businesses break into the market whilst the public sector remains the sole purchaser of services [Dana and Fong, 2011].

As stated such a quasi-market [e.g., Le Grand 1991; Le Grand and Bartlett 1993] resembles an open market but is nevertheless firmly directed by the public administration and has been used in attempts to solve the problems of the ineffectiveness associated with it. The public sector is perceived as the responsible actor for arranging services but does not necessarily need to provide them itself. Separating the responsibility for arranging services and providing them enables tendering and outsourcing services. Quasi-markets aim to cultivate effectiveness, innovativeness and freedom of choice.

Public service marketization can be rationalized by practical economic factors. The public sector does not want to invest in its own service provision if its share of the whole entity has increased too much. In this case politicians have tried to give more areas to the private sector, which it fills quite effectively [Gawel and Toikko 2014]. Furthermore it is argued that the public sector is ineffective in its service provision. From this perspective it is hoped that the diversified market structure could bring positive dynamics to the markets. Marketization is also justified by appealing to citizens' decision-making whereby they should be able to decide on public services. Customer choice is considered to be one of the most dynamic instruments in creating competition amongst service providers. On the other hand, based on Swedish experience, L. Hartman [2011] argues that

the expected effects of marketization have not been proven through research.

The Nordic welfare states are based on an ideological principle which underlines equality amongst citizens. Therefore the Nordic welfare states emphasize income redistribution and universal public services. However economic realities have challenged the political principle. The transition to the diversified market structure is justified from a practical perspective by highlighting economic realities. On the other hand a political turning point is supposed to have occurred in the 1990s when a neo-liberal economic trend entered political debate in the Nordic countries. This case is perceived as a turning point of the political sentiment which focuses on selectivism instead of universalism and also tolerates income inequality much more than during the era of pure, Nordic welfare states. However the change has not been drastic; instead it can be regarded as a smooth shift toward a more flexible interpretation of the Nordic welfare model.

2. The Finnish welfare state as a research context

2.1. Public service development towards marketization

During the 1990s Finnish society took a new course towards a competitive economy with its public services [cf. Kangas 1994; Saari 2001; Timonen 2003; Jutila 2011]. At least three factors were behind the change. First, Finland was struggling with an economic recession which forced the public sector to re-evaluate its function from an economic perspective. Second, the costs of public services were forecast to increase in the future, even without further expansion of the services. Third, the public sector already employed over a quarter of the total labour force. This development was perceived as a threat to Finland's competitive position.

The reform was driven by the new legislation that aimed to support the diversity of the public service market. The Municipalities Act [365/1995] highlighted that municipalities could also purchase services from other providers. The goal was to restrain the growth of the service provision of the public sector itself and encourage municipalities to purchase services from third-party and private sectors. For instance, this trend was directed through the Public Procurement Act [1994] and consequently through numerous corresponding legislative measures. Diversifying the market structure strove to emphasize the status of the third-party and private sectors alongside the public sector.

The majority (about 75%) of the public sector budget at the local level consists of the costs of education, healthcare and social care. In 1990 the public sector provided 90.3% of all education, 84.3% of healthcare and 86.5% of social care services (Figure 1). The rest of the education, healthcare and social care services were provided by third-party (6.1% of education, 5.0% of healthcare, and 10.8% of social care services) and private sectors (3.6% of education, 10.6% of healthcare, and 2.7% of social care services).

