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Introduction

This workpackage's report focuses on the study of the organizational networks and activities of unemployed associations as well as of civil society organizations dealing with unemployment and youth. Civil society organizations are at the core of our research because the social and political inclusion of young unemployed and precarious workers depends, among other factors, on the capacity of civil society actors to involve in their activities people at risk of exclusion. In fact, through participation in such organizations, people may develop what has been called "social capital": the *capital* residing in human relationships, in civil society associations where people start generating "*the habits of cooperation, solidarity, and public spiritedness*" (Putnam 1993:89-90). Therefore, civil society organizations offer opportunities that:

[...] increase social connections and *counteract* feelings of *social isolation*, stimulate the development of democratic competencies and inculcate civic and moral virtues in members. In short, and in common parlance, participation in groups produces social capital (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007:6, emphasis added).

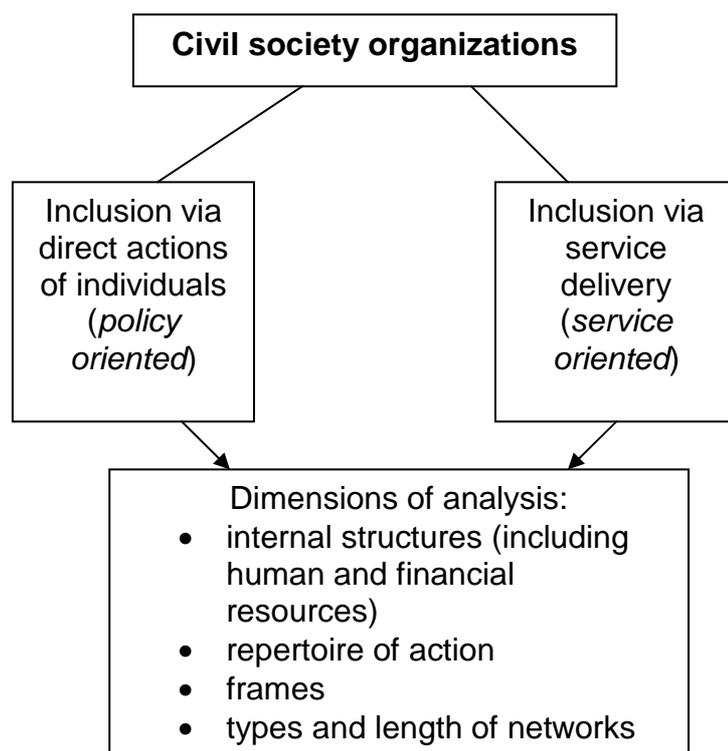
Furthermore, international governmental organizations have also emphasized the importance of including social capital when speaking and thinking about social cohesion or social exclusion. The World Bank, for instance, argues that a cohesive society is characterized by a dense web of social interactions (Beauvais and Jenson 2002). Networks of civil society organizations generate social cohesion embedding citizens in their communities and empowering them via political or social participation. Hence, studying civil society infrastructure allows a more in depth understanding of how inclusive or exclusive a context is with regard to specific subjects, as in our case young unemployed and young precarious workers.

There is, however, an additional reason explaining why we focused on civil society organizations in a study about patterns of inclusion/exclusion of young unemployed and young precarious workers. In all countries members of this consortium, civil society organizations play a key role in the delivery of social services focused on our targeted groups. Moreover, in some countries, like Switzerland, where federalism and direct democratic processes empower societal actors, civil society organizations play also a relevant role in policy making on unemployment or, more in general, on social policies. In other countries, like Italy, although civil society organizations rarely participate in decision making, in the last decades there has been an increase in public funding of civil society organizations working on social or welfare related topics. Consequently, there has been a shift of responsibility from public actors to private non-profit (societal) organizations in the delivery of social services (Ranci 1999; Ranci and Montagnini 2009). Thus, if we aim at understanding the mechanisms leading to social inclusion/exclusion of young people in our countries we cannot avoid considering civil society organizations.

To sum up, we can imagine two ways through which civil society organizations can help including people in our cities (see figure 1). On the one hand, there are organizations that are "inclusive" by fostering citizens' participation; these organizations provide a range of opportunities for an immediate local engagement of a young person living in the cities we focus our research. They organize political campaigns, rallies, protest events and other actions requiring an active involvement of their constituencies, members or militants. Moreover, such organizations' activity targets the different phases of the policy process. Following existing research on civil society (Lelieveldt et al. 2007) we can call these organizations "*policy oriented*".

On the other hand, there are organizations that are "inclusive" by virtue of the services they provide. Such services are focused on increasing young people's skills in order to improve their employability. They activate people via training activities, education, internships and so on. We can call this second type of organizations "*service oriented*".

Figure 1: patterns of inclusion of civil society organizations



Both types of organizations can play an important role towards the inclusion of people at risk of marginalization. However, they are not identical organizations. They may differ in their structures (some may facilitate people participation in their decision making processes, others may, on the contrary, concentrate decisions in a few hands; some may prefer vertical relationships as traditional big umbrella organizations do, whereas others may prefer horizontal (less hierarchical) forms of relations with other organizations); in their range of actions (some may focus on direct mobilization of constituencies whereas others will prefer lobbying political institutions)¹; in their types of networks (some may produce “bonding” social capital, some other could generate “bridging” social capital²) and length of networks (some may focus on local network, some others may expand the length of their ties with national or supranational organizations); and in the way they frame the issues of youth unemployment and precariousness (some may just accept the given situation and try to reform it whereas some other may challenge the current organization of labour). The analysis of such potential differences are at the core of this report that aims at illustrating the multiple forms civil society organizations deploy to address people at risk of social exclusion in the cities under study.

Mapping organizations

Following the methodology used by previous research on local organizations (Kriesi and Baglioni 2003; Baglioni 2004; Baglioni et al. 2007; Font et al. 2007), a two-step approach was adopted in the general design of the study of local organizations. First, we made an inventory of all associations active in the field of unemployment, youth unemployment and related welfare sectors. Second, we carried out face-to-face interviews based on a common

¹ However, as previous research has shown, we can also find significant overlappings in different types of activities

² According to Putnam, contrary to bonding social capital, bridging social capital is considered beneficial for individuals, communities, societies and governments. This distinction stresses that social capital could not always have beneficial effects for society as a whole while being always an asset for individuals and groups involved.

questionnaire with those associations that accepted to be interviewed (some resulted having ceased their activities although they were included in the original mapping, few others refused the interview).

To be included in our sample organizations needed: (1) not to be part of a public agency and not being a branch of the local government (although we included organizations receiving grants and other types of support from public governing bodies provided that their official (legal) status was the one of a civil society actor); (2) not to be profit-oriented or having business as their core activity³; (3) being visible, that is, having a name and being active and recognized by different sources as active during the period of the research. We have included both formal and informal organizations because the range of organizations active in our field is highly diversified. Beside formalized and institutionalized organizations such as trade unions or religious organizations, there are also rather small and unorganized groups that play or could play a significant role. In fact, a part of the literature on civil society organizations stresses that informal organizations are more adequate settings for people to do things jointly than formal ones (Bang and Soerensen 2001; Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). Hence restricting our research to fully formalized groups would have resulted in losing important social actors. As a consequence, the absence of a formal statute, of a formal headquarters, of formalized procedures for decision making were not considered as excluding criteria. This decision was inspired also by the path-opening research of Salamon et al. (2003: 7-8) focused on organizations that:

“have some structure and regularity to their operations, whether or not they are formally constituted or legally registered. This means that our definition embraces informal, i.e., nonregistered, groups as well as formally registered ones. What is important is not whether the group is legally or formally recognized but that it has some organizational permanence and regularity as reflected in regular meetings, a membership, and some structure of procedures for making decisions that participants recognize as legitimate” (2003: 7-8).

In sum, we included organizations existing *de facto* even if not formally recognized or legally registered, i.e. organizations and groups organizing or taking part in meetings, rallies, marches, etc. or those publishing and disseminating leaflets and similar documents offline and online.

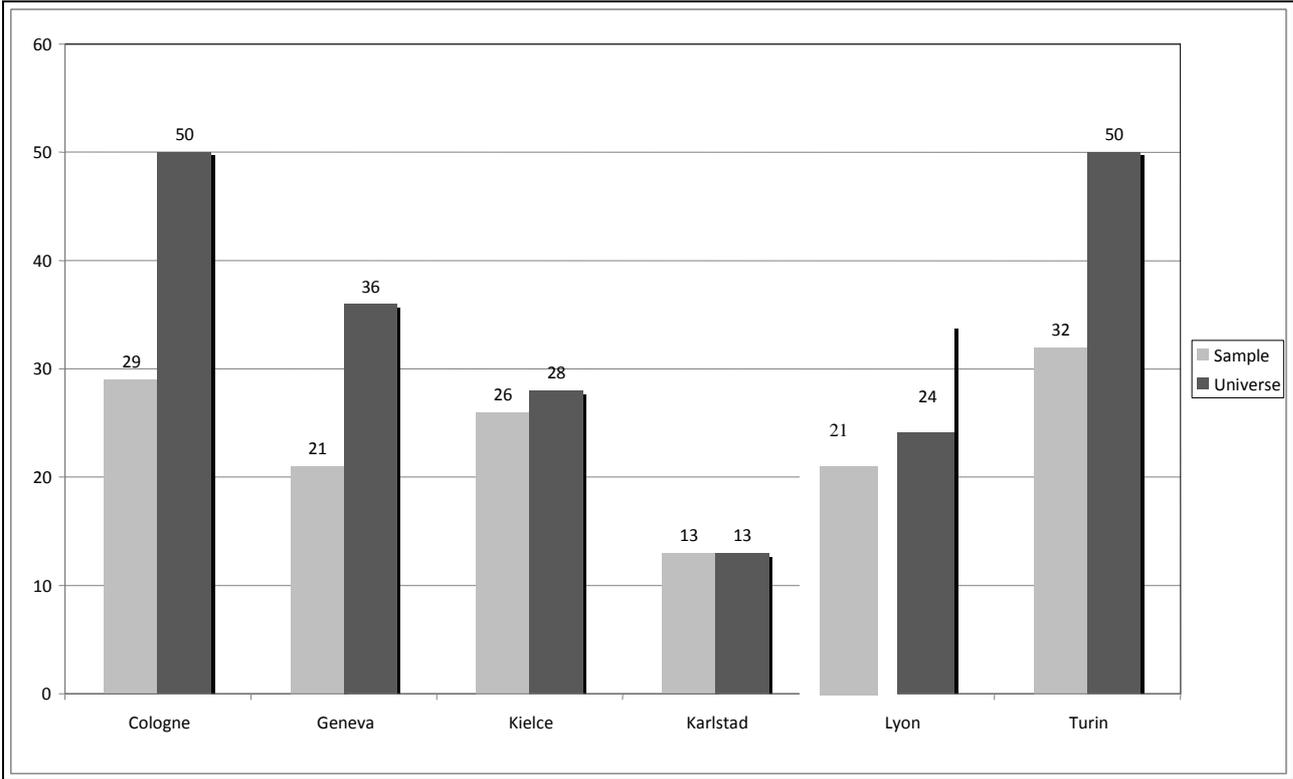
The mapping phase allowed us to identify the associations active in our fields in the different cities. However, we are aware that we cannot claim of having found *all* associations working on unemployment, youth unemployment and related welfare domains. We do believe, still, that the organizations we interviewed provide a quite exhaustive picture of the organizational ecology of unemployment in our cities.

The mapping was carried out by using different sources: (1) interviews with key informants (academics, grassroots activists, local civil servants) of the Turin organizational universe in the targeted areas; (2) document analysis of local authorities and umbrella organizations leaflets, newsletter, and similar information tools; (3) detailed searches in official organizations directories of local governmental offices and websites.

At the end of this process mapped organizations range from 13 (Karlstad) to 50 (Turin) primarily civil society associations but we also included political parties and trade unions due to their relevant role in politics and policies concerning the topics covered by our study (figure 2 gives an overview of the different organizational universes and the number of interviewed organizations).

³ However, in some countries, like in Sweden, for profit organisations play a crucial role in addressing unemployment issues at local level, hence the Swedish team decided to include in their survey also for profit organisations.

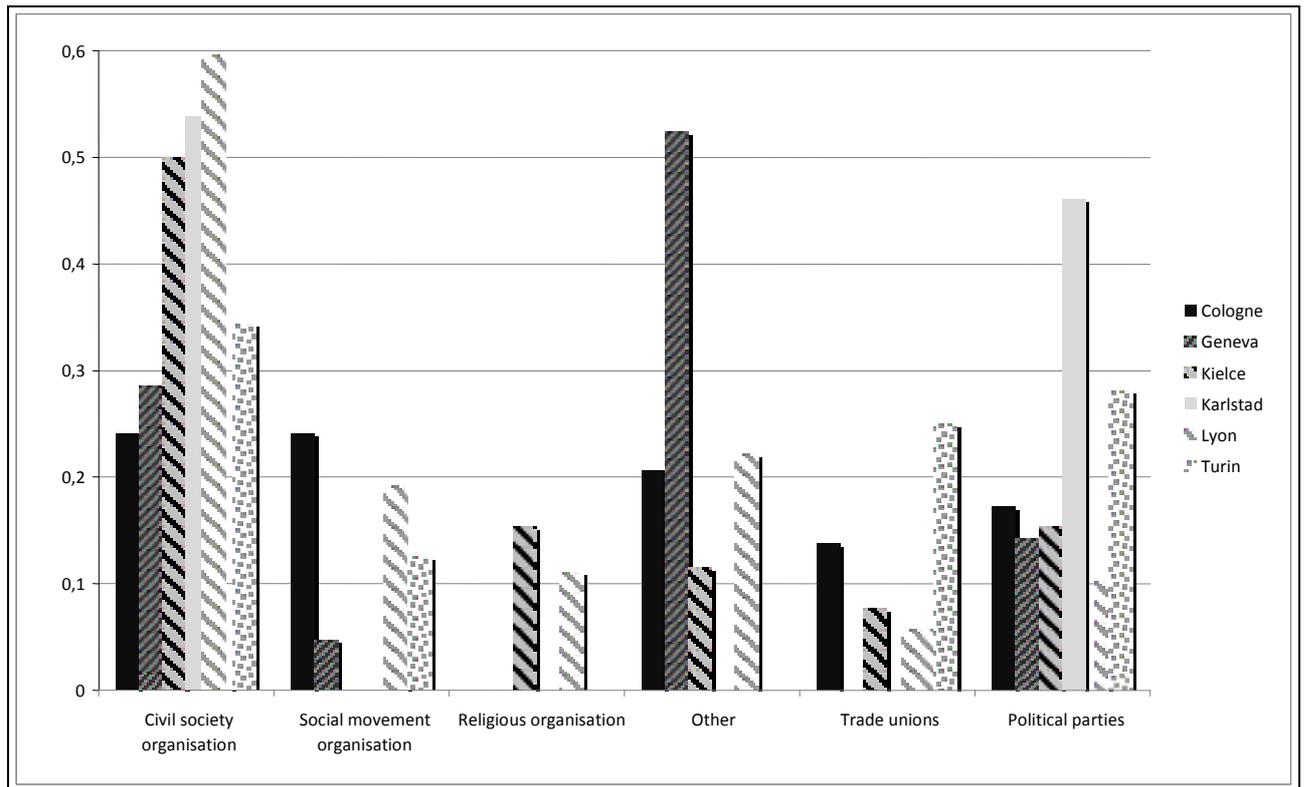
Figure 2: organizational universes and mapping across selected cities



The organizational universes of our cities do not differ only in terms of numbers but also in terms of degree of heterogeneity. According to our sample criteria and definition, the organizational study could include civil society organizations *strictu sensu* (CSOs) but also social movement organizations (SMOs), religious organizations (ROs), trade unions (TUs) and political parties (PPs). Moreover, we included also other organizational types that were important only in certain cities (cooperatives, not for profit service centers, for profit service centers), which were considered as belonging to the general residual category “other”.

Our city samples can be compared according to their composition (figure 3). Some of them are more concentrated on a few actors, other are more heterogeneous and host a wider variety of actors. Among the first there are Lyon (with 60% CSOs and only a few actors amongst TUs and PPs), Geneva (52% private placement agency, no ROs, no TUs, a few PPs), Kielce (50% CSOs, no SMOs, a few TUs and a few PPs), Karlstad (54% CSOs, no SMOs, ROs, TUs), among the second there are Cologne and Turin (both without ROs).

Figure 3: cross national comparison of samples' population heterogeneity



The networks of organizations: some comparative considerations

The above discussed aspects, size and homogeneity of organizational universes and samples, are very important once network analysis is carried out. In this section we will not present the network analysis in detail, this is done, in fact, in countries' national reports (see following sections) but we will provide an overall picture. Therefore we are going to compare the general dimensions of city specific networks by focussing on two types of networks: information networks and networks for joint projects.

Starting with the first network (information), our results show a vibrant connected organizational reality. In fact, the number of nodes is very high and all the interviewed organizations are active in sharing information with other organizations (table 1). This means that each and every organization has at least one link with another organization either within the interviewed network (unemployment) or outside. Meanwhile, the density and the number of ties suggest that all these networks are quite dense as expected.

Furthermore, our analysis suggests that smaller samples are likely associated to higher density (this is the case for Geneva and Karlstad), though this is not always the case (Cologne ranks first in density in spite of its large sample; Lyon ranks the last in density in spite of small sample). Kielce lies in between as it ranks third in sample's dimension, but first in the density. This is probably due to two elements: sampling was more precise (the number of mentioned actors is slightly higher than those interviewed) and the network is the most centralized. Vice versa Geneva and Karlstad, with smaller samples, have a higher number of active nodes, which consequently produces a less dense and centralized network.

Table 1. Cross national comparison on networks of organizations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together (unemployment and precariousness field)

City	Interviewed organisation	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Number of nodes (no pendant)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Geneva	21	63	63	39	0.0735	287	12.698
Cologne	29	65	65	52	0.1091	454	17.115
Turin	32	75	75	51	0.0560	311	9.694
Lyon	21	50	49	26	0.0473	116	3.959
Karlstad	13	34	34	19	0.0891	100	14.082
Kielce	26	36	36	28	0.1230	155	20.635

The second network we can consider is the one focused on project collaboration. This was expected to be a rather small network, either a clique (all nodes interconnected)⁴ or a group with many simmelian ties (a lot of interconnected triples)⁵. Nonetheless, as our results show (see table 2) projects networks are not built in this narrow way. This may suggest that either all these actors are truly active in their context, or that interviewed organizations interpreted our question in a shallow way, leading to a wider network of project collaboration. From a synthetic point of view, these networks are not clearly different from those presented before (table1). But once again, network's size may matter. Big networks such as in Turin and Cologne stand out for their low density.

Table 2. Cross national comparison on network of organisations with collaboration in projects (unemployment and precariousness field)

City	Interviewed organisation	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Number of nodes (no pendant)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Geneva	21	50	50	34	0.0551	135	10.041
Cologne	29	51	51	39	0.0584	149	10.118
Turin	32	75	72	41	0.0382	212	6.486
Lyon	21	38	35	17	0.0384	54	6.401
Karlstad	13	21	21	8	0.0738	31	10.952
Kielce	26	29	27	22	0.0727	56	6.897

In summary, this short overview of network capacities of organizations active in the field of unemployment in our cities provides a vivid image of the important tasks civil society organizations are called to fulfill to implement public policies today. In the following sections this report presents in detail the situation in each selected city, hence, aspects that have been briefly referred to in this introduction are analyzed more in depth.

⁴ Groups are identified as 'cliques' if every individual is directly tied to every other individual.

⁵ Simmelian ties are strong, reciprocal ties shared by three actors, therefore it indicates the presence of three actors within a network reciprocally interconnected.

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WP2: National Report Switzerland

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Geneva

Introduction

The canton of Geneva has been known, for the last fifteen years, as the canton having the highest unemployment rate in Switzerland. Therefore, it was interesting for us to know to what extent this specific issue had had an appropriate response from the political authorities and the civil society organisations until now. We, consequently, decided to focus on those organisations, which were specifically working with the Public placement agencies both in the field of unemployment and precariousness – civil society organisations, social movement organisation, political parties and labour unions.

During the mapping process, we found out that the different kinds of organisations played distinct roles in the unemployment and precariousness fields. For example, labour unions were mostly in charge of unemployment benefits retribution and defence of unemployed interests, meanwhile civil society organisations take actively part to the integration of the unemployed in the labour market by finding them new job opportunities. Political parties and social movement organisations are active in the field by mainly defending unemployed interests and mobilizing the citizens through the direct democracy's instruments, such as referenda and initiatives.

a. Mapping organizations

Public placement agencies (ORP) are charged by the LACI of the unemployment procedures: the ORP give advice to the unemployed, try to place them, and help them make a career evaluation and plan. The ORP also have to control the employment adaptation to the unemployed profile.

Therefore, we started our mapping by looking at public registers such as trade registers, in order to know the organisation, which were collaborating with them. We, then, had a look at the Internet and with a *scroogle* search, found out the other civil society organisations that were not directly related to the ORP but were still working in the unemployment field.

We finally mapped a total of 37 organisations, which were working in our research field. This listing comprised 2 social movements ;13 civil society organisations, which helped the unemployed both by offering them a job and giving them material and financial support ; 3 political parties, which had a clear unemployment policy in their status; 5 labour unions, which are in charge of unemployment benefits retribution and play an important role in the labour market's regulation by defending employee's rights; finally, 13 private placement agencies working directly with the ORP and aiming to find new positions to the unemployed and also helping them improving their personal skills.

b. Organizations' sampling

We began our sampling by pre-testing the questionnaire with a previously known association. Then, we invited all the 36 remaining organisations by sending them a common e-mail, which explained the research objectives' and the importance of their participation in our understanding of the Geneva unemployment and precariousness organisational field. Only 21 out of the 37 listed organisations agreed to take part to the Younex project – which means a response rate of approximately 56%. We started the interviews in May and ended them in September 2009.

Concerning the dropouts, most of the organisations, which didn't take part to the organisational survey, were unreachable either by phone or e-mail. Therefore we decided to exclude them from our sample. The remaining organisations declined our invitation, because they could not clearly see the aim of the research neither the role they ought to have played in the unemployment policies' analysis.

If we now focus more intently on our sample, we have to acknowledge the fact that it is biased because the labour unions were totally missing from the sampling – some of them did not want to take the questionnaire, meanwhile the others were unreachable. The remaining mentioned categories were more represented.

Table 1 – types of organizations

Type of organizations	Sampling
Social movement organisation	5
Civil society organisation	29
Private placement agency	52
Political party	14
Total	100

2. Comparing organizational characteristics

a. Framing unemployment and precariousness

Regarding the framing of unemployment and precariousness in Geneva three main subfields of action can be distinguished through the analysis of open-ended questions and some informative material given by the organizations or available on the Internet⁶. The subfields are: employment oriented actions, legislative and political actions, and help or assistance provided directly to the unemployed or precarious workers. We will now present briefly these three subfields and their characteristics.

The first and probably the main sector of action that we identified is related to employment, the organizations try to provide various kinds of employment opportunities to unemployed and precarious workers. Here the organizations frame the issue not only in terms of finding a

⁶ For the analysis of the framing of unemployment and precariousness by the organizations, we used six open-ended questions that were asked to the organizations: 1) How they connect their main goals to the unemployment and precarious issues; 2) How much time they dedicate to these issues; 3) How useful they believe their work is for unemployed and precarious. Furthermore we analysed the material that was given to us during the interview which comprises booklets presenting their activities, flyers, and yearly reports. We also looked at the presentations that the organizations make on their websites.

job and having access to the labor market, but also in terms of employment scarcity and inequality in job access. The organizations work on concrete issues, directly with the unemployed and the precarious workers, sometimes also with enterprises and labor market networks they build, in order to provide job opportunities for youngsters. These job offers are more or less temporary; they range from internships to small jobs (*petits boulots*) and have different aims. One of them is to offer opportunities to have working experience, for some it is the first experience on the labor market, for others not. Also related to work experience, is the need to acquire qualifications, training, and specific job skills. Some organizations also mention the importance of providing opportunities of re-entering the labor market after a break due to diverse life experience. In this case the framing is also made in terms of integration. Other important aspects related to employment opportunities are self-confidence and knowledge of the labor market functioning in terms of rights and obligations.

The second subfield of actions conducted by the interviewed organizations working with unemployment and precariousness in Geneva is legislative and political action. This is obvious for the parties and unions that we have included in the mapping, but it's also true for other organizations. The framing of the unemployment and precariousness issue in terms of public problems that need to be related to the broader society and labor market structure is also an important action of the organizations in Geneva. These organizations try to defend publicly the unemployed and precarious workers and make claims on their behalf and their legislative action takes different forms ranging from being elected and proposing laws, conducting referenda and initiatives, to fights for human rights or against exclusion and discrimination. Moreover the organizational network in Geneva also includes organizations that promote social economy. The organization that do so frame the problems of unemployment and precariousness and their action in a broader context of social changes, ecological necessities, and promotion of an economy that takes into account the local setting and the needs of workers. They propose a model that enforces solidarity.

The third and last subfield identified in Geneva includes all what we named the help and assistance activities: help or assistance in information seeking, administrative forms filing, job search, as well as some material support such as providing computer, newspapers, internet access, etc. Here the framing of unemployment and precariousness is done in terms of scarce access to resources that help enter the labor market. The organizations see themselves as service providers that facilitate the access to the labor market. This sub-field is different from the first one because in this framing the organizations do not provide employment opportunities directly. The services provided are related to job search, legal assistance, information provision on various issues, training opportunities, and consulting. Moreover we included in this category a kind of services which is also close to the employment activities: career management and employability. All the tasks related to the orientation and improvement of the qualification of the unemployed that are done outside of the labor market so to say, the activities of counselling.

b. Activities

In the section above, we presented the general framing of the actions done by the organizational network in Geneva. We will now move to a more concrete analysis of the activities conducted by the interviewed organizations in Geneva.

Table 2 – Main sectors of activity

Sectors of activity	%
Employment and training	100
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	95
Social integration	95
Labor relations	81
Poverty	71
Education	71
Women	71
Immigration	71
Health	71
Politics	71
Youth, students	70
Housing	62
Family	62
Human rights	62
Culture, music, theatre, etc.	62
Environment	52
Alternative communication and media activism	52
Child care/other children's services	43
Fair trade / ethical finance	42
Business relations	38
Disabled	38
International cooperation	33
Peace/anti-militarism/conflict resolution	33
Pensioners, elderly	30
Homosexuality	30
Consumers' interests	24
Sport	20
Crime	14
Religious activities	10

N=21

The main activities of these organizations can be linked to sectors of activities presented in table 2: the most important in Geneva is employment and training, all the organizations are active in this field. Furthermore, employment related sectors are mentioned as important sectors of activities as well: job insecurity, precariousness, and unemployment (mentioned by 95% of the interviewed organizations); social integration (95% as well); and labor relations (81%).

Other activities mentioned by a majority of organizations ranging from percentages of 71 to 62 are closely related to the employment issue: poverty; education; women and gender issues; immigration; health; politics; youth and students; family; housing; and human rights. Some of these fields of activity relations to unemployment and precariousness are obvious: the questions of poverty and health especially. While some fields are more directly linked to the specific population we work on – youngsters – for instance education and family. But some sectors of activities are specific to the case we study – Geneva. For instance immigration, foreigners represent 38% of the population in Geneva and they are often less qualified than the overall population, they might also be confronted with discrimination on the labor market. Therefore the organizations active in the field of unemployment and precariousness take stand on this issue as well. Moreover, the canton of Geneva faces housing problems; the size of the population is growing faster than the number of available accommodations. Since the housing structures are not developing enough and the

population of Geneva has difficulties in finding housing, many organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness are also active on this housing question. Last we can mention the question of women and it can be related to gender equality. This element is also city specific, since gender discrimination might be higher or lower on the labor market and also the willingness to fight this inequality can be more or less developed.

Finally issues related to social economy and sustainable development are mentioned as main sectors of activity through the items: environment (52%) and fair trade (42%). One organization even mentions fair trade as the most important and three mention environment as the second or third most important sectors of activities. This result is consistent with the main framing of the field that we have presented above. Furthermore, this first classification of mentioned activities reflects the sectors that are marked as most important (presented in the table 3 and 4).

Table 3 - Most important sector

Sector	%
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	23.8
Social integration	23.8
Employment and training	19.0
Housing	4.8
Politics	4.8
Fair trade, Ethical finance	4.8
Poverty	4.8
Human rights	4.8
Women	4.8
Other	4.8
Total	100

N=21

Table 4 – Most important sectors of activity

First most important	%
Job insecurity	23
Social integration	23
Employment and training	19
Second most important	%
Employment and training	29
Social integration	10
Third most important	%
Employment and training	14
Social integration	14

N=21

A part from job insecurity we see in tables 3 and 4 that social integration is an important sector of activity. This shows that the question of unemployment and precariousness in Geneva is related to a conception of employment which is inclusive; the issue is not only about having or finding a job, but more broadly speaking about being socially integrated. We will come back to this issue when we present the activities proposed by the organizations.

Nevertheless, in order to understand what is meant by social integration we can analyze table 5⁷ which presents the frequency of certain types of activities. The most important activities are social ones; only 20% of organizations never propose social activities. Other important activities are intellectual and educational with low percentage of organizations that never propose any (respectively 33.3% and 38.1) and a high proportions of organizations that propose them on a regular basis. Education is also one of the major actions proposed to both unemployed and precarious workers with 52% of organizations proposing it to unemployed and 38% of organizations proposing it to precarious workers (see table 6).

Table 5 – Frequency of activities per types

Activities	Cultural	Social	Intellectual	Political	Educational	Sport	Religious	Public programs
Frequency								
Never	57.1	20.0	33.3	52.4	38.1	61.9	100	47.6
Sometimes	38.1	65	42.9	23.8	28.6	28.6	-	19
Often	4.8	15	23.8	23.8	33.3	9.5	-	33.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N=21

The political activities are undertaken in a different pattern, we observe a division of half and half between those who propose political activities sometimes or often and those who never propose any. We see a further division of half and half between those organizations who often offer political activities and those who do it occasionally. Furthermore we analyzed the relationships between political activity and provision of services; results are presented in table 6. And we notice that the organizations that do not provide services are all politically active, that is their main aim, acting on the political arena. Whereas those that propose services are not active in the political arena for a majority of them (61.1%).

Table 6 – Providing services and being politically active (%)

	Services	Yes	No
Political activities			
Yes		38.9	100
No		61.1	-

N=21

Moreover, when looking at table 7 we notice that organizations in Geneva are little active if not at all in sit-in, rallies, and meetings. Only a minority of organizations use these forms of political action – protest related – political activities that could be undertaken by the organizations to promote their political goals and make the public opinion aware of their positions on certain issues and the legal actions they promote or defend.

⁷ For a detailed version of this table see annex, table 5.1 presents the frequencies of the activities proposed on a 7-scale basis.

Table 7 - Organizations carrying out activities with unemployed and precarious workers

Activities	With unemployed %	With precarious %
Information stand	28.6	28.6
Sit-in	4.8	4.8
Rallies	4.8	4.8
Trainings	52.4	38.1
Meetings	19	19

N=21

Coming back to table 5, we see that sport and cultural activities are not central in the propositions offered by the interviewed organizations in Geneva. These activities are either not present at all or occasionally proposed. Sport and cultural activities could also be related to social integration but the organizations we interviewed do not focus on this particular aspect of integration.

Finally, we notice that religious activities are never proposed by any interviewed organization in Geneva. This is probably related to the fact that we mentioned above – the organizations are also active with relation to immigration. The problems of unemployment, precarious employment and migration are intertwined in Geneva due to the proportion of migrants within the overall population and the specific population of unemployed and precarious. Therefore the organizations adopt a laic position in order to be able to defend a majority of unemployed and precarious, while avoiding to further the exclusion of some groups of unemployed and precarious.

c. Internal structures and decision making processes

The internal structure of the organizations informs us on their functioning and level of organization, more or less formal. In table 8, we see that most of the interviewed organizations are quite formally organized having a constitution (81%), a board and a president for all of them, and a treasurer (95%), a secretary (81%), a general assembly (95%), as well as specific committees (81%).

This might be due to the fact that most of them are associations, 90.5% of the interviewed organizations take the form of an association (table 9). In order to form an association in Switzerland you need at least a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and one or two more members. These are formal requirements to be recognized as an association.

Table 8 - Internal structure and meeting frequency

Structure	Meeting frequency					
		Weekl y	Monthl y	Several times a year	Once a year	Less frequently
A constitution	81					
A board	100	→ 15	55	30	-	-
Leader / president	100					
A chair person	62					
A secretary	81					
A spokesperson	19					
A treasurer	95					
A general assembly	95	→ 18.8	31.2	50	-	-
Committees / work groups on specific issues	81	→ -	5	30	65	-

N=21

Table 9 - Legal status of the organization

Status of the organizations	%
Association	90.5
Other	9.5
Total	100

N=21

More specifically, we can look at the board composition in terms of size and membership. Most of the boards are small, less than 10 persons (for 61.9% of the organizations, see table 10) and not more than 24 members (table 11). Within the boards we can see that the proportion of women is almost equal to men, but the mean is a little higher for men (5.04 > 4.28). Whereas the proportion of unemployed and precarious, whether men or women, is very low: less than 3 with means lower than 0.5 (table 11).

Table 10 - Number of board members

Board members	%
Less than 10	61.9
Between 10 and 20	28.6
Between 21 and 35	9.5
More than 35	-
Total	100

N=21

The composition of the board is rarely the object of specific policies. Only 19% of the organizations have quotas related to women and men presence in their boards and the percentage drops to 5% for unemployed quotas and 0 for precarious workers (see table 12). If we further look at the recruitment policies we can see that the organizations are closer to entrepreneurial models than associational ones. Most of the organizations are not associations of unemployed or precarious workers.

Table 11 - Specific composition of the board

Members of the board	Range	Mean
Overall board members	3 - 24	9.33
Women	1 - 12	4.28
Men	0 - 12	5.04
Unemployed	0 - 3	0.33
Women unemployed	0 - 2	0.19
Precarious workers	0 - 3	0.23
Women precarious workers	0 - 2	0.14

Table 12 - Board composition policies

Composition of the board resulting from a policy	%
Women / Men ratio	19
Unemployed workers quota	5
Precarious workers quota	-

Table 13 - Board members recruitment

Models of board members recruitment	%
Within the organization (among members)	29
From outside it (e.g. job market)	48
Both within the organization and on the labor market	19

Moreover, table 13 shows that the board members are often recruited outside of the organizations. A majority of recruitment takes place outside of the organizations, 48% of them hire non-members through regular labor market procedures. Some organizations also recruit both within and outside, they have some mixed models of recruitment (19%). Finally, 29% of the organizations only hire members.

d. Organizational resources: personnel and finances

Another important element to consider related to the internal structure of the organizations is the personnel – whether paid on a full time (table 14) or part time (table 15) basis as well as volunteers (table 16). Here we see that more than a third of the organizations have no full time staff. This could be either the results of scarce resources or more likely in the case of Switzerland⁸ a choice in terms of work organization and work-life balance. But there are also organizations that do not have any part-time workers (23.8%); therefore it is hard to be sure of the reason why a third of the organizations have no full time workers.

Regarding the number of volunteers, we look at table 16 and notice that almost one quarter (23.8%) of the organizations have no volunteers and another third have less than 10 (33.4%). This means the organizations function with little use of unpaid work.

⁸ Organizations have high operating budget as we will see in the next section.

Table 14 - Full time workers

Number of persons working full time	%
No full time staff	38.1
Less than 10 full time persons	38.1
From 10 up to 30	14.4
From 30 up to 150	9.6
More than 150	-
Total	100
N=21	

Table 15 – Part-time workers

Number of persons working part time	%
No part time staff	23.8
Less than 10 part time p.	42.8
From 10 up to 40	19.2
More than 40	14.4
Total	100
N=21	

Table 16 – Voluntary workers (unpaid staff)

Number of persons working on a voluntary basis	%
No volunteers	23.8
Less than 10	33.4
From 10 up to 40	14.4
From 40 up to 200	23.9
More than 200	4.8
Total	100
N=21	

Finally, as indicated in table 17, the interviewed organizations have low overall personnel, apart from one or two big organization that we interviewed⁹, we can see that the median number of full time staff is 2, part-time 5, and volunteers 7, meaning that most of the organizations count on more or less 14 persons to carry the activities of the organization.

Table 17 – Overall staff

Personnel of the organization	Range	Mean	Median
Full time paid staff	0 - 100	10	2
Part-time paid staff	0 - 178	18	5
Voluntary workers (working on a regular basis)	0 - 638	60	7
N=21			

⁹ See table 13.

While looking at the staff composition, it is also interesting to know why people become members of the interviewed organizations. In table 18, we can see that the most important motivation is helping others, 67% of the organizations believe that is one of the motivation for their members to engage. Other most cited motivations to join the organizations are sharing political ideas or values and social contacts with equal importance (62%). The members rarely seek in-kind support; whether legal, political or financial between 5 and 10% of the organizations mention these motivations. This can be due to the organizations structure, most of them provide services to non-members and therefore it is not a requirement to be member to benefit from services offered by the organizations, we see in table 4 that services are provided to both members and non-members¹⁰.

Table 18 – Members motivations

Motivations to join the organization	%
For helping-assisting people	67
For sharing political ideas/values	62
For social contacts	62
Other	33
For political support	10
For legal/judiciary support	5
For financial support	5

Moreover, we can see below in table 19 that few organizations have formal requirements to become members, only 29% have some requirements and these requirements are either related to be registered as unemployed (5%) or other conditions specific to the organizations (24%). For the other requirements, they were mainly related to the targeted population of the organization, for instance youngsters (age limit to membership), women, or migrant.

Table 19 – Membership requirements

Formal requirements to become a member of the organization	%
Formal requirement	29
No formal requirement	71
Specific requirements to become a member	%
1. Being registered as unemployed	-
2. Receiving social assistance	-
3. Being part of a public programs for unemployed or precarious workers	5
4. Being a Swiss citizen	-
5. Other	24
N=21	

We can also analyze the relationships between volunteers and members, table 20 indicates that more or less 15% of the organizations members and volunteers do not meet outside of the general assembly or even never meet for 5.3%. On the other hand, around 26% meet frequently (every day or weekly) and also 26.3% of the organizations see their members meet every month. This might be due to the size of the organization or more generally to its norms of functioning. In table 20.1 we can see that the higher the number of paid staff in an

¹⁰ In fact the services provided by the interviewed organizations are twice as likely to be for non-members (20%) than for members (10.5%), see table 4.

organization, the lower the frequency of meeting between staff and members. The workers of the bigger organizations in terms of staff only meet the members once a year (for the general assembly) or between 2 to 5 times a year. Whereas the smaller organizations have meetings between staff and members more frequently, those which have less than 10 workers organize these meetings everyday for 12.5% of them or every week for 37.5% and the ones who have between 10 and 20 workers, 33.3% see their workers and members meet everyday and another 33.3% every week.

Table 20 – Volunteers and members meetings

Frequency of volunteers and members meeting (apart from the general assembly)	%
Never or less frequently than once a year	5.3
Once a year	10.5
2-5 times a year	26.3
Monthly	26.3
Weekly	21.1
Every day	5.3
Don't Know / No Answer	5.3
Total	100

N=21

Table 20.1 – Meeting frequency between staff and members according to the size

Meeting frequency	Never	Once a year	2-5 times a year	Once a month	Every week	Every-day	Don't know	Total
Number paid staff								
No paid staff	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	100
Between 1-10	-	-	25	25	37.5	12.5	-	100
From 10 to 20	-	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	33.3	
From 20 to 50	-	25	50	25	-	-	-	100
More than 50	-	50	50	-	-	-	-	100

N=18

The organizations in Geneva are quite small by the number of paid and voluntary staff as we have presented above. But they have high budgets as we can see in the table 21. Most of them, 81%, have a budget of 200'000 Euros or more.

Table 21 - Finances

Budget range	%
Less than € 1,000	-
Between € 1,000 and € 2,499	-
Between € 2,500 and € 4,999	-
Between € 5,000 and € 9,999	-
Between € 10,000 and € 49,999	9.5
Between € 50,000 and € 99,999	4.8
Between €100,000 and € 149,999	4.8
Between € 150,000 and € 199,999	-
More than € 200,000	81
Total	100

N=21

e. Organizational strategies (repertoires of action and communication)

The strategies undertaken by organizations interviewed in Geneva can be analysed in terms of repertoires of action and communication strategies. Here we present the most important actions, the level at which the organizations are active, and the information channels used by these organizations.

First, regarding the action undertaken by the organizations, we see that the most important action in Geneva is the services provided by the organizations to individuals who are not members of the organization, 20% of the organizations propose services to non-members, and again social integration, 18.9% of the organizations work on the social integration of unemployed and precarious workers (table 22).

Table 22 – Most important actions

Main actions	%
Services to other (e.g. clients)	20
Social integration	18.9
Fundraising	13.7
Political education of citizens / rising awareness	12.6
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	11.6
Services to members	10.5
Other	8.4
Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations and direct actions	4.2
Total	100

N=21

The interviewed organizations are all active at the cantonal level, this might be due to the fact that the city and the canton of Geneva almost overlap – Geneva is a small canton territorial wise and it would probably make little sense to be active only in the city. The same is true for neighbourhood activity; the interviewed organizations are not only active at this level. Rather they are active at the city level (85.7%) with a quarter of them having offices in different areas of the city (27.8%) as presented in table 23.

Beyond the local level, 40% of the interviewed organizations are active at the national level, throughout the whole country, and 38.1% are also active in other countries. These other countries might well be outside of the European Union since only 28.6% say they are active in the whole of the European Union.

Table 23 - Areas of activity

Area of activity	%
In the region (the canton for Switzerland)	100
In the whole city	85.7
In the whole country	40
In other countries	38.1
In the whole European Union	28.6
In different areas of the city	27.8
Only in the neighbourhood	-

N=21

The interviewed organizations rely on different information channels to be known by the unemployed and precarious workers. Table 24 shows that while 71.4% of the organizations have information channels, 28.6% do not have information channels. This probably means that they rely on the word of mouth and do not invest in other information supports; it is hard to see how any organization could survive with absolutely no information channel.

Looking more specifically into the channels of information the interviewed organizations use that are presented in table 24. We can see that flyers are the most popular with 57.1% of the organizations using it, closely followed by Websites and Internet with 52.4% of the organizations using this support. Although here it is important to note that all the interviewed organizations have a Website and some organization collaborate on other Websites as well (38.1%)¹¹, but not all of them consider it has a useful information channel to reach the unemployed and precarious. The organizations can also count on some advertisement done by the unemployment offices that sometimes direct people to the organizations (28.8%) and by word of mouth (19%).

Table 24 - Information channels

Information channels	%
The organization has information channels	71.4
The organization does not have information channels	28.6
Total	100

N=21

Table 25 – Specific information channels

Specific information channels	%
Flyers	57.1
Website and Internet	52.4
Unemployment office	28.8
Word of mouth	19
Other	9.5

N=21

¹¹ See table 26.

Apart from information channels the interviewed organizations also produce or collaborate on more specific information and Media supports. Table 26 shows that half of the organizations produce or collaborate on press release, 52.4%. Press release appears as an important support of information that permits to reach a wider public and inform them on the activities and actions undertaken by the organization. Another related information media is the appearance in local radios or television programs, 47.6% use these support to communicate. The interviewed organizations also produce newsletters and journals or magazines to present their activities, 38.1% of the organization produce these information media.

Table 26 - Production and collaboration on information Medias

	Produce...	Collaborate...
Website/blog/forum	100	38.1
Press releases	52.4	52.4
Offline newspaper / journal / review / magazine	38.1	47.6
Newsletter	38.1	19
Books	28.6	19
Online newspaper / journal / review / magazine	14.3	14.3
National radio/television programme	4.8	28.6
Local/regional radio/television programme	-	47.6

N=21

f. **Services**

As we have seen above, one of the most important action done by the interviewed organizations in Geneva is providing services – to others and to its own members – when adding the two we come up with 30.5% of the organizations saying providing services is one of their most important action (see table 22). Moreover in table 27 we present the percentage of interviewed organizations that do provide services, this represents 85.7% of our sample. Only a few of the interviewed organizations do not provide services, 14.3%, and those which do not provide services are political parties (see table 22.1 in annex).

Table 27 - Organizations providing services

Services provided by the organizations	%
The organization provides services	85.7
The organization does not provide services	14.3
Total	100

N=21

Looking more closely at the types and frequency of services provided in table 28, we note that the most frequently provided service is "assistance in employment seeking", 66.7% of the interviewed organizations offer assistance in job research everyday. It is not a surprise to find this result since we selected organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness for the interviews. This is also consistent with the framing of the organizations in the field that we presented in the first part of this report (part 2.1).

Table 28 - Frequency of services provision per type

SERVICES	Frequency						
	Every day	Weekly	Monthly	2-5 times a year	Yearly	Less frequently	Never
Providing assistance in housing	16.7	22.2	5.6	11.1	--	--	44.4
Providing assistance in employment seeking	66.7	22.2	5.6	--	--	--	5.6
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system ¹²	44.4	16.7	16.7	--	--	--	22.2
Providing financial support	5.6	11.1	5.6	--	--	11.1	66.7
Providing in-kind support ¹³	11.1	11.1	--	--	--	--	77.8
Providing Legal assistance	11.1	5.6	5.6	5.6	--	--	72.2

N=18 (total percentages presented by row)

Other related issues are access to welfare and housing. In fact, another important aspect mentioned by the organizations is the "assistance given to access the welfare system", 44.4% of the interviewed organizations provide this service everyday. This can also be related to the framing we presented in part 2.1 of the report, since assistance in information collection and in administrative forms filling was an important aspect of the organizations role mentioned in the open-ended questions. Moreover, as we mentioned in the analysis of the sectors of activity, the housing problem is quite an issue in Geneva¹⁴ and therefore the organizations take a stand on the problem, on of their action related to housing is "providing assistance in housing" 16.7% of the organizations do that every day and 22.2% do that weekly.

Regarding what the organizations rarely or never do we find different services: providing in-kind support 77.8% of the interviewed organizations never do; providing legal assistance 72.2% never do that; and providing financial support 66.7% never do and 11.1% very seldom provide financial support. This means the interviewed organizations are not oriented towards material help, but rather towards logistic support for the unemployed and precarious, offering resources for job search and facilitating welfare access. These organizations support unemployed and precarious in their job search process rather than offering assistance.

Table 29 – Basis of help provision

Help provision basis	%
People come to the organization and ask for help	72.2
Either people come and ask or they are sent by the Unemployment Office	16.7
The Unemployment Office orients/sends people to the organization	5.6
Either people come and ask or the organization actively look for them	5.6
The organizations actively looks for them	-
Total	100

N=18

¹² By "assistance in access to welfare" we mean filling forms or knowing how the health care or education system function for instance.

¹³ By "in-kind support" we mean: meals, accommodations, clothes, etc.

¹⁴ As you can see in table 2 and that is presented in the related analysis.

Finally, we can present how the help is provided. Table 29 shows that most of the organizations are approached by the unemployed and precarious workers. In 72.2% of the cases the help is provided on the basis of people coming and asking for help. Most of the organizations interviewed do not actively look for unemployed or precarious workers, there is only one organization which does and uses this mean as well as orientation by the unemployment offices. In fact the unemployment offices also orient unemployed towards the association, 16.7% of the organizations say people either come on their on behalf or oriented by the unemployment office.

3. Organizations and their environment

a. Institutional settings impact on organizational networks

The organizations in Geneva benefit from specificities of the Swiss political system, among which we will here present two important ones: federalism and direct democracy. These two elements have an impact on the organizational structure of Geneva.

The federalism is important because it means that the canton of Geneva has a margin of action in terms of unemployment law. The canton can be more integrative or more punitive in the way it implements the unemployment law, this is a decision taken at the cantonal level on the basis of a national law. Therefore the organizations present, especially the more influent ones, can have a say in this implementation process. They can be included in cantonal ad hoc commissions or broader reflections on the unemployment scheme. When looking at the relationships with the institutions below in section b, we will see that the organizations have good relationships with the institutions at the local and regional level.

Moreover the direct democracy offers incentives for the inclusion of organizations specialized in the field of unemployment and precariousness in the deliberative processes related to these issues. The organizations that feel they have not been listened to or their position has not been taken into account can use the referendum to fight legal decision going against the interest of their members. For some of them they could even use the initiative right to promote their solutions for unemployment and precariousness.

As we have presented above their role is mainly at the collective level and their political actions are centered on legal action. They offer little opportunity for the direct mobilization of unemployed and precarious workers. As we have seen above, protest is seldom used by the organizations in Geneva (see table 6). Furthermore, among the 21 organizations interviewed none is composed of unemployed only and only one as a specific policy reserving sits in the board for unemployed (see tables 11 and 12).

b. Relationships with the institutions

Here we look at the relationships that the interviewed organizations have with institutions at various levels. We asked the organizations which sentence better qualifies the relationships they have with the mentioned institutions.

At the international and European level, most of the organizations said they do not seek any contact with the institutions at those levels (65%). Whereas at the national and local levels, a majority of organizations say they have "friendly" relationships with the institutions, respectively 42.9% for the Swiss level, 42.9% for the cantonal level, and 33.3% for the city level. At the city level, the friendly relationships are over passed by a more positive relationship with the institutions: "they frequently ask for the advice of our organization" most of the interviewed organizations qualify in this way their relationship to the local authorities (38.1%).

We can see a difference between the international level and the national context regarding the relationships to the institutions. The Geneva organizations we interviewed are more oriented first towards the national institutions and even more so towards the local ones (cantonal and municipal). In fact, a quarter of the organizations do not seek any contact at the national level (23.8%), they are based and act at the local level. Also at the national level, only one organization says "the public authorities frequently ask for the advice of our organization". This is lower than what we have seen at the cantonal (33.3%) and local levels (38.1%).

Table 30 – Relationship with the institutions

	International level	European level	Swiss level	Geneva regional level	Geneva Local level
The public authorities frequently ask for the advice of our organization	-	-	4.8	33.3	38.1
The public authorities is friendly to our organization, but our organization initiates most of the contact	10	5	42.9	42.9	33.3
The public authorities sometimes receives our organization with hostility and other times is welcoming depending on the issue/s or department/s involved	-	5	4.8	4.8	4.8
The public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organization does try to influence them	10	10	9.5	9.5	9.5
Our organization doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	65	65	23.8	4.8	-
Don't know / No Answer	15	15	14.3	4.8	14.3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100

N=21

Other types of relationships with the institutions can be seen in tables 31 and 32. First, table 31 presents the organizations participation in the decision-making process, through the demands for their participation and the effective participation in various levels¹⁵. We can see that few (9.8%), only one in fact, have been called and participated as permanent members in the district or neighbourhood council. Even less so for the municipal council, where none of the interviewed organization has been asked or participated as a permanent member. This tendency changes once we look at occasional participation and consultation, there the organizations we interviewed are well integrated in the decision-making process. We see in the table 31 that 63.6% of the organizations we interviewed have been asked to be an occasional member of a municipal committee and that 54.5% finally participated in this municipal council. A high share of the organizations we interviewed also participate in municipal consultation committee, 63.6%, all the organizations that were asked to participate at this level did so.

These elements provide us with useful information on the contacts of the interviewed organizations with the local authorities and their perceived capacity to participate in the decision-making process. In fact, the demands for participation by the local authorities can be seen as recognition of their specific skills and knowledge in the policy field of unemployment and precariousness.

¹⁵ Here it is important to note that only 11 out of the 21 organizations we interviewed answered this question. This might be due to the fact that the question is sensitive or that the person we interviewed was not sure whether they did or not and decided not to answer.

Table 31 – Participation in the decision-making process

Has your organisation been called to participate in decision-making processes and did you finally participate?	Has been called %	Has participated %
As a permanent member of the district or neighbourhood council	9.1	9.1
As a permanent member of a municipal council on specific issues (social services, women, education, etc.)	-	-
As an occasional member in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem	63.6	54.5
To join a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue	63.6	63.6

N=11

Furthermore, we can look at flows of information in order to deepen our understanding of the relationship the organizations we interviewed in Geneva have with the public institutions at various levels. In table 32, we find again that the major part of organizations have links with local authorities – either municipal or regional. In fact, 68.8% of the organizations receive information from the local or municipal council and 87.5% from the regional council. This result reflects the relationships with the institutions presented in table 30.

Table 32 – Official information flow

Does your organisation receive official information from ...	%
District or neighbourhood council or government	18.8
Local/municipality council or government	68.8
Regional council or government	87.5
National parliament or government	25
EU institutions	12.5

N=16

Regarding the flow of information from the interviewed organizations to the authorities, we have a question on the frequency at which the organizations send letters to the authorities. The results are presented in the table 33 and show that 11.1% of the organization do not use this action or seldom do. Whereas the majority use it quite frequently, 2 to 5 times a year for 44.4% and monthly for 22.2% of the interviewed organizations.

Table 33 – Information sent to the authorities by the organization

How frequently did your organisation engage in sending letters or writings to the authorities	%
Less frequently or never	11.1
Yearly	16.7
2-5 times a year	44.4
Monthly	22.2
Weekly	5.6
Total	100.0

N=18

c. The Network of organizations dealing with unemployment and precariousness

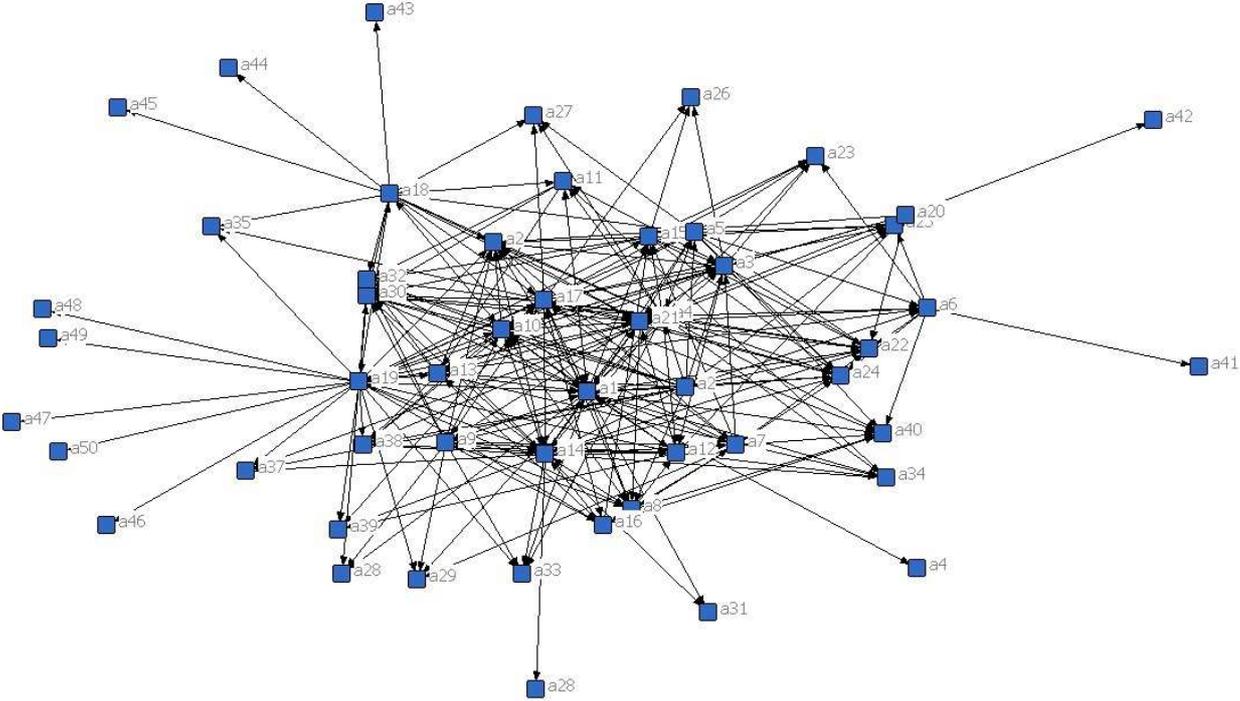
We will start the network analysis with the presentation of two figures, figures 1 and 2 are based on shared information as mentioned by the organization, the question we asked was: "do you share information with any of the following organizations" and we presented a list of organizations (our mapping), plus we gave the opportunity to complete the list if some organizations were missing.

As we can see in figure 1, the network of organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness in Geneva seems centralized firstly around two major organizations (a1 and a19) both providing employment opportunities, one to youngsters and the other to long-term unemployed. These two organizations mention 29 ties related to the exchange of information. Second, another 3 organizations appear as central (a17; a4; a14) and they have respectively 26 and 25 ties for the later two. One of them is a political party (a4) and the other two are organizations providing services, a17 is a learning center and offers classes of various types (language, computer, etc) and a14 is more focused on providing in-kind support to precarious and excluded groups of the population.

This graph is difficult to interpret; the organizations that are central do not have in their goals or structure elements that could explain their centrality. We would need to cross the data with the activities and organizational data to present more detailed results from the network analysis. Since this is not the aim of this report, we will focus on basic information on the network graphs and statistic. In order to structure the information, we can try to find the political parties and unions for instance in order to see what their position is in this network. Apart from one central political party (a4), the other two parties we interviewed are more on the right hand side, outlying, and they have lesser ties (a5 has 14 ties and a6 has 11 ties). But the most striking is that the unions are not so central in the graphs and do not share information with many organizations. Only two of the unions are quite well integrated in the network a22 with 12 ties and a24 with 11 ties. The other two unions (a23 and a25) have 6 ties. All the unions are situated at the borders of the network, on the right hand side, and the two that have only 6 ties are situated on the far right, as out layers. This might be due to the difficulties that the unions have in connecting the precarious and unemployed to the population they originally defend: the workers. But this hypothesis should be tested.

Before we move on to the other graphs, it is important to remind ourselves that the network analysis we make is based on what the organizations say about the exchange of information they have with others and all the organizations which are mentioned only once were not interviewed. In figure 1, we see that many nodes (12 nodes) are connected only through one tie to the broader network of organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness. Therefore we propose a second figure without all those organizations mentioned only once.

Figure 1 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations exchanging information in Geneva

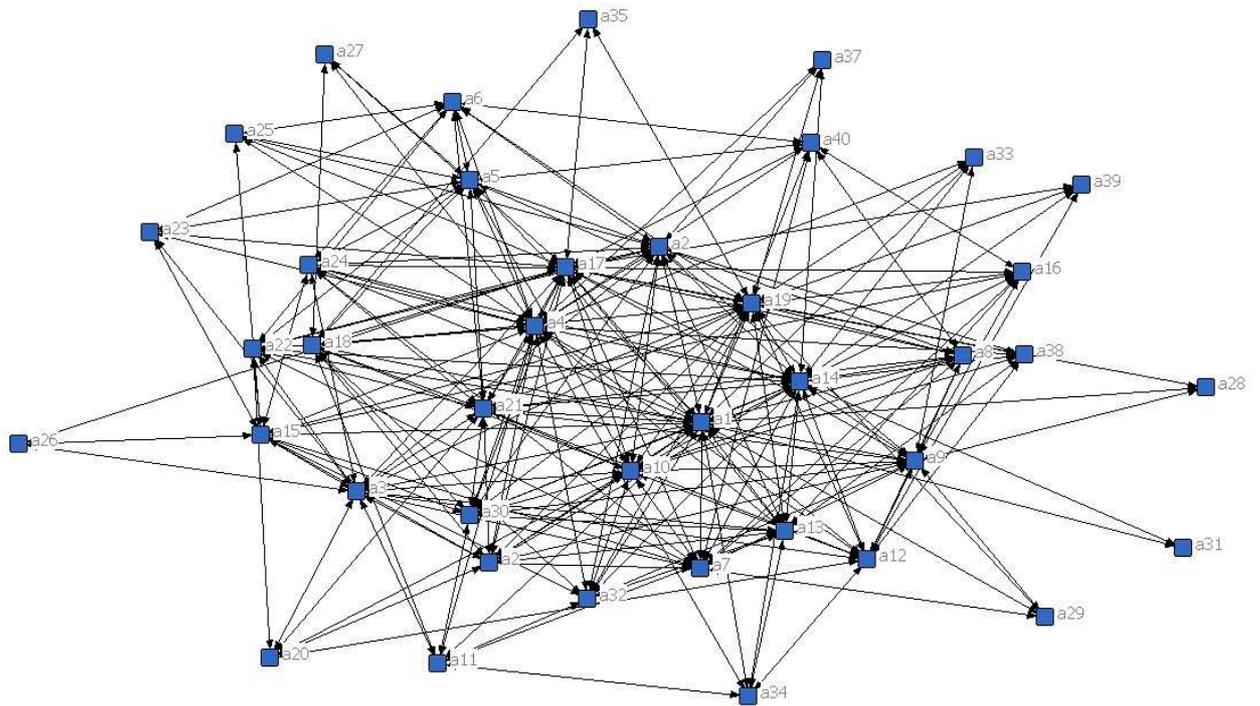


In this second figure, we can see a more integrated network of organizations exchanging information in Geneva. There are again 6 central organizations that have 24 ties or more. The 6 organizations that mention the highest number of ties remain the same once we excluded the organizations mentioned only by one organization. But the order changed, the organization providing employment to youngster (a19) saw its mentioned ties decrease from 29 to 24. This organization had 5 ties with organizations that were not connected to any other organization.

If we move to the analysis of the nodes that are connected with the lowest number of ties, we can see that among them are unions and politically active organizations (apart from political parties). In fact, as mentioned above, some of the unions we interviewed have little ties with the other organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness.

Globally, figure 2 shows that all the organizations presented below are interconnected with the other ones and all share at least two ties, but a majority of them have more than three ties. The organizational network in the field of unemployment and precariousness seems quite tight with regards to the exchange of information. But we should look more closely at some statistics to be sure about the analysis resulting from the visuals, we will come back to the statistics after we presented the graphs on common projects and interpersonal ties.

Figure 2 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations exchanging information in Geneva (without pendants¹⁶)



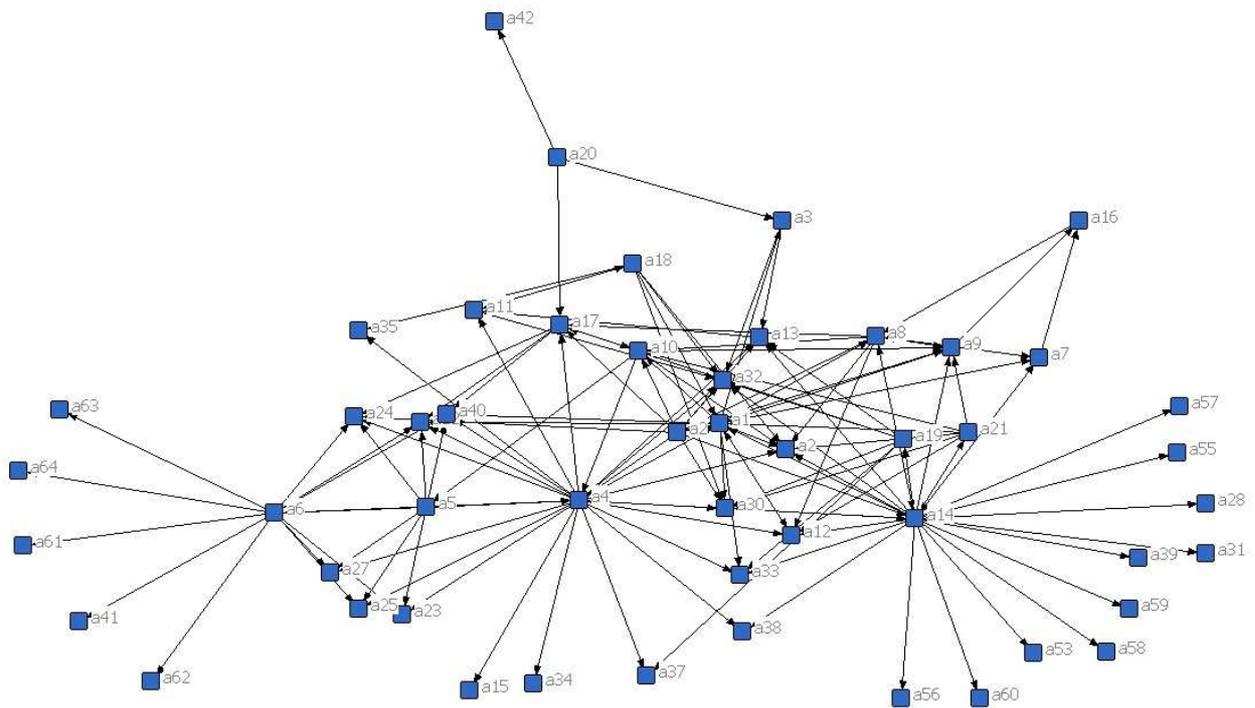
We will move on to the presentation of other types of ties between the organizations. For the graphs below (3; 4; 5; 6) we proceeded in the same way as for graphs 1 and 2; we asked the organization we were interviewing to tell us, on the basis of a list we presented them, with which organizations they collaborated on projects or had interpersonal ties.

We start with the analysis of the network made of the organizations having common projects. We see that two organizations are central – one is a party (a4) and one is an organization providing jobs and in-kind help to persons suffering from various forms of precariousness and exclusion (a14). These two organizations have both 25 ties towards other organizations. They share many projects with other organizations. One other organization follows closely with 16 common projects, this organization provides employment to long-term unemployed (a1) and it was the most central node in the exchange of information.

On the left of the party most central in the diagram (a4), we find the other two parties we interviewed and they are quite central as well with respectively 13 (a6) and 9 ties (a5). The diagram reveals that the projects organizations work on together are political projects, legislation and legal actions. But one of these parties has many single ties, 5 ties going out on the left hand side. Therefore we should move to the analysis of figure 4, the common project network with no pendants.

¹⁶ A pendant is a nod with only one incoming tie; therefore the interviewed is mentioned only once in a single interview.

Figure 3 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations having common projects in Geneva

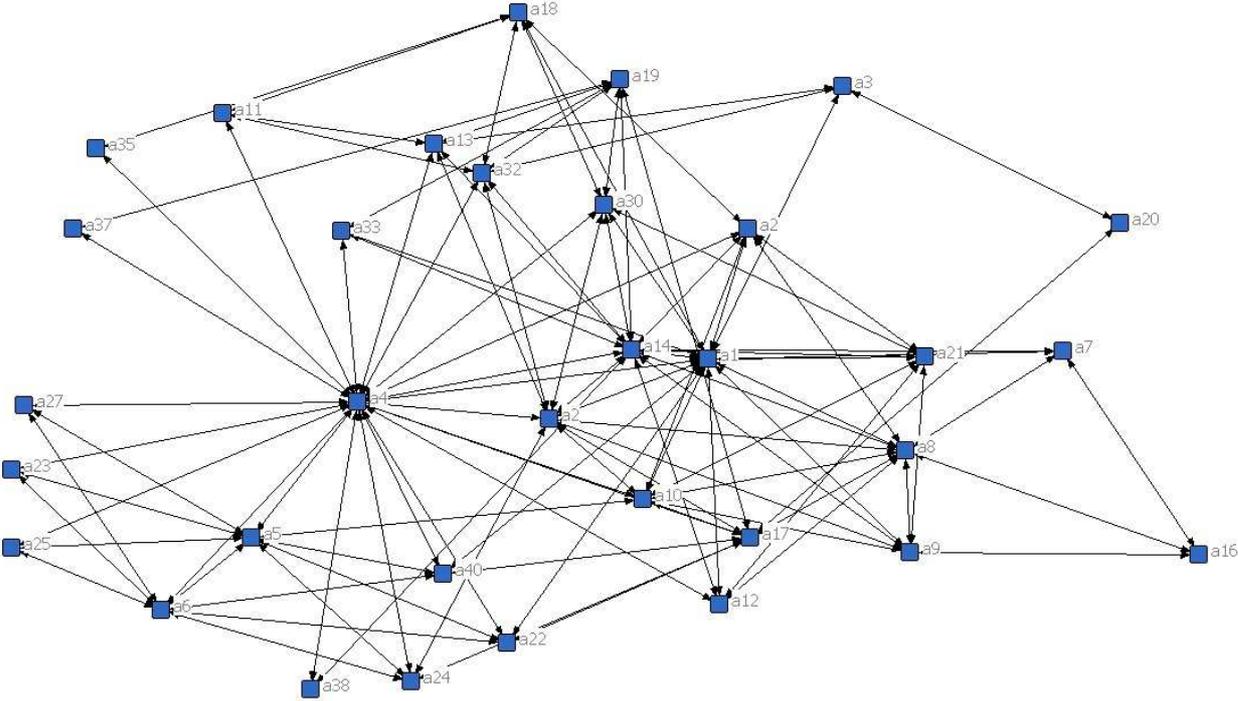


In figure 4, we remove the pendants and this makes the graph more centralized and homogeneous. In this graph, we see that a4, a1, and a14 remain central. In fact, a4 the political party and a1 the organization providing jobs to long-term unemployed have few ties with pendants and the number of ties they have stays constant (a4 minus 2; a1 remains the same). But the other central node, a14 the organization working with precariousness and exclusion loses 10 ties, this organization has quite a few ties with organizations outside the core organizations, with pendants.

Once removed the pendants, the parties all remain quite central; on the left hand side (a4; a5; a6). Even though, one of them lost 5 ties (a6), this party had many ties with organizations that are more marginal in the field of unemployment and precariousness. In the upper part of the graph, we find three organizations providing in kind help to precarious and excluded (a32; a30; a11).

Here we could also mention two organizations providing jobs to youngster, small jobs or first job experiences. One of them is situated on the lower right hand side of the graph (a8) and has many ties (10 ties) and is central in what might be a sub-network. The three organizations surrounding this node (a7; a9; a16) are organizations providing informational services – skills evaluations, contacts with organizations that facilitate the entrance in the labor market, information on jobs and skills.

Figure 4 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations having common projects in Geneva (without pendants)



Finally, figures 5 and 6 present the interpersonal ties that connect the organizations we interviewed. Here we meant to grasp the number of organizations either sharing staff and members or having members which personally know the members of other organizations. Knowing to what extent the organizations staff has contact with other organizations staff is important; it gives an idea of the interconnectedness of the organizations not as formal as the common project information and not as open as the exchange of information.

Figure 5 is more chaotic at the first glimpse. The core of the network is tightly knit and it is difficult to see which nodes are connected. We will try to go through it by looking at the organizations that were most central in the diagrams we presented above and we will focus on the figure 6 without pendants.

In figure 6, the same organizations are central: a1; a10; a4; a5; a21; a14. Two of the parties remain central related to the interpersonal ties (a4 with 28 ties and a5 with 25 ties), but one of them has less interpersonal connections (a6 with only 8 ties in the lower right hand side). The other central organizations have a number of ties consistent with the other two types of ties we presented above.

But this graph shows a tighter network than the project one. In fact, we should look at the degree of centrality and some basic statistics related to the graphs and network analysis in order to have more information on this aspect. It is very difficult to tell by looking only at the graphical output.

Figure 5 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations having interpersonal ties in Geneva

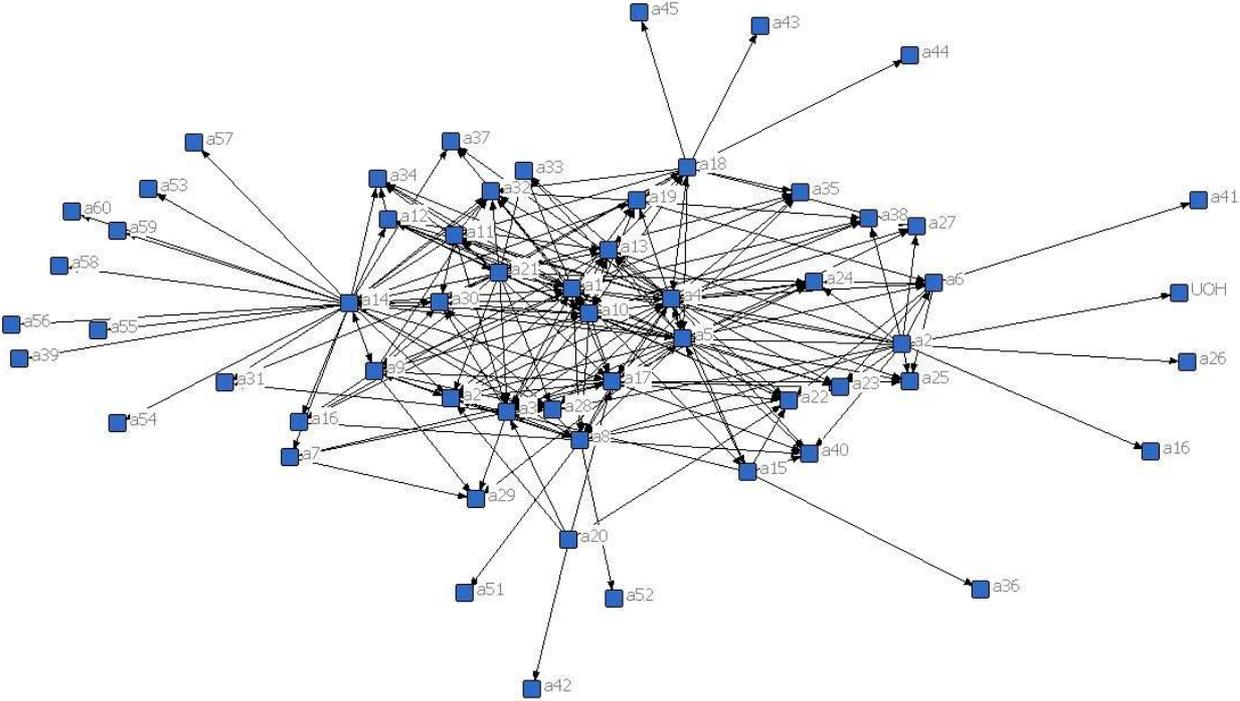
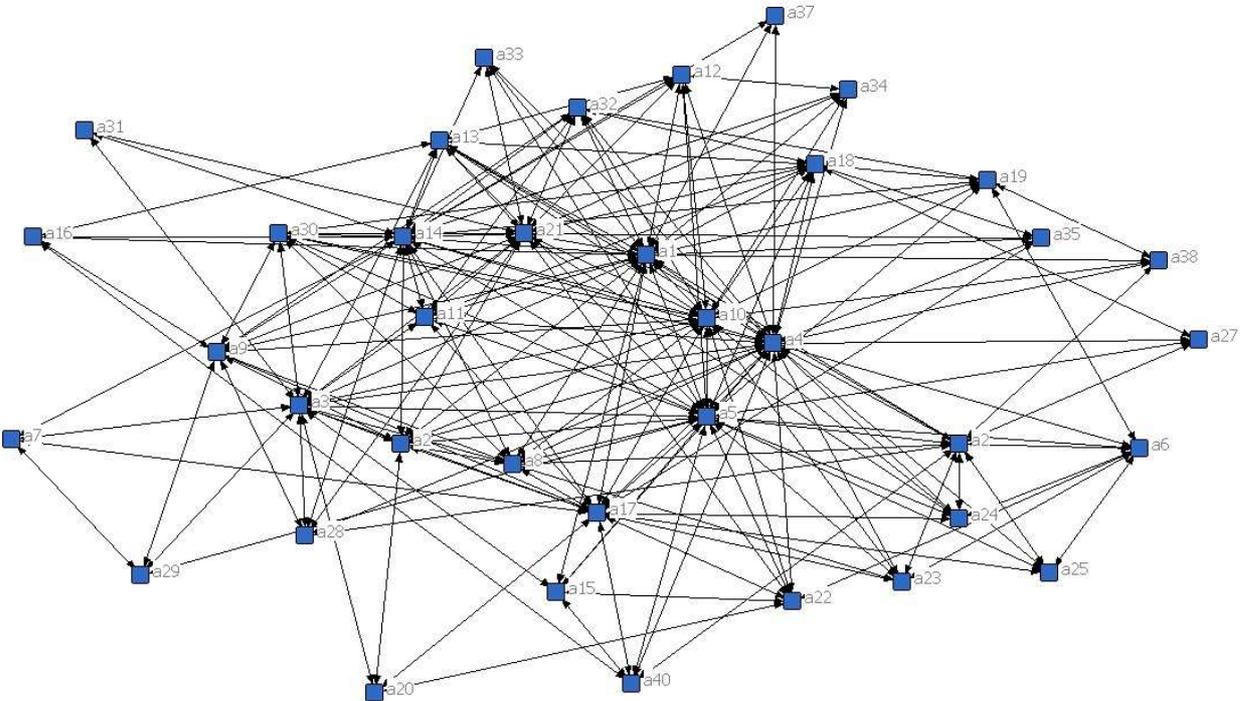


Figure 6 – Network of unemployment and precarious workers organizations having interpersonal ties in Geneva (without pendants)



In fact, the graphs give us a broad picture of the organizational networks, but for more information we will move on to the tables 34 and 35 that present statistical information on our networks. The first table is based only on those organizations mentioned that work in the field of unemployment and precariousness, whereas the second table is based on the broader network that includes other civil society organizations.

Table 34 - General information on network diagrams for the unemployment and precariousness field

Unemployment and precariousness field	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Network of organisations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together	63	39	0.0735	287	12.698
Network of organisations with collaboration in projects	50	34	0.0551	135	10.041
Network of organisations having “personal links”	57	34	0.0749	239	6.642
Network of organisations having major disagreements	9	3	0.0145	8	2.899

Starting from table 34, we have information on four types of ties between organizations: exchange of information (as presented in the graphs above); collaboration on projects; personal links between members of organizations; and major disagreements. The number of organizations in the field of unemployment and precariousness that appear in our network analysis is 63. This number drops to 39 organizations once we remove the organizations that are only mentioned by one organization.

In table 34, we can also see the number of ties. The number of ties varies according to the relationship we are looking at; the organizations are more likely to be tied by exchange of information (287) than by collaboration on projects (135). This might be due to the facility related with exchange of information; it is more difficult to make projects together than to exchange information. But this might also be due to the fact that we are looking at what the organizations say about them and they might be willing to increase the interconnectedness of their organizations with other organizations in the field by mentioning many exchange of information.

Centrality is a structural attribute of nodes in the network, their position in the network (more or less central according to its ties with the other organizations in the network). In the table 34, we present the normalized degree of centrality in order to control for the size of the network and be able to compare across different networks. We can see that the exchange of information gives place to a more centralized network (12.68) than the networks related to collaboration on projects (10.04) or personal links (6.64).

Concerning what we mentioned above on the degree of centrality of the network on project collaboration and interpersonal ties, table 34 only shows the degree of centrality for the networks with the pendants. In this case the project collaboration network is more centralized than the personal links network. When we look at the statistics (not presented in the table) of the two networks without pendants we find the same results, our first impression while looking at the graph was wrong.

Table 35 - General information on network diagrams for the civil society at large

Civil society at large	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Network of organisations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together	35	7	0.0130	28	2.590
Network of organisations with collaboration in projects	18	1	0.0116	13	2.317
Network of organisations having “personal links”	27	4	0.0122	20	2.439
Network of organisations cooperating outside the city	40	9	0.0122	30	2.44930
Network of organisations in Geneva having contacts with international organisations	14	1	0.0103	9	2.069

In table 35, we have information about the broader civil society network in Geneva, the organizations mentioned by the organizations we interviewed and that do not work in the specific unemployment and precariousness field. Here we see that the number of organizations is lower for any type of contacts and that the number of ties is also lower. These organizations appear as more fragmented, but it might be related to the data collection. Here the organizations were mentioned freely by the interviewed organizations, we had no list to present them. Therefore the fragmentation might be due to the data collection and is difficult to interpret the meaning of the normalized degree of centrality for instance.