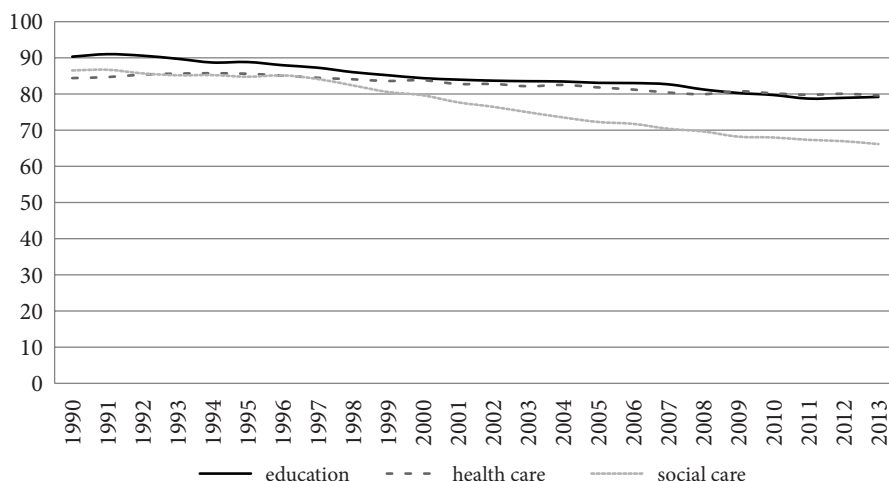


Figure 1. Percentage share of the public sector's provision of education, health-care and social care services, 1990–2013 (based on prices in 2010)

Source: My own calculations, based on the Official Statistics of Finland [OSF]: Annual national accounts [e-publication]. ISSN = 1798-0623. Helsinki: Statistics Finland http://tilastokeskus.fi/til/vtp/meta_en.html [access: February 22.02.2015]

The new legislation started a developing trend with a decreasing role of the public sector. However the focal point of the public sector reform was set on social care services whose market structure had been changing the most. In social care services the public sector share decreased from 86.5% in 1990 to 66.1% in 2013. The market structures of education and health-care had been much more stable, although the public sector share declined to 79.2% in education and 79.6% in healthcare over the same period.

The turning point of social care service provision can be clearly observed in Figure 2 [Toikko 2013]. Until 1992, on average, the growth of the private sector's total service provision had been lower than those of the public and third-party sectors but had overtaken them since 1993. The annual growth of the private sector service had been 13.35% on average

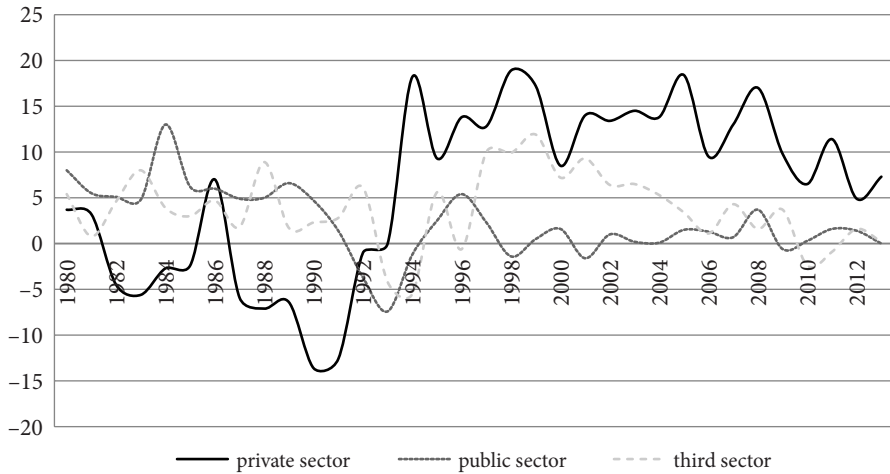


Figure 2. Provision of social care services, 1980–2013, changes in volume indices, %

Source: Our own calculation, based on [OSF 2015]

whereas the third-party sector had increased by 3.60% and the growth of the public sector had only been 0.95% [Toikko 2013].

In practice the diversification of the market structure means that the public sector has started to consider the private sector as a cooperative partner. In this regard the public sector has limited its own service provision, assigning the growth to the private sector. Until the mid-1990s the private sector had been in a secondary position but since then legislative measures have given much more latitude to private service providers. Furthermore social service enterprises have grown significantly faster than other industries on average. According to A. Gawel and T. Toikko [2014], the net growth rate of the new enterprises in the total economy was between 1.13 and 5.74% in 1995–2007, whilst in social care services it was between 6.12 and 19.95%. The development had been much weaker in education and healthcare.

Since the 1990s the development in education has focused on creating parental choice and a more selective educational system instead of diversifying the market structure. This gradual introduction has been a major deviation from the traditional idea of the comprehensive school system in Finland. Parental choice, a symbol of the new policy, is particularly exercised by highly educated families who subjectively rank themselves high in social class and whose children perform well in school [Silvennoinen, Kalalahti and Varjo 2015].