4. Conclusion

The interviews we held with unemployed and precarious workers organizations permitted to grasp the overall picture of the local organizational field. We were able to present information on the sectors in which they are active, the services and activities they propose, their internal structures, and their relationships to local, national and supranational authorities as well as with other organizations. In the conclusion we will come back on the most important aspects we presented and discuss them briefly.

First of all the organizations we interviewed are either active in providing employment opportunities, providing support for job search and related issues, or active in the policy field. They try to influence both the public opinion and authorities in charge at various levels. But most of the organizations are especially active at the local level – by local in this case we mean municipal and regional. In the field of unemployment and precariousness the organizations we interviewed are known by the public authorities and able to take part in the decision-making process. As we have seen some of them are invited and hold good relationships with the local authorities. The organizations we have interviewed are less active at the national level and almost not active at the supranational level. This might be due to Swiss specificities: federalism and maintenance of bilateral agreements with the European Union, no integration in the European Union as such. On the one hand the federal system leaves the implementation of the unemployment law to the competency of the cantonal authorities, and therefore it is easier for the local organizations to try to influence the decision

taken at this level. On the other hand, Switzerland is not part of the European Union, the country has signed bilateral agreement with the EU, but is not a member state and therefore it does not participate in the decision-making processes. In the field of unemployment and precariousness the organizations active locally have no interest in addressing directly the supranational institutions for legislation related to unemployment.

Once stated that the organizations we interviewed are especially focused on the local level, we should say something about the relationships they have with the local authorities. Overall, they have good relationships and they have access to the decision-making process. They are able to communicate with the public authorities and they often receive direct information from the public institutions. On the information level, the organizations are also well connected between themselves and they tend to share information. They also have interpersonal ties between members of various organizations, but they have fewer projects in common.

Regarding the services they provide to unemployed and precarious workers, they focus on employment related services and social services. A majority of organizations do provide services and this services are centered on working opportunities and social integration which often go together in their understanding of the unemployment and precariousness issue. This is consistent with the major field of activities they mention: job insecurity, unemployment, and social integration. On this specific point, the sectors of activities we can see that the issues of unemployment and precariousness are also connected to broader social issues, such as gender, immigration, and environmental cause. Gender can be linked to specific discrimination suffered by women in the labor market, the same is true for migrants, and migrant women are especially vulnerable in the labor market, some organizations address these issues. The environmental cause is important due to the development of discussions around social economy, some of the organizations we interviewed are active in this specific sub-field and other link it more broadly to the development of a durable social and economic system. Other related issues appear in the sectors of activities, among them: family, studies, housing that also have an impact or are affected by unemployment and precariousness.

Above we mentioned the relationships the organizations we interviewed have with the public authorities and they are generally good at the local level. Surprisingly these organizations are not very active in the political field more broadly speaking. Few of the organizations we interviewed use member mobilization and protest activities and not many more try to raise awareness on the issues they work on. Only a minority of them is active in the political field, ranging between one third and one quarter, whereas most of them provide different kinds of services. The motivations to join are mainly related to helping others and not directly to political ideas. Another element we should mention here is the fact that the organizations we interviewed are quite small in terms of both employees and members. They rely on small number of staff, but they benefit from relatively high budgets.

Globally the organizations we interviewed provide mainly services to the young unemployed and precarious workers, they are quite small structures that are active at the local level and which have good relationships with the local authorities. These premises permit to complement effectively the public policies and public institutions that work in the field of unemployment and precariousness in Geneva.

Annex

Table 5.1 – Frequency of activities per types

Frequency	Activities							
	Cultural	Social	Intellectual	Political	Educational	Sport	Religious	Public programs
Never	57.1	19.0	33.3	52.4	38.1	61.9	100.0	4706
Less frequently	4.8	4.8	4.8	-	-	4.8	-	4.8
Yearly	14.3	28.6	14.3	4.8	4.8	9.5	-	-
2-5 times a year	19.0	28.6	23.8	19.0	23.8	14.3	-	14.3
Monthly	-	4.8	23.8	19.0	23.8	4.8	-	-
Weekly	4.8	9.5	-	-	4.8	4.8	-	14.3
Every day	-	-	-	4.8	4.8	-	-	19
Don't Know /Refusal	-	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N=21

WP2: National Report Germany

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Cologne

1. Introduction

The city of Cologne consists of a vital and diverse network of civil society organisations that work in the field of unemployment and precarious work. In the late 70s and early 80s, when mass unemployment became a major problem in the city (as well as in the whole country), first unemployment groups emerged. Their main goals were self-help and interest representation by and for the persons aggrieved. Some of these first generation social movement groups have survived until now, some of them have become more and more professional and have grown to **unemployment centres** providing different projects for the unemployed on the one hand, and (psycho-) social counselling on the other hand.

At the same time, other **civil society organisations** (mainly associations and subgroups of the national welfare agencies, like Caritas and Arbeiterwohlfahrt) were founded in order to help the unemployed in managing their situation and finding a way back into the labour market.

In the early 2000s a second generation of unemployment organisations appeared, when the controversial “Hartz” reforms were introduced in order to reduce unemployment by a more flexible labour market and more demanding conditions for obtaining unemployment benefits. These are mostly informal **social movement organisations** carrying out political protest and direct actions.

Although social and labour market policies are negotiated and developed mainly on the national level in Germany, most of the parties represented in the Cologne city council have different ideas how to improve the employment situation especially in situ; some of them cooperate with unemployed organisations and labour unions. This is why **political parties** on the local level are another type of organisations that is relevant for our research.

In the field of precarious working conditions, **labour unions** are the main protagonists fighting for the employee’s rights in terms of job security.

1.1. Mapping Organisations

Different sources were consulted in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the universe of civil society organisations being active in the field of unemployment and precariousness in Cologne. We investigated the trade register of Cologne (in which all registered associations are noted), newspaper and blog reports on demonstrations and other forms of political protest, alternative magazines and internet sites, electoral programmes of political parties and citizen groups, brochures of labour unions, and internet forums for unemployed people. We talked to local authorities and representatives of political parties, social workers,

employment agencies, representatives of unemployment centres and social movement organisations.

Our research yielded a list of 50 organisations. The list comprises 18 social movement organisations (which typically use protest as main form of action), 11 civil society organisations (which help the unemployed through professional staff, i.e. social workers or not-affected volunteers), 8 social counselling centres (which are run by social workers, most of them working in a certain neighbourhood), 6 political parties (5 of them represented in the city council), and 7 trade unions (including two union youth groups).

1.2. Sampling

After having pre-tested the questionnaire by interviewing two organisations that were quite characteristic for the field (one social movement organisation and one social counselling centre), we contacted, first, the organisations that seemed to be the most important protagonists in the city. We started to conduct the interviews and contacted, during four months of fieldwork, every organisation listed in the mapping. On the basis of our list, 29 interviews could be conducted. This is a response rate of 58%. The dropouts have different reasons. Two of the organisations are no longer active, some of the persons contacted neither answered their phone nor their mails, some of the organisations refused because of a lack of personnel and resources, or because they had already spent time for other research (we have been confronted with this argument several times – Cologne has Germany's largest university, and civil society organisations seem to be popular objects of research for students of sociology, political science and social work). Moreover, some of the social movement organisations refused to take part as a matter of principle, because they mistrusted us. They believed someone could use our data in order to know how to destroy the organisation, and were not willing to be convinced of the opposite.

Considering this, our sample is slightly biased, because moderate organisations used to answer the questionnaire more often than radical groups. Consequently, social movement organisations are under-represented in our sample. The following table shows the distribution of different types of organisations in the map on the one hand, and the sample on the other hand.

Table 1: Types of organisations mapped and interviewed

Mapping		Type of Organisation	Sampling	
36%	18	Social movement organisation	7	24%
22%	11	Civil society organisation	7	24%
16%	8	Social counselling centre	6	21%
12%	6	Political party	5	17%
14%	7	Labour union	4	14%
100%	50	<i>Altogether</i>	29	100%

2. Comparing organisational characteristics

In the following section we will have a look at the results of the organisational survey in Cologne: How do the organisations understand unemployment and precariousness, and what do they do in this issue field? What are their main activities? What about their internal structures, and how do they make decisions? On which resources do they rely? What are their strategies of action and communication? Do they offer services for the unemployed and precarious workers, and how do those make use of it?

2.1. Framing unemployment and precariousness

2.1.1. Unemployment

When asked “how does your organisation relate its main goal/s with unemployed people?”, almost all of the organisations stated generally that unemployment was one of the most important issues for them. Moreover, most of them said that their main goal was bringing people into work. But a closer look on the organisations’ activities and strategies shows that there are very different approaches facing unemployment or reducing the problems that accompany it. Their work can be divided into two different kinds of activities: support for individuals vs. political work in order to effect structural changes. The first category, support for individuals, can be given either by others or by the unemployed themselves.

One of the most common support services for the unemployed is **social counselling** (which is done professionally by social counselling centres). This includes advice in access to the welfare system (e.g. claiming the money the unemployed are eligible for), and individual-related counselling on future employment perspectives. In general, social counselling is often about making the unemployed aware of their rights and enhancing their self-esteem.

Moreover, some organisations (mainly civil society organisations) support the unemployed directly by **in-kind support**, like food, meals, clothes, furniture, accommodation, and, sometimes, money.

Many organisations (civil society organisations as well as social counselling centres) do mainly **social work**. They do neighbourhood work in deprived areas in order to foster social integration; they offer special projects for immigrants, single mothers, parents whose children have problems at school; and they organise meetings and spare time activities for underprivileged people.

Another field of activity is organising **qualification and training offers** (which is done by civil society organisations and counselling centres as well as by labour unions), like application training, IT/language courses, personal coaching. Furthermore, some organisations offer qualification/employment measures that are financed by the labour agency. The aim of all these activities is bringing the unemployed in contact with the labour market. Some associations additionally use their contacts to employers and place the unemployed into jobs in the open labour market.

The fifth type of activities is **support for self-help** (done by social counselling centres and unions). These groups organise meetings, help building networks, make the unemployed aware of their rights, bring them together and encourage them to speak for themselves and fight for their rights.

Support given by the unemployed themselves is, obviously, **self-help**. Although some social counselling centres have different self-help groups, this kind of work is mostly done as a second field of activity by social movement organisations. They organise meetings, exchange experiences and knowledge about their rights and their perspectives, create jobs for themselves in socialist working collectives, accompany each another to the labour agency.

Concerning the second category of organisational activities, political work in order to effect structural changes, two political goals may be distinguished. The first one is reducing unemployment; the second one is bettering the situation of the unemployed.

In Cologne, unions are the most active organisations trying to **reduce unemployment**. They bargain with employers and provide education offers for their members, fight for more

apprenticeship training positions and try to facilitate the transition from school to work. Also political parties stress that the reduction of unemployment is one of their main goals, but since labour market politics in general are negotiated on the national level, their scope of action in regard to local policies is fairly limited.

Bettering the situation of the unemployed is mainly the issue field of social movement organisations, but also of labour unions and left-wing parties. Social counselling centres do lobbying for the unemployed; they try to raise awareness that having no employment is not an individual fault, but a structural problem of capitalist societies. The aim is to combat the social stigmatisation of the unemployed. Local politicians are working on special concessions for needy people in the city (like subsidies for public transport, cultural activities etc.) and some of them fight, on the local level, for a basic income. Fighting for a basic income and raising awareness on the structural causes of unemployment are also some of the main topics the social movement organisations deal with. But, compared to the social counselling centres, they formulate their claims and their criticism in a more radical way. All of them can be located on the left side of the political spectrum. Besides interest representation, fostering self-organisation and giving solidarity, they protest against the Hartz laws (even five years after their implementation), observe and disturb the local labour agency more or less continuously by direct actions.

When asked how much **time they devoted to unemployment** on average, about one third of them said 100%. More than two thirds of the organisations said that they spent at least two thirds of their working time on this issue. Lower rates were mainly given by political parties. Four organisations refused to give a statement on the time spent.

Table 2: time devoted to unemployment

How much time on average (%) does your organisation devote to unemployment?	%
10-25%	8
26-40%	16
41-60%	8
61-80%	36
81-99%	0
100%	32

N=25

2.1.2. Precariousness

When we asked the organisations whether they spent a **different amount of time in dealing with either unemployment or precariousness**, more than half of the organisations said that they could not answer this question, because unemployment and precariousness were hard to distinguish (at least in their consequences for the individuals). About a third of the organisations stated to spend less time on precariousness, and two organisations could clearly affirm to devote just as much time to precariousness as to unemployment. Only one organisation admitted not to deal with precariousness at all.

Table 3: time devoted to precariousness

Is there any difference concerning precariousness?	%
There is no difference	59
We devote less time to precariousness than to unemployment	30
We devote about the same time to unemployment and precariousness	7
We do not deal with precariousness	4

N=27

According to this, many organisations considered unemployment and precariousness to be part of the same problem: low unemployment benefits invite employers to lower the wages, which leads to precarious working conditions, and vice versa. Especially civil society organisations and social counselling centres do not distinguish their clients by employment status, but by the criterion to be needy. Many unemployed have 1€-jobs (i.e., take part in employment measures) or side jobs, and many precarious workers are unemployed from time to time. However, most organisations tend to centre rather on unemployment than on precariousness. Indeed, only one organisation said explicitly not to deal with unemployment, while one may get the impression that few of our organisations interviewed are directly addressing precarious working conditions. Moreover, there are no self-help groups or groups of precarious workers that organise themselves in any other way. Only one socialist social movement group stated to be engaged in fighting for the employees' rights on company level. Organisations stating precariousness to be actually an important issue for them were particularly labour unions and left-wing political parties.

Two of the organisations (a political party and a civil society organisation) did not see the problem of precariousness at all; in contrast, they underlined the usefulness of flexible work in terms of integrating long-term unemployed, mothers, convicts and other "outsiders" into the labour market.

As in the case of the activities for the unemployed, organisational work on precariousness may be divided up into the two categories of individual support services and political work. Concerning **support for individuals** (provided by social counselling centres and civil society organisations), as stated above, the organisations do not consider their clients as a special group of "*the precarious workers*" (unlike "*the unemployed*"), but as needy people in general – if the precarious are needy at all (thus, it becomes clear that these organisations define precariousness by low income, not by instable working conditions). They help them by (psycho-) social counselling; they support them in claiming social assistance and in writing applications for (better) jobs in the open labour market.

Political work is geared to effect structural changes and is mainly done by unions and left-wing parties, which collaborate in many ways. They work towards giving the precarious workers a lobby and making their situation more public. Unions are active in bargaining wage agreements and fighting for better job protection, for more apprenticeship training positions according to the German dual system of professional education, and for agreements governing numbers of trainees to be hired with a regular contract after having completed their apprenticeship in a company. Moreover, and together with the social democratic and the socialist party, they call for a nationwide and intersectoral minimum wage. These ideas are also embraced by the social movement organisations, which, however, do not usually protest for them on their own. Finally, the introduction of a basic income is an issue that all organisations working politically on precariousness agree on. According to their opinion, this would avoid people being forced to take up an employment entailing bad working conditions. At large, precariousness is mainly negotiated by the unions. Being an interest representation for the employees, it is their primary field of action, and even more important for them than unemployment. All the other types of organisations are rather engaged in the issue of unemployment than in precarious working conditions.

2.2. Activities

Table 4 shows different sectors of activity and the percentage of organisations being committed to them. Almost all organisations deal with job insecurity, precariousness and unemployment, with poverty and social integration. Education, employment and training, as well as culture, are also areas of work in which most of the organisations are engaged.

Furthermore, politics and health are sectors of activity addressed by more than two thirds of the organisations.

Table 4: sectors of activity

Sector of activity	%
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	93
Poverty	93
Social integration	93
Education	86
Employment and training	79
Culture, music, theatre etc.	72
Politics	69
Health	69
Youth, students	62
Family	62
Human rights	62
Peace/anti-militarism/conflict resolution	59
Women	59
Disabled	55
Housing	55
Labour relations	52
Pensioners, elderly	48
Child care/other children's services	48
Environment	41
Immigration	38
Crime	38
International cooperation	38
Fair trade / ethical finance	35
Alternative communication and media activism	31
Sport	28
Religious activities	28
Homosexuality	24
Business relations	24
Consumers' interests	14

N=29

Since most of the organisations are involved in very different sectors of activity, it is interesting to know which one is the most important for them. As table 5 shows, more than one third of the organisations said that poverty was the most important issue for them. This is not astonishing, because poverty is the most essential consequence that comes along with unemployment and, sometimes, with precariousness. Civil society organisations and social counselling centres get in touch with poverty by giving support and/or advice to their needy clients, and poverty is an important political topic, too. The Hartz laws introduced relatively low benefits especially for long-term unemployed. This is why lots of protest groups in the early 2000s used the slogan "Hartz IV is poverty by law". In all the other sectors, organisations tend to mention different areas of activity, which accounts for the fact that civil society organisations tend to face unemployment in Cologne from distinct perspectives and with different approaches. Some favour education and employment/training in order to reduce unemployment, others are more engaged in politics and social integration, willing to ameliorate the situation of the unemployed and their status in society.

Table 5: most important sectors of activity

Most important sector	%
Poverty	34.6
Education	11.5
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	7.7
Social integration	7.7
Politics	7.7
Employment and training	7.7
Child care/other children's services	3.8
Business relations	3.8
Housing	3.8
Crime	3.8
Other	7.7
Total	100,0

N=26

Taking a closer look, we now turn to the specific activities the different groups organised during the past two years. Table 6 shows how often they were engaged in organising different kinds of events and activities. About three quarters of the organisations did organise cultural, social and intellectual events, and most of them did so between once a month and once a year. Political events and activities are organised slightly more often. About two thirds of the organisations carry them out between 2 and 5 times a year. Concerning education, only every 7th organisation stated to abstain from activities in this issue field, and one third of them organises educational activities weekly or more often. Sport events seem to be less common, but most of those organisations committed to them carry them out regularly. Almost all organisations never organise religious activities. Public programmes are implemented by slightly less than half of the organisations, and more than half of them do so on a daily basis. Examples for these programmes are the job exchanges run by civil society organisations in Cologne, some counselling programmes and other projects for different groups of underprivileged people.

Table 6: frequency of organising events and activities

Frequency	How frequently has your organisation engaged in organising events/activities?							
	Cultural	Social	Intell.	Polit.	Educ.	Sport	Relig.	Pub. Pr.
Never	24.1	24.1	20.7	20.7	13.8	34.5	89.7	58.6
Less frequently	3.4	6.9	3.4	3.4	3.4	13.8	0	3.4
Yearly	13.8	3.4	10.3	10.3	0	10.3	0	0
2-5 times a year	44.8	55.2	34.5	20.7	31.0	20.7	3.4	3.4
Monthly	10.3	3.4	24.1	17.2	17.2	3.4	0	6.9
Weekly	0	3.4	3.4	20.7	27.6	10.3	3.4	3.4
Every day	3.4	3.4	3.4	6.9	6.9	6.9	3.4	24.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=29

Concerning activities organised with the jobless and precarious workers, the organisations do not seem to make a difference in respect to the employment status. Two thirds of them organise from time to time information stands with both unemployed and precarious, one fifth of them carries out sit-ins. About half of them organises rallies and also trainings, and two thirds of them have meetings with unemployed and precarious people. In those three categories, the number of activities organised with precarious workers is slightly higher.

Table 7: activities organised with unemployed and precarious

Which type of activities do you organise with...	... unemployed (%)	... precarious (%)
Information stands	66	66
Sit-ins	21	21
Rallies	52	55
Trainings	48	52
Meetings	66	69

n=29

2.3. Internal structures and decision-making processes

Organisations do not only differ in terms of their activities, but also in their internal structures and the ways of making decisions. Table 8 gives an overview about some typical formal characteristics. 83% of the organisations interviewed have a constitution, and almost all of them have a board. Most of the organisations' boards meet monthly, some even weekly, and some just several times a year. Only few meet less frequently. Nomenclature and type of leadership varies: Some organisations have a leader or president; others have, according to the classical form of German associations, a chairperson. Moreover, some have a secretary; about half of them have a spokesperson and, again half of them, a treasurer. A very common organ is the general assembly, which 86% of the organisations have. Most of the general assemblies meet once or several times a year, some meet even weekly. Additionally, two thirds have committees or working groups on specific issues. They meet on average more often than the general assembly.

Table 8: internal structures

Does your organization have...	Yes %		How often does it meet? (answers in % of each item)				
			Weekly	Monthly	Several times a year	Once a year	Less frequently
A constitution	83						
A board	79	<input type="checkbox"/>	22	52	22	4	0
Leader / president	31						
A chairperson	62						
A secretary	38						
A spokesperson	48						
A treasurer	48						
A general assembly	86	<input type="checkbox"/>	12	8	36	36	8
Committees / working groups on specific issues	72	<input type="checkbox"/>	38	33	24	0	5

N=29

First, we will have a closer look at the composition of the organisational boards. In three quarters of our cases, the board members are recruited from inside (among members), one tenth is appointed from outside (e.g. job market), and the rest both from inside and outside (n=23). The number of board members (table 9) spans from less than five to 35, however, most organisations have rather small boards, because three quarters of them have 10 or less members.

Table 9: number of board members

How many members form the board? (%)	
5 or less	48
Between 6 and 10	28
Between 11 and 20	10
Between 21 and 35	14
Total	100

N=21

The mean number of board members is 9.3 persons. As table 10 shows, slightly more than one third of the board members are female. Unemployed are not well represented at all: only about each 19th board member is an unemployed man, and only every 90th member is an unemployed woman. Precarious are not better represented in the organisational boards, but among them, there is a smaller gender gap.

Table 10: gender and employment status of board members

How many of the board are... (means)	
Women	3.5
Unemployed men	0.5
Unemployed women	0.1
Precarious men	0.3
Precarious women	0.2

These differences demonstrate that most organisations do not have an explicit policy like a quota or quorum. Only one quarter of the organisations has a gender quota for the board, and one tenth has a quota for unemployed people. None of the organisations has a quota for precariously employed people.

Table 11: quotas within the board

Is this distribution the result of a precise policy of the organisation?	%
Gender quota	26
Unemployed quota	9
Quota for precarious workers	0

N=23

The president/leader/secretary/chairperson/spokesman (i.e. the head of the organisation) was a man in four of five cases (81% men vs. 19% women, n=21).

Although 23 of our 29 organisations have a board, this is not the most important decision-making body for most of them. Only about one third of them make the most important decisions within the board; for about 40% of them the general assembly is the major decision-making body. The rest of them decide important issues either among their staff members or among the volunteers. Two organisations established a board only pro forma in order to be registered as an association. Social movement organisations take their decisions within open meetings, where they try to find a consensus. Some organisations do not have a board, because they are either informal organisations or because they are part of one of the big German welfare agencies (like Caritas etc.) and are thus no legal entity on their own. The latter take their decisions among the staff team and make propositions to the federation, which makes the final decision. Informal groups (all of them are social movement organisations) take decisions within discussions at open meetings, as mentioned above, and

all the informal organisations stated that they try to find a consensus rather than deciding by acclamation.

These observations raise the question of who participates in the organisations' decision-making bodies (except the board). Like in the boards, the number of members spans from less than five to 35, but table 12 shows that more members participate in decision-making bodies than in the (formal) boards.

Table 12: number of people taking part in decision-making

How many persons take part in the decision-making process? (%)	
5 or less	19
Between 6 and 10	37
Between 11 and 20	25
Between 21 and 35	19
Total	100

N=16

The mean number of individuals taking part in the decision-making process is 12.9 persons. Again, slightly more than a third of the persons are women (cf. table 13). Concerning gender, apparently there is little difference between formal and informal organisational bodies. But the number of unemployed and precarious workers involved is higher than in the boards. Here, every 7th decision-making member is an unemployed man and every 21st member is an unemployed woman. Precarious are a bit less represented, but again more often than in the boards. Hence, informal bodies seem to be more open to unemployed and precarious workers than formal boards, but this is not true for women. One eighth of the organisations said this distribution was the result of a specific policy (quota or quorum) of the organisation.

Table 13: gender and employment status of decision-making persons

How many of the persons taking part in decision-making are... (means)	
Women	4.9
Unemployed men	1.8
Unemployed women	0.6
Precarious men	1.3
Precarious women	0.5

2.4. Organisational resources: personnel and finances

Support by members is an important resource for civil society organisations. This includes the attendance at the general assembly, which we have identified as an essential body of decision-making for most of our organisations. As table 14 shows, they are quite well attended: In half of the cases, more than 56% of their members have participated at their latest assembly, one quarter of the organisations counted with more than 86% of their members. Low numbers (<10-40%) concern mainly political parties and labour unions, which have a great amount of passive members.

Table 14: number of people attended latest general assembly/meetings

How many people attended approximately your latest general assembly/meetings? (%)	
Less than 10%	16.7
Between 10 and 25%	12.5
Between 26 and 40%	12.5
Between 41 and 55%	8.3
Between 56 and 70%	12.5
Between 71 and 85%	12.5
More than 86%	25.0
Total	100.0

N=24

When asked for what reasons people join the organisation, most of them said “for social contacts” and “for helping/assisting other people”. Only slightly less mentioned “sharing political ideas/values” to be a motivation. More than half of the organisations said people joined them for political support. Legal support and, finally, financial support seem to be less important motivations.

Table 15: motivations to join the organisation

Do people join the organisation for...	%
... political support	57.1
... financial support	24.4
... legal/judiciary support	39.3
... social contacts	85.7
... helping/assisting other people	85.7
... sharing political ideas/values	82.1

N=28

Civil society organisations live on their volunteers. Only one of our organisations does not have volunteers at all. Most of the organisations have up to 40 people doing work on a voluntary basis for them. Higher numbers of volunteers can mainly be found among political parties. They can muster large numbers of volunteers for general assemblies and election campaigns.

Table 16: number of volunteers

Number of volunteers	%
No volunteers	3.7
Less than 10	11.1
From 10 up to 40	48.1
From 41 up to 200	18.5
More than 200	18.5
Total	100.0

N=27

A further important resource for the organisations is paid staff. A bit more than a third of them do not have full-time staff. Amongst those who have, the major part can rely on one to five employees. Others have up to 24 staff members. Full-time staff consists mainly of social workers.

Table 17: number of full-time staff

How many persons work full-time for the organisation?	%
No full-time staff	35.7
From 1 up to 5 persons	39.3
From 6 up to 10	10.7
From 11 up to 20	10.7
From 21 up to 24	3.6
Total	100.0

N=28

Concerning part-time staff, there is a similar picture. Again, just over one third of them do not have part-time staff at all, and most of them have between one and five employees. Comparing the two types of personnel, one may notice that numbers of part-time staff are lower than the ones of full-time workers. Part-time staff consists mainly of assistants, secretaries or clerks.

Table 18: number of part-time staff

How many persons work part-time for the organisation?	%
No part-time staff	37.0
From 1 up to 5 persons	51.8
From 6 up to 10	7.4
From 11 up to 18	3.7
Total	100.0

N=27

In all of our cases, members and volunteers meet regularly, almost all of them at least once a month.

Table 19: frequency of meetings of members and volunteers

How regularly do members and volunteers meet?	%
Never or less frequently than once a year	0
Once a year	0
2-5 times a year	4.8
Monthly	27.6
Weekly	27.6
Every day	10.3
Don't Know / No Answer	3.4
Total	100.0

N=21

Next to personnel, money is the other important resource for organisations. Again, organisations have very different financial resources. Some have quite narrow budgets; others can count on large sums of money. Table 20 presents the different annual budgets. On a first glance, there is no specific pattern concerning the distribution of financial resources.

Table 20: annual budget

Annual Budget	%
Less than € 1,000	6.9
Between € 1,000 and € 2,499	3.4
Between € 2,500 and € 4,999	3.4
Between € 5,000 and € 9,999	10.3
Between € 10,000 and € 49,999	13.8
Between € 50,000 and € 99,999	3.4
Between € 100,000 and € 149,999	6.9
Between € 150,000 and € 199,999	3.4
More than € 200,000	20.7
Don't Know	13.8
No Answer	13.8
Total	100.0

N=29

However, table 21 makes clear that the annual budget of an organisation varies significantly by its type. Social movement organisations have the most limited budgets; most of them have less than 10,000€ available. Civil society organisations dispose of higher sums of money. Being highly professionalized organisations, social counselling centres rely on the greatest budgets. What also becomes evident is that political parties do not like to disclose their financial situation.

Table 21: annual budget by type of organisation

	SMO	CSO	SCC	Parties	Unions
< 1,000€	28.6%	0	0	0	0
1,000-2,499€	14.3%	0	0	0	0
2,500-4,999€	14.3%	0	0	0	0
5,000-9,999€	14.3%	14.3%	0	20.0%	0
10,000-49,999€	14.3%	14.3%	0	0	50.0%
50,000-99,999€	0	0	16.7%	0	0
100,000-149,999€	0	14.3%	16.7%	0	0
150,000-200,000€	0	14.3%	0	0	0
> 200,000€	0	28.6%	50.0%	0	25.0%
Don't Know	0	14.3%	16.7%	40.0%	0
No Answer	14.3	0	0	40.0%	25.0%
Total	100.0 n=7	100.0 n=7	100.0 n=6	100.0 n=5	100.0 n=4

N=29

2.5. Organisational strategies: repertoires of action and communication

The next section deals with the organisations' scopes and forms of action. All of them are active in the city in general, and half of them, moreover, in the wider region. About 40% focus on a specific neighbourhood; these are mainly civil society organisations doing neighbourhood work and social counselling centres. Slightly more than one quarter is active in the whole country – this applies to political parties and trade unions – and another 20% are associated to other organisations or federations at the EU level.

Table 22: geographical area of activity

Geographical level of activity	%
Local neighbourhood	39
The city (in general)	100
Several offices in different areas of the city	8
The wider region/province	50
The whole country	27
Other countries	4
European Union level	19

N=26

Most of our organisations claim for themselves to be active in political education and raising awareness, in interest representation and lobbying, and in social integration (cf. table 23). Slightly less than three quarters of them provide services to members. Two thirds offer services to others. And the same number mobilises members by protest, demonstrations and direct actions. About half of the organisations stated to do fund-raising.

Table 23: main actions

Main actions used in order to reach the organisation's goals	%
Political education of citizens / raising awareness	83
Interest representation / lobbying institutions	83
Social integration	83
Services to members	72
... Self-help	72
... .advisory / counselling activities	69
Services to others	66
Mobilising members by protest, demonstrations and direct actions	66
Fundraising	52

N=29

When asked which one was the most important type of action, about one third mentioned the item "services to members". For one quarter, membership mobilisation was the most important action. A smaller number of organisations saw political education and other activities as their main action. "Other" includes political party work (negotiating in parliaments, councils and committees, election campaigns and media work) and community work (which aims, however, at social integration).

Table 24: most important type of action

Activities	%
Services to members	31
Membership mobilization	24
Political education	14
Other	14
Interest representation/lobbying	10
Services to others	7
Total	100

N=29

In order to be heard, civil society organisations must communicate with the public by producing or co-producing media products. When asked what the organisation would like to do but is not able to, one representative of a social movement organisation said they wished to have their own propaganda TV network so as to convince people of their political ideas. Apart from such wishful thinking, the organisations produce a lot of different media products

and/or engage in established media in order to find an attentive ear. As table 25 shows, most of the organisations publish press releases and host a website or take part in blogs and forums. 41% send newsletters to interested people. Concerning these three categories, organisations produce these publications rather by themselves than together with other organisations. One reason may be the intention to have one's own standing and not to be lumped together with other organisations that pursue slightly different goals. However, more time consuming media is published together with other organisations (like online or offline newspapers, journals, reviews and magazines and, sometimes, books).

Table 25: production/co-production of media

Does your organisation produce or co-produce...	produce (%)	co-produce (%)
Press releases	83	62
Newsletter	41	31
Website / blog / forum	86	41
Offline newspaper / journal / review / magazine	52	48
Online newspaper / journal / review / magazine	35	35
Books	21	38
Local / regional radio / television programme	17	62
National radio / television programme	3	38

N=29

All organisations said that, some way or the other, their word is spread to the unemployed and/or precarious workers (n=24). We did not ask this question to the political parties, because due to election campaigns and newspaper reports it is obvious that people know about them.

Most of the organisations use flyers in order to inform potential members or clients about them. Additionally, some of them produce their own newspapers or magazines and distribute them relying on other organisations or public institutions. Otherwise, they publish press releases or advertisements in the print media. Furthermore, most of the organisations have a website, and some are active in internet forums as well. They publish information online and send newsletters to interested people. Some participate at public events and workshops, give presentations and organise information desks. Moreover, some organisations said the most important information channel was word of mouth, either by the people aggrieved, or by social counselling centres, the labour agency, social workers, and churches. Apart from this, notices at public places like churches, the labour agency and other offices are a common way to attract the people's attention.

There are different organisational strategies to get in contact with potential new members or clients. Almost two thirds of the organisations use the information channels presented above and wait for the unemployed or precarious workers to ask for help or join their group. The minority does actively look for unemployed and precarious workers additionally. Some of them do street working; others visit prisons or school classes in order to find participants for their projects. Social movement organisations talk to people during political actions and at the labour agency and ask them whether they want to join. Others organise information desks and address people in public space.

2.6. Services

Almost two thirds of our organisations offer some services to either members or clients. Table 25 shows the distribution of different kinds of services among the organisations. Assistance in access to the welfare system (mainly claiming unemployment benefits and social aid) as well as employment seeking are the most common services the organisations

provide. Every day activities are mainly offered by civil society organisations and social counselling centres providing advice professionally by social workers.

Table 26: frequency of providing assistance and support

Frequency	How frequently has your organisation provided ...?					
	Assistance in housing	Assistance in employment seeking	Assistance in access to the welfare system	Financial support	In-kind support	Legal assistance
Never	22.2	11.1	11.1	66.7	33.3	33.3
Less frequently	5.6	11.1	5.6	11.1	5.6	5.6
Yearly	5.6	5.6	5.6	0	0	5.6
2-5 times a year	22.2	11.1	0	5.6	0	16.7
Monthly	16.7	5.6	11.1	11.1	11.1	0
Weekly	5.6	5.6	16.7	0	11.1	11.1
Every day	22.2	50.0	50.0	5.6	38.9	27.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=18

Offering services is something different than helping specific individuals. Table 27 presents the average number of people having received such services during the past two years. Most of these persons have benefited from in-kind support by civil society organisations (including food banks, clothing and furniture stores selling goods for low prices to needy people). The high number of people having obtained assistance in access to the welfare system refers to the social counselling centres, which consider this as their main exercise. Compared to other clients, the number of persons having received financial support is very low.

Table 27: number of beneficiaries by kind of service

During the past two years, how many persons obtained... (means)	
Assistance in housing	274
Assistance in employment seeking	300
Assistance in access to the welfare system	709
Financial support	45
In-kind support	1'097
Legal assistance	587

The average number of people having received any services during the last 12 months was 2'034. In most of the cases, beneficiaries overlap to some extent with members and/or volunteers of the organisation. About half of the organisations have established some eligibility criteria (cf. table 28). However, none of the organisations have citizenship or religion as a criterion to be met by potential recipients. Even the other criteria listed in our questionnaire apply only to a minority of the organisations.

Table 28: criteria required to obtain services

Criterion	%
Income level (means-tested)	11
Inclusion in public programmes for unemployed/precarious	33
Citizenship	0
Religion	0
Age	22
Other	78

N=9

Most of the organisations mentioned sometimes additionally other criteria than the ones we asked in the questionnaire. One important other criteria is union membership (stated by unions, obviously), further ones are being inhabitant of a certain district or having low education. For some special programmes, the beneficiaries need to be women, migrants or disabled.

3. Organisations and their environment

As we have demonstrated so far, the field of civil society organisations is very heterogeneous in regard to objectives, activities and organisational structures. The same applies to the way these organisations define their role within their social and political environment. This is particularly true when looking at the political dimension of Cologne's local civil society. The political role of these organisations differs quite extensively, depending on the respective self-perceptions and action repertoires of the different organisations as well as on the way local authorities consider them and offer them possibilities to take part in public decision-making processes.

Social movement organisations are political actors by nature; people join them in order to effect political changes. All social movement organisations in our issue field adamantly refuse the new social laws; some of them have even been founded in order to fight "Hartz IV". The city of Cologne was one of three German municipalities that experimented with new organisational structures in regard to local labour offices and developed a role model that was eventually adopted by the Hartz-reforms on the national level. They established a consortium that consists of the local labour agency and the social assistance offices, the aim being to merge different types of social benefit recipients, to improve service delivery and step insertion measures up. These consortia are now in place in most German cities. Of course, implementing such a new organisational model goes along with diverse problems. Disclosing these problems is one of the main activities of social movement organisations (e.g. irregularities and ultra vires action by the persons in charge). Due to their harsh criticism, social movement organisations are not taken seriously by the local authorities. Members of the city committee on social affairs from various parties even did not know about their existence and their actions, or at least pretended not to do so, and the official local media does hardly devote space to them. Hence, almost all of the social movement organisations are excluded from public decision-making processes. However, social movement organisations are not ineffective in the Cologne political arena. Since they do not take part in public bodies and committees, they try to change the system from outside. Apart from carrying out political protest, they do direct actions at the labour agency – or rather the consortium between the labour agency and the municipality. Most of them take part in the network "Zahltag" (payday). They organise secret meetings of hundreds of unemployed, which gather at a certain office of the labour agency or consortium at the first day in a month. They do sit-ins at the agency, go with unemployed to the official in charge in groups of up to 20 people and put pressure on the staff member to pay the amount of money the unemployed is entitled to (in some cases, the labour agency gives only food coupons to them without any legal basis). By these means, some unemployed organisations have grown in political power and exert influence on the consortium, which is more likely to cooperate under the eyes of the organisations so as to avoid negative publicity.

In contrast, civil society organisations do not often consider themselves as political actors. They rather try to close gaps in the social system under the existing circumstances. Ironically, many of them have already been included in public decision-making processes. Some take part in a certain neighbourhood council or are invited from time to time to a committee in order to solve a specific problem. Local politicians trust in their role as practitioners having broad knowledge about certain problems.

Social counselling centres have an ambivalent role in the political sphere. On the one hand, their main activity is advice in access to the welfare system and in future employment perspectives; on the other hand they consider themselves as advocates lobbying for the interests of the unemployed. Two of them are members of the advisory board of the consortium of the labour agency and the municipality, they report on problems the unemployed are confronted with and try to effect changes in the consortium's policies, even though their influence is quite limited. As regards to content, they pursue the same goals like the social movement organisations, at least to some extent, but work from within the local field of welfare services rather than from the outside. Ironically, the social movement organisations do not cooperate with them at all, denouncing them as being part of "the system".

The political role of labour unions is obvious. All of them take part in some public decision-making processes by representing the interest of the employees.

The different types of organisations have different ideas and strategies concerning the integration of the unemployed. While civil society organisations mainly focus on social integration of the unemployed (or integration into the labour market), strategies of inclusion favoured by social movement organisations and social counselling centres have a clear political component. The latter try to strengthen self-confidence of the unemployed, foster their self-organisation and make them aware of their rights. For them, the crucial element of being part of a society is having civil and social rights. They help the unemployed getting aware of them and exercising them by suing. Exercising social rights is an important part of social movement organisations' work as well, although this is far not enough for them. They are also engaged in political protest advocating further social rights and entitlements. By exercising social rights and protesting they create opportunities for the unemployed to participate in the political sphere.

According to social movement organisations and social counselling centres, young unemployed or precarious people are not very numerous amongst their membership and constituency. Only few come to these organisations asking for help or taking part in political actions. According to them, the strict laws for unemployed aged less than 25 have lead to political passivity. Young unemployed are more likely to take the social system and the recipient's duties for granted, and most of them are not ready to use the opportunity to represent their own interests. Thus, it is hard for these organisations to activate young people.

3.1. Relationships with the institutions

According to the situation described above, the organisations maintain different relations with public authorities. As table 29 illustrates, one will generally find out that organisations are more likely to seek contact with public authorities the lower the territorial level is, and that the authorities are considered more open and friendly the less far they are away.

Table 29: relationship with local authorities

	International level (beyond EU)	EU level	National level	Regional level	Local level
The public authorities frequently ask for the advice of our organisation	0	0	6.9	6.9	17.2
The public authorities are friendly to our organisation, but our organisation initiates most of the contact	3.4	3.4	13.8	20.7	41.4
The public authorities sometimes receive our organisation with hostility and other times are welcoming depending on the issue/s or department/s involved	3.4	13.8	20.7	24.1	27.6
The public authorities hardly listen to our organisation although our organisation does try to influence them	0	3.4	3.4	10.3	6.9
Our organisation doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	86.2	72.4	51.7	31.0	3.4
Don't know / No Answer	6.9	6.9	3.4	6.9	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=29

Half of the organisations (except political parties) have ever been called to participate in a public decision-making process. However, the likelihood to have been included varies significantly by the type of organisation. While all the unions and most of the civil society organisations have been asked to take place, most of the social movement organisations have never been invited.

Table 30: inclusion in public decision-making processes by type of organisation

Has your organisation ever been called to participate in a public decision-making			
	No	Yes	Total
Social movement	83.3%	16.7%	100.0% n=6
Civil society organisation	14.3%	85.7%	100.0% n=7
Social counselling centre	66.7%	33.3%	100.0% n=6
Labour union	0	100.0%	100.0% n=4
Total	43.5%	56.5%	100.00% n=23

N=29

Table 31 presents the number of organisations that have been invited and had actually participated in decision-making process according to the type of involvement. It shows that every organisation having been called has finally participated, and even one organisation participated without having been asked to do so. Most of them have joined a consultative committee or group of the city for a specific policy or issue. Slightly less than one quarter of them is a permanent member in a district council.

Table 31: participation in local decision-making processes

Has your organisation been called to participate in decision-making processes and did you finally participate?	Has been called (%)	Has participated (%)
As a permanent member of the district or neighbourhood council	23	23
As a permanent member of a municipal council on specific issues (social services, women, education, etc.)	39	39
As an occasional member in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem	46	46
To join a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue	77	85

N=13

Apart from taking part in decision-making processes, it is interesting to know whether public institutions inform the organisations about decisions they have taken. Slightly more than half of the organisations receive such information, and understandably, the lower the territorial level, the more the institutions tend to provide organisations with this information.

Table 32: criteria required to obtain services

Does your organisation receive official information from...	%
District or neighbourhood council or government	57
Local/municipality council or government	44
Regional council or government	26
National parliament or government	17
EU institutions	4

N=23

In order to be heard, organisations use to write letters to public authorities, like allegations, petitions, denunciations etc. About three quarters of our sample uses this possibility at least once a year. Nearly half of them do so 2-5 times a year.

Table 33: Frequency of sending letters to authorities

How frequently did your organisation engage in sending letters or writings to the authorities (%)	%
Less frequently or never	26.1
Yearly	8.7
2-5 times a year	43.5
Monthly	13.0
Weekly	8.7
Total	100.0

N=23

3.2. The network of organisations

In the following section, we will take a look at the network analysis and present the picture of social relations within the organisational field of Cologne's civil society. This will help us to understand the ways in which groups of actors cluster together in social space. Network analysis exhibits the complex sets of relationships between members of an organisational field and demonstrates how the structure of ties affects individual actors and their relationships to each another. In fact, organisations are connected by different types of interactions and social relations, such as information transfer, corporate projects, personal

links and disagreements. At this stage of our research, we focus only on information exchange on the one hand, and on corporate projects on the other hand.

In order to reconstruct the organisational field of Cologne’s civil society, we asked our interviewees to name those organisations, with whom they had working relations or major disagreements. Our questionnaire listed all 50 organisations mapped. Additionally, respondents had the possibility to name up to five organisations that were not included in the list.

The following figures locate each actor in the social network and illustrates their individual connections to other organizations and the connections to third parties through other actors. The colors help to distinguish different types of organizations. Social movement organizations are red, civil society organizations are yellow, social counseling centers are grey, political parties are green and labor unions are purple. The organizations not included in the map are marked blue. According to our interviewees, they work also in the field of unemployment and precariousness to some extent, but were not identified during our extensive mapping as relevant actors.

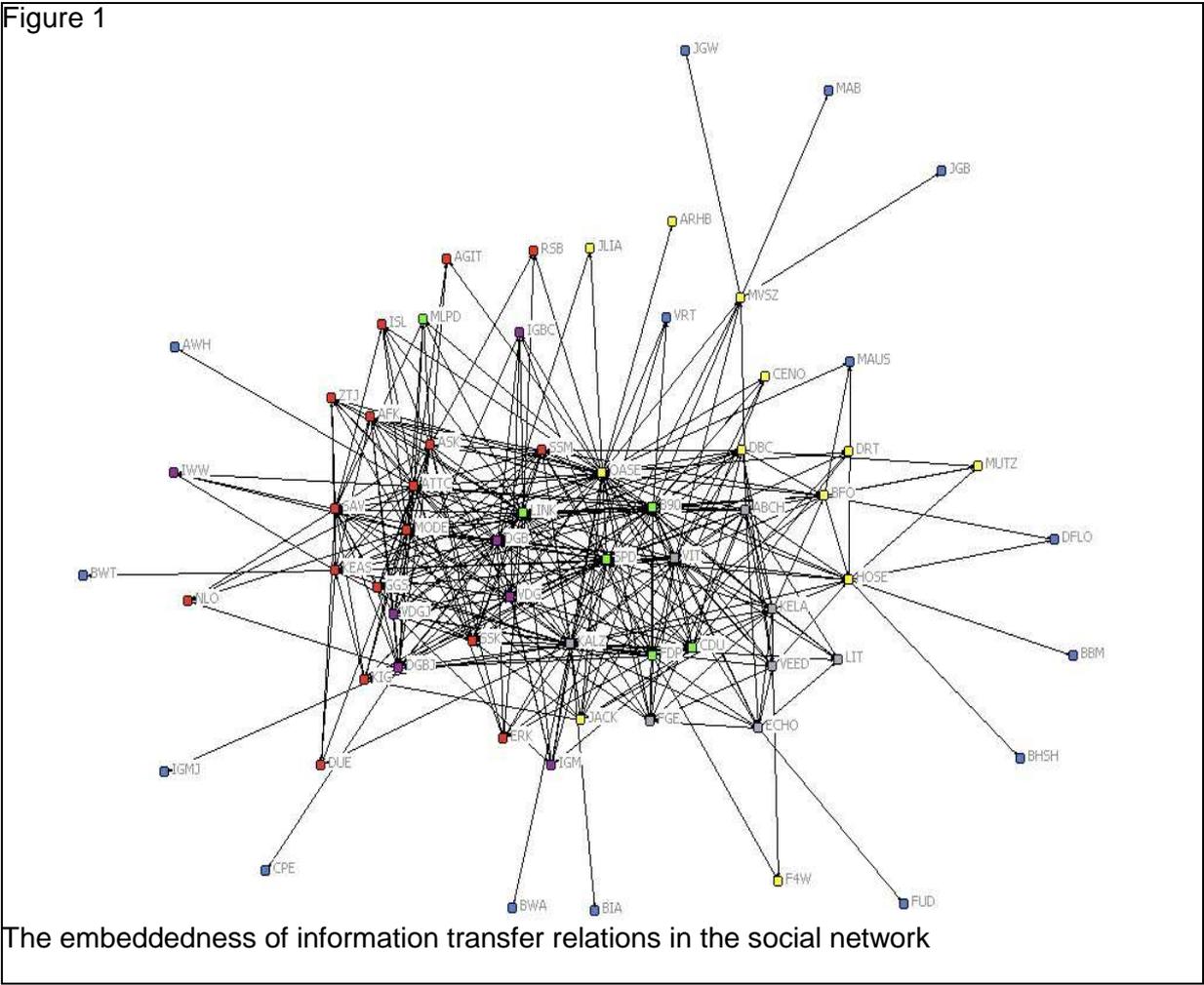
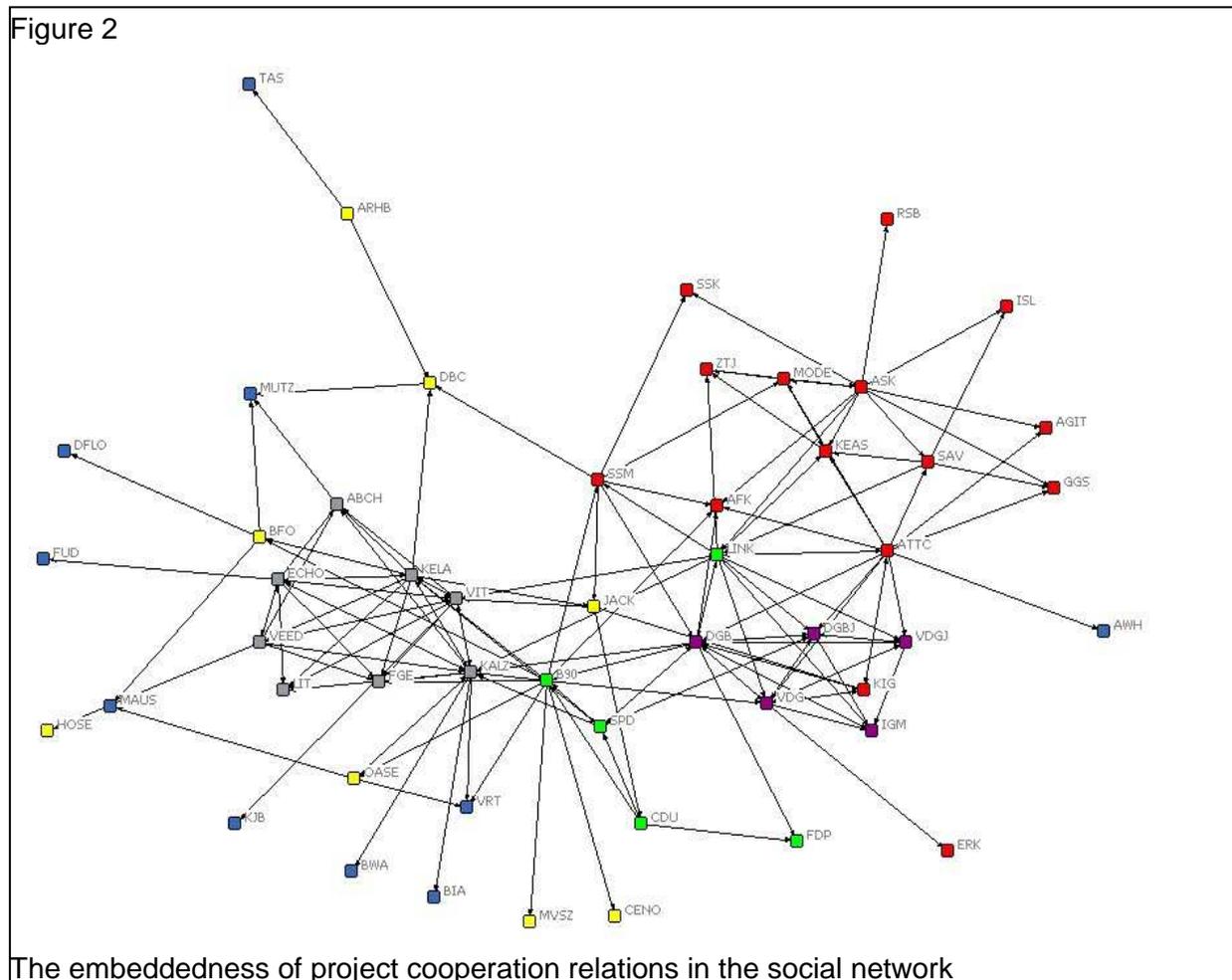


Figure 1 reveals a very clear centre-periphery structure. The central players in this information transfer network tend to be left-wing political parties (B90, SPD and LINK), labour unions (DGB, VDG), two social counselling centres (KALZ, VIT) and one civil society organisation (OASE). What is striking, is the high density of ties. The actors DGB, SPD, B90, LINK, VDG, VIT, KALZ and OASE are clustered in the structural centre, mutually promoting themselves as the main actors in the network. They tend to favour each another by providing new information, while they tend to receive new information from other actors as well. The political party SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) is positioned in the centre of this

cluster. The social counselling centre KALZ and the civil society organisation OASE (providing support for homeless) are equivalent to the SPD and represent the civil society's core actor in the information transfer network. It is possible to assign them eigenvector centrality, because they have ties to favoured actors such as LINK, B90, DGB, VDG and VIT, who on their part have ties to other popular actors from the social network. These actors are able to reach lots of organisations in the network either directly or indirectly and thereby have high closeness centrality: the actors are close to a large number of other actors. On the left and on the right side of the network we see clusters or cliques. The actors of these clusters belong basically to one specific type of organisation and create structurally cohesive blocks. On the left side of the network, we see a cluster that consists of almost all social movement organisations, and on the right side the cluster comprises most social counselling centres and civil society organisations. These different organisations create their own social circles, within which they are connected directly to each other by cohesive bonds. These clusters are grouped around the network centre and are connected to each another through the core organisations mentioned above. Finally, there are a number of organisations that are not very integrated into the social network, and maintain only weak ties to the other actors; this is why they are placed around the network, thus creating the periphery of the central network.



Respondents were asked to name those organisations, which whom they cooperate in regard to joint projects. Figure 2 summarises these findings. It illustrates the structure of interactions between all actors and visualises clearly different subgroups in the social network, which are characterised by different patterns and links. Moreover, figure 2 shows very clear how subgroups are connected to the other subgroups of the social network.

On the left side of the network we notice a cluster being completely made up by social counselling centres. On the right side, there are two clusters, which mark the other two main subgroups in the network. The second cluster consists almost completely of social movement organisations, and the third cluster recruits all labour unions. The only exception is the social movement organisation KIG, which has attached itself to the group of the five labour unions.

Actors like LINK, JACK, DGB, B90, KALZ and SSM establish links between different groups. These actors represent the cut points, which are very important for connecting the different clusters. They bridge across structural holes. The actor with the highest between centrality is B90 (the green party), because the actor links the different clusters (social movement organisations, social counselling centres and trade unions) among each other, at the same time he relates them to the group of political parties and to single civil society organisations.

This network illustrates that, in general, there is a tendency to interact with similar others, such as members of their own type of organisation. Comparing the clusters with respect to density, the graph reveals that formal organisations (like social counselling centres and labour unions) use to be more tightly connected than social movement organisations, which are mainly informal.

4. Conclusion

Civil society organisations in Cologne deal with unemployment and precariousness in various ways. While some focus on providing support for individuals, others do political work in order to either reduce unemployment or to better the situation of the unemployed. Apart from labour unions, most of the organisations centre on unemployed people. Precarious workers are only addressed if they are needy (i.e. they are classified by income, not by employment status). There is no organisation or group in Cologne founded by precarious workers and established to represent their interests or give self-help. A glance at the areas of activities reveals poverty to be the most important issue field. Our civil society organisations engage in organising various events and activities.

Most of the organisations interviewed have a board, but for most organisations the board is not the most important decision-making body. In some organisations, informal bodies take the most important everyday decisions, which include slightly more members. In all decision-making bodies, women, and especially unemployed and precarious workers are underrepresented.

Organisational resources like volunteers, paid staff and financial budget vary strongly by type of organisation. Social movement organisations have the smallest budgets, whereas professional social counselling centres have the largest ones.

The organisations' main actions differ along their main goals. Social movement organisations focus on membership mobilisation and self-help, civil society organisations and social counselling centres concentrate mainly on services to members or to clients. Almost every organisation claims for itself to be active in political education to citizens.

The organisations are creative in finding information channels that help them to get in touch with new potential members or clients. Some of them do actively address and mobilise the unemployed and precarious workers.

Civil society organisations have considerable number of clients, to which they deliver a variety of services. Mainly civil society organisations and social counselling centres offer services to members as well as to clients.

Relationships with public institutions vary also significantly by type of organization. Civil society organisations are well integrated in public decision-making processes, whereas social movement organisations are mostly excluded from them (or use to exclude themselves). At a first glance, this sounds paradox. But a closer look at their activities shows that by means of direct actions, social movement organisations have found strategies to impact on the political arena.

Finally, network analysis has demonstrated that the organisational field segregates into different clusters, which consist of similar organisations and maintain intensive relations internally, while being linked to each another only via individual intermediate actors, many of them political parties and big formal organisations.

In general, our data reveals that the civil society in Cologne is an heterogeneous field of organisations with diverging objectives and activities, unequal resources and organisational structures, selective working relations and cooperations. We are thus speaking about an organisational field that has some coherence and density, but divides into different groups and cliques. This leads to two provisional conclusions. On the one hand, our findings point to prevailing cleavages within the local civil society in regard to resources, power and identities. We learn from these observations that unemployment and precariousness remains an highly heterogeneous and contested terrain, even on the level of local welfare regimes and service delivery systems. Any administrative and political attempts that aim to increase cohesion and inclusion but disregard these social and political circumstances of the local environment will confront serious problems. On the other hand, we see that the various organisations and competing cliques devote themselves to quite different tasks and missions, thus fulfilling various, possibly complementary functions: service delivery and labour market insertion, political advocacy and political mobilisation, awareness raising and public deliberation, education and qualification, legal counselling and litigation etc. While civil society organisations and local authorities might disagree vehemently amongst each another, the civil society as a whole seems to be beneficial for a more comprehensive activation and inclusion of the jobless and precarious.

WP2: National Report Italy

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Turin

Before starting the analysis of civil society infrastructure in Turin it is worth to briefly introduce the context where such organizations operate. In fact, as confirmed by several studies on societal organizations, it is impossible to understand what happens in civil society if one ignores the 'embedding' context. Civil society organizations do not operate in a vacuum but are influenced by (and they in turn influence) cultural, social, political, economic contextual characteristics.

As for the choice of the city, we decided to study organizations in Turin for several reasons. First, because Turin was and still is an important city in the Italian economic context: it hosts the biggest manufacture industry of the country (the car maker Fiat) and the vast family of industries related to Fiat. Moreover, Turin is also an important financial centre (the city bank is the biggest in the country) and, thanks to its industrial and intellectual tradition (it hosts an important technology oriented university) it was among the first Italian cities that decided to invest relevant intellectual and material energies in the development of new information and communication technologies and in high-tech research. In sum, Turin is a city that occupied and still occupies a pivotal position in the country socio-economic and intellectual structure.

In the last twenty years the city occupational landscape has significantly changed. The manufacture industry was deeply downsized and this led, on the one hand, to an increase in the local unemployment rate and, on the other hand, it fostered a deep change in the urban structure¹⁷. For example, some of the Fiat dismissed compounds occupying several square kilometres in the city needed to be restored and devoted to different aims. This urban change provided new employment opportunities but it implied also a change in the social composition of the different city areas pushing towards the gentrification of popular or workers based areas.

The decline of the manufacture industry was balanced, at least partially, by the development of new productive sectors, *in primis* those related to the delivery of services to industries and to persons, but also those dealing with construction and information and communication technologies. Such economic and social change has been successfully managed by a model of governance made of different cooperating subjects: trade unions, employers associations, other civil society actors, and local, regional and national governments. Thus, the city is interesting in the frame of Younex also for its policy solutions in the fields of unemployment and precariousness. Finally, and most importantly for this report, we chose Turin also because of its tradition of grassroots associations and volunteering that make it a promising fieldwork for the organizational study.

Mapping organizations

Following the methodology used by previous research on local organizations (Kriesi and Baglioni 2003; Baglioni 2004; Baglioni et al. 2007; Font et al. 2007) a two-step approach was adopted in the general design of the study of local organizations in Turin. First, we made an inventory of all associations active in the field of unemployment, youth unemployment and related welfare sectors. Second, we carried out face-to-face interviews based on a common questionnaire with those associations that accepted to be interviewed (some resulted having

¹⁷ For a more in depth analysis of Turin economic and social context, see the WP 1 Report

ceased their activities although they were included in the original mapping, few others refused the interview -see table 1).

We have included both formal and informal organizations because the range of organizations active in our field is highly diversified. Beside formalized and institutionalized organizations such as trade unions or religious organizations, there are also rather small and unorganized groups (e.g. 'Attac Turin', or 'Precarious workers of Turin' in our case) that play or could play a significant role. In fact, a part of the literature on civil society organizations stresses that informal organizations are more adequate settings for people to do "things jointly" than formal ones (Bang and Soerensen 2001; Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). Hence restricting our research to fully formalized groups would have resulted in losing important social actors.

In sum, we included organizations existing *de facto* even if not formally recognized or legally registered --i.e. organizations and groups organizing or taking part in meetings, rallies, marches, etc. or those publishing and disseminating leaflets and similar documents offline and online.

The mapping phase lasted six months, a period that allowed us to identify the associations active in our fields in Turin. However, we are aware that we cannot claim of having found *all* associations working on unemployment, youth unemployment and related welfare domains. We do believe, still, that the organizations we interviewed provide a quite exhaustive picture of the organizational ecology of unemployment in Turin.

At the end of this process we mapped 49 organisations, primarily civil society associations but we also included political parties and trade unions due to their relevant role in politics and policies concerning the topics covered by our study (see table 1). Out of all these organisations we succeeded in interviewing almost two thirds of them (N=33) since many of the other associations either were not active anymore or were not truly engaged in youth unemployed social inclusion.

Table 1. Organizational mapping and interviews with organizations

Organisations mapped	Acronym	Interviewed Organisations	Types of organisations
ACLI	Acli	Yes	Civil society org.
Arci	Arci	No (refused int.)	Civil society org
Attac Torino	Attac	Yes	Social mov. org.
Autoconvocati Precari Scuola Torino	P-scuola	Yes	Civil society org.
Centro giovanile Barriera di Milano	Cgbm	No	Civil society org.
Centro giovanile Cecchi Point	Cecchi	Yes	Civil society org.
Centro sociale Askatasuna	Aska	Yes	Social mov. org.
Centro sociale Gabrio	Gabrio	Yes	Social mov. org.
Collettivo Lavoratori Comdata di Torino	P-ecare	Yes	Civil society org.
Comitato Precari Asili Nido	P-asili	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Comitato Precari del Comune	P-com	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Comitato Precari della Provincia	P-pr	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Comitato Precari della Regione	P-reg	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Consorzio Abele Lavoro	AbeleL	Yes	Civil society org.
Cooperativa Orso	Orso	Yes	Civil society org.
Formazione 80	Af80	Yes	Civil society org
Giovani Territorio e Lavoro	Gtl	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Gioventù Operaia Cristiana	Gioc	Yes	Civil society org.
Idea Lavoro	Idea	Yes	Civil society org.
Il pane e le rose	Panerose	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Insieme per Mirafiori	Mirafiori	No (not active)	Civil society org.
La repubblica è fondata sul lavoro	Rep-fond	No (not active)	Civil society org.
Precari su Marte	P-marte	No (not active)	Social mov. org.
Rete migranti - Asai	Rete-migr	Yes	Civil society org.
Ricercatori Precari - nodo di Torino	P-ric	Yes	Civil society org.
Torino Precaria	P-to	Yes	Social mov. org.
Italia dei Valori	IDV	Yes	Political party
La Destra Torino	LADX	Yes	Political party
Lega Nord Torino	LN	Yes	Political party
Moderati	MODERATI	Yes	Political party
Partito dei Comunisti Italiani	PDCI	Yes	Political party
Partito Democratico	PD	Yes	Political party
Popolo della Libertà	PDL	Yes	Political party
Rifondazione Comunista	RC	Yes	Political party
Sinistra Democratica	SD	Yes	Political party
Unione dei Democratici Cristiani	UDC	No (refused int.)	Political party
Verdi	VERDI	No (not active)	Political party
Caritas - Pastorale	Caritas / Pastorale	Partially	Religious org.
Centro Giovanile Torinese	Cgt	No (not active)	Religious org.
Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro	CGIL	Yes	Trade Union
Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro - Federazione Impiegati Operai Metallurgici	CGIL-FIOM	Yes	Trade Union
Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro - Nuove Identità di Lavoro Torino	CGIL-NIDIL	Yes	Trade Union
Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori	CISL	No (redundant)	Trade Union
Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori - Associazione Lavoratori Atipici e Interinali	CISL-ALAI	Yes	Trade Union
Confederazione di Base Torino	COBAS	Yes	Trade Union
Confederazione Unitaria di Base	CUB	Yes	Trade Union
Unione Italiana del Lavoro	UIL	No (redundant)	Trade Union
Unione Italiana del Lavoro - Coordinamento Per l'Occupazione	UIL-CPO	Yes	Trade Union
Unione Generale del Lavoro	UGL	No (redundant)	Trade Union
Unione Generale del Lavoro - Associazione Lavoratori Emergenti	UGL-ALE	Yes	Trade Union

The ecology of societal organizations in Turin

We can begin the analysis of the organizations in Turin from the issues of activity of the sampled organizations. Since the primary target of our research is civil society organizations working on unemployment and precariousness, or more in general, on labour and welfare, it is no surprise that issues like 'job insecurity', 'labour relations' or 'employment and training' represent the topic for activity of most of the organizations (see table 2).

However, as research on civil society has shown, organizations tend to be simultaneously active in a wide number of thematic domains. For example, in Turin, beside topics directly related with unemployment and precariousness, more than two thirds of organisations are active also on immigration; almost half are concerned by gender relations issues; forty per cent work on areas such as poverty, human rights, education, and family. Leisure activities, more typical of other types of organizations, are also performed by the sampled organizations. In sum, although we focused our research on welfare related organizations, the full spectrum of a city organizational ecology comes out from our interviews (see again table 2). This is an important finding because it shows that unemployed or welfare focused organizations in Turin engage in multiple activities potentially leading to inclusion of young people. In fact, inclusion is not only produced by organizations working in the field of welfare but also by those active in the field of leisure --that is popular among young people-- and in those fields like immigration where risks of exclusion may be very high.

Table 2. Activity issues of Turin organisations (%)

Sector of activity	%
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	90
Labour relations	83
Employment and training	70
Immigration	68
Politics	53
Social integration	50
Women	47
Housing	43
Poverty	40
Education	40
Human rights	40
Family	40
Culture, music, theatre etc.	37
Disabled	33
Peace/anti-militarism/conflict resolution	33
Environment	33
Pensioners, elderly	30
Youth, students	30
Homosexuality	30
Health	27
Business relations	27
International cooperation	23
Alternative communication and media activism	23
Child care/other children's services	20
Fair trade / ethical finance	20
Crime	20
Sport	17
Consumers' interests	17
Religious activities	3
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>30¹⁸</i>

¹⁸ Two political parties (Lega Nord and Partito dei Comunisti Italiani) were interviewed while this report was already in progress; hence, we were not able to include them in our analysis, although we will include them in the next version of the report. Moreover, the organisation called *Pastorale*, being an

If we consider the most important issues among all those covered by the organizations (see table 3) we note the clear prominence of topics closely related with (un)employment, like “precariousness, unemployment and work safety issues” (almost one third of the organizations declare this being their most relevant concern) or, more in general, “labour issues” and “work and professional training”. The latter, all together, are indicated as the most important sectors of activity by two-thirds of the organizations. However, other issues are also indicated as the most important sectors of activities by less than one tenth of the organizations: not only politics (we have included political parties in our research on local organizations) but also, again, items closely related with patterns of exclusion-inclusion, like migration.

Table 3. Most important sectors of activity (%)

Sector	%
Precariousness, unemployment and work safety issues	27
Labour issues	23
Work and professional training	13
Education	10
Politics	7
Migration	7
Poverty	3
Social integration	3
Other	7
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>30</i>

As made clear in the introduction of this report, we are interested in societal organizations primarily because they provide opportunities for people (in our case young unemployed and precarious workers) to take an active part in their embedding activities. Individual participation through associations, political parties, trade unions, is considered as an important form of social cohesion. Hence, we have to consider organizations also for their nature of ‘participatory vehicles’. In order to do this, we have analysed the differences among organizations in the active involvement of volunteers.

As reported in table 4, not all associations are able or willing to involve people in the same vein; there is a certain variety of patterns of involvement among them. In Turin, organizations active primarily in the field of migration, for example, are those mobilizing the higher number of volunteers. Also organizations primarily concerned by politics, labour issues and education show a certain degree of mobilization, whereas those focused on providing professional training, or social integration, poverty and the residual category of ‘other’ activities seem to mobilize a very little amount of people. As explained in more details below, this difference is mainly due to the diverse *orientation* of the most relevant activities of the organizations.

office of the local Catholic Church was interviewed only for its ‘network’ and working programs with unemployed and precarious workers, but not for the first part of questionnaire, considering its peculiar nature of a quasi-public body that put it out of the criteria for sampling organizations. Though, it came out from interviews as an interesting actor in the local network on the topic of unemployment, thus we decided to carry out a particular interview with it.

Table 4. Involvement patterns in different sectors: number of volunteers (mean values)

Sectors	Volunteers
Migration	300
Politics	150
Labor issues	134
Education	117
Precariousness, unemployment and work safety issues	16
Work and professional training	11
Social integration	8
Other	8
Poverty	6
<i>Total (mean)</i>	<i>77</i>

N=29

In addition to the sector of activity, to understand how young unemployed and precarious workers can be supported in their path towards social inclusion, it is worth considering also the *type* of activity of an organization. As recalled in the introduction of this report, from existing literature we know that a core distinction within civil society concerns *policy oriented* organizations and *service oriented* organizations (Lelieveldt et al. 2007). The former target the political system, they try to influence it, or they directly take part in the policy process, whereas the latter rather focus on their clients. These categories are not easily respected empirically, as organizations can do both type of actions simultaneously although usually one of these activities prevails over the other. As table 5 shows, among our organizations policy oriented activities are largely predominant (two thirds) while less than one third focus on client oriented activities.

Table 5: Most important type of activity (percentages)

Activities	%
<i>POLICY ORIENTED</i>	
Membership mobilization	44.4
Political education	11.1
Social integration	7.4
<i>SERVICE ORIENTED</i>	
Services to members	11.1
Services to others	11.1
Other	14.8
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>27</i>

As highlighted by previous research, the type of primary activity is a good predictor of an organization capacity to mobilize people. In fact, we can assume that organizations whose target is to influence or to directly take part in the policy process will likely tend to mobilize people more than organizations that focus on service delivery. This assumption is partly confirmed by our data (see figure 2) showing that organizations devoted to membership mobilisation a higher average number of volunteers (people who work for free for the organization). Conversely, service-oriented organizations, especially those focused on

services to members like trade unions and cooperatives, have larger staff (paid people to carry out specific tasks within the organization) than policy oriented ones (see figure 3). Organizations devoted to political education are in between, as they both display a high number of volunteers as well as a large staff.

If we take the 'social cohesion strengthening' role of organizations as a task implying active and non-profit making oriented involvement of people, then we should conclude that policy oriented organizations seem to perform better than service oriented ones. However, because we consider a specific group of people to be the target of social inclusion (young unemployed and precarious workers), this conclusion needs to be weighted by considering that service oriented organizations may provide services like training, continuous education, language courses and so on, that are all activities facilitating inclusion in the labour market.

Figure 2. Average number of volunteers per type of organisation

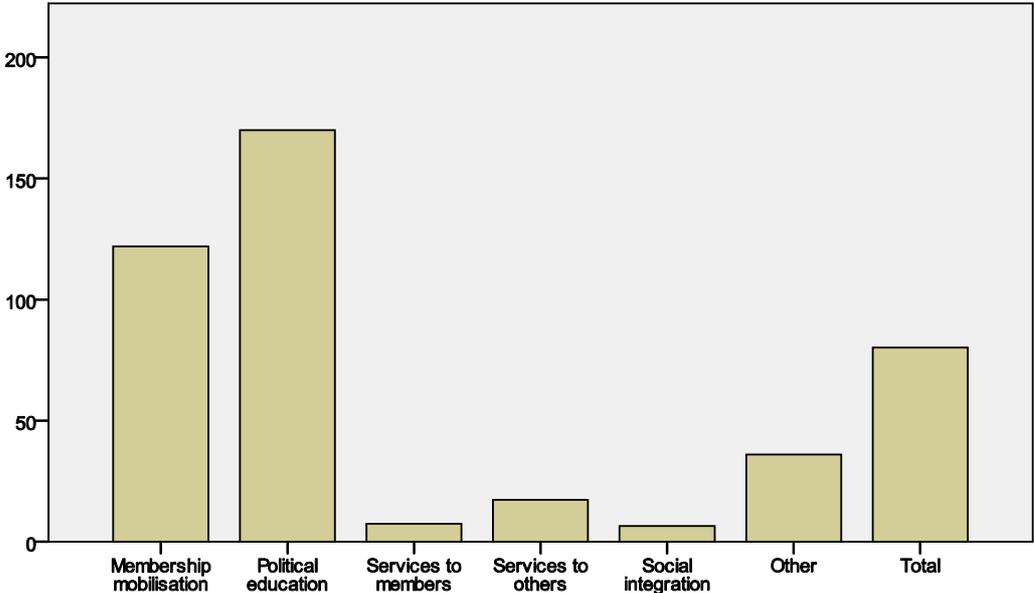
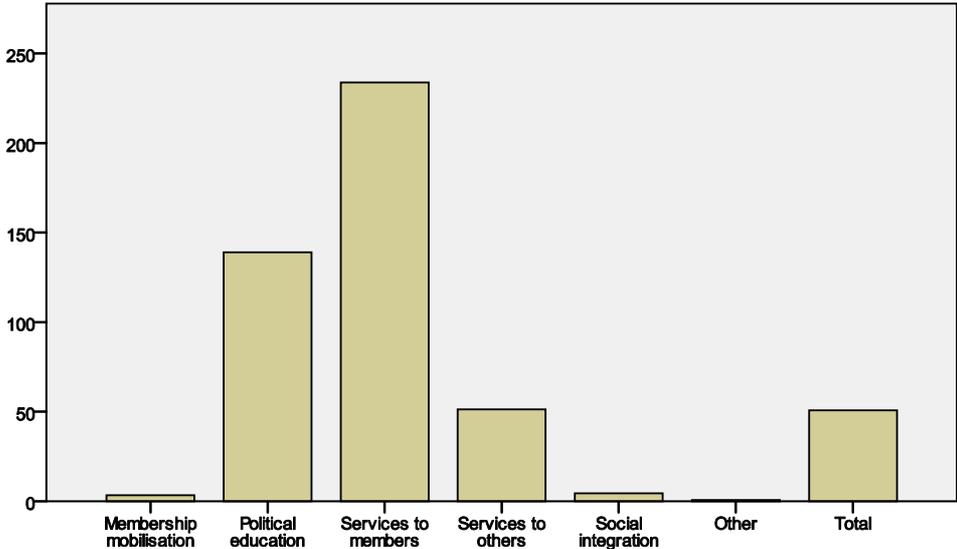


Figure 3. Average number of staff (full-time and part-time) per type of organisation



The different patterns of individual involvement across organizational types is confirmed also by a more detailed analysis of the range of activities that organizations perform involving their constituencies or specific groups, like, in our case, unemployed and precarious workers. Table 6 presents a series of organizational activities (information stands, sit-ins, rallies, trainings, meetings) devoted to unemployed and precarious workers that the different types of organizations have carried out in Turin during the year 2009. As the table shows, policy oriented organizations (i.e. those active in political education or membership mobilisation) organize more activities like rallies or sit-ins that imply an active mobilization of the targeted subjects. Service-oriented organizations, by contrast, tend to involve unemployed and precarious workers more often in activities devoted to the professional development of such groups through trainings or ad hoc meetings.

Hence, while policy oriented organizations use the typical tools of political mobilization to re-invigorate unemployed and precarious workers embeddedness and cohesion with others, service oriented organizations prioritize the strengthening of employability of such groups. By doing so, service oriented organizations increase the chances of unemployed and precarious workers to be included in the labour market, so they create a pre-condition for them to be 'included' and be more 'cohesive' with others.

Table 6. Organisations carrying out activities with unemployed and precarious workers (percentages) by type of activity

Type of activity	Activities									
	Information stands with...		Sit-ins with ...		Rallies with ...		Trainings with ...		Meetings with ...	
	U.	P.	U.	P.	U.	P.	U.	P.	U.	P.
Membership mobilisation	20	50	30	60	40	60	20	50	40	60
Political education	50	50	0	0	50	50	100	100	100	100
Services to members	0	67	0	33	0	33	0	67	0	33
Services to others	50	0	0	0	0	0	100	50	100	100
Social integration	0	0	0	0	50	0	100	50	100	50
Other	25	50	0	25	25	25	25	25	25	50

Legend: U. = Unemployed people; P. = Precarious people. N=23

If we focus on the types of services provided by some of the organizations in Turin (table 7) during the year 2009, we note how relevant is their capacity to provide core services that are crucial for an unemployed or a precarious worker to reduce her/his risk of social exclusion. Services like assistance in employment seeking but also assistance in access to other welfare related services (health care, education and so on) are common business in the every day activities of organizations. In addition to those services, civil society organizations are also highly involved by providing legal assistance to unemployed and precarious workers when they need to claim the respect of rights or benefits related to a specific situation. Considering the low level of benefit and welfare related provisions foreseen by the Italian legal system as well as the strong muddling of the welfare bureaucracy, the support of societal organizations become even more important than in other European countries to keep people 'bound' to their society. Moreover, such activism of civil society organizations in assuring key-services related to welfare provisions is a consequence of the Italian welfare state system that is scarcely subsidized by public agents and poorly implemented. The

organizational activism reflects as well the important role civil society actors play in welfare and more in general social policy delivery in Italy, as recalled above (see introduction).¹⁹

Table 7. Frequency of services provided by organizations in the last 2 years (percentages)

SERVICES	Frequency						
	<i>Every day</i>	<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>2-5 times a year</i>	<i>Yearly</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>
Providing assistance in housing	--	--	11	11	--	--	78
Providing assistance in employment seeking	33	22	--	6	--	11	28
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)	25	19	6	--	19	6	25
Providing financial support	--	6	--	11	--	6	77
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)	--	17	6	--	--	--	77
Providing Legal assistance	45	11	11	--	--	--	33

N=18

Organizational structures

We are interested in internal structures of organizations because they have an impact on the capacity to involve people in organizational activities and to let them participate to the community life. The internal structures of societal organizations can tell a lot about their effects in terms of social inclusion. Whether an organization adopts a participatory and inclusive approach in recruiting members or in decision making or whether it opts for a more restricted management strategy has implications in terms of people real engagement and commitment.

The classical organizational structure of the so called 'secondary associations', that is organizations of the civil society, non-profit, as those at the core of our research was based upon criteria of formal representativity and a certain degree of differentiation of tasks. In other words, the classical organizational model was based on: "formal democratic procedures of decision-making, [...] combined with hierarchical structures that connect local associations with regional and national umbrella organizations" (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007:96). This structure could assure participation of constituencies to the whole life of their organization and could, through this participation, produce changes in the life and environment of such constituencies.

However, in the last decade civil society analysts have noted a change in the internal institutional structure of organizations leading to a polarization among civil society organizations. On the one hand, there is a trend of less formalization in internal life regulation, an average reduction in the number of members and the tendency to prefer horizontal rather than vertical interaction with other organisations. On the other hand, there is the diffusion of professionals leading organizations with managerial strategies, professionals that instead of asking an active participation from their constituencies ask them only to pay fees and similar forms of passive participation. The latter, often are organizations selling

¹⁹ For a detailed presentation of the Italian welfare regime see our report for WP1.

services similarly to for-profit professional bodies (Maloney and Jordan 1997; Wuthnow 1998; Skocpol 1999, 2000). Of course, such a change in the structure of organizations may imply a change also in their contribution towards social inclusion.

But how such changes are reflected by the organizations that we have mapped and interviewed in Turin? This section of the report aims at answering this question by focusing on three dimensions: *hierarchy, formal representativity, and differentiation in tasks fulfilment.*

As for the first aspect, *hierarchy*, we consider to what extent organizations are vertically structured and engaged in vertical relations or, by contrast, if they are more horizontally oriented. Concerning *formal representativity* we analyse if organizational activities are guided by established rules and procedures and if such rules and procedures are supervised by elected governing body like a chair or a board of directors. Finally, the presence of *differentiation* of roles and tasks is indicated by the presence of different positions and roles such as a secretary, a treasurer, and committees dealing with specific issues.