2.2. Citizens' attitudes toward marketization

The governmental decision to diversify the market structure of public services is a political issue. However the system of public service delivery needs to be accepted by the citizens. Thus attitudes towards the welfare model and state responsibility have been a topic of research studies for many years [Svallfors 1997, 2003; Gelissen 2002; Larsen 2008; Pfeifer 2009; Ervasti 2012].

The idea of a Nordic welfare model is broadly shared amongst the Finnish people and the model has enjoyed popularity despite the recent economic challenges and the ongoing retrenchment debate. According to A. Muuri [2010] the Finnish welfare model has been clearly supported by adult citizens. The majority of Finnish citizens emphasize the public sector's responsibility for social services and healthcare. T. Rantanen, T. McLaughlin, and T. Toikko [2015] argue that the main principles of the welfare state are accepted by Finnish youth. Their findings confirm young people's high regard for the importance of the government's role as a social support and a mechanism of social welfare for all citizens.

J. Kallio [2010] examined Finnish attitudes towards public service marketization during the period 1996–2004 and found a clear decrease in their support for it [cf. Forma 2006]. The body of critical opinion has continued to grow at the same time as people continue to favour public service provision and are critical of the current trends toward marketization. Citizens have opposed the new, gradually progressing educational policy and its selective practices in the public ranking lists [Silvennoinen, Kalalahti and Varjo 2015].

Despite citizens' seeming reservations the governments at national and local levels have implemented marketization measures. Municipal managers also support the new trend of market diversification more than the citizens [Kallio 2010]. Some senior officials [Alasuutari and Rasimus 2009] and powerful professionals (such as physicians) have a dual approach that underlines the importance of the traditional welfare state whilst strongly favouring the new trends of marketization [Saarinen 2007a, 2007b]. Politicians, municipal managers, senior officials and influential professionals mostly justify the trend of marketization by practical economic factors.

3. Research question, data and method

This study examines citizens' attitudes toward public service marketization, which in the Finnish context means that municipalities outsource public

service delivery to third-party and private sectors. According to previous studies citizens have reservations about the marketization of public services [Kallio 2010]. From this perspective it is reasonable to ask which factors predict citizens' positive attitudes towards public service marketization.

Previous studies reveal various influencing factors in this regard. First, demographic factors play an important role in the formation of public attitudes [Pfeifer 2009; Davids and Gouws 2013]. For instance men's attitudes are more positive towards the private sector than those of women. Demographic factors are also called interest-based factors because older people are interested in preserving the existing level and quality of public services to secure their own well-being as they are, or will be, in retirement. Similarly citizens with a lower social status (education, income, and occupation) supposedly do not support privatized services as much as citizens with a higher social status [Svallfors 2003].

Second, previous studies note that the marketization policy is based on practical and rational justification [Saari 2001]. For instance the diversified market structure is regarded as a necessary measure for reducing the costs of public services and delivering them more efficiently. From this perspective marketization is a practical solution to the challenges of Finland's competitive position [cf. Blomberg and Kroll 1999a, pp. 327–329]. This justification is typically used in political arguments [Nygård 2006], as well as among powerful professional groups, such as physicians [Saarinen 2007a, 2007b], and senior ministry officials [Alasuutari and Rasimus 2009].

Third, attitudes toward marketization are related to ideological factors. Clearly the political right-wing emphasizes positive arguments for marketization more than the left-wing [Jæger 2006]. The former also tolerates income inequality amongst citizens more than the case in a typical Nordic welfare state. Thus the right-wing ideology challenges the existing universal social policy to favour selective, social policy systems [cf. Kuivalainen and Niemelä 2010]. Just focusing on marketization the ideological justification highlights citizens' right to make choices for the services they need [Le Grand 1991, 2011].

The analysis of this study is based on the following hypotheses:

- H1: Demographic factors influence positive attitudes towards marketization.
- H2: Practical factors are associated with positive attitudes towards marketization.
- H3: Ideological factors explain positive attitudes towards marketization.

The data come from a barometer survey commissioned by the Finnish Foundation for Municipal Development and conducted by Gallup Finland in 2009. The sampling included Finns over 14 years of age whose selection was based on the stratified, three-stage sampling method. A total of 1,135 respondents participated in the survey.