Starting with *hierarchy*, table 8 shows that a very small number of organizations in Turin are themselves umbrella organizations and, similarly, few are members of national organizations, whereas one-third belongs to a regional umbrella or federation.²⁰ Still, the large majority of organizations do not have 'hierarchical' (vertical) relations with other organizations as the classical organizational model foresaw. However, as table 9 makes clear almost two-thirds of organizations belong to a network. Hence, if very few are part of a vertical structure, a large majority is involved in horizontal forms of interaction with other organizations. The fact that only few organizations belong to umbrellas does not imply that in Turin organizations are 'isolated' or 'self-focused', on the contrary, they are open and connected although 'as a pair'. In sum, they are not so 'classical' as one might have thought in their structure but they still continue putting people together, that is what we care at here.

Table 8. Type of organisations (%)

Umbrella organization	%
No	85.7
Yes	14.3
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>21</i>

Table 9. Vertical and horizontal structure of organizations (%)

Organisations member of....	%
...a regional umbrella or federation	32
...a national umbrella or federation	18
...a network	60
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>22</i>

To analyse *formal representativity* of organizations, following existing research (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007) we assume that if an organization has a written constitution, a general assembly and a chair, or a board or a leader, it is to be considered as 'formal'. The indicator created on that basis tells us that among our organizations only very few are 'informal' and that almost the entire sample is made by organizations that have adopted some, although basic, forms of formalization. This grants, at least from a formal point of view, to each member or volunteer the possibility to take an active role in the internal life of the organization (see tables 10 and 11). The high degree of formalization that we have found

²⁰ We have excluded political parties and trade unions from this analysis because their natural structure as 'umbrellas' would have biased the results of the 'pure' civil society organizations.

among organizations in Turin is also a consequence of the characteristics of the Italian political-institutional context. As mentioned already, in Italy civil society organizations are a key-provider of some important welfare related services at local level. In order to be able to deliver such services and being paid by public authorities for their work, they have to be 'registered', that is they have to be formally recognized by local authorities. Such recognition depends on the organizational structure (e.g. they must have a democratic statute, an official representative, a legal domicile, and so on).

Table 10. Degree of formalization of sampled organizations (%)

Fulfilment of formal criteria	%
Yes	95.0
No	5.0
Total (N)	20

Furthermore, if we look at the degree of *differentiation* (see table 11) we found evidence strengthening the persistence of the classical organizational model. In fact, more than two-thirds of organizations have specific positions like a secretary and a treasurer, and more than seventy percent have committees or working groups on specific issues.

Table 11. Internal institutional structure of organisations (%)

Does the organization have...	Yes %	How often does it meet? (answers in % of each item)				
		Weekly	Monthly	Several times a year	Once a year	Less frequently
...a constitution	77					
...a board	77	22	48	26	0	4
...a leader / president	50					
...a chair person	13					
...a secretary	63					
...a spokesperson	38					
...a treasurer	63					
...a general assembly	80	20	17	29	17	17
...committees / work groups on specific issues	73	19	43	33	5	0

N=30

Another aspect that could make the difference among organizations (and vis-à-vis their capacity to include people) concerns the method adopted for the selection of members of the board of directors. In the classical organizational type, the board was formed by people who devoted most of their time and energy to the organization; hence, the recruitment was done looking '*internally*'. On the contrary, new forms of organization based on professionalism, specific skills and knowledge of managers, and quasi-professional human resource techniques suggest that board members are hired from the market, or looking '*externally*'.

In the case of the organizations interviewed in Turin it seems that the 'classical' (i.e. internal recruitment) model still prevails. Ninety-five percent of the organizations declare selecting their board members within the organization (see table 12). Data also show that very few are unemployed among the board members (see table 14): this results replicate a typical situation of civil society organizations focused on poor people --very few are the organizations working on immigration that have immigrants in their board, very few are the

organizations focused on homeless that have homeless in their decision making bodies etc. However, the share of precarious men and women within organizational board is a bit higher but still very reduced. Finally, we can notice that only 10% of the sampled organizations include women among the members of their board.

Table 12. Board members recruitment (%)

Place of recruitment	%
Within the organisation (among members)	95.0
From outside it (e.g. job market)	5.0
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>19</i>

Table 13. Relevant features of board members (%)

How many of the board are...	Means
...women	10.0
...unemployed men	0.3
...unemployed women	0.3
...precarious men	5.0
...precarious women	2.0
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>19</i>

Decision making processes

Another element that is worth considering if we focus on the type of organizations we are dealing with --more 'old-style' ones or more 'modern'; more 'inclusive' ones or more 'exclusive'-- is the way decisions are made. Traditional civil society organizations adopt an inclusive decision making method, people decide by consensus through open meetings or assemblies, whereas new organizations, more inclined to service delivery, tend to delegate decisions to few persons, either the 'experts' on a specific question or the peak figures of the organization.

Our data show a sharp preference of Turin organizations for the traditional participatory decision making model, where consensus seeking is the normal 'way' to make decisions and several persons usually take part in decision making phases (see table 14 and table 15). On the contrary, only few organizations (all trade unions apart one case) adopt a more hierarchical model of decisions making. The traditional vertical structure of trade unions, that is the model of unions built as a unique body made out of a peak-national entity and its local branches is replicated also in Italy.

However, it is interesting to note that the only other case where decisions is restrained in the hand of very few (four) persons is the informal organization called *Torino precaria*, a group of precarious workers who declare that "usually all aspects of organizational life, including decision making, are carried out by 4 persons". Although this may be due to the small numbers of members of this group, and despite the fact that this represents a single case not allowing generalizations, this case tells us that making an equivalence between 'informality' and 'open participatory life' may be a wrong assumption in the study of local civil society organizations.

Table 14. Decision making methods (%)

Decisional methods	%
Consensus-unanimity	48.3
Simple majority	34.5
Top-down	17.2
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>29</i>

Table 15. Number of persons taking part in decision making (%)

Participants in decision making	%
Less than 3 persons	0
Less than 10	25.0
From 10 to 20	50.0
More than 20	25.0
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>8</i>

Financial resources

Another aspect of organizational structure that can be considered as a gross indicator of a more professionalized way of organizing societal bodies is the budget. According to civil society and social movement literature, currently civil society organizations are polarized around two different models: on the one hand, there are organizations with a very simple structure, relying upon the activities of volunteers, with a very small amount of money to live with; on the other hand, there are organizations competing with multinational firms in terms of available budget (Maloney and Jordan 1997; Wuthnow 1998; Skocpol 2003; Kriesi 2007).

In Turin, among the organizations we have interviewed, this dual model seems to be at least partially confirmed. In fact, as we noticed in table 16 almost half of the sample (47%) has a very limited budget (or not budget at all), whereas only few organizations (5%) have a budget of more than 1 million or more than 10 millions euro (5%). The organizations with more economic resources are those focused on service delivery (see table 17), what we call 'cooperatives', that are civil society organizations implementing welfare related services. By contrast, organizations devoted to the political mobilization of their members like social movements or other grassroots associations, are those with the smaller budget (see again table 17).

Table 16. Annual budget during the last year (%)

Annual budget	%
No budget	21.1
Less than 1,000	26.3
1,000 +	5.3
10,000+	15.8
100,000+	21.1
1,000,000+	5.3
10,000,000+	5.3
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>19</i>

Table 17. Share of budget by type of organization (%)

Annual budget	Membership mobilization	Services to members	Services to others	Social integration	Other
No budget	29	0	0	50	33
Less than 1,000	14	33	50	0	33
1,000 +	14	0	0	0	0
10,000+	14	33	0	0	0
100,000+	29	0	0	50	33
1,000,000+	0	0	50	0	0
10,000,000+	0	33	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	<i>N 7</i>	<i>N 3</i>	<i>N 2</i>	<i>N 2</i>	<i>N 3</i>

A large majority of the organizations have also a very small staff (almost half of them have no paid personnel at all) and only a minority (less than 10%) has a number of employees that can be considered as an important staff in quantitative terms (more than 100 persons) (tables 18 and 19). Once again, the smallest staffs are found among social movements' organizations or associations devoted to political education and mobilization, whereas, comprehensively, the few organizations with important staff are the 'cooperatives' specialized in local welfare state provisions (the only organizations active in the political education field with a large staff is ACLI, a Catholic organization specialized in service delivery in many areas of local welfare).

Table 18. Staff (% of total employees)

Number of employees	%
0	44.8
1-4	27.6
5-9	10.3
10-29	6.9
100-499	6.9
500+	3.4
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>29</i>

Table 19. Share of employees by type of organization (%)

Number of employees	Membership mobilization	Political education	Services to members	Services to others	Social integration	Other
0	73	33	33	0	0	50
1-4	0	33	33	67	50	50
5-9	18	0	0	0	50	0
10-29	9	0	0	0	0	0
100-499	0	0	0	33	0	0
500+	0	33	33	0	0	0
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 11</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 3</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 3</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 3</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 2</i>	<i>100.0</i> <i>N 4</i>

Relations with institutions

As explained before, the aim of this workpackage is to illustrate how societal organizations working on topics of unemployment and precariousness in Turin may serve the purpose of contrasting the potential social exclusion of young unemployed and precarious workers. Two important aspects in this regard are: on the one side, civil society organizations' characteristics and, on the other side, their capacity to produce bridging social capital²¹ (Putnam 2000). Indeed, one of the most important aspects of societal organization relates to their capabilities to access the political arena via formal or informal relationships. This will be discussed in the first paragraph; while the second one will be devoted to a deeper analysis of the relationships among our organizations.

Access to political arenas

Among the 33 interviewed organizations only 23 were considered for this part of the questionnaire, eight being political parties with direct access to the political arenas. On the contrary, civil society actors could or could not have an open access to it. Table 20 presents the distribution for each level of government among the five possible answers: 0) our organization doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities; 1) the public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organization does try to influence them; 2) the public authorities sometimes receives our organization with hostility and other times is welcoming it; 3) the public authorities is friendly to our organization, but our organization initiates most of the contact; 4) the public authorities frequently seeks the advice of our organization. Our data tell that organizations in Turin instead of seeking contacts with higher levels of government (international, European and national), tend to focus more on the local level.²² This is explained, at least in part, by the fact that we are focusing primarily on local organizations, that is either local branches of peak organizations (such as trade unions) or locally founded and locally active associations (informal groups and local organizations). Moreover, this is explained also by the basic understanding of subsidiarity that is: the closer the level of government, the easier is to have a direct access to it. This is particularly true in Italy, where access to local political arenas, and consequent possibility to intervene in the local policy making on unemployment, depend on informal, interpersonal relations based on trust (Ranci 1999, Ranci and Montagnini 2009). Such trust relationships are more efficaciously established at local level where basically everyone knows everyone.

²¹ See note 2

²² In Italy there are two local levels of government: the Province and the Municipality.

Table 20. Relationship with institutions (most frequent answer per level of government is in bold)

Possible attitude	International level	European Union level	National level	Regional level	Local level
0) Our organization doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	12	6	4	1	1
1) The public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organization does try to influence them	-	2	5	5	6
2) The public authorities sometimes receives our organization with hostility and other times is welcoming us	-	-	3	3	2
3) The public authorities is friendly to our organization, but our organization initiates most of the contact	1	3	2	7	5
4) The public authorities frequently seeks the advice of our organization	-	1	-	5	9
0) Don't know / refusal	2	3	1	1	-
0) Missing	8	8	8	1	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	23	23	23	23	23

In order to fully grasp the political attitude of interviewed organizations, we considered these answers as hints of permanent collaboration between public institutions and civil society. Even though a specific question on the formal attendance at public decision-making processes will be investigated later on (Tab 23), a diagram representing such political attitude question may be interesting (Fig. 4). We considered the possible answers as part of a rank ranging from indifference (value equals to zero) to positive attitude and self-perception of political efficacy (value equals to four). Thanks to this strategy we have been able to create theoretical valued ties (from 0 to 4) between each organization and every single level of government. Thus it was possible to draw the 2-mode network²³ of the relationship between organization and public institutions.

The resulting diagram depicts all relationships with a positive value, representing all non-negative attitudes towards the public institutions: from the exclusive will to participate that is not followed by an analogous behavior from the public institution (value 0) to the actual consideration from the institutions (value 4). Moreover we also created an index called "average public attitude" for every organization, given by the sum of all answers given divided by five (number of levels). This index will be very useful to depict the general attitude towards any level of government with a single number (from zero to five).

A diagram may imbed different kinds of information; we opted for a basic version including only the type of organization (**color**: red for associations, blue for informal groups, grey for

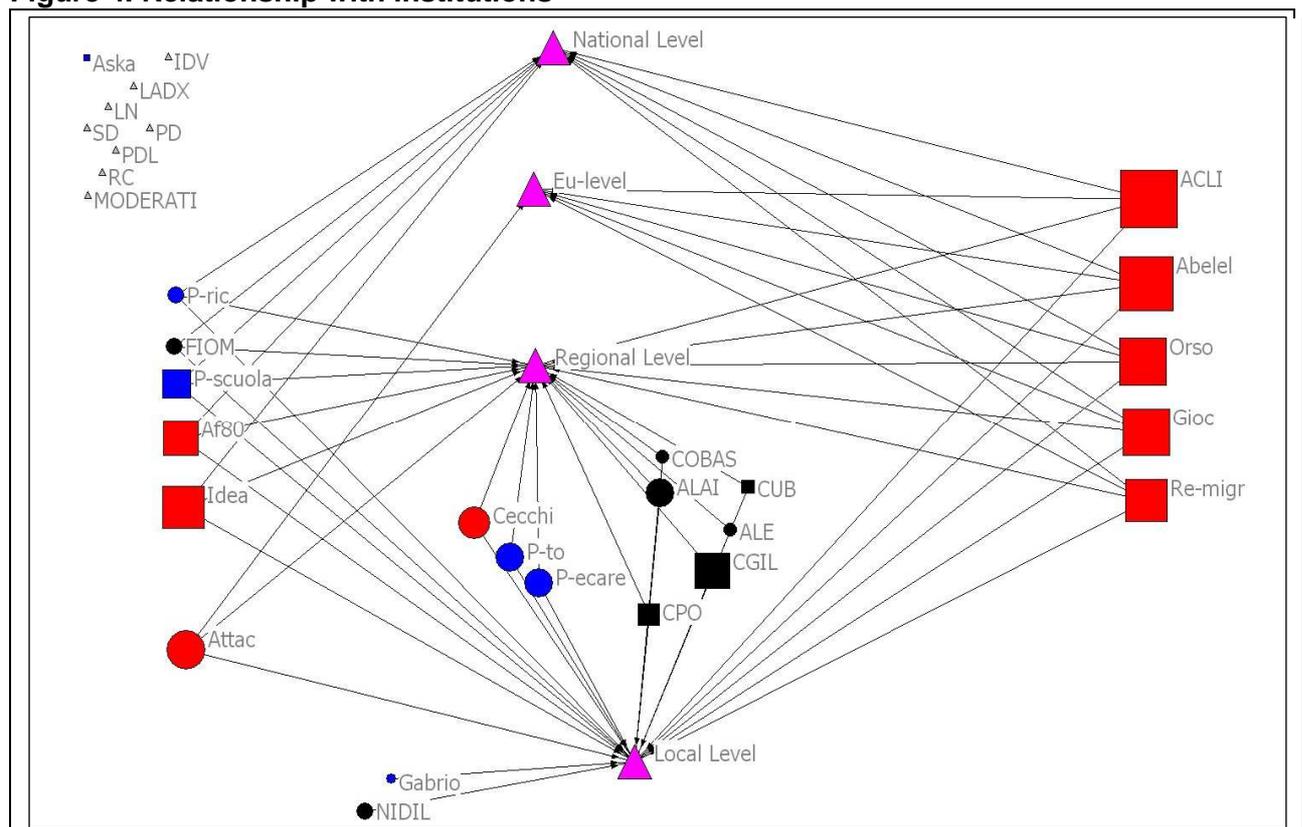
²³ A two-mode network is a network of nodes and relationships based on three entities: the first class nodes (the actors), the second class nodes (nodes that are different in the nature from the firsts) and the relationships among them. This distinction is quite important since we have only direct links from organization to public institutions and not vice versa.

parties, black for trade unions), the attendance at formal decision-making process (**shape**²⁴) (see Tab 23) and the degree of average public attitude (**size**: the bigger the symbol the more intense relations the organization have).

The graph of figure 4 highlights the presence of 6 components.²⁵ First of all, there are the isolates (i.e. those organizations with no ties at all): political parties (who did not answer this specific question), and Askatasuna, an informal organization which is very critic against the political system. Second, on the right hand side there are only those “big” associations with at least four relationships (and of certain strength). Third, on the left hand side there are those associations with three ties (local, regional and national). Fourth, the Attac association which has three ties as well but with sub-national and supranational levels. Fifth, those organizations with only two ties (with local and regional level). Sixth, two organizations with only a single tie with the local government.

It is important to note that trade unions have relationships only with the lower levels of government, while formal organizations have a more positive attitude (the size is proportional to the “average public attitude” index) than informal organizations. This last aspect confirms, as recalled in the previous sections of the report, that the political-institutional structures tend to influence also the structure of societal organizations. Because several organizations are interested in receiving public funds (especially service-oriented organizations active in the delivery of local welfare services) they need to have a formal structure, but they also will likely tend to be more ‘open’ and positively oriented towards local political institutions.

Figure 4. Relationship with institutions



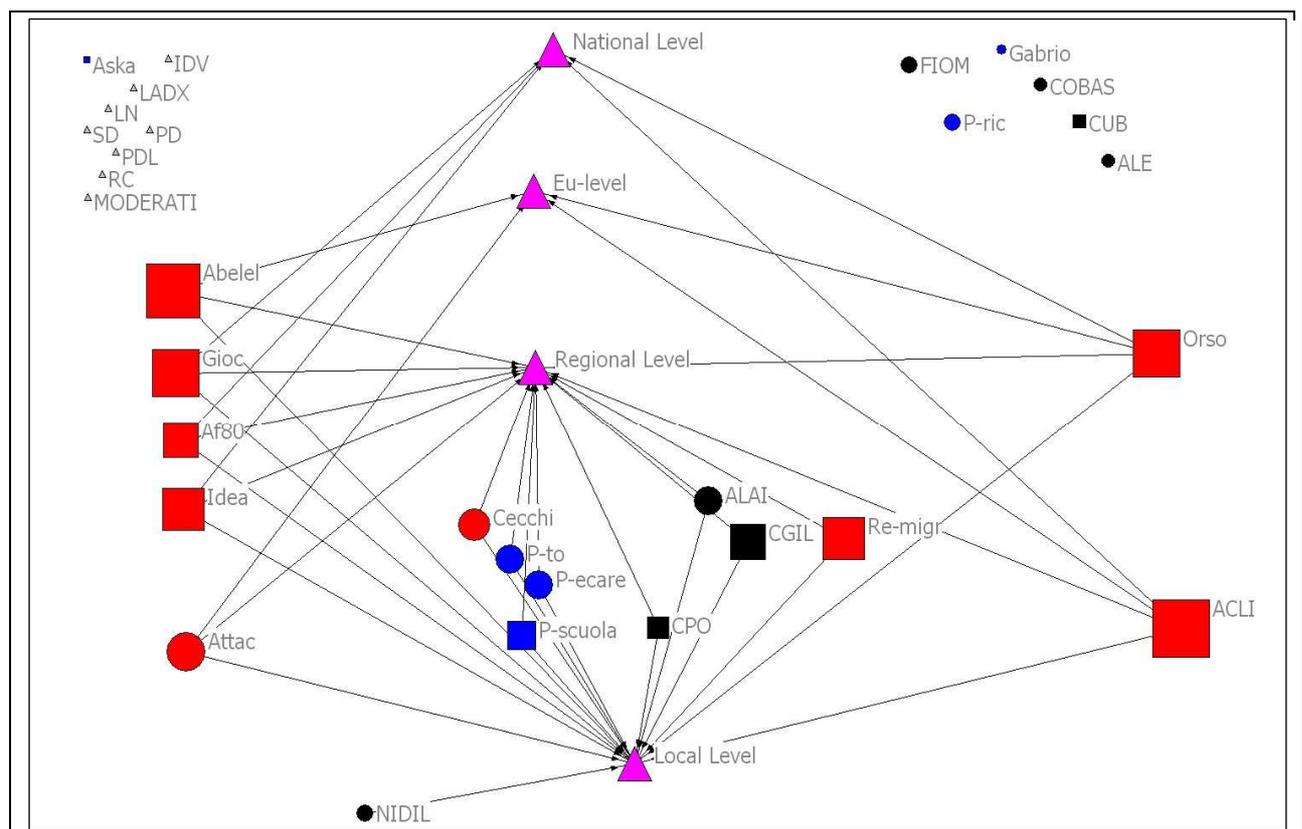
N=31

²⁴ Square nodes indicate those associations which participate either as permanent or temporary member of a formal decision making process, round nodes those who do not, while triangles those who did not answer (because of their nature or missing values).

²⁵ A component (strong component) is a group of nodes that behave coherently towards the rest of the universe.

Even though the complete graph (Fig. 4) is quite clear, we realized that the second possible answer “the public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organization does try to influence them” (value 1) may convey different meanings: some neutral, some more negative. Matter-of-factly if we are interested in understanding the role played by societal organizations to fight social exclusion it is important to assess the exact attitude towards public institutions. Therefore, we reproduced the same graph maintaining the components (nodes grouped according to the number of ties), while focusing only on strictly positive relationships (answers 2, 3 and 4). The new graph (Fig. 5) is interesting: four trade unions and two informal groups are now isolated (that means they have no ties) in the upper right corner, two important associations (AbeleL and Gioc) moved from the right hand side to the left hand side of the picture, Re-migr (a four ties-node) moved in the two-ties area. Overall, there is a strong decline in the number of relationships (18) but concentrated on a few nodes. Two organizations (Fiom and P-ric) having three ties became isolates. The new graph is now more meaningful: Turin organizations have a more positive attitude and stronger relationships with the sub-national level of government, formal association are more active vis-à-vis trade unions and informal groups and shape (participation in decision-making processes) is clearly positively correlated with attitude towards public institutions. Overall, the initial hypothesis seems to be confirmed: the Italian local political opportunities are definitively structured towards formalized organizations, while informal organizations have limited access.

Figure 5. Stronger relationship with institution (value > 1)



N=31

The contact point

We can now turn to the analysis of the peculiar institution being the ‘contact point’ of our organizations. At the international level there is no contact point at all, while for what concerns the European level three organizations out of six having contacts (50%) mentioned the DG Employment as their favorite interlocutor, followed by the Commission itself (17%). At the National level the pattern is remarkably the same since 4 out of 10 (40%) organizations

mentioned the Ministry of Welfare, followed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. On the contrary, at lower levels, where more organizations are having relationships with public institutions there is no precise pattern. Nonetheless, the relevance of this level is confirmed, since 30% of associations named the regional Ministry and the 20% the local one. Moreover, as the Italian local level is divided into two different branches *Provincia* (province) and *Comune* (municipality) the picture is even more complicated, since more public officials may be relevant for employment relevant issues.

Table 21. Political contact, institutions at the regional level (percentage)

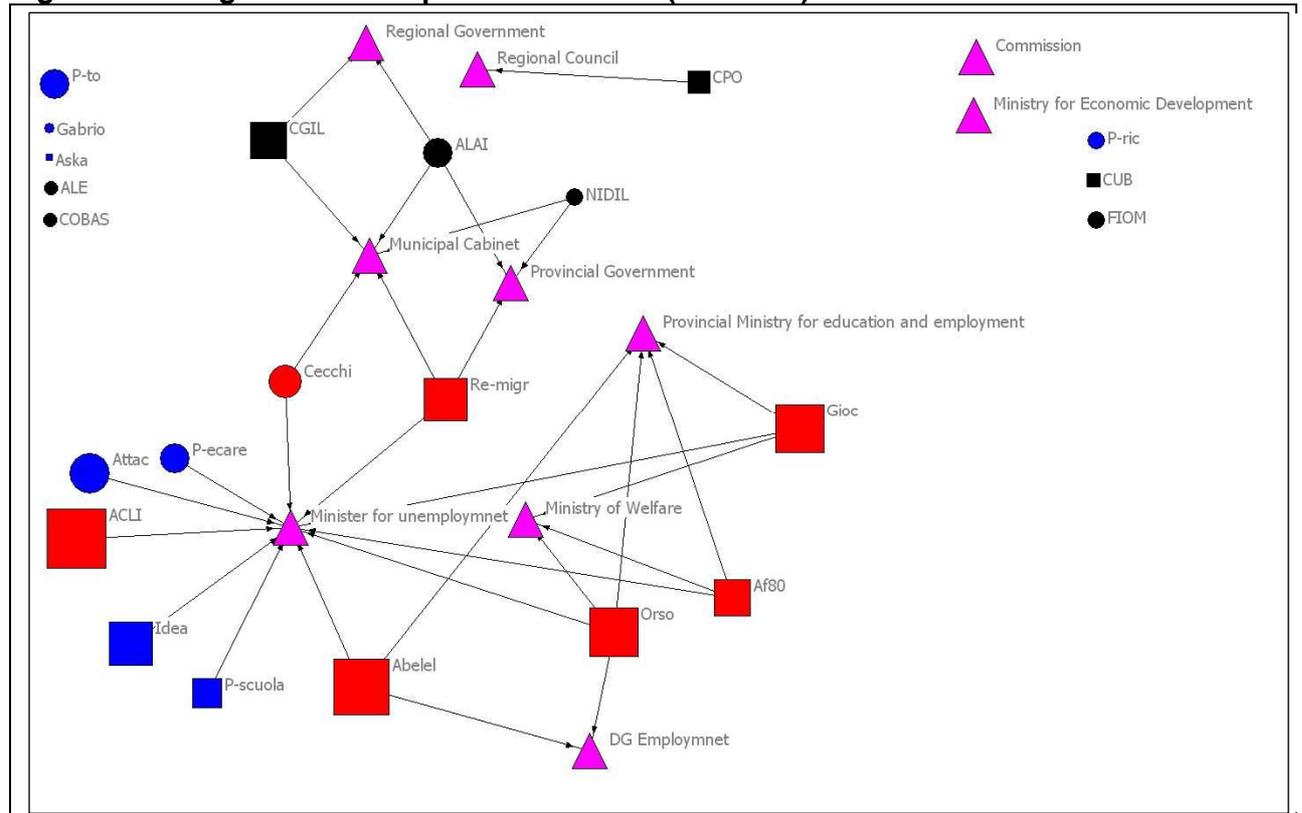
Contact point	%
Regional Council	10.0
Regional Government	20.0
Regional Ministry for employment and education	30.0
Missing	40.0
Total (N)	20

Table 22. Political contact, institutions at the local level (frequency and percentage)

Contact point	%
Municipal Cabinet	9.1
Neighborhood council (Circoscrizione) and Municipal government	4.5
Provincial Government and Municipal Cabinet	18.2
Provincial Ministry for education and employment	18,2
Representative of the PDCI	4.5
Various: public Prosecutor's office, etc.	4.5
Missing	40.9
Total (N)	22

Figure 6 illustrates the network structure of relationships between civil society and specific public institutions (with strength equal to two or greater). In the upper left corner there are those organizations which did not mention any specific contact point (three informal groups and two trade unions are now isolated as compared with Fig. 4), while in the upper right corner there are those actors who mentioned specific public institutions (notably the European Commission and the Ministry for Economic Development) but those relationship was of a mixed nature (answer one; see Tab 20). This graph suggests a distinction among organizations, those who are involved at the local level (upper side of the chart) and those who are part of a "national network" (lower part). Among the former, we can list only unions (CPO, CGIL, NIDIL, ALAI); among the latter, there are formal associations as well as informal groupings.

Figure 6. Stronger relationship with institution (value > 1)



N=31

Actual participation in specific decision making processes

In order to fully grasp the ability of these organizations to tackle public problems, such as precariousness and unemployment, the questionnaire addressed also the capacity of civil society to directly participate in the public decision making process. A few questions were devoted to this issue, the first and more important one was related to the public profile of the associations (*Has your organization ever been called to participate in any decision making process?*), followed by more precise questions on the participation in specific procedures as permanent members (district council or municipal council) or temporary members (municipal committee, municipal consultative committee). These questions were of two different kinds, the first was asking the organization if it has been called to participate in a specific public decision making process, the second was asking about actual participation. It was necessary to distinguish the two facets of participation because either for contingent or strategic reasons invited organization may decide to avoid participation to public political processes.

Obviously, the general question (*Have you ever been called to participate in any decision making processes?*) scored the highest percentage of positive answer (52%) followed by other specific questions (see table 23). These specific queries showed that associations participate only in those processes where they are invited by public authorities. Moreover, it can be observed that participation does not increase when the institutional level changes (district council compared to city council) (21.7 %), but only when the process is either on specific issues (26.1%) or consultative (39.1%).

Table 23. Participation in the decision making process (percentage)

Questions	Yes	No	Missing
Has your organization ever been called to participate in any public decision-making processes?	52.2	47.8	0.0
In the last 2 years, has your organization been called to participate as a permanent member of the district or neighborhood council?	21.7	30.4	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization participated as a permanent member of the district or neighborhood council?	21.7	30.4	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization been called to participate as a permanent member of a municipal council on specific issues?	21.7	30.4	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization participated as a permanent member of the district or neighborhood council?	21.7	30.4	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization been called to participate occasionally in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem?	26.1	26.1	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization participated occasionally in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem?	26.1	26.1	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization been called to join a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy issue?	39.1	13.0	47.8
In the last 2 years, has your organization participated in a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy issue?	39.1	13.0	47.8

N=23

The last set of questions was focused on the information flow between the public institutions and local civil society. The questionnaire addressed both the in-flow communication (reception of official information by public institutions) and the out-flow communication or political pressure exercised by civil society. The in-flow highlights an unexpected trend compared to what we saw previously. Associations (and unions) received more information by the municipal government, followed by the district council, the regional government, and the European Union. The national government is not an information partner for any association. On the contrary, the out-flow of Turin civil society is quite abundant since the majority of organizations declare to write to authorities more than twice a year (tab. 26).

Table 24. In-flow communication from different levels of government (percentage of organization involved)

Does your organization receive official information from...	Yes
The local / municipality council or government?	43,5
The district / neighborhood council or government?	34,8
The regional council or government?	30,4
The European institutions	4,3
The national parliament or government	0

N=23

Table 25: Outflow communication from organization (percentage)

Contact point	%
Less frequently or never	30.4
Once a year	13.0
2-5 times a year	34.8
Monthly	13.0
Weekly	4.3
Don't Know / No Answer	4.3
Total (N)	23

Relations within civil society

The relationship between public institutions and civil society is just one side of the coin of the networking capacity of societal organizations. The other side is represented by relationships among civil society organizations working in the field of unemployment and precariousness. More specifically, the diagrams referring to this type of network are more tasty than those referring to relationships between civil society organizations and political institutions.

Our questionnaire was focused on different relationships between the interviewed organizations and the overall civil society: information flows (information ties); projects cooperation (project ties); personal links (personal ties); and disagreements (negative ties) among civil society organizations dealing with precariousness and unemployment. The different types of relationships were also assessed concerning civil society at large (although no negative tie has been recorded). Moreover, a few more questions on general networks outside the city of Turin (both at the national and international level) were included in the questionnaire.

As reported by table 26, first of all the dimension of these diagrams are quite different²⁶, ranging from 75 nodes with 311 ties (exchange of information) to 15 nodes and 10 ties (personal ties within civil society at large). Moreover also other network related measures highlight the huge difference among those set of connections. Even erasing pendants²⁷ these networks do not become more similar, this is because the networks are not only dimensionally different, but also intrinsically diverse.

We took into consideration only two important network variables to address this topic: the density and the normalized degree centrality. The first one gives a general impression of the network cohesion; more precisely the density is the proportion of ties in a network relative to the total number possible (sparse versus dense networks). The second one gives similar information, less precise but also more easy to understand. The degree centrality of a single node is the number of ties it has with others. Therefore the normalized average degree is the average value statistically normalized to make comparable graph having different dimensions. Both these values are disperse: from 0.0061 to 0.0560 for what concerns the density, from 1.2 to 9.7 for the average degree.

²⁶We consider the number of nodes only active nodes, i.e. nodes with at least one tie. We do not take into consideration isolated nodes.

²⁷A pendant is a node with only one incoming tie, therefore is an organization mentioned only once in a single interview. Since those nodes (or associations) are not very relevant for network analyses, there is a general tendency towards a graphical simplification without the presentation of those "almost isolated" actors.

Table 26. General information on networks diagrams

Type of network	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Number of nodes (no pendant)	Density	Number of ties	Normalized degree centrality mean value
Network of organizations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together (unemployment and precariousness field)	75	51	0.0560	311	9.694
Network of organizations with collaboration in projects (unemployment and precariousness field)	72	41	0.0382	212	6.486
Network of organizations having “personal links” (unemployment and precariousness field)	63	45	0.0461	186	8.383
Network of organizations having major disagreements (unemployment and precariousness field)	18	11	0.0196	22	3.743
Network of organizations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together (civil society at large)	31	10	0.0082	21	1.647
Network of organizations with collaboration in projects (civil society at large)	36	6	0.0077	22	1.537
Network of organizations having “personal links” (civil society at large)	15	4	0.0061	10	1.220
Network of organizations cooperating outside the city of Turin (civil society at large)	36	8	0.0085	27	1.692
Network of organisations in Turin having contacts with international organisations (civil society at large)	40	8	0.0079	29	1.585

Information network

If we specify our infra-civil society network analysis, we see that the overall relationship (exchange of information) among interviewed actors as well as mentioned actors in the field of unemployment gives a first impression of a dense network (figure 7). The diagram shows in fact a single component network with no blocks or cut points. We deleted 24 pendant nodes in order to simplify the diagram and focus on a few key features.

First of all, the size of each point is proportional to the “in-degree centrality”²⁸ (i.e. the number of times that an actor has been mentioned by other actors), the shape refers to one of the most interesting features of our network: the “most important activity” implemented (square/client oriented, circle/policy oriented, diamond/other, triangle/ no answer- see table 5); colors refers to different level of k-cores, where a k-cores is a relaxed version of a clique²⁹. The k-cores help us to detect sub-areas of interest such as the lower right hand side corner where a few right wing parties are grouped along with a right wing trade union.

²⁸As noted before the degree centrality is the number of ties of a vertex, the in-degree is the number of incoming ties. In this graph the in-degree is very important since it explicitly address the concept of “receiving information by others”.

²⁹A k-core is a maximal group of actors, all of whom are connected to some number (k) of other members of the group. The k-core approach allows actors to join the group if they are connected to k

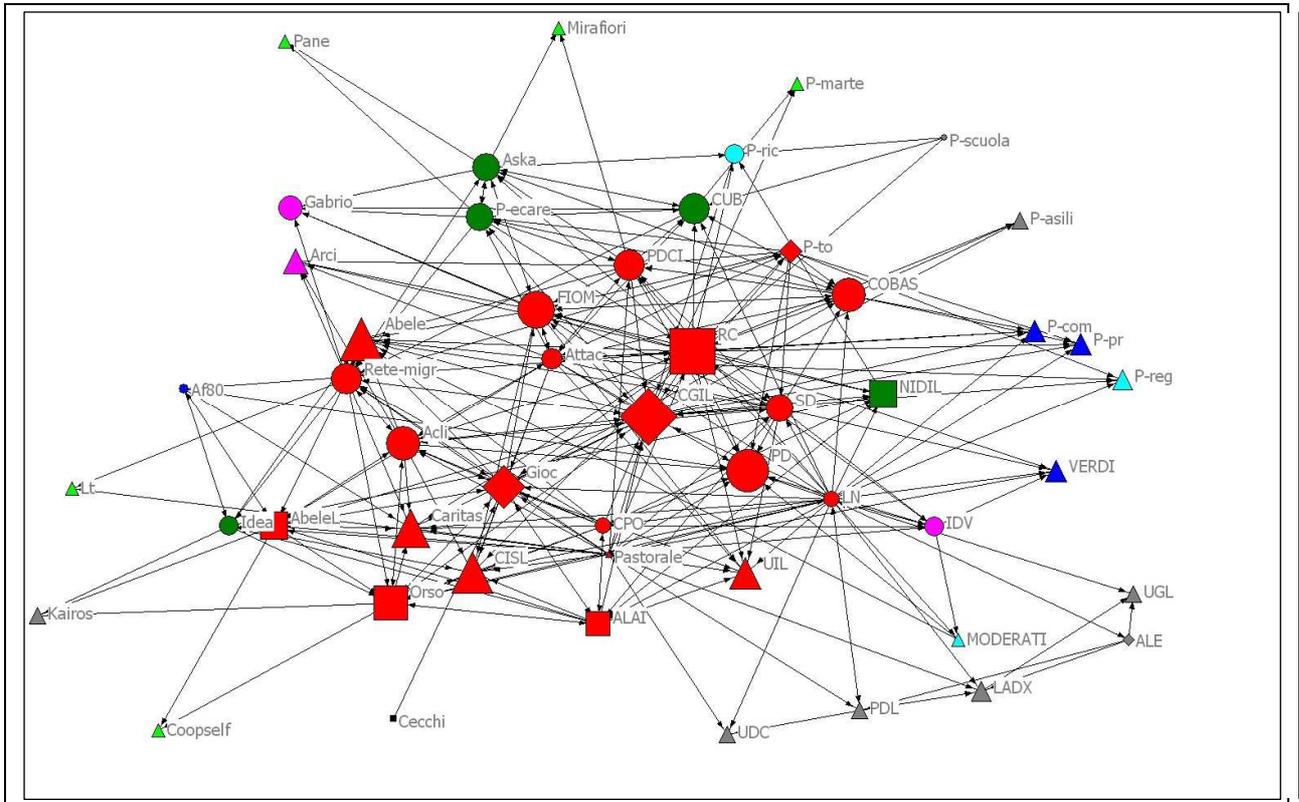
The central red area is the more interesting part where more actors are involved in a 8-core and where the in-degree centrality is much higher than the average. A crucial role is played by three actors: CGIL; AbeleL and Fiom for what concerns “in-eigenvector”³⁰. While for the “out-eigenvector”³¹, not surprisingly the most important actors are some of those in the red area: RC, Attac, LN and Pastorale. Nonetheless these actors (as for example Pastorale and LN) may have lower level of “in-degree centrality”, meaning that those organizations were listing many relationships to the interviewer, without being mentioned as many times by others.

members, regardless of how many other members they may not be connected to. By varying the value of k (that is, how many members of the group do you have to be connected to), different pictures can emerge. Usually as k becomes smaller, group sizes will increase that is not our case because of the strong interconnection.

³⁰This is a similar measure of “in-degree” centrality but instead of the simple number of tie, each tie is weighted considering the relative centrality of the other actor. Therefore the level of centrality does not depend only on the number of ties a node have, but also from the position of the node vis-à-vis the other nodes.

³¹This is exactly the measure of out-degree weighted for the out-degrees of connected nodes. To some extent is the other side of the in-eigenvector, the latter measure the centrality relatively to incoming information, the former to the out-coming information.