This variable was used to measure the respondents' support for public service marketization: "Do you accept the following measure: the municipality's services will be outsourced or privatized much more in the future?" The variable belonged to a set of statements about what measures citizens would accept to obtain public services in the future. The response categories of the variables were "agree" or "disagree".

The potential predictive factors were divided into three groups: 1) demographic factors, 2) practical factors (justifying marketization on a practical and rational basis), and 3) ideological factors (justifying marketization on an ideological basis).

The analysis was carried out as follows. First, a descriptive analysis of the attitudes toward marketization was presented. Second, the independent variables were chosen from a group of potential variables that correlated significantly ($p < .010$) with the dependent variable. Spearman's coefficient was used to measure correlations. Third, a binary logistic regression analysis was conducted in three phases. The reference category of the dependent variable comprised those who favoured marketization. The analysis included the odds ratios, statistical significances and standard errors of the independent variables. In cases of sum variables reliability was calculated with Cronbach's alpha ($>.60$).

4. Results

Generally Finns support public services provided by the public sector. In this study 46.6% of the respondents ($n = 1135$) were even willing to pay higher taxes to ensure public services but only 18.7% accepted outsourcing or privatizing public services. This study sought those factors that would predict a preference for marketization. The statement on outsourcing and privatization was set as the dependent variable, "support for marketization".

Based on previous studies it was assumed that marketization could be justified from three perspectives: demographic, practical and ideological factors. In the first phase correlations between the dependent variable and the potential predictive factors were examined (Table 1). The demographic

factors (age, education, income and occupation) correlated significantly ($p < .010$) with the “support for marketization” variable. For practical factors, the “reducing costs” and “cutting services” variables correlated positively and “raising taxes” negatively ($p < .010$) with the dependent variable. For ideological factors “political orientation” and “choice” correlated positively, but “equality” correlated negatively with “support for marketization” ($p < .010$).

Table 1. Correlation matrix: selection of potentially relevant variables

Types of justification	Variables	“Support for marketization” variable
Demographic factors	Age	-.111**
	Level of education	.192**
	Level of income	.112**
	Occupation	.150**
Practical factors	Concern about availability of services	.044
	Reducing costs	.080**
	Cutting services	.129**
	Quality of services	-.002
	Public expenditures are too high	-.004
	Raising taxes	-.072**
Ideological factors	Political party	.198**
	Services should be directed to those really in need	-.047
	Choice	.177**
	Equality	-.072**

(Spearman's rho, ** = $p < .010$).

Interestingly “services should be directed to those really in need” did not correlate with the “support for marketization” variable although it could be considered an alternative social, political and ideological orientation to universalism on which the Finnish system of public services is based.

In the next phase, the factors that correlated with the dependent variable were selected for a binary, logistic regression analysis, which was conducted to assess which factors would predict citizens' support for marketization. Negatively correlated factors were recoded (raising taxes = reducing taxes, equality = inequality) except age. The analysis was done in three steps (Table 2).

In the first step, the demographic factors (age, education, income and occupation) were added to the model, which was statistically significant ($p < .001$) and explained 11.4% of the variance [Nagelkerke R square). The results showed that the educational level was associated with the dependent variable. However the middle educational level had a higher odds ratio ($OR = 2.721$) than the other educational levels. Amongst the occupational levels only the highest (managers and entrepreneurs) was associated with the dependent variable ($OR = 2.314$). The income level could not be significantly associated with the dependent variable. Furthermore age was negatively associated with favouring marketization. The older the respondents were the more negative attitudes they had towards marketization (> 55 years of age, $OR = 0.376$).