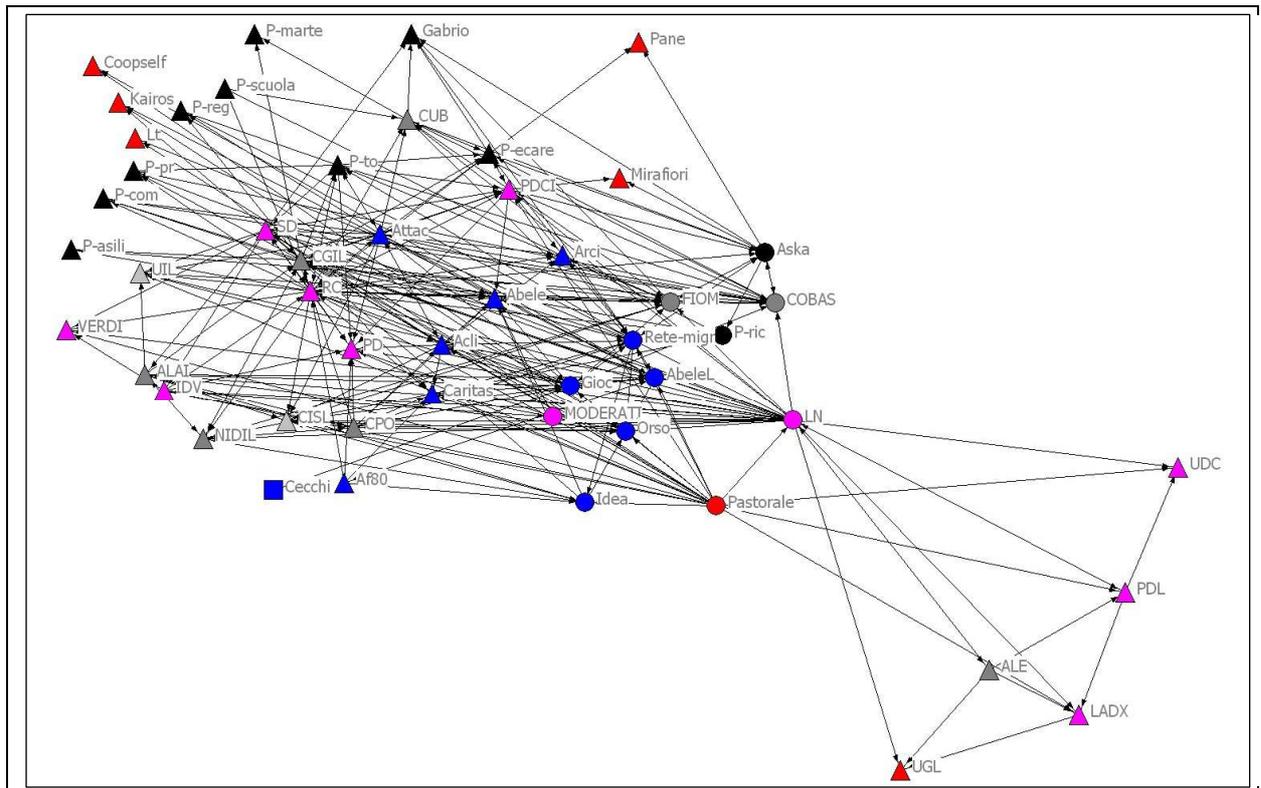
Figure 7 Information network



N=75 (24 pendants deleted)

The Figure 8 illustrates the same network as above but it stresses the role of subgroups. As we mentioned already there are no separate networks, nonetheless we can run a brokerage analysis. Brokerage is an important part of network analysis, because it directly assesses the relative importance of a node. Indeed, individual organization can exercise influence because they may act as brokers (or intermediaries) by bridging two networks that are not directly linked. This analysis shows that on the right hand side (triangle shape nodes), there are the right wing parties and trade-unions that are connected only via two brokers (LN-a populist right wing party and Pastorale – a local – labour related structure of the Catholic church) to the left hand side of the picture. The high level of outwards ties of these two particular actors is probably responsible for this kind of result. In the central part of the network there is the core-network made of organizations with circle-shape nodes. It is important to note that these 12 nodes are very heterogeneous (5 associations, 2 trade unions, 2 political parties, 2 informal groups and 1 branch of the Catholic church).

Figure8. Information network



N=75 (24 pendants deleted)

Project cooperation network

As already mentioned before, the project network is not particularly different from the one we already presented. Here we opted for a symmetrized version (union procedure)³² of the relationship hypothesizing that projects done together are to some extent easier to assess by any interviewed person. There are less ties and less nodes involved (since three actors are isolated and many other are pendants, i.e. project partners mentioned only once). The structure is quite similar to the one we already presented: a cohesive network with single component and no evident broker, meanwhile the rightwing organizations are always “relatively” isolated. In order to better grasp their isolation we look for looked for Simmelian ties (i.e. triples of nodes interconnected). We discovered on one side that all nodes are embedded in Simmelian ties (thus all actors are part deeply involved in subnetworks of project coordination), on the other right wing organization are isolated in their on Simmelian ties. Therefore we can easily refer at this network as composed of two tightly connected subnetworks: a huge central network and a relatively small right wing one.

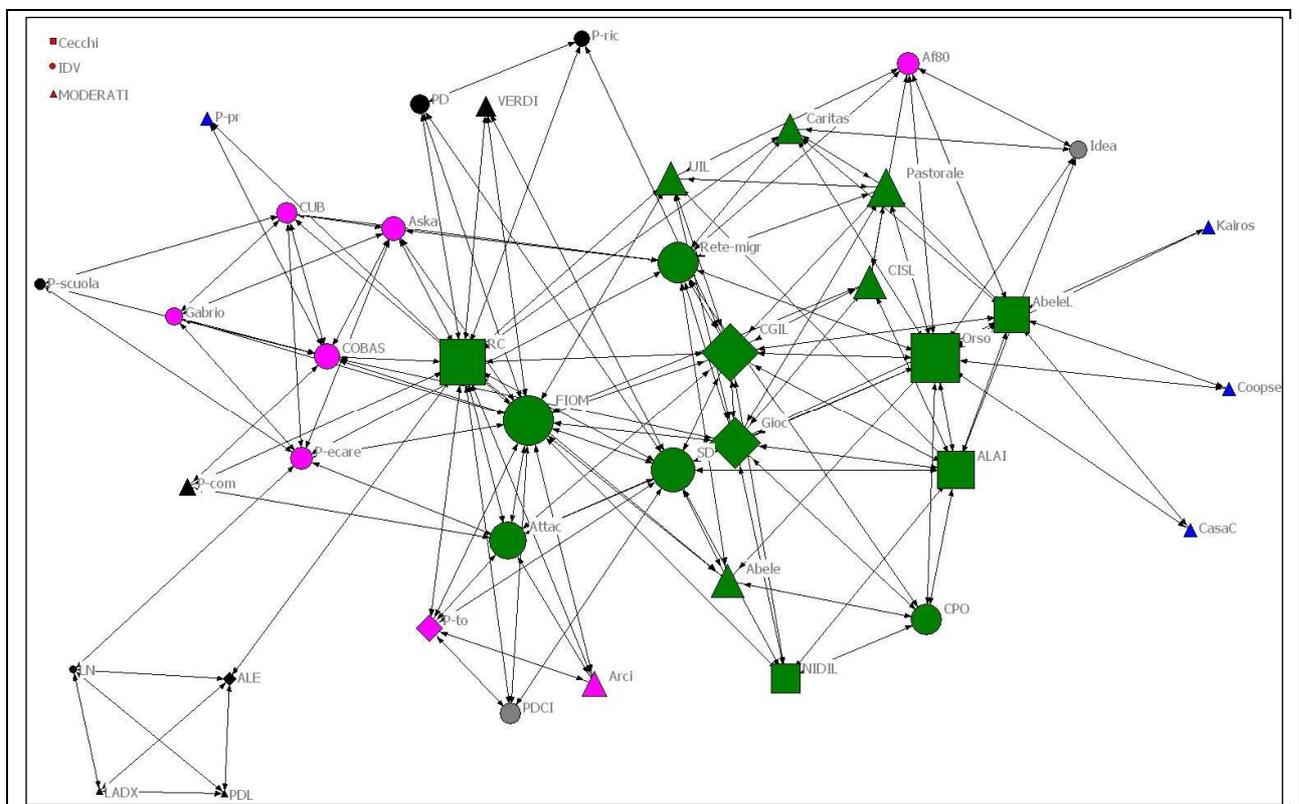
Also in this particular network we can trace different centrality measure (size) and sub-groups, while controlling for the main activity of the Turin organizations (given by the shape as usual³³) or the type of association (capital letter trade unions and political parties, lower

³²To symmetrize a network, at its basic, means to make reciprocal relationships. This can be done following the union or the intersection procedure. The former related to the creation of a new reciprocal tie for each tie already existing; the latter to cancel all non reciprocal ties. The need to symmetrize data comes up in a number of contexts. In this peculiar case data are collected on what is logically a symmetric relation, although the actual data are not symmetric because it was not possible to reach all relevant actors (see table 1).

³³The shape refers to the “most important activity” implemented (square/client oriented, circle/policy oriented, diamond/other, triangle/ no answer- see table 5)

cases civil society organizations). The colors, as usual, depict k-cores while dimension is in this particular case the eigenvector (i.e. a measure of the node centrality given its relationship with other nodes and their relative importance). The green area is the central core of our network made by the same actors as before with some important difference: political parties (with the exception of RC) and informal groups do not play any important role, while civil society organizations and trade unions are more active in the project network. Moreover the general activity of these organizations is not a relevant variable for this network: squares, circles and diamond are all mixed together. This is quite unintuitive since we expected that service oriented organizations in order to fully foster social inclusion would have worked together implementing concrete projects. On the contrary it seems more reasonable to consider the unemployment/precarious field network as a cohesive group of actors working together from different perspective while doing project together. Probably, but this need further research, each organization implements ancillary projects networking with more competent actors and vice versa for the core projects.

Figure 9 Project network (symmetrized union version)



N=75 (31 pendants and isolates deleted)

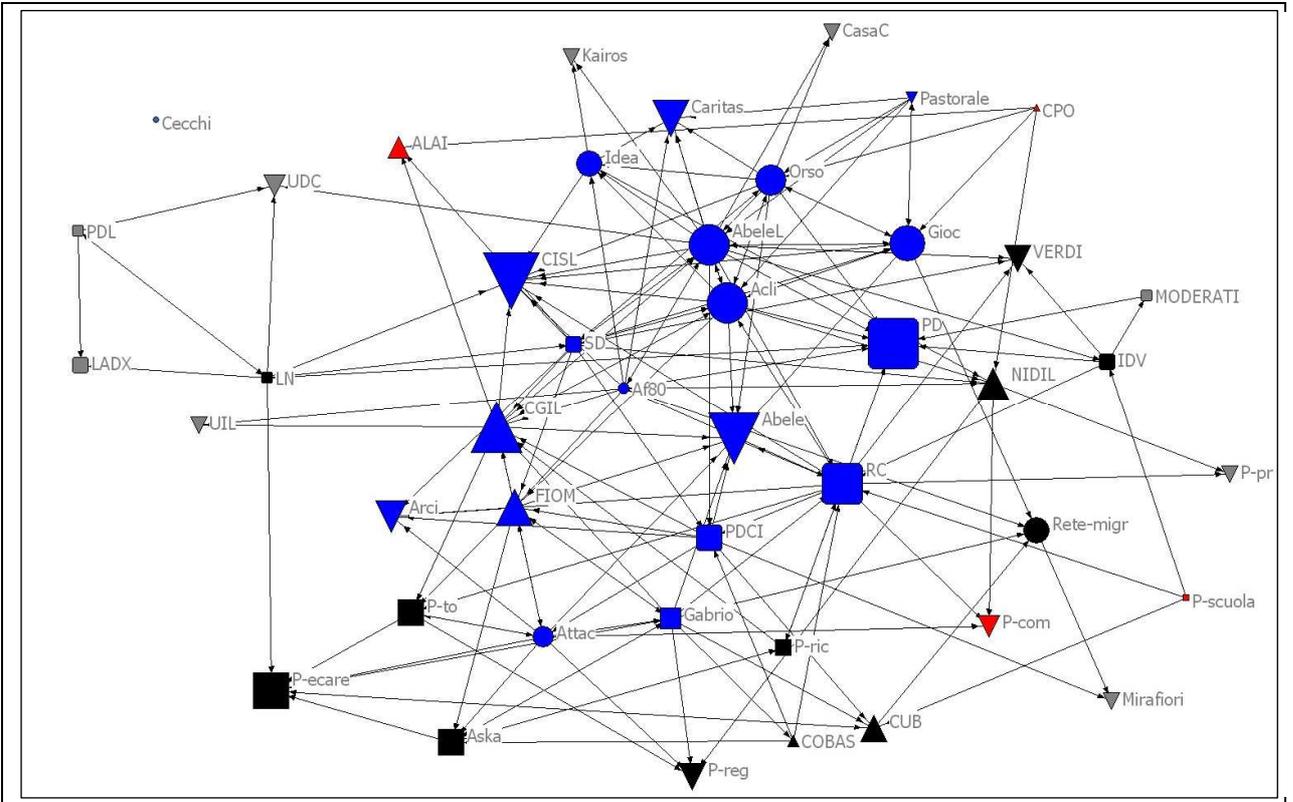
Personal link network

For the third time the Turin network shows a particular cohesion. Once we eliminated the 18 pendants (mainly organizations which were not part of our original list and were only mentioned once) the networks is tight as usual. There is a central blue area with almost twenty nodes deeply interconnected (5-core³⁴) made of Catholic and leftist associations, trade unions and political parties. Matter-of-factly this network is much more similar to the figure 7 then to 9: political parties play a central role (PD, RC and PDCI), the right wing is connected via LN and one ties between UDC and AbeleL. Meanwhile, the sizes of these nodes tell us a complete different story. The size is proportional to the “in-degree” (i.e. the number of time a node has been mentioned by others) and it is possible to see the difference

³⁴ A 5-core is a maximal group of actors, all of whom are connected to 5 other members of the group.

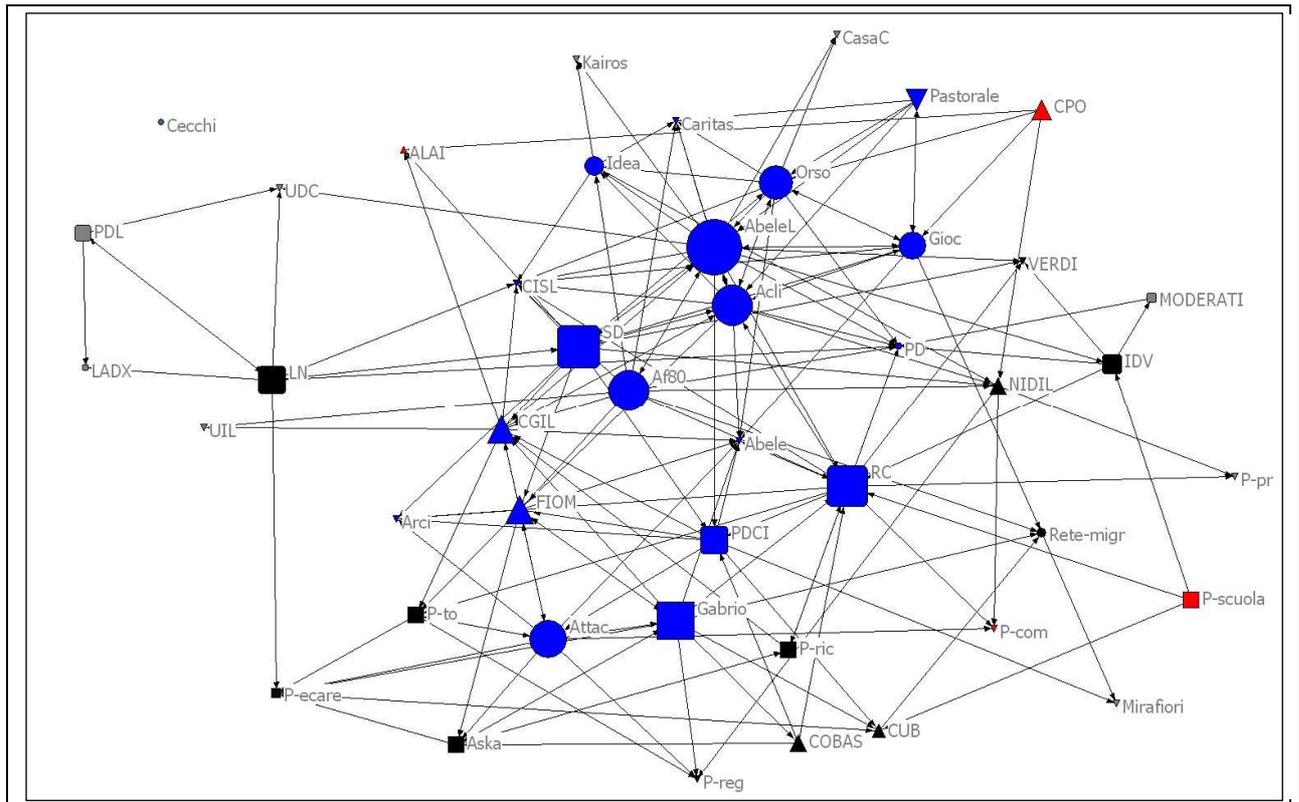
between this figure and the one depicting the “out-degree” (the number of associations a node has mentioned) (Fig. 11).

Figure 10 Personal contact network (dimension proportional to in-degree centrality)



N = 64 (19 pendants and isolates deleted)

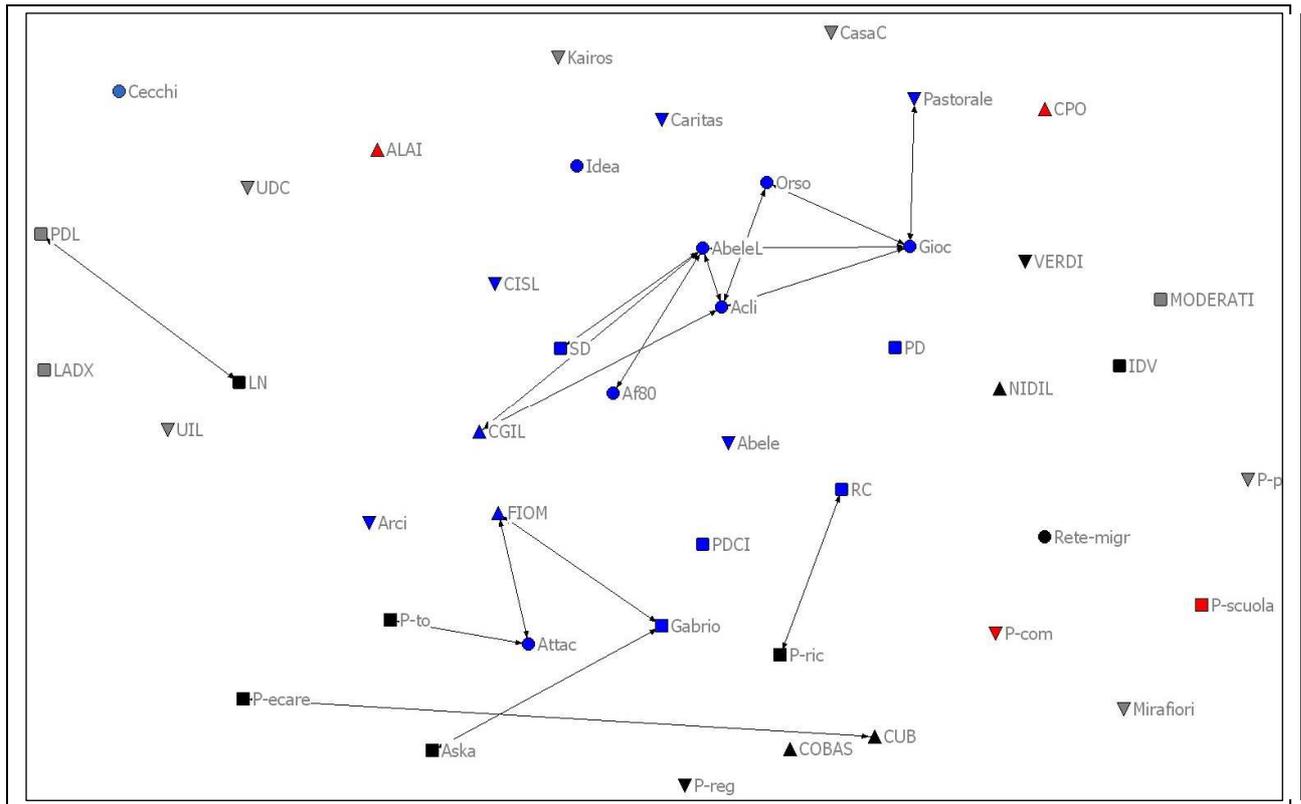
Figure 11. Personal contact network (dimension proportional to out-degree centrality)



N = 64 (19 pendants and isolates deleted)

Nonetheless there is one interesting aspect that can be easily portrayed by the following graph (Fig. 12): the symmetric ties of personal contacts as well as Simmelian ties of the same network. Indeed while understanding the real interconnections of these associations an interesting sub-network can be spotted made of three overlapping Simmelian ties Abele-Acli-CGIL, Abel-Acli-Gioc and Acli-Gioc-Orso.

Figure 12 Personal contact network (as Fig. 11 but only symmetric ties)



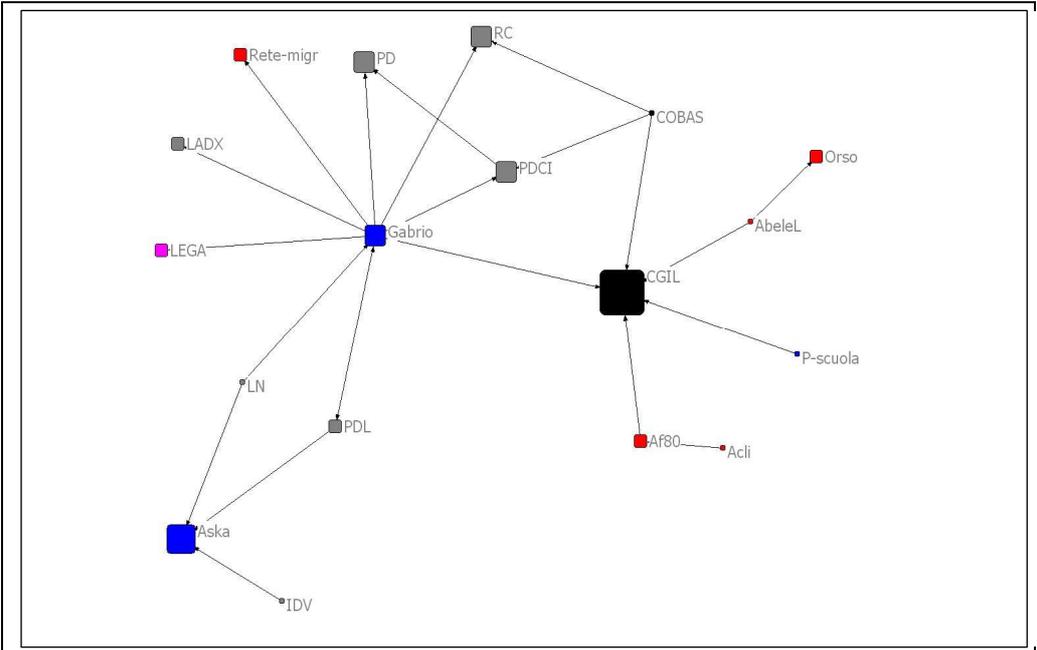
N = 64 (19 pendants and isolates deleted)

Major disagreement network

The same problems faced in the previous graph are present also in the “disagreement” diagrams. Here we have decided to present only two pictures: one with the “in-degree” centrality measured by the size of nodes (Fig. 13) and the other one with the “out-degree” (Fig. 14). In the former, the bigger the organization the more hated it is, in the latter the bigger the more acrimonious it is. “Disagreements” are not symmetric at all (except the one between Gabrio and PDL), this tells us two things. On the one side, actors are not fully aware of the disagreement about their behavior (Fig.14), on the other side, probably there was some reticence during the interview.

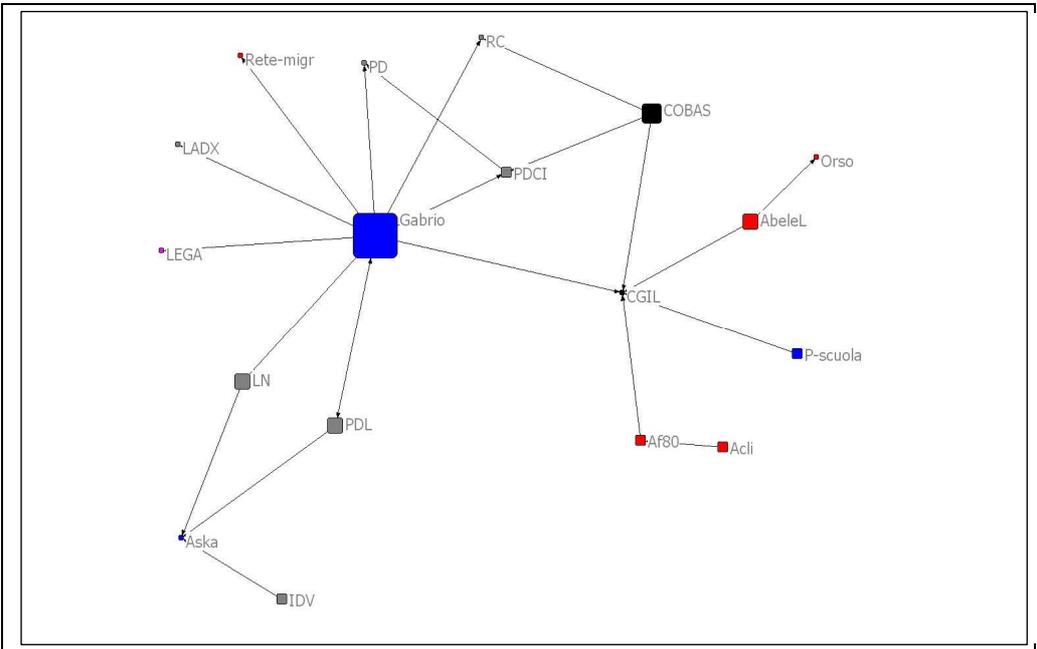
Overall, it is very important to note that the Italian unemployment field is not populated by factious actors, but there is a general tendency towards cooperation in order to solve problematic situation. This conflict network is relatively small (nodes as well as ties) although the density is not as low as expected (see table 27). This of course is coherent with the overall picture. Indeed the number of ties per actors are quite high because of a few conflicting actors. Among those there are social movements (Gabrio) and specific trade unions (CUB) with their political strategy .

Figure 13 Disagreement network (dimension proportional to in-degree centrality)



N = 18 (isolates deleted)

Figure 14 Disagreement network (dimension proportional to out-degree centrality)



N = 18 (isolates deleted)

To sum up, in all diagrams we analyzed two emerging trends: on the one side, the networks are cohesive and single-component; on the other side, there was always some hints of a core-network. In order to gain more data, we ran a specific analysis called core-periphery in

UCINET³⁵ (Borgatti et al., 1999). This further investigation brings to light the core-networks of the Turin unemployment related civil society based on associations, political parties and trade unions either of leftist ideological background or of a catholic one (Tab. 28). This shows how important still are the communist and the Catholic political subcultures that have shaped the social-political-economic life of Turin –and not only Turin!-- in the XXth century (see also WP1 report on this). Despite dramatic changes in the city –and country--contextual structure, such subcultures are able to continue shaping the societal landscape.

Table 28 Core-periphery analyses

Type of network	Catholic organisations in the core	Leftist organisations in the core	Other	Core density / periphery density
Information	Abele, AbeleL, Acli, ALAI, Caritas, CISL, Gioc, Pastorale, PD	Arci, CGIL, COBAS, CUB, FIOM, NIDIL, PD, PDCI, RC, SD	Aska, Attac, CPO, LN, Orso, P-ecare, P-to, Rete-migr, UIL	0.283 / 0.008
Project cooperation	Abele, AbeleL, Acli, ALAI, Caritas, CISL, Gioc, Pastorale	CGIL, COBAS, CUB, FIOM, NIDIL, PDCI, RC, SD	Af80, Arci, Aska, Attac, CPO, Orso, P-ecare, P-to, Rete-migr, UIL	0.215 / 0.006
Personal link	Abele, AbeleL, Acli, CISL, Gioc, Pastorale, PD	CGIL, FIOM, PD, PDCI, RC, SD, PD	Af80, Attac, Gabrio, Idea, Orso	0.283 / 0.016

Concluding remarks

This report presented the results of a research about the role that organizations of civil society in the city of Turin can play in contributing keeping the society together. There is much emphasis in civil society studies as well in research on democracy about the wide range of opportunities that societal organizations can offer through their actions and structures to integrate groups, in particular groups at risk of exclusion (e.g. minorities, immigrants, unemployed), into wider society. We have presented a typology of organizations supporting integration in Turin via two principal paths: by fostering individuals' engagement and political or public awareness on specific issues like unemployment; or by delivering to people in need some services related to welfare provisions. As all typologies, even the one we presented and discussed here may be contradicted by the reality where mixed types of organizations exist. Although, as all typologies, our too has been used as a tool to facilitate the understanding of the reality we wanted to study.

Together with the types of organizations, what needs to be considered in a study about the 'integration' effects of societal organizations is that organizations do not operate in a vacuum. Their work for a better social cohesion is influenced, among other things, by their embedding political-institutional context (including their political cultural tradition), by the type of relations (networks) they establish with their institutional counterparts or among themselves.

In Turin we found a reality that mirrors the situation of the whole country as reported in similar research having a national scope. Civil society organizations are important vehicles of

³⁵A network has a **core/periphery** structure if the network can be partitioned into two sets: a **core** whose members are densely tied to each other, and a **periphery** whose members have more ties to **core** members than to each other.

people integration in case of unemployment and precariousness because they fill different gaps. They provide services that a poorly developed welfare state do not or cannot provide. Furthermore, civil society organizations interact with local governmental levels (although sporadic attention is also given to supranational governmental levels like the European one) to stimulate, via project proposals, policy solutions. However, civil society organizations offer also concrete opportunities for people engagement, so they increase people awareness about their position and role, but they also foster face-to-face interaction in the classical understanding of the 'social capital' term.

Organizations in Turin are far from the post-modern organizational model based on professional managerial techniques and business oriented activities: on the contrary, they are more focussed on local service delivery, local participation opportunities, and even in the very few cases where they are allowed considerable budgets, their decision making procedure is still an 'open' and 'inclusive' one.

There is also a relative dense network among organizations, although the traditional country division between the social-communist political culture and the Catholic one still persists and still shapes, at least in part, the way organizations tie with each other, hence, the way they integrate people.

However, this report represents just the first piece to understand how really societal organizations can succeed in integrating people to their larger society in Turin. The missing, but crucial, pieces will be added when we will have research findings from the survey on young people living in the city (WP3) and the in-depth interviews with a sample of them (WP4).

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WP2: National Report France

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Lyon

Introduction

Lyon is the second city of France in terms of population and of GDP (after Paris). It is an old industrial metropolis, which has historically been one of the bastions of the labour movement. Over the past thirty years, however, the city has been hit by the economic crisis and has largely reoriented its activities towards the “new economy” (information, communication, services). Lyon today is increasingly bourgeoisie – at least in many of its neighborhood – which obviously has an impact in terms of urban dynamics of inclusion, but still characterised by high unemployment. That is, it was interesting for us to know to what extent this specific issue had had an appropriate response from associations and other organisations that are active in the public domain. In fact, we did find -already in occasion of the mapping process- that different kinds of organisations have played and are still playing distinct roles in the unemployment and precariousness fields.

Politically the city has always been governed at the center (right or left). Thus, in the fight against unemployment and social insecurity many different public policies, with various political inspirations, have been implemented. What is more, characteristics and trends of Lyon are to a great extent representative of those of other large cities in France, while at the same time allowing for analysis of dynamics of integration and exclusion that are grounded in specific territorial logics.

Mapping organizations

In order to obtain relevant information about the activities of associations in the field of unemployment and precariousness, an investigation of the associations in Lyon was carried out by means of using various sources: the latter included analyses of internet sites, local registers of associations, contacts with key informants in the local administration, as well as background knowledge based on newspapers reading and previous researches in the field. The criteria for representation in the study included not being part of the public sector, not having a profit-oriented core activity and being active at the city level during the period of research. The last criterion was very constraining since an important number of organisations are active at different levels, beyond the local level of Lyon city.

At the end of our mapping analysis, 24 organisations were identified. The great majority of them consisted of non-profit associations, associations and movements which intervene in the field with a number of diverse activities. Organisations that are usually through as main protagonists, for example unions and political parties, were not found in great numbers. In fact, many of them organise themselves only beyond the level of the city, and hence, were not taken into consideration.

After the mapping phase, the 24 organisation were contacted so as to ask whether they would be available to be interviewed. This was a very difficult step of the research since

many organisations showed low enthusiasm and availability. Extensive and repeated contacts finally worked well: 21 out of 24 organisations accepted to meet us for an interview. The empirical data thus consists of these 21 interviews conducted in Lyon. Table 1 reports in detail the different types of interviewed organisations.

Table 1 – types of organizations

Type of organizations	Sampling
Associations and movements	17
Foundations	1
Trade Unions	1
Political party	2
Total	21

Comparing organizational characteristics

As said, the sampling of organisations consists especially of movements and associations. In particular 17 organisations are registered as associations, to which one could also add up the only foundation that was found within the field. Only one third of actors stand out as old established organisations while nearly half of the sample is made of organisations that were set up from the 1990s onwards. Lastly, 4 out of the 18 overall ‘civil society organisations’ could be identified as offering examples of social movements mobilising through direct forms of action.

Framing unemployment

A number of open-ended questions were asked to the organisations so as to investigate how they connect their main goals to the unemployment and precarious issues; how much time they dedicate to these issues; and how useful they believe their work is for unemployed and precarious. Some main subfields of action could be distinguished through the analysis of these open-ended questions and some informative material which was provided by the organisations. The subfields included especially employment oriented actions, and help or assistance provided directly to the unemployed or precarious workers. An important part of organisations’ work consists in efforts to help participants towards the open labour market, into which they are far from integrated. Organisations try to provide various kinds of employment opportunities to unemployed and precarious workers, putting emphasis on the inequality of job access. At the same time, work is made on concrete issues, directly with the unemployed and the precarious workers, sometimes also with businesses so as to provide job opportunities for young people. In this case, the framing of unemployment and precariousness is done in terms of scarce access to resources that help enter the labour market.

Activities

In the section above, we presented the general framing of the actions by organisations in Lyon. We will now move to a more concrete analysis of activities by interviewed organizations.

Table 2 – Main sectors of activity

Sectors of activity	%
Employment and training	76
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	91
Social integration	76
Labor relations	57
Poverty	71
Education	57
Women	67
Immigration	57
Health	71
Politics	25
Youth, students	71
Housing	67
Family	38
Human rights	67
Culture, music, theatre, etc.	33
Environment	29
Alternative communication and media activism	32
Child care/other children's services	29
Fair trade / ethical finance	25
Business relations	10
Disabled	48
International cooperation	15
Peace/anti-militarism/conflict resolution	5
Pensioners, elderly	35
Homosexuality	10
Consumers' interests	5
Sport	10
Crime	15
Religious activities	5

N=21

The main activities of these organizations can be linked to sectors of activities presented in table 2: the most important in Lyon refers to job insecurity since nearly all the organisations are active in this field. Furthermore, employment related sectors are mentioned as important sectors of activities, for example employment and training (mentioned by 76% of the interviewed organisations); social integration (76% as well); though labor relations scores less well (57%). It is also interesting to notice that politics scores only 25% against the common idea of strong politicisation across French civil society. Other activities mentioned by a minority of organisations include business relations (10%) as well as peace and conflict resolution (5%). Overall, findings are consistent with the main framing of the field that we have presented above.

As regards social integration, table 3 presents the frequency of certain types of activities. The most important activities are intellectual ones; only 14.3% of organizations never propose intellectual activities. Social activities are also very important with low percentage of organisations that never propose any (28.6). We also observe a quite balanced division between those who propose political activities and those who never propose any, while religious activities are never proposed by any interviewed organization in Lyon.

Table 3 – Frequency of activities per types

Activities	Cultural	Social	Intellectual	Political	Educational	Sport	Religious	Public programs
Frequency								
Never active	57.1	28.6	14.3	57.1	47.6	81.0	100	61.9
Active	42.9	71.4	85.7	42.9	52.4	19.0	-	38.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N=21

Finally, table 4 shows that organizations in Lyon are little active if not at all in demonstrations such as sit-in, rallies, and meetings. Only a minority of organisations use these forms of protest-related action to promote their political goals and make the public opinion aware of their positions.

Table 4 - Organizations carrying out activities with unemployed and precarious workers

Activities	With unemployed	With precarious
	%	%
Information stand	33.3	28.6
Sit-in	23.8	14.3
Rallies	-	-
Trainings	52.4	33.3
Meetings	23.8	19.0

N=21

Internal structures and decision making processes

The analysis of internal structure of organisations provides us with information on their internal functioning. In table 5, we see that most of the interviewed organizations are quite formally organised since they have a constitution (81%), a board (90%) and a president (81%) as well as a treasurer (91%), a secretary (86%), and a general assembly (86%).

This might be due to the fact that, as table 6 shows, most of them are associations (81%), which need to fulfil a series of criteria for constituting themselves.

Table 5 - Internal structure and meeting frequency

Structure	Meeting frequency	<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>Several times a year</i>	<i>Once a year</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>
A constitution	95					
A board	90	→ 5	35	45	5	-
Leader / president	81					
A chair person	43					
A secretary	86					
A spokesperson	5					
A treasurer	91					
A general assembly	86	→ 5	-	11	71	-

N=21

Table 6 - Legal status of the organization

Status of the organizations	%
Association	81.0
Other	19.0
Total	100

N=21

More specifically, we can look at the board composition in terms of size and membership. Most of the boards are small, since they are made of less than 10 persons in 77.7% of relevant cases (see table 7) and not more than 20 members in any case.

Table 7 - Number of board members

Board members	%
Less than 10	77.7
Between 10 and 20	22.3
Between 21 and 35	-
More than 35	-
Total	100

N=21

The composition of the board is rarely the object of specific policies. Only 19% of the organizations have quotas related to women and men presence in their boards and the percentage drops to ca. 5% for unemployed quotas and for precarious workers (see table 8).

Table 8 - Board composition policies

Composition of the board resulting from a policy	%
Women / Men ratio	19
Unemployed workers quota	5.7
Precarious workers quota	5.7

Table 9 - Board members recruitment

Models of board members recruitment	%
Within the organization (among members)	83
From outside it (e.g. job market)	17
Both within the organization and on the labor market	-

Moreover, table 9 shows that the board members are often recruited within the organisations themselves. Only a minor part of recruitment takes place outside of the organizations, whereas no organisation recruits both within and outside.

Organizational resources: personnel and finances

Another important element to consider related to the internal structure of the organisations is the personnel – whether paid on a full time (table 10) or part time (table 11) basis as well as volunteers (table 12). Data show that more than a third of the organizations have no full time staff, but this can not easily linked to scarcity of resources since there are also a large volume of organisations that do not have any part-time workers (23.8%).

Regarding the number of volunteers, table 12 shows findings that go in the opposite direction. Only less than 9.5% of organisations can do without volunteers. In other words, organisations need to rely extensive on use of unpaid work. Thus one third of organisations can rely on a number of volunteers that is comprised between 10 and 40, while another third of organisation can even rely on a bigger number of volunteers.

Table 10 - Full time workers

Number of persons working full time	%
No full time staff	38.1
Less than 10 full time persons	33.3
From 10 up to 30	9.6
From 30 up to 150	19.0
More than 150	-
Total	100
N=21	

Table 11 – Part-time workers

Number of persons working part time	%
No part time staff	42.9
Less than 10 part time	42.8
From 10 up to 40	9.5
More than 40	4.8
Total	100
N=21	

Table 12 – Voluntary workers (unpaid staff)

Number of persons working on a voluntary basis	%
No volunteers	9.5
Less than 10	28.6
From 10 up to 40	33.3
More than 40	28.6
Total	100
N=21	

It is also interesting to know why people become members of the interviewed organizations. In table 13, we can see that the most important motivation is helping others. 61.9% of the organizations believe that is one of the motivations for their members to engage. Other popular motivations to join the organizations are sharing political ideas (52.4%) and forging

social contacts (47.6%). The members rarely seek support; whether legal, political or financial. This is probably due to the fact that most of these organisations provide services to non-members, and hence, membership is not necessary anyway to benefit from organizations' services.