Table 2. Three steps of binary, linear regression analysis

Factors that predict attitudes towards marketization	Exp(B)		
	step 1	step 2	step 3
Age: 35 years or below	1**	1**	1*
Age: 36–55 years	0.663	0.726	0.944
Age: over 55 years	0.376**	0.392**	0.524*
Education: basic	1*	1	1
Education: secondary	2.134*	2.206*	2.294*
Education: bachelor's	2.721**	2.642**	2.603*
Education: master's	2.688*	2.428	2.333
Income: I lowest	1	1	1
Income: II	1.600	1.578	1.498
Income: III	1.456	1.308	1.265
Income: IV	1.213	1.172	1.408
Income: V highest	2.054	1.674	1.481
Occupation: I lowest	1	1	1
Occupation: II	0.903	0.902	0.962
Occupation: III	1.316	1.336	1.313
Occupation: IV highest	2.314*	2.410*	1.700*
Saving costs: I least		1*	1
Saving costs: II		1.955**	1.624
Saving costs: III most		1.193	0.864
Cutting services: I least		1	1
Cutting services: II		1.475	1.469

Table 2 – cont.

Factors that predict attitudes towards marketization	Exp(B)		
	step 1	step 2	step 3
Cutting services: III most		2.031*	1.704
Reducing taxes		1.324	1.302
Party: left-wing			1
Party: centre			0.874
Party: right-wing			0.931
Inequality			1.555***
Choice			2.052***

$p < .050 = *$, $p < .010 = **$, $p < .001 = ***$.

In the second step the factors of practical justification (saving costs, cutting services, and reducing taxes) were added to the model. This step was statistically significant ($p < .001$) and its explained variance was 15.9% (Nagelkerke *R*-squared). Compared with the first step education in general and the highest occupational level maintained a positive association with the dependent variable. Similarly the oldest age category kept its negative association with favouring marketization. For the factors of practical justification, the middle category of the “saving costs” variable was positively associated with marketization ($OR = 1.995$), as well as the highest category of the “cutting services” variable whose odds ratio was 2.031. Surprisingly “reducing taxes” had no effect on attitudes toward marketization.

In step three (Tables 2 and 3) the factors of ideological justification (political orientation, choice and inequality) were added to the model which was statistically significant ($p < .001$), explaining 27.1% of the variance (Nagelkerke *R*-squared). The Hosmer and Lemeshow test’s *p*-value significance was .065 (chi-square 14.721, *df* 8).

Table 3. Final step of binary, logistic regression analysis

Factors that predict attitudes towards marketization	B	SE	Exp(B)	95% CI for EXP(B)	
				Lower	Upper
Age: 35 years or below			1*		
Age: 36–55 years	–.057	.321	0.944	0.503	1.770
Age: over 55 years	–.646	.312	0.524*	0.284	0.967
Education: basic			1		

Table 3 – cont.

Factors that predict attitudes towards marketization	B	SE	Exp(B)	95% CI for EXP(B)	
				Lower	Upper
Education: secondary	.830	.369	2.294*	1.113	4.726
Education: bachelor's	.957	.386	2.603*	1.221	5.549
Education: master's	.847	.530	2.333	0.826	6.592
Income: I lowest			1		
Income: II	.404	.423	1.498	0.654	3.431
Income: III	.235	.415	1.265	0.561	2.852
Income: IV	.342	.435	1.408	0.600	3.303
Income: V highest	.393	.468	1.481	0.592	3.704
Occupation: I lowest			1		
Occupation: II	-.038	.327	0.962	0.507	1.828
Occupation: III	.272	.325	1.313	0.695	2.482
Occupation: IV highest	.531	.439	1.700*	0.718	4.023
Saving costs: I least			1		
Saving costs: II	.485	.254	1.624	0.987	2.676
Saving costs: III most	-.146	.362	0.864	0.425	1.755
Cutting services: I least			1		
Cutting services: II	.384	.282	1.469	0.845	2.554
Cutting services: III most	.533	.338	1.704	0.879	3.303
Reducing taxes	.284	.170	1.302	0.933	1.817
Party: left-wing			1		
Party: centre	-.134	.281	0.874	0.504	1.516
Party: right-wing	-.072	.290	0.931	0.527	1.644
Inequality	.441	.136	1.555***	1.192	2.028
Choice	.719	.143	2.052***	1.551	2.716
Constant	-5.968	.883	.003**		

$p < .050 = *$, $p < .010 = **$, $p < .001 = ***$.