Table 13 – Members motivations

Motivations to join the organization	%
For helping-assisting people	61.9
For sharing political ideas/values	52.4
For social contacts	47.6
For political support	9.5
For legal/judiciary support	19.0
For financial support	9.5

Moreover, we can see below in table 14 that few organizations have formal requirements to become members, only 33.3% have some requirements. Indeed, there is hardly any requirement to be registered as unemployed (5%), receiving social assistance, or being part of a public programs for unemployed or precarious workers.

Table 14 – Membership requirements

Formal requirements to become a member of the organization	%
Formal requirement	33.3
No formal requirement	66.7
Specific requirements to become a member	%
1. Being registered as unemployed	4.8
2. Receiving social assistance	6.7
3. Being part of a public programs for unemployed or precarious workers	6.7
4. Being a French citizen	-
N=21	

The organizations in Lyon are quite small by the number of paid staff as we have presented above. However, table 15 shows that these organisations can rely on high. A large majority of them (61.8%) have a budget of 200'000 Euros or more.

Table 15 - Finances

Budget range	%
Less than € 1,000	-
Between € 1,000 and € 2,499	4.8
Between € 2,500 and € 4,999	9.5
Between € 5,000 and € 9,999	-
Between € 10,000 and € 49,999	9.5
Between € 50,000 and € 99,999	4.8
Between €100,000 and € 149,999	4.8
Between € 150,000 and € 199,999	4.8
More than € 200,000	61.8
Total	100
N=21	

Organizational strategies: repertoires of action and communication

When asked to state which actions the association uses practically in order to reach its goals, the most commonly named organizational strategies are services whether to members (23.9%) or to others (23.8%). Social integration also scores very highly. By contrast activities of mobilization are not so central for the organizations, with no role whatsoever for direct engagement with institutions.

Table 16: Most important actions

Main actions	%
Services to members	23.9
Services to other (e.g. clients)	23.8
Social integration	19.0
Political education of citizens / rising awareness	14.3
Other	9.5
Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations and direct actions	9.5
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	-
Fundraising	-
Total	100

N=21

Table 17 shows that nearly all organisations do not stop their engagement in their own local neighbourhood. In fact, most of them are also active beyond the level of the city, although only a minority extends their engagement at the national level.

Table 17 - Areas of activity

Area of activity	%
In the region	85.7
In the whole city	57.1
In the whole country	19.0
In other countries	4.8
In the whole European Union	9.5
In different areas of the city	42.9
Only in the neighbourhood	4.8

N=21

The interviewed organisations rely on different information channels to be known by the unemployed and precarious workers. Table 18 shows that while 76.2% of the organisations have information channels (relying in particular on the Internet), 23.8% do not have information channels.

Table 18 - Information channels

Information channels	%
The organization has information channels	76.2
The organization does not have information channels	23.8
Total	100.0

N=21

Services

Associations offer different services to their members and participants. The spectrum of services offered varies, but most common is assistance to employment seeking and in access to the welfare system, followed by provision of legal assistance. At the same time, many associations provide this kind of help to a substantial number of people. In particular 80% of whole number of organisation target more than 100 people with their own services.

Table 19 - Frequency of services provision per type

SERVICES	Frequency						
	<i>Every day</i>	<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>2-5 times a year</i>	<i>Yearly</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>
Providing assistance in housing	11.8	11.8	5.9	--	5.9	--	64.7
Providing assistance in employment seeking	58.8.7	11.8	5.9	--	--	--	23.5
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system	29.4	17.6	11.8	5.9	--	--	35.3
Providing financial support	11.8	--	--	--	--	5.9	82.4
Providing in-kind support	17.6	--	5.9	5.9	--	--	70.6
Providing Legal assistance	5.9	17.6	11.8	17.6	--	--	47.1

N=17 (total percentages presented by row)

Organizations and their environment

As it has been said, the field of unemployment and precariousness in Lyon is mostly made of non-profit associations with various goals, strategies and activities. In addition, most civil society organizations are active without an explicit political agenda, and do not consider themselves as political actors in a traditional sense. But political influence can take various shapes. Some associations may be invited to take part in public decision-making processes; others may have influence representing not a specific political point of view but by being part of a culture embedded in the associations' areas of activity and aims.

Relationships with the institutions

Table 20 shows that associations in Lyon seem to seek contact preferably at the city and regional level. However, higher levels of government such as national and European are also relevant. There is no contacting taking place at the international level.

Table 20 – Relationship with the institutions

	International level	European level	National level	Regional level	City level
The public authorities frequently ask for the advice of our organization	-	-	23.8	33.3	38.1
The public authorities is friendly to our organization, but our organization initiates most of the contact	-	23.8	19.0	33.3	19.0
The public authorities sometimes receives our organization with hostility and other times is welcoming depending on the issue/s or department/s involved	-	-	-	14.3	14.3
The public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organization does try to influence them	-	4.8	4.8	4.8	9.5
Our organization doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	90.5	66.7	47.6	9.5	19.0
Don't know / No Answer	9.5	4.8	4.8	4.8	-
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100

N=21

Network of organizations dealing with unemployment and precariousness

We will start by displaying graphical information about networks. As we can see in figure 1, the network of information exchanges in Lyon seems centralised around a large number of different organisations. In terms of political parties, we can notice the important role (albeit unexpected) of the Greens.

Figure 1 – Network of unemployment and precariousness for exchanging information

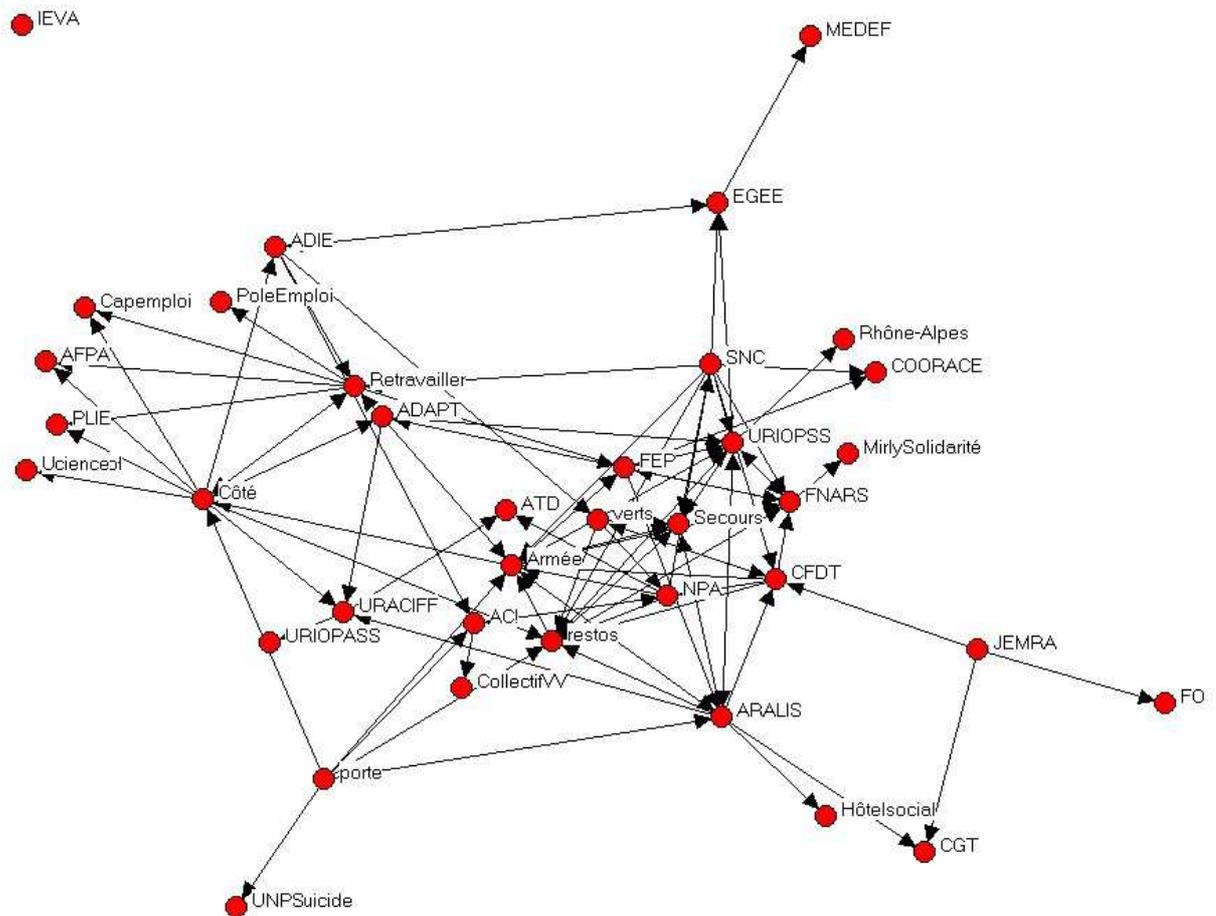
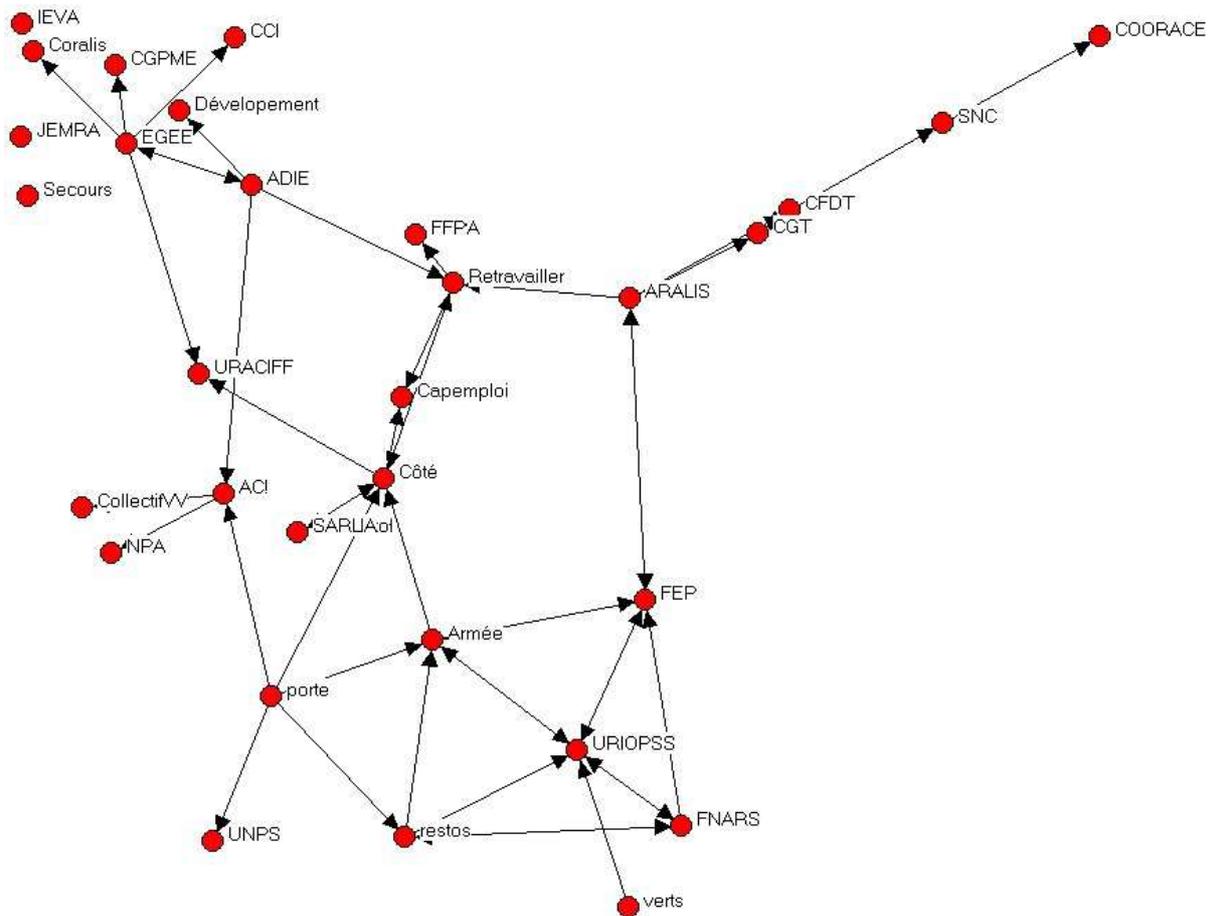


Figure 2 refers to the network built amongst organisations having common projects. In this case, we see that a more limited number of organisations are at the core of the overall network. However, many of these latter organisations were also playing a crucial role within the previous network of information exchange.

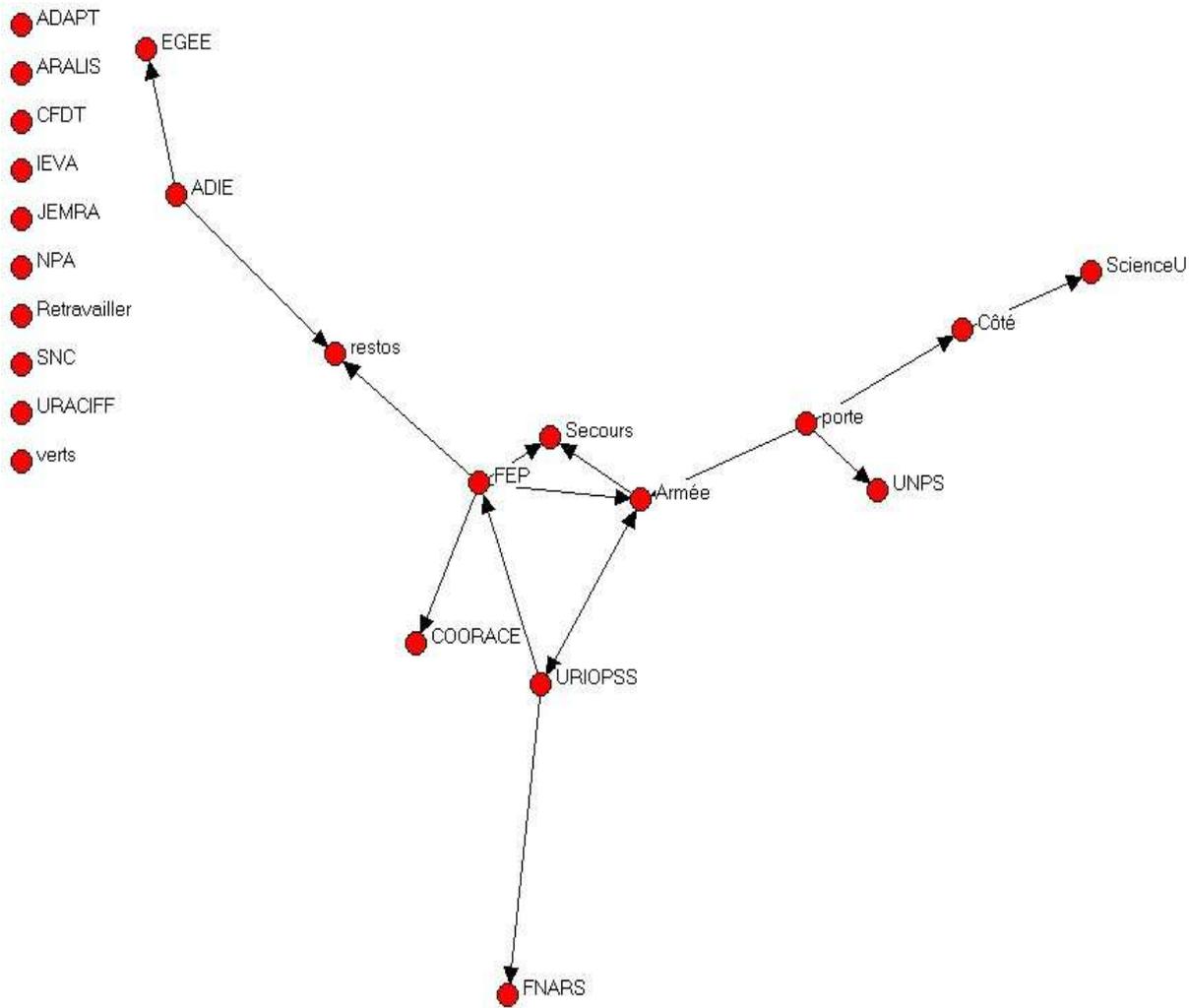
Figure 2 – Network of unemployment and precariousness for common projects in Lyon



Lastly, in figure 3, we still focus our attention on the unemployment and precariousness field, but we tackle specifically ties that are based on overlapping memberships. Here we meant to grasp the number of organisations either sharing staff and members or having members which personally know the members of other organisations. Knowing to what extent the organizations staff has contact with other organizations staff is important; it gives an idea of the interconnectedness of the organisations not as formal as the common project information and not as open as the exchange of information.

In particular, figure 3 shows that even a more limited number of organisations are at the core of the whole network. In this more limited number of organisations we continue to find actors that were playing a crucial role within previous analysed networks.

Figure 3 – Network of unemployment and precariousness for interpersonal ties in Lyon



However, graphs can give us only a very general picture of the organizational networks. For more information we need to move on to the tables 21 and 22, which provide us with more detailed statistical information on our networks. Table 21 is based only on those organizations mentioned that work in the field of unemployment and precariousness. That is, it offers more detailed information about graphs that we have just commented. At the same time, table 22 refers to the broader network that links our organisations in the field of unemployment and precariousness to many other organizations of broader civil society that work in other issue and policy fields.

Table 21 - General information on network diagrams for the unemployment and precariousness field

Unemployment and precariousness field	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Network of organisations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together	50	49	0.0473	116	3.959
Network of organisations with collaboration in projects	38	35	0.0384	54	6.401
Network of organisations having “personal links”	26	16	0.0292	19	5.538
Network of organisations having major disagreements	24	10	0.0127	7	2.536

Starting from table 21, we have information on four types of ties between organizations: exchange of information; collaboration on projects; personal links between members of organizations; and major disagreements (this last type of relationship was not included in previous graphical treatment of networks). As we can see, in general the number of organisations in the field of unemployment and precariousness drops drastically once we remove the organisations that are only mentioned by one organisation.

In table 21, we can also see the number of ties. The number of ties varies according to the relationship we are looking at; the organizations are more likely to be tied by exchange of information (116) than by collaboration on projects (54). As regards centrality, this is a structural attribute of nodes within the network. Here we present the normalised degree of centrality in order to control for the size of the network and be able to compare across different networks that this report tackles in different cities. We can see that the collaboration on projects translates into a more centralised network (6.401) than the networks related to other types of relationships.

In table 22, we have information about the broader civil society network in Lyon. In this case we collect information about relationships with all the organisations (mentioned by the organisations which we interviewed) that do not work in the specific unemployment and precariousness field. Here we see that the number of organisations is lower for any type of contacts and that the number of ties is also lower.

Table 22 - General information on network diagrams for the civil society at large

Civil society at large in Lyon	Number of nodes	Number of active nodes (no isolates)	Density	Number of ties	Normalised degree centrality mean value
Network of organisations having meetings, consultations or exchange of information together (civil society at large in Lyon)	44	35	0.0143	27	2.854
Network of organisations with collaboration in projects (civil society at large in Lyon)	38	30	0.0149	20	2.987
Network of organisations having "personal links" (civil society at large in Lyon)	27	8	0.0085	6	1.709

Conclusion

The interviews conducted in Lyon with unemployed and precarious workers organizations permitted to analyse extensively the city organizational field. We were able to present information on the sectors in which they are active, the services and activities they propose, their internal structures, and their relationships to local, national and supranational authorities as well as with other organizations. We found that organizations are more pragmatic and less politicized than conventional knowledge would say. Many of these organizations are thus active in providing employment opportunities and particular support for job search and related issues. They try to influence both the public opinion and authorities in charge at various levels, and do not limit their engagement exclusively at the city level (or even less, at the level of specific neighborhoods). In fact, engagement extends up till the European level.

As regards relationships with the local authorities, we found that organisations have good relationships with policy-makers. They are able to communicate with the public authorities and they often receive direct information from the public institutions. Indeed, the field is much less contentious than one could expect if she was going along the standard idea of "contentious France". Co-optation seems at work, with local elites and policy makers pre-empting potential conflict in the field. As regards, services which organisations provide for precarious workers and the unemployed, they focus on employment related services and social services. This is consistent with major fields of activities that they mention, such as job insecurity, social integration, employment and training. On this specific point, the sectors of activities we can see that the issues of unemployment and precariousness are also connected to broader social issues, such as youth, housing, and gender. Lastly, organisations have forged networks of relationships in the field especially through the agency of a more limited number of actors who play a crucial exchanging role no matter what is the specific type of (co-operative) relationship at stake.

WP2: National Report Sweden

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Karlstad

1. Introduction

Traditionally, civil movements in Sweden have involved a great number of members and volunteers. Around 90 per cent of Swedish adults between 16 and 84 are members of at least one association (Vogel et al 2003). Only a few of the civil society organisations have a political agenda. The vast majority consist of trade unions, pensioners', sports or consumers' organizations as well as housing associations (Larsson & Bäck 2008).

Looking at the historical background of voluntary associations in Sweden, they laid the foundations of the welfare state, starting with services like charity for the poor, which was the responsibility of the church. Later on, the state took over many services that civil society associations had placed at the disposal of those in need. After World War II, many associations themselves proposed this development. Consequently, the history of civil society organizations mainly concerns the relationship with the state (Lundström & Wijkström 1995). This is also a brief description of the embedding context of the civil society organizations in Karlstad. Being a forest municipality, forestry, wood processing and paper manufacturing play a central role in the county's trade and industry. Today, the surrounding county of Värmland is one of the leading provinces in the world within paper and pulp industry. Paper, IT and services are the dominating branches in the Karlstad region, where the degree of union density is high. Membership rates in sports associations are also significant.

Considering the fact that, except for political parties, very few civil society associations have an explicit political agenda, there are, consequently, not many civil society organizations that address unemployed or precarious workers' conditions. The interests of the latter category are mainly covered by trade unions. Another type of organization of great importance for the conditions of the labour market and the employment situation is political parties. At local level, the five biggest parties are in the city council where they work for the improvement and development of these issues.

1.1. Mapping organizations

In order to obtain relevant information about the activities of associations in the field of unemployment and welfare organizations dealing with related issues, an investigation of the associations in Karlstad was carried out by means of using various sources such as document analyses of trade registers, news papers (both on-line and off-line) and internet sites, but also through interviews with key informants at local authorities, the Public Employment Office, private employment agencies, political parties and trade unions. The criteria for representation in the study included not being part of the public sector, not having a profit-oriented core activity and also being active during the period of research.

Thirteen organizations were found that belong to the civil society, three of which are social enterprises targeting people who, for various reasons, are far away from entering the open

labour market. Another three organizations are non-profit associations with very disparate activities, where one is supporting young people trying to find their professional paths and helping them to start enterprises, one works for women, primarily foreign women, and another for previous criminals. One organization, finally, is an association working with women, offering them trainee jobs in their business.

In addition to the organizations above, the locally represented political parties are also included. None of them offers any kind of activities for the unemployed but a major part of their work concerns unemployment. Being locally elected representatives of the people, the political parties play an important part not only in their practical work in the local government but also in social mobilization, forming the public opinion and more generally representing the people's interests. Concerning trade unions, their most important contribution to the field of unemployment is that they are responsible for the Unemployment Insurance Funds, which form a significant part of the economic safety nets for unemployed people in the Swedish welfare system. In Karlstad, though, no information about activities directed to the unemployed is available. This means that trade unions are neither part of the organizational structure of the unemployment field nor involved in generating social capital for the unemployed, which is why they are not included in the sampling.

In Karlstad with its 85,000 inhabitants, the number of civil society organizations is presumably representative and proportional to the amount of people. After the mapping phase, which extended over a period of six months, thirteen organizations were included in our list. The empirical data consists of these thirteen interviews conducted in Karlstad within the scope of the second stage of the research involving face-to-face surveys. The response rate was 100% (N=13).

Table 1: Types of organizations mapped and interviewed

Organizations mapped	Acronym	Conducted interview	Type of organization
Solakoop	SOKO	Yes	Civil society organization
Solatassen	SOTA	Yes	Civil society organization
Brillianten	BRI	Yes	Civil society organization
Internationella Qvinnoföreningen	IQF	Yes	Civil society organization
Communicare	COMM	Yes	Civil society organization
Kriminellas Revansch I Samhället	KRIS	Yes	Civil society organization
Café Iris	CAIR	Yes	Civil society organization
Socialdemokratiska arbetarpartiet	SAP	Yes	Political party
Moderaterna	MOD	Yes	Political party
Folkpartiet	FP	Yes	Political party
Centern	CENT	Yes	Political party
Miljöpartiet de gröna	MP	Yes	Political party
Vänsterpartiet	VP	Yes	Political party

2. Comparing organizational characteristics

As mentioned in the introduction, the sampling of organizations roughly consists of political parties on one hand and civil society organizations on the other. The political parties were founded before 1989, whereas the civil society associations were founded after 1990. In Sweden, organizations working with and caring for people who are less well off have traditionally received grants. Drug and alcohol addicts as well as mentally disabled people are groups that have not been given priority, partly because they have not had strong associations of relatives that have fought for them like in the case of FUB, the Association for disabled children and adults, that has around 28,000 members and watch over the interests of disabled people in authorities and the Swedish parliament.

Seven organizations are registered as associations, three of which are economic associations and four of which are non-profit-making organizations. The first-mentioned category consists of social enterprises, whereas the non-profit-making organizations constitute a very heterogeneous group. None of the associations is an umbrella organization, which might have to do with the size of the population of Karlstad. More than half of the organizations, of which two are social enterprises and three are political parties, state that they are members of a national organization.

Shared political ideas or values and social contacts are the main reasons for joining the civil society organizations in Karlstad. This applies not only to political parties, but also for other associations. First of all, no association was joined for financial or legal reasons, since that kind of support is normally provided by Swedish authorities. Secondly, the non-judgemental attitude that welcomes members in the actual organization such as a social cooperative is another reason for participating. A third reason regards the members' needs for an occupation and getting out of marginalisation. Finally, membership is something that can be chosen as compared to the measures of the Public Employment Service, which is also emphasized by one of the associations.

Almost half of the associations have formal requirements for participation, namely receiving social assistance, being registered as unemployed or participating in a public programme for unemployed. No organization demands that their members are national citizens.

2.1.1. Framing unemployment...

The associations interviewed can be divided into two categories: those belonging to the civil society and those that are political parties. In the main, this analysis focuses on the first cluster that shares four elements in their work with unemployed people.

The first and most characteristic component is the effort to help participants towards the open labour market, into which they are far from integrated. These associations have a target group whose members or participants for various reasons are unable to put their resources at the disposal of the local job centre, which makes work or participation in the organization, as one organization puts it, the "first step towards 'ordinary' unemployment". One organization focusing on foreign women points out that by learning Swedish the women can integrate into society, and by matching educated women with organisations and training women at a café run by the organization the chances of finding a job grow. For people with a criminal background and often unstable living conditions, the association provides a good environment where they can learn, for instance, to be punctual and later be able to move on into society.

Secondly, the civil society organizations in Karlstad focus very much on the individuals. One association describes how they coach their participants not only in groups but also individually in order to be able to grasp personal qualifications and abilities. Another organization points out that their members work 100 per cent of their own capacity, which extends over 2 to 20 hours per week and includes tasks adjusted to the individual. Having

enough time to see every person as an individual is mentioned as playing a crucial part of the daily work.

Work in the organizations is the third element brought out as being very important to the participants. In one of the social cooperatives, having a paid job does not only makes them part of a social context and give structure to the day, but it also involves the feeling of pride, something that often generates and strengthens the wish for a job in the open labour market. In another social cooperative, working together is described as something that makes the members “well and healthy”.

Finally, security regarding unemployment conditions as well as long term thinking concerning income support are factors mentioned by all civil society organizations interviewed as being a basic prerequisite for the well-being of their members and participants and, as a logical consequence of this, their re-entering the open labour market. The creation of stability is important, says one social cooperative, since it gives a good platform for people who have been outside the labour market for a long time. Furthermore, constant acknowledgement and the feeling of being needed makes people grow and takes them one step further towards the open labour market. This is something that concerns the precarious employment and uncertain maintenance conditions that characterize the situation of many members and participants of these organizations.

As for the political parties, in main issues they follow the policies of the central parties both in their daily ideological work and in the municipal council. Sweden has 290 municipalities, and Karlstad with surroundings forms one. Each municipality has an elected assembly, the municipal council, which is the highest decision-making body, and furthermore appoints the municipal executive board, which leads the daily work. The political parties in the municipal council are represented proportionally to the election. In Karlstad, the Social Democratic Party (*s*), the Left Party (*v*) and the Environmental Party (*mp*) are in political majority by a narrow margin over the conservative parties being the Swedish Conservative Party (*m*), the Centre Party (*c*), the Liberal Party (*fp*) and the Swedish Christian Democrats (*kd*), also represented in the Swedish parliament.

Besides the budget proposition of simplifying LAS, the Act of Employment, and increasing the number of education places in order to get primarily young people into the labour market, the Swedish right-wing coalition government attaches great importance to the entrepreneurship climate, which the right-wing parties represented in Karlstad also stress in the interviews. The left-wing majority of the local government in Karlstad has more diversity in their propositions, but have in common that they work for full employment and focus on marginalized groups.

2.1.2. ...and precarious workers

When asked whether there is any difference in the amount of time spent on unemployment and precarious workers respectively, almost all associations say there is no difference at all. Only one association coaching young unemployed makes clear that their work is exclusively focused on unemployed, whereas the other organizations make no difference between unemployed people and precarious workers.

Table 2: Time devoted to precarious working conditions (N=13)

Is there any difference concerning precarious workers?	%
There is no difference	92
We work only with long term unemployed	8

Most associations describe an activity scenario where there is either no difference at all to the work related to unemployed, or focus is on the needs of the individual, not on her or his employment status. Concerning the political parties, the right-wing parties state that they work for a higher degree of flexibility in the employment legislation in order to gain mobility in the labour market, which, among other things, could facilitate the entrance of e.g. young people in the labour market. One example given by a right-wing party when speaking about how the work of the organizations could improve the conditions for precarious workers regards private services like house cleaning and taking care of children. Here, it would make a huge difference for the cash-in-hand workers, mostly women, since they could be proud of their work, receive social benefits and insurances, start an enterprise etc. The left-wing parties, on the other hand, work for a stronger legislation to protect the workers' interests. Another way of influencing and improving precarious workers' conditions is cooperation with trade unions.

2.2. Organizational activities

Table 3: Sectors of activity (N=13)

Sectors of activity	%
Health	85
Youth, students	85
Labor relations	85
Education	77
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	77
Disabled	70
Pensioners, elderly	70
Women	69
Human rights	69
Employment and training	69
Poverty	62
Politics	62
International cooperation	62
Social integration	62
Business relations	54
Environment	54
Culture, music, theatre, etc.	46
Child care/other children's services	46
Fair trade / ethical finance	46
Crime	46
Sport	39
Consumers' interests	39
Family	39
Housing	39
Homosexuality	39
Alternative communication and media activism	39
Immigration	31
Other	25
Religious activities	15
Peace/anti-militarism/conflict resolution	8

In relation to the unemployment sector, most associations organize meetings with unemployed people, and to a large extent also precarious workers, and one third organizes rallies and/or training for both categories. Information stands and sit-ins are rather rare. Most of the organizations interviewed, more than 70 per cent, state that they are active in the fields of health, education, youth and students, job security and unemployment as well as employment and training. The interviewees state that 'health' is understood in a broad sense, but is also seen as permeating the whole organization since good health forms the basis of all further steps e.g. towards the labour market. Often other fields of activity mentioned are related to the needs of the organizations' members, such as poverty and disabilities but also in a broader sense to social integration, women's equality claims and business relations. In Sweden, most organizations belonging to the civil society focus on one or a few related fields. There are organizations for specific areas, such as consumers' interests', religious activities, sports, housing or family issues, sexuality etc. This is one reason for the small spread of activities.

Table 4: Three most important sectors of activity (N=12)

Most important sector	(%)
Social integration	39
Labour relations	31
Employment and education	31

When asked to name the three most important sectors of activity, the interviewees named social integration as being the most important sector followed by labour relations and employment as well as education. Social integration was mentioned as being an important sector by the non-profit-making organizations, one social enterprise and one political party.

Two areas of activity, peace movements and religious activities, stand out as very few organizations, one and two respectively, have stated that they are active within these two sectors. In a historical context, Sweden has not fought a war since 1814, when Norway was attacked in order to make Denmark give Norway to Sweden in exchange for the Swedish occupied territories in Germany. The lack of personal experiences related to war might explain the low degree of devotion to these questions. In addition to that, the past decades' disarmament of the national military has contributed to a weak tradition of peace movements. Concerning religious activities, Sweden is a highly secularized country. Even though the vast majority of the population is formally members of the Swedish church, studies show that up to 85% of the Swedes do not believe in God (see e.g. Gustafsson and Pettersson, 2000, Davie, 1999). Consequently, most religious activities are carried out separated from non-religious organizations.

Table 5: Frequency of organizing events and activities (N=13)

Frequency	Activities							
	Cultural	Social	Intell.	Polit.	Educ.	Sport	Relig.	Pub. Pr.
Never	15	8	23	31	-	69	84	46
Less frequently	15	-	-	-	-	8	8	8
Yearly	15	-	15	8	8	-	8	8
2-5 times a year	23	61	23	31	23	8	-	-
Monthly	8	23	23	15	39	-	-	31
Weekly	23	8	15	15	15	15	-	8
Daily	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
Don't Know/Refusal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yearly or more often	69	92	76	69	100	23	-	

Educational and social activities are carried out yearly or more often in almost all associations. Intellectual, cultural and political activities are almost as frequent. Religious activities, the implementation of public programmes and sports, on the other hand, are rarer. Most of the organizations state that they never work with the implementation of public programmes, the organization of sports or religious activities. One explanation might be that Swedish civil society organizations above all focus on one issue combined with related fields.

2.3. Internal structures and decision making processes

All the organizations are highly organized having a decision making board and a chair person, and in almost all the cases there is also a treasurer and a secretary. In addition, many associations have work groups focusing on specific issues. Two of the associations are related to each other being mother- and a daughter organizations, which means that they have the same board but are clearly separated from each other and differ concerning aims, agendas and activities.

Table 6: Internal structures (N=13)

Does your organization have...	Yes %		How often does it meet? (answers in % of each item)				
			Weekly	Monthly	Several times a year	Once a year	Less frequently
A board	100	→	-	77	23	-	-
Leader / president	15						
A chair person	100						
A secretary	85						
A spokesperson	39						
A treasurer	92						
A general assembly	85	→	9	9	-	82	-
Committees / work groups on specific issues	69	→	11	22	67	-	-

All the boards have between five and thirteen members, and most common is a board with either seven or eleven members. Regarding the numerical data, all of the organizations have at least two women in the board, whereas most boards have between two and six female board members. One board consists exclusively of women, which is the board of an international association for women³⁶. At a closer look, though, a different picture appears. Only in two of the social cooperatives and in one political party more than half of the board members are female, and one further board, as mentioned above, consists exclusively of women. In all the other associations the majority of the board members are male.

Table 7: Share of women in boards (N=13) NB. Two organizations share one board. For that reason, the board is only showed once in the table.

How many members form the board?	How many of the board members are female?	Percentage of the board
5	2	40
6	5	80
7	2	29
7	3	43
7	5	70
8	6	75
10	3	30
10	3	30
11	4	36
11	11	100
13	6	46
13	6	46

Only four associations have neither unemployed nor precarious workers as board members. One organization’s board consists entirely of unemployed people, three of which are women and seven are men. Two of the associations have six and five unemployed board members respectively, one of which, in both organizations, is male. Concerning precarious workers, one organization’s board consists entirely of precarious workers, five of which are women and seven are men. Six of the organizations have a board with one or two precarious workers and the same amount of associations have no precarious workers at all.

Five of the boards have a female chair, whereas eight boards have a male chair person. More than half of the organizations state that the distribution between women and men within the board is the result of a policy. No organization has a precise policy on the presence of precarious workers or unemployed people in the board.

2.4. Organizational resources: personnel and finances

The degree of democracy is relatively high in the associations interviewed. Six organizations let the board decide, two of which have board members elected by the members, and the other seven have meetings where the members vote. Most boards meet monthly, some several times a year. No organizations’ board meets less frequently than that. The general assembly is almost exclusively once a year (see table 5). Between 15 and 43 per cent of the members attended the last assembly, except for the social cooperatives, whose attendance at the general assembly reached 60 and 80 per cent respectively.

³⁶ As mentioned above, this is the board of the mother organization as well as a separate association.

Table 8 – Decision-making process (N=13)

Members' decide at meetings	7
Decision of the board	5
Other	1

In the organizations interviewed, the degree of members participating in the decision-making process is high. In more than half of the associations members take part directly in the democratic structure of the organization, and in the remaining associations the board takes important decisions. One associations states that decisions are made within the organization without defining exactly who is involved, but since this particular association does have a board as well as weekly meetings with members, some of whom are in the board, and volunteers, the assumption is that the decision-making process is high also in this association.

Concerning staff, many civil society organizations have no paid staff at all. Three organizations have one or two paid full time staff and another three have one or three paid part time staff. Volunteers are slightly more common, at least among the political parties, all of which, as in the case of two civil society organizations, have volunteers. Between 15 and 40 volunteers is quite common. In many associations volunteers and members meet on a monthly basis, even though the frequency of the meetings may range from daily to a couple of times a year.

Table 9: Range of annual operating budget (N=13)

Range of budget	%
Less than € 1,000	23
Between € 1,000 and € 4,999	-
Between € 5,000 and € 9,999	8
Between € 10,000 and € 49,999	46
Between € 50,000 and € 99,999	8
Between € 100,000 and € 149,999	8
Between € 150,000 and € 199,999	-
More than € 200,000	8

Most associations either own their premises or use premises belonging to another organization or institution. Five organizations share their premises with other associations. As for the budget, not all of the associations were willing to let us take part in every detail of their budgets, which is why the analysis is not complete. However, no association states that they receive neither donations from individuals nor sponsoring from companies. One association is partly financed through an umbrella organization and another association receives a grant. For both associations, these are the main sources of income. Regarding returns from fundraising and membership fees, they partly form the budget of almost half of the organizations. Seven associations neither have returns from fundraising nor membership fees. On the other hand, membership fees are one organization's only and another association's main source of income.

2.5. Organizational strategies: repertoires of action and communication

Most of the local organizations are active in the city and a few target an extended area covering the whole region. Addressing smaller areas like a neighbourhood would require a larger population than Karlstad with its 85,000 inhabitants.

Table 10: Main actions, ranked after frequency (N=13)

Main actions used in order to reach association's goals	(%)
Advisory / Counselling activities for members	85
Services to members?	77
Self-help	69
Social integration	69
...political education of citizens / rising awareness?	54
...services to other (e.g. clients)?	54
...interest representation / Lobbying institutions?	46
Mobilizing members	46
Fundraising	31

When asked to state which actions the association uses practically in order to reach its goals, the most commonly named organizational strategies are social integration, services to members, self-help to members as well as advisory and counselling activities. Looking back at table 2 (p.7), showing in which sectors the associations had been active during the past 12 months, we see that for instance social integration was quite frequently mentioned and is also mentioned by many organizations as being an important way of action in order to achieve the associations' goals. No association named the alternatives 'mobilizing members through protest or other direct actions' or 'services to others than members'.

In addition to three political parties, one social cooperative says fundraising is important. This shows that, with one exception, the budgets of the civil society associations in Karlstad consist of other items than funds, private donations and companies sponsoring them.

Three of the associations, one political party and two social cooperatives, did not answer the question at all. The latter explained that these strategies do not capture what they consider as significant, which is work in the cooperative. Another three associations said 'other' is the most important, which in this case includes information about the association and political influence such as work in the city council and activities in order to draw public attention to the party's ideology.