After three steps the binary, logistic regression analysis showed a statistically significant association between five factors and the dependent variable. The most statistically significant ($p < .001$) factors were based on ideological justification: choice ($OR = 2.052***$) and inequality ($OR = 1.555***$). Compared with the previous steps the other factors lost a portion of their significance: the over 55 years age category ($OR = 0.524*$), secondary educa-

tion ($OR = 2.294^*$), bachelor level education ($OR = 2.603^*$), and highest occupational level ($OR = 1.700^*$). The factors of practical justification lost their statistical significance (saving costs and cutting services).

Conclusions

Previous studies indicate that Finnish citizens have reservations about the marketization of public services [Kallio 2010] and its selective practices [Silvennoinen, Kalalahti and Varjo 2015]. However this study aimed to answer the question of which kinds of factors would predict citizens' positive attitudes toward marketization. Based on previous studies it was assumed that marketization could be justified by practical factors such as reducing costs of services [Alasuutari and Rasimus 2009; Blomberg and Kroll 1999a, pp. 327–329] and ideological factors such as political right-wing ideology [Kuivalainen and Niemelä 2010]. Furthermore demographic factors have been found to influence marketization. For instance men's attitudes are more positive towards the private sector than those of women [Pfeifer 2009].

This study's results show that citizens' positive attitudes towards marketization can mostly be explained by ideological factors, thus supporting hypothesis 3. Citizens' power to make choices is the core instrument in quasi-markets [Le Grand 2011; Powell 2007]; thus it is the factor significantly associated with marketization. If the market situation of public services is diversified it allows citizens to make choices and vice versa. In this sense these two components belong together, as indicated by this study's findings. Citizens' tolerance of "income inequality" is another significant ideological factor associated with favouring marketization although the majority of citizens supported income equality and universal public services [cf. Anttonen and Sipilä 2012]. The Nordic countries have been ranked the most equal by the GINI index.

Amongst the ideological factors the respondents' political orientation is not associated with marketization although political parties are often seen to be playing a key role in marketization debates [cf. Jutila 2011; Kuivalainen and Niemelä 2010; Calzada et al. 2014]. In this sense the ideological justification for marketization seems beyond political party affiliation. From this perspective it is understandable that the practically justified factors are also not associated with the preference for marketization. Marketization is an ideological issue that is not necessarily justified by practical factors al-

though the practical justifications constitute the most common angle presented by the media when quoting politicians and top officials (Hypothesis H2 is not supported).

Demographic factors have been associated with marketization but their influence is lower than expected [cf. Gingrich and Ansell 2012]. Generally the results are consistent with those of previous studies. The older the respondents the more they oppose marketization. From the perspective of their interest marketization poses a threat to their future well-being. The number of senior citizens has been increasing in the Nordic welfare state and they have planned their future according to its principles. Education is also associated with the opinion about marketization but the results do not follow the idea of the theory of interest because the highest odds ratio is at the middle level of educational attainment. Moreover the levels of income and occupation are not related to marketization. Only the highest occupational level (managers and entrepreneurs) has a significant odds ratio with respect to marketization. Thus Hypothesis H1 is only partially supported.

In Finland politicians, senior officials and powerful professionals have dominated the discussion on the future of public services [Alasuutari and Rasimus 2009]. Their argumentation has been based on practical factors. However it is interesting that the practical justification of marketization was not significant amongst the respondents who really supported marketization. In this sense, practical justification might be just an instrument to modify the existing welfare state in order to be more flexible and diversified in its service production. However if the more flexible interpretation of the Nordic welfare model gets more support it might mean a decreasing role for the public sector also in education and health care services. In social care services the public sector share is 66.1% (in 2013) but in education and healthcare the share of public services is still almost 80%. However the basis of the Nordic welfare state seems to be robust.

There were some limitations regarding this study's results. First, attitudes toward marketization were operationalized only to one variable. Second, the predictive variables focused narrowly on three themes although attitudes towards marketization could also be considered a broad phenomenon. Many other factors influence such attitudes. Therefore further research is required to demonstrate the relationships between the predictive factors and marketization. Third, the data were gathered in 2009, raising some concerns on the reliability of the results although the trend of the attitudes toward marketization has been developing evenly and being constantly quite critical against marketization [Kallio 2010]. However global

recession might have influenced citizens' attitudes towards marketization since 2008 but its impact is unknown at the moment and thus it is difficult to assess in which direction development has taken place.

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