The organizations have different ways of spreading information about themselves and their activities. Two do not explicitly have information channels, both of which are social cooperatives. Instead, they rely on the Public Employment Office or the Social Insurance Office transferring or giving people a tip about their existence. All organizations have a home page though, and almost all produce or co-produce press releases. Producing newsletters and participating in local or even national radio or TV programmes is also common.

All of the associations state that the unemployed people or precarious workers are the ones to find the organization. No unemployment related civil society organization in Karlstad is street working or seeking the target group in other active ways. People who may belong to the target group of a certain association, like for instance a social cooperative, are either transferred from or tipped off by the Public Employment Office or the Social Insurance Office.

2.6. Services

All of the associations participating in this study offer help or services to their members and participants. The spectrum of services offered varies, but most common is assistance in access to the welfare system, followed by assistance in employment seeking and housing. These services have been obtained at least 2-5 times a year.

Table 11: Frequency of providing services (N=7) NB. Only civil society organizations have been asked this question. Political parties do not provide this kind of services.

	Assistance in housing	Assistance in employment seeking	Assistance in access to the welfare system	Financial support	In-kind support	Legal assistance
Never	42,9	28,6	14,3	85,7	100	85,7
Less frequently	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yearly	-	-	-	-	-	-
2-5 times a year	28,6	28,6	-	-	-	-
Monthly	-	-	14,3	14,3	-	-
Weekly	14,3	14,3	14,3	-	-	-
Every day	14,3	28,6	57,1	-	-	14,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Regarding the welfare system, many associations provide this kind of help to a substantial number of people. People are either transferred to these organizations from the Public Employment Office or turn to them out of own interest and need. They are usually long term unemployed but many also have additional encumbrances preventing them from (re)entering the labour market and society such as limited work experience, disabilities or a past as a criminal or drug addict, which also interferes with their abilities to interact with authorities and claim their rights. Even though the sample is limited, the frequency and the number of people obtaining assistance from various civil society associations regarding access to the welfare system is undoubtedly an indicator of the fact that they do not receive the help they need from the safety net of the welfare system.

Table 12: Number of beneficiaries by kind of service (means)

Assistance in housing	13
Assistance in employment seeking	23
Assistance in access to the welfare system	28
Financial support	3
In-kind support	-
Legal assistance	14

Except for one social cooperative that provides financial support, all associations state that this is not part of the service they provide. It also applies to legal assistance, which only one association says their members have obtained. This organization, whose members have a criminal past, has provided this service to around 100 persons during the past two years.

All civil society associations in Karlstad say there is at least one formal criterion for obtaining the services mentioned above, none of which however requires a certain religious confession or belief.

Table 13: Criteria for obtaining services (N=7)

Criterion	%
Income level (means-tested)	-
Participation in public programmes for unemployed	43
Citizenship	14
Religion	-
Age	14

Only one association requires a Swedish citizenship for potential participants, whereas three associations state that participation in a public programme for unemployed is a formal criterion for membership. One association works exclusively with a target group of unemployed aged between 18 and 35, which makes age a formal criterion. Furthermore, a high degree of attendance is required during the coaching activities. The participants must also stay out of criminal activities and be free of drugs. As for other criteria not mentioned above, all three social cooperatives, except one association focusing on women with a low degree of employability, demand membership, which is due to the fact that social working cooperatives are economic associations owned by their members (Lundén, 2002).

3. Organizations and their environment

As described by way of introduction, the associations constituting the local sample of associations can be divided into two categories based on their level of activities relevant for this study. The first category consists of political parties which in Karlstad do not offer activities or services to their members as described in this survey. In the Swedish government there is a right wing coalition, whereas locally in Karlstad, a left wing coalition is governing. All the political parties are represented in the city council, though. Being local branches of a major, central party, the smaller groupings, generally speaking, follow the policies of their central party.

The second category is constituted by the non-profit associations belonging to the local civil society in Karlstad, which form a heterogeneous group regarding goals, strategies and activities. On the one hand there are the non-profit organizations social cooperatives, and on the other hand, there are associations offering a wide range of activities such as coaching of young long term unemployed and assisting them into becoming self-employed, self-help for previously criminal people and training for marginalized, often foreign unemployed women.

As mentioned before, most civil society organizations are active without an explicit political agenda, and do not consider themselves as political actors in a traditional sense. But political influence can take various shapes. Some associations are invited to take part in public decision-making processes; others have influence representing not a specific political point of view but by being part of a culture embedded in the associations' areas of activity and aims.

For instance, marginalized groups such as mentally disabled people or former drug addicts are stigmatized, since in a socially vulnerable and exposed situation. This could lead to the conclusion that there is a certain degree of social criticism in their political standpoint. An association focusing on coaching young unemployed into business, on the other hand, might, by direct or indirect means, support and promote trade and industry. From that perspective, some organizations could be considered as political actors despite the fact that they have no

pronounced political agenda since they provide opportunities for political awareness, which could lead to political involvement of unemployed people.

3.1. Relationships with the institutions

Associations in Karlstad seem to seek contact preferably at local or regional level, but not on higher levels of government such as national, international, European. As we will see later, these preferences do not necessarily have anything to do with the treatment or how much influence the associations have.

Table 14 - Relationships with institutions (N=13)

The public authorities...	International level (beyond EU)	European level	National level	Regional level	Local level
...frequently seeks the advice of our organisation	-	-	-	-	7,7
... are friendly to our organisation, but our organisation initiates most of the contact	-	-	-	23,1	30,8
... sometimes receive our organisation with hostility and other times welcome us	-	-	-	7,7	-
...hardly listen to our organisation although our organisation tries to influence them	-	-	-	-	38,5
Our organisation doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	100	100	100	69,2	23,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Concerning the receiving of public information or invitations to take an advisory role in public decision-making processes, one association, a political party, says their advice has been asked for repeatedly at local level, whereas nine and three associations respectively have not made contact with authorities. Out of the associations that do seek contact with the authorities, at local as well as regional level, the vast majority feel their opinion does not seem to be important or even that they are practically ignored when they turn to the authorities.

Furthermore, two of the seven organizations asked, political parties not included since they are represented in the city council, say they were asked to participate in public decision-making processes. As for the receiving of public information relevant to the associations in question, the main level of public information comes from the local government. One association respectively says they receive information from the regional government or the national government, whereas no information comes from the EU institutions.

With regard to written communication on the associations' initiative, one organisation has sent letters or writings, on average, once a month whereas two have never sent a letter to authorities. Most associations have communicated with the authorities via letters or writings with a frequency between once a year and monthly.

3.2. Network of organizations dealing with unemployment and precarious working conditions

The following part of the report aims to give a first impression and an overview of the interaction between the interviewed civil society organizations active in the employment field in Karlstad. Other organizations connected to the unemployment field mentioned by the interviewed representatives of the associations are also included in the figures, mainly in order to give an idea of the high degree of involvement of municipal and governmental organizations. This network analysis does not claim to be complete regarding organizations offering activities to unemployed people and people with precarious working conditions. It is an overview of civil society organizations active in the unemployment field.

Knowledge and other resources can be transferred between individuals as well as groups through social networks (Krackhardt & Kilduff 2002). This has different qualitative impacts on individuals depending on the strength of the ties as well as the size of the structural units. Ties between two groups or individuals, so called dyads, allow a large degree of individuality and give room for bargaining, but they also tend to let conflicts escalate. Triads, structural units constituted by three or more groups or individuals, on the other hand, are likely to suppress the interests of individuals for the interests of a larger group whereas conflicts are more easily managed and resolved (Krackhardt 1998).

From this point of view, a network analysis is interesting primarily because it shows tendencies regarding the location and ties of each association in the social network, which for instance gives a hint about how important a role they play in the network's information flow. It also gives an idea about the various clusters of relationships.

In interorganizational networks, the nodes are constituted by the organizations themselves, and the analysis regards the interactions of the organizations. In this context, we would like to point out that the organizations are not actors. Consequently, the organization does not establish and sustain relations. Instead, contacts are initiated and maintained by individuals (Cook & Emerson 1984). Individuals acting on behalf of an organization make organizational actions a social hybrid. Since human beings act out of their own experiences and ideas, there is a tension between the organizations' actions and the human actor (Ahrne 1993), and the organizations' members or staff who initiate and maintain contacts are, for the same reason, hard to superintend. Our aim is to contribute to a broader understanding of the significance of the existence of organizations active in the field of unemployment and precarious working conditions, as well as the importance of the work carried out by the staff, for the individual unemployed or precarious worker.

Representatives of the civil society associations taking part in this study were asked to name organizations to which they have established links in a professional or personal way such as exchange of information, collaboration in projects and overlapping memberships, as well as organizations they are having major disagreements with. Since no association stated having a negative tie to another association, such as being divided on a certain issue, the analysis is confined to the previously mentioned ties.

To facilitate the interpretation of the figures below, the organizations have been given various symbols. The associations included in this study are shown as follows: circles represent social enterprises, triangles consist of political parties, and quadrangles pointing downwards represent the "other" civil society organizations based on the introductory classification of the report. Further symbols are triangles pointing downwards, symbolizing various kinds of projects and organizations belonging or connected to the public sector, and squares, standing for organizations with corresponding relations to the private sector. It is important to note that no public or private associations have been interviewed, a fact that affects the degree of centrality in the figures as well as the active participation in the network. Focus is, in this study, on civil society organizations. In the figures, all pendants, i.e. the organizations

3.2.2. Project ties

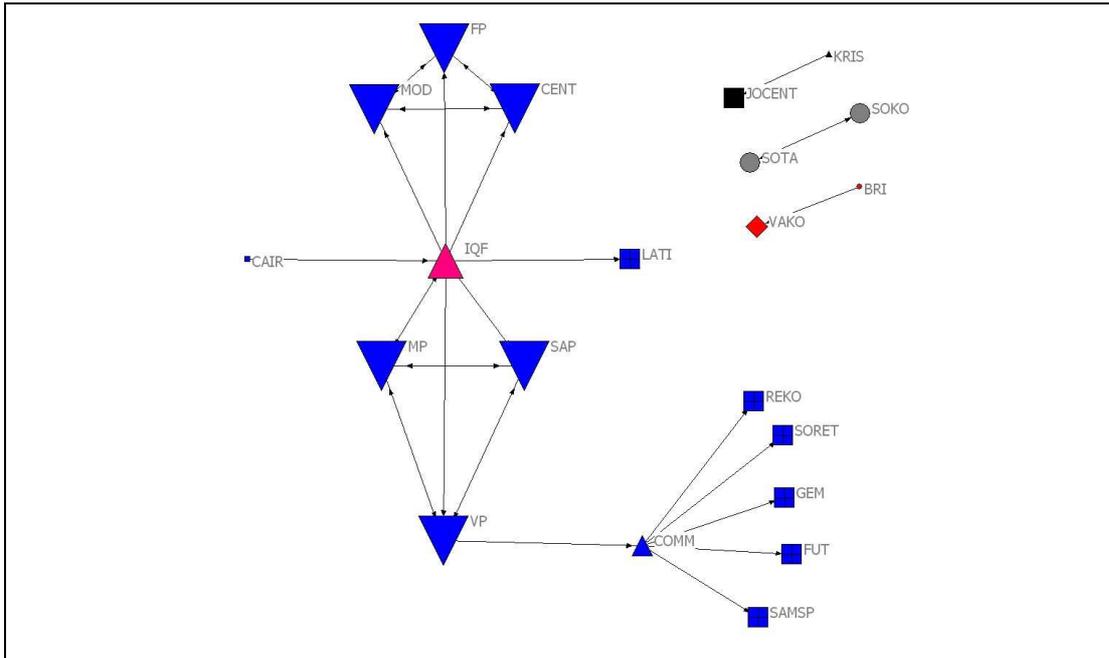


Figure 2: The project cooperation network

The two political groupings, connected via a broker, are central in this picture. At a closer look at symmetric ties, the patterns of two sub networks emerge. Three right-wing parties and three left-wing parties respectively are connected via IQF, at first sight taking the role of a broker. This association has only one reciprocal tie connecting it to one of the left-wing parties. Regarding project cooperation, an expected outcome would be symmetrical ties due to the nature of collaboration. With the exception of two social cooperatives as well as one civil society organization and a political party, data from the network analysis show connections pointing in only one direction. As in the case of the information ties, this may partly be explained by the fact that not all organizations were interviewed. Another reason might be that collaboration can be interpreted in many different ways.

3.2.3. Personal ties

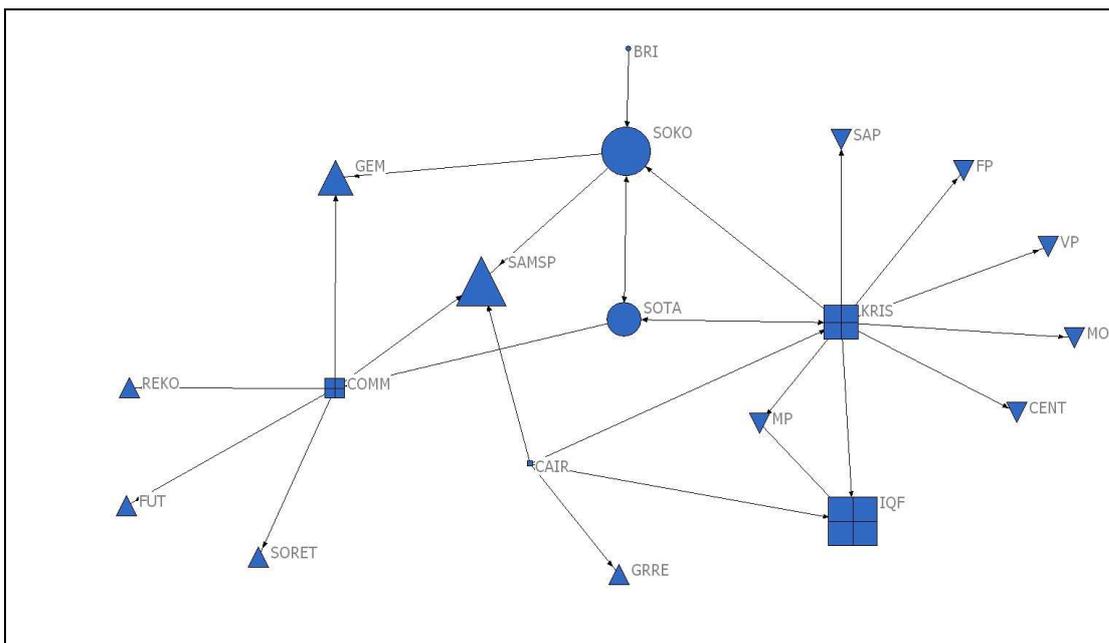


Figure 3: Personal links

Regarding political parties, memberships do not overlap, but considering the fact that all the parties interviewed are represented in the city council where they meet regularly, it is likely that there are personal links between the parties. This was not indicated in any of the interviews, but our data does not allow a deeper analysis of this matter. Two of the associations, COMM and KRIS, state that they are linked personally to five and eight organizations respectively, even though they are only mentioned twice by other organizations.

Regarding the civil society associations, personal ties are more frequent than the exchange of information. The political parties, who took a relatively central part in the information flow and had many connections to each other, are now reduced to pendants in the periphery of the picture. Instead, two public projects for unemployed people are in the centre of the picture together with two social cooperatives and two other civil society organizations.

It is interesting to note that the civil society organizations only exchange information with political parties, but when it comes to project ties and personal links, two of the social cooperatives are connected through ties that seem relatively strong.

4. Conclusion

This report presents the results of a study on the civil society organizations in Karlstad and is a contribution to the understanding of an increasing and developing mosaic of solutions aimed at lowering the unemployment rates and supporting unemployed people.

Under the heading of "Organizations and their environment", the civil society organizations were roughly divided into two categories, political parties and other civil society organizations. There is a third dimension to activities in relation to unemployed, though, which, since not target of this survey, was left out in the survey. It involves the role of the Swedish welfare state, which is well developed and, when it comes to integration of unemployed people and precarious workers, the most significant actor. The main contribution regarding the unemployment field derives from the Public Employment Office, but also their cooperation with municipalities. In addition to that, the projects and networks of the municipalities play a crucial part in the integration of unemployed people.

But the welfare state also interacts with the surrounding society, including the civil society organizations. The organizations addressing unemployed people and precarious workers presented in this study represent the local civil society in Karlstad. This cluster of associations is heterogeneous meaning that it fills different gaps addressing dissimilar target groups. Their ways of action vary, as do their main objectives. Some are helping people to "keep their head above the water" despite their difficult social and often also financial situation, like one social cooperative puts it, while others help unemployed one step further towards the labour market.

What all associations included in the survey have in common, though, is that, in one way or the other, they are connected to the Swedish welfare state. In recent years, the responsibilities of the municipalities have augmented towards a more inclusive policy regarding unemployment measures, which, until recently, have been cared for by the Public Employment Office. The reason for the more flexible, strategic and well-developed ways of action of the municipalities is the dramatic increase of spending. The municipalities are legally responsible for major part of the local environment, which includes social services, the deteriorated unemployment insurance and the fact, that labour market measures along with the compensations belonging to them have been cut down.

This gives a reason for the local authorities' interest in creating new solutions for long term unemployed and other persons with a low degree of employability. The municipalities either act directly, through projects and networks, which will be described later on or indirectly, by

financially supporting, or cooperating with, organizations that reduce the unemployment figures, which is the case of all civil society organizations in our study. The bonds may vary and take different shapes. Some associations receive associations' grants, while others receive funding from the regional or the local governments. Another association's main source of income is selling trainee jobs to the Social Services Department of the municipality.

As we can see, there are strong bonds between the welfare state and the civil society which, on one hand, it is an advantageous cooperation for the association that is supported, but on the other, the relationship can be complicated since the authorities, through the financing, have the power to influence or even control a particular association.

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WP2: National Report Poland

Addressing work instability

Organisational activities related to youth unemployment and precarious working conditions in Kielce

1 Introduction

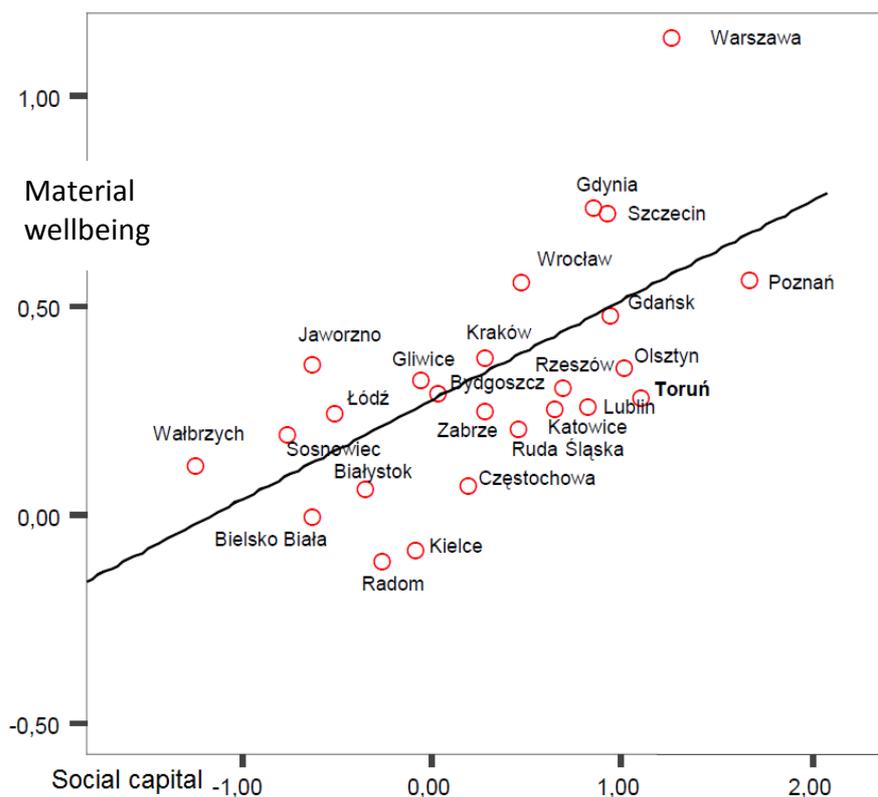
There are 329 nongovernmental organizations in Kielce according to the city's official list based on the register (KRS)³⁷. This number gives an outcome of 15,8 active organizations per 10 000 citizens of Kielce. The comparable data is available only at the regional (voivodship) level – Kielce's region with 13,4 organizations per 10 000 inhabitants has the lowest position in the ranking of Polish regions according to the density of the organizations (Herbst, Gumkowska 2008: 5). Various other data support the fact of general low civic activity in the region. According to the general survey of CBOS, 10,6% of Poles are the members of civic organizations, however only 8,4% in the region of Kielce (which is the second worst position of the region, after the north-eastern region warmińsko-mazurskie with the membership of 8,0% of inhabitants, by the contrast, in the western region of Opole there are 14,6% of people with associational membership) (Żukowski, Theiss 2008: 2). As the study *Diagnoza Społeczna* (Social Diagnosis) presents, Kielce is one of the Polish cities with relatively lowest level of material wellbeing (measured by citizen's incomes) as well as the lowest level of social capital (measured by an index consisting of such variables as: interpersonal trust, associational activity, organizing and taking part in the public meetings, voluntary work, electoral turnout and the positive attitude towards democracy) (*Diagnoza Społeczna* 2009: 276). The presented below figure 1 shows the standard deviation of inhabitants' material wellbeing and social capital in Polish cities.

The generally low level of organizations' activities in the field of youth unemployment and precariousness results not only from the low civic engagement in Kielce but also from the fact that the vast majority of local organizations are active in such spheres, as: culture, education, sport and leisure. As presented in the report, only a handful of organizations that deal with unemployment issues are to be found in Kielce. The annex 1 at the end of this report is a list of the organizations in Kielce that are, even to a very small extent, active in the field of unemployment and precariousness.

The sources we used for organizations' mapping were: the above mentioned official register (KRS), the city's data on local organizations, the national database of the nongovernmental organizations in Poland (www.ngo.pl), the fieldwork and the interviews. The mapping process (especially the interviews) allowed us to add a few organizations that were not included in the official registers, as well as to leave out some organizations that either had ended their activity or turned out to be not engaged in solving the researched issues.

³⁷ Krajowy Rejestr Sądowy (KRS) is a public register run by the regional courts and the Ministry of Justice. There are entrepreneurship, associations and the foundations that are registered in KRS.

Figure 1 The comparison of Polish cities in respect to material wellbeing and social capital resources (Kielce at the bottom of the graph)



Source: Diagnoza Społeczna 2009: 276

As presented in the annex 1, the group of 28 mapped organizations consists of:

- 21 civic organizations, within which are:
 - o 14 associations,
 - o 3 funds,
 - o 1 religious organization (Caritas),
 - o Caritas's 3 service centres,
- 4 parties,
- 3 labor unions.

Taking into account the number of organizations, we decided not to sample the organizations, but to conduct the interviews with the representatives of all of them. In two cases (ATTAC, the labor union "Solidarność 80") we were refused to include the organization in our research. Thus, the organizational survey in Kielce comprised 26 associations, parties and unions. We have the reasons to presume it gives the comprehensive picture of organizational activities in the field of unemployment and precariousness.

Characterising generally the main activities of the researched organizations in Kielce, the following four groups can be distinguished:

- 1) The group of three organizations, whose activities are focused on the issues of labour market and unemployment. One of them is the employers' association.
- 2) The biggest group, consisting of ten organizations that provide services in such fields as: homelessness, social assistance, help to people with addictions, assistance to people with disabilities. Five of the organizations in this group are run by the Caritas and constitute Caritas' own network of social assistance centres.

- 3) The significant group of six organizations, whose main field of activity is, in a broad sense, education (they provide educational programmes for the unemployed and precarious workers, civic education programmes, community building educational programmes)
- 4) The group of six parties and labour unions.

Table 1 When was the organization established?

	%
From 1920 to 1950	8,3
From 1951 to 1980	4,2
From 1981 to 2000	45,8
From 2001 to 2009	41,7

N=26

As presented in the table 1, four out of each five researched organizations in Kielce have been established after 1981, and 20 out of 26 – after the political transformation of 1989 year. Most of the organizations, which is a general feature of Polish nongovernmental sector, are very “young” and still missing organizational, financial and human resources. As discussed in the next parts of the report, the organizations in Poland can seldom afford to employ staff on a regular basis. Apart from a small group of big and influential organizations they constantly seek different “coping strategies”, which often hinders long-term planning of work on social problems.

2 Comparing organizational characteristics

a) Framing unemployment and precariousness

The questions concerning addressing the problems of unemployment and precariousness (8a-11) were very difficult for the respondents in Kielce. The question on the relation of the organizations’ goals seemed to be too abstract for most of the organizations’ representatives. In the most cases they saw no difference between this very question and the questions how the organization helps the unemployed and precariously working people. The respondents focused on describing the organizations’ activities. It was also difficult for many respondents to assess the quantity of time devoted to these issues.

As presented at the figure 2 below, the vast majority of the researched organizations address the problem of unemployment in a way that we propose to call “a policy referring to the unemployed people”. This “policy” lacks the features of systematic and structural dealing with a problem of unemployment. It is characterised by:

- the individual level of dealing with a problem of unemployment, which means the actions are addressed only to the unemployed people, but not to unemployment as a social problem – it’s the unemployed persons that must be helped, but no actions at the structural level (of, for example: labour market, political structure, local governance) are taken into account, even if the respondents admit that unemployment is a structural phenomenon,
- solutions that are rather reactions to the observed problems than base on the anticipation and the prevention of the social problems,
- often ad-hoc, spontaneous actions.

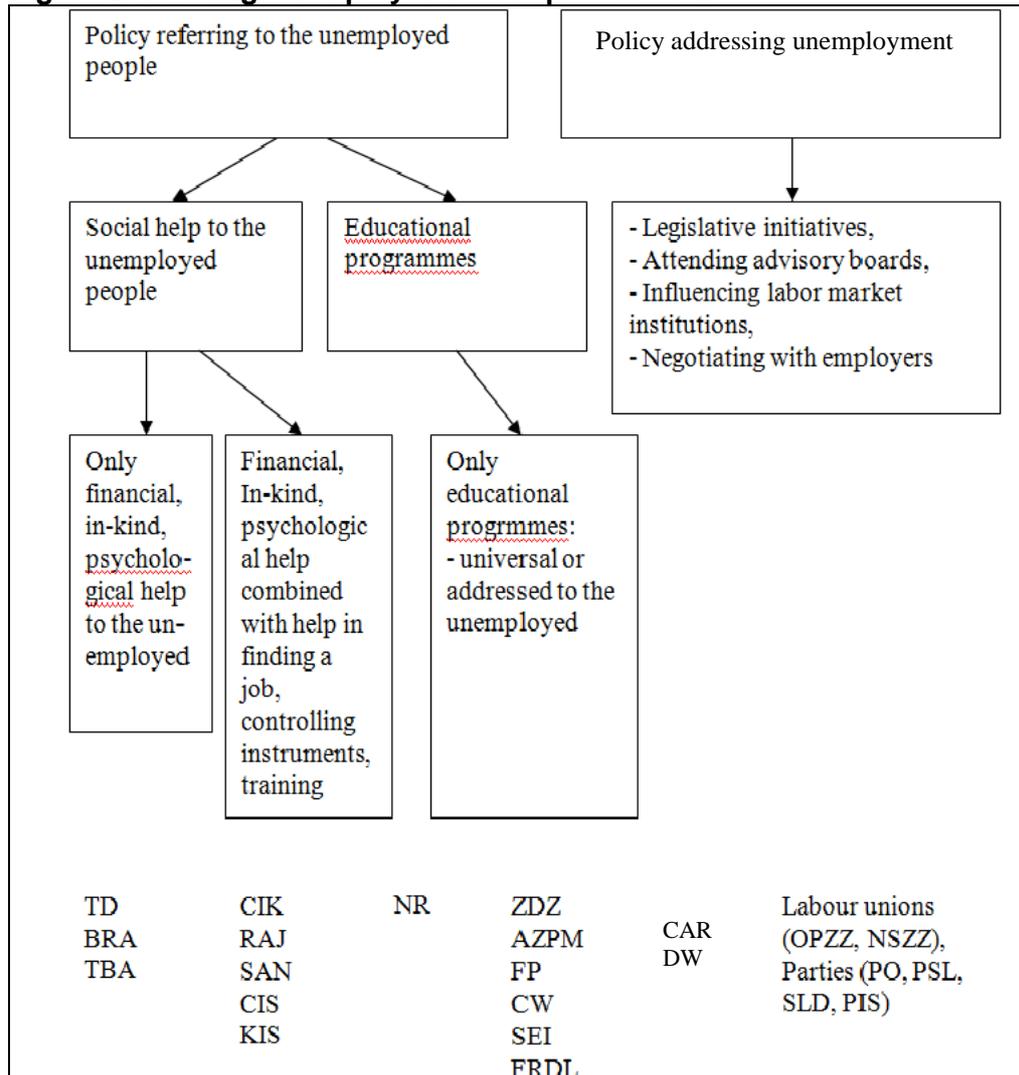
As shown at the figure, there are two main strategies undertaken within “a policy referring to unemployed people”. The first bases on social help to the unemployed people. In the first group of organizations representing this strategy (charity TD and two homeless” hostels TBA, BRA) we were told “we help the unemployed people by giving them a place to live” or “we give them financial support and food”, “once they have a place to live, they can look for a

job". The second group of organizations undertaking this strategy combine the above mentioned aid with a personal assistance and help in finding a job. The respondents in these organizations told us, for example: "we assist our beneficiaries, who are mostly the people overcoming addictions, when they go to the labour office" or "we help them to look for a job". Two out of five organizations in this group (CIS, CIK) base on a very strict control of their beneficiaries, who need to actively look for a job, under the sanction of being released from the programme.³⁸

The second strategy within "a policy referring to the unemployed people" is running various educational programmes. Two big vocational-training centres (ZDZ, AZPM) are among the group of organizations implementing this strategy, as well as the organizations that deal with civic education (FRDL, CW, MD) and the organizations that run varied financed by the EU trainings addressed to, for example: farmers, students or the elderly (SEI, SIR, FP). From the respondents in this group of organizations we often heard such opinions on unemployment framing as: "we help the long-term unemployed to gain new competencies" or "we help to avoid the unemployment of the people we train". In some cases the respondents perceived the actions of these organizations as having the features of systematic dealing with unemployment. It was expressed in such opinions, as: "we contribute to the adjustment of people's skills to the need of labour market". However, in our opinion it was rather a pragmatic calculation that stays behind the provision of the educational programmes, than the motivation of dealing with a social problem.

³⁸ An example of used control measures gives the situation we observed while interview in one of the above mentioned organizations. The agreement with the unemployed persons sets precisely the time that must be devoted to active job searching by the unemployed person. Although it was a heavy rain the person in charge of the program told to one of the participants: "I'm not going to confirm your attendance on the presence list, unless you walk in the city and look for a job for the next half an hour."

Figure 2: Framing unemployment and precariousness



The activities of only a handful of organizations can be labelled as elaboration and implementation of the “policy addressing unemployment”. There are only two labour unions and the parties’ local branches that gave us the examples of systematic actions against unemployment. These include: the cooperation with labour offices, the monitoring of the local labour market changes, the legislative parliamentary initiatives, the lobbying for the division regional labour office into a unit responsible for the city and the unit responsible for the country, the watch-dog activities concerning the dismissals, etc. However, it is notice worthy that the actions within “policy addressing unemployment” in Kielce lack complexity and a long-term strategy.

It can be argued that there is a functional “division of tasks” between the civic organizations in Kielce and the group of political parties and labour unions. Whereas the first (creating a bottom-up “policy referring to the unemployed people”) are strongly involved in local problems and provide the immediate help to the needy, the second (creating a bottom- up “policy addressing unemployment”) are more politically embedded and are able to act at the regional or national level. The important asset of the first group is the close insight in the local problems and “knowing the people and their problems”. The advantage of the second group is being politically influential and access to relatively big organizational resources.

On the other hand, the need to address the issues of unemployment and precariousness in a more long-term and strategic way is needed in Kielce. As already mentioned, the most of the researched organizations prefer to act as services providers and “keep away from politics”. Among the hypothetical explanations of this fact is the organizations’ focus on access to financial resources, which is relatively open for services providers, but depends strongly on city’s (political) decisions. Still, as the city’s “common pool” of financial resources to subsidize the organizations is limited, it is probably the competitive strategy that is more efficient to the organizations than the cooperation in the field of unemployment solving. The other possible reason is the lack of organizations’ real civic engagement and missing skills in the mobilization of the citizens in order to deal with unemployment and precariousness problems.

There are only two organizations that combine the deep insight into local social problems and “help to the needy” with creating “the policy of unemployment”. The first – Caritas Kielce has exceptional position in the city. Answering the question of framing the unemployment the president of Caritas Kielce told us: “we have created our own network of institutions, which aim is to cover fully the social problems in the region. We diagnose precisely the problems and “direct” the people to our certain institutions”. The president of Caritas Kielce is a member of the “Council of Public Benefit” – an important advisory board by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, as well as a lobbyist at the parliamentary level of a few important regulations in the field of social policy (with special regard to regulations on social cooperatives). The second organization is the fund DW (Fundacja dla Dobra Wspólnego) which succeeded to merge charitable and educational activities with “organizing the social environment of the unemployed persons”.

The vast majority of the respondents (apart from labour unions) neither recognize precariousness as a problem nor is able to give the examples of actions taken against the precariousness. In some cases we were told: “we help the precarious workers by employing them on the irregular basis”. In many cases we had to explain thoroughly what we mean under the concept of precariousness. As a response the interviewed often stressed that is better to have some job than no job. It is almost exclusively the labour unions that treat the precariousness as an important problem.

b) The activities of the organizations

We have observed a relatively low level of specialization of the organizations in Kielce. As shown in table 2, more than 50% of the researched organizations indicate that they are active in such fields as: education (73%), social integration (69%), youth and student issues (65%), job insecurity and unemployment (65%), pensioners and the elderly (50%), family issues (50%). Most of the organizations are active in a few or even several fields. It doesn’t mean that they are big organizations conducting several specialized programmes. Rather they claim to help “a different group of people, who are in need”. This feature is consistent with the general trait of the nongovernmental organizations in Poland. According to research of Herbst and Gumkowska most of organizations in Poland declare being active in the various spheres (Herbst, Gumkowska 2008: 9).

Also convergent with general Polish characteristic is the fact that most of the researched organizations in Kielce indicate poverty and education as the most important fields of activity (see table 3). In Poland the second and fourth indicated field of organizations’ activity (after sport and leisure activities pointed out by 38,3% of the organizations) are the spheres of education (13% of organizations) and social assistance (11,2% of organizations) (Herbst, Gumkowska 2009:13). Taking into account the purposeful choice of the organizations, one could expect the unemployment and precariousness issues to be central for the selected activities. However, as mentioned, we found that the problems of unemployment and precariousness are rather addressed as a part of the broader anti-poverty and educational

programs. As presented in table 3, only 11,5%, which is only 3 out of 26 organizations, choose job insecurity and unemployment as the most important field of activity. On the national level 2,2% of the organizations deal with these problems.

Being active in the field of poverty and education usually means running public programmes by the organizations in Kielce. As table 4 shows, 12 out of 26 organizations are engaged daily or weekly in management or implementation of public programs. This activity is very often performed by the organizations from the second of the mentioned groups (social services providers). The second frequent action, as shown in table 4, is organization of sport and leisure activities. The least frequent activities are: the organizing religious ceremonies and, above all – the organization of political events. 20 out of 26 organizations, (that is all but six parties and labour unions) declare, they are engaged less frequently than once a year or they are never involved in the organization of political events. During the interviews the dissociation from the politics, as well the lack of interest in political mobilization of the members was often stressed by the respondents. The general characteristic of the organizations' own activities was the provision of public services either politically neutral or based on the catholic charity values.

Table 2: Has your organization been active during the last 12 months in the area of...

	%
...Poverty?	61,5
...Health?	46,2
...Disabled?	42,3
...Pensioners, elderly?	50,0
...Religious activities?	15,4
...Education?	73,1
...Sport?	26,9
...Youth, students?	65,4
...Culture, music, theatre etc.?	42,3
...Peace / anti-militarism / conflict resolution?	11,5
...Women?	30,8
...Human rights?	34,6
...Child care / other children's services?	34,6
...Politics?	23,1
...Business relations?	15,4
...Labour relations?	38,5
...Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment?	65,4
...Consumers' interests?	3,8
...Fair trade / ethical finance?	19,2
...Family?	50,0
...Employment and training?	46,2
...Housing?	23,1
...Crime?	11,5
...Homosexuality?	7,7
...Immigration?	11,5
...International cooperation?	38,5
...Environment?	26,9
...Alternative communication and media activism?	19,2
...Social integration?	69,2
...Other?	23,1

N=26

In most of the organizations' activities, such as: organizing meetings, preparing information stands or training and education actions both unemployed persons and the precarious workers are involved (see: table 5 – according to the respondents' declarations in all but two organizations the unemployed or precarious workers are active in the organization of the meetings). However, this outcome doesn't mean that the researched organizations are focused on the problems of unemployment or pay special attention to mobilization of this group. Rather, the respondents pointed out, that "they are open to the different groups of members and beneficiaries, so very different people are involved in their statutory activities".

Table 3: The most important sector

	%
Poverty	15,4
Health	7,7
Education	11,5
Sport	3,8
Youth, students	7,7
Politics	3,8
Business relations	3,8
Labour relations	3,8
Job insecurity, precariousness, unemployment	11,5
Family	7,7
Employment and training	3,8
Other*	19,2

* Answers in "other" category: social reintegration, homelessness, help to the people with addictions

N=26

Table 4: How frequently has your organisation been engaged in...

	organising targeted CULTURAL events?	organising targeted SOCIAL events?	organising targeted INTELLECTUAL events?	organising targeted POLITICAL events?	organising targeted EDUCATIONAL activities?	organising SPORT and LEISURE activities?	organising RELIGIOUS activities?	management or implementation of PUBLIC PROGRAMS?
Never	26,9	30,8	26,9	73,1	30,8	38,5	65,4	23,1
Less frequently	26,9	11,5	19,2	3,8	3,8	11,5	0,0	3,8
Yearly	34,6	30,8	34,6	11,5	23,1	26,9	11,5	3,8
2-5 times a year	11,5	15,4	11,5	11,5	19,2	3,8	11,5	3,8
Monthly	0,0	7,7	7,7	0,0	7,7	11,5	11,5	3,8
Weekly	3,8	3,8	3,8	0,0	3,8	3,8	7,7	3,8
Daily	0,0	7,7	3,8	0,0	3,8	11,5	3,8	41,8
DK / NA	0,0	3,8	0,0	0,0	15,4	7,7	0,0	16,1

N=26

Table 5: Which type of activities do you organize with...

	...unemployed (%)	...precarious workers (%)
information stands	78,9	82,4
sit ins	10,5	11,8
Rallies	15,8	17,6
training / education	68,4	70,6
Meetings	89,5	82,4

N (unemployed) = 19

c) Internal structures and decision making processes

Most of the researched organizations are relatively small but formal associations, foundations and the local branches of national parties. Thus, both their structures as well as decision making processes are based on the regulations: Law on organizations, Law on foundations, Law on political parties.³⁹ As presented in table 6, the vast majority of the organizations and the political parties claim to have their own constitution. The five who give the negative answer, are in all but one cases the social services provision centres, within the Caritas structures. They pointed out not having their own constitution, as there is a general one for the Caritas itself. The similar situation refers to the researched local branches of the political parties. They, however, stressed they have a constitution, which is legally binding for the whole party.

81% (that is 22 out of 26 organizations) have a board (see: table 6). The four other organizations are the above mentioned service centres which are the Caritas organizational units. The strategic decisions in this group are taken by the president of the Caritas Kielce and are implemented top-down, while the operational decisions are usually managed by the centre's leading person. As presented in table 6, the vast majority of the organizations have either a leader/ president (15%, including two labour organizations are to be found) or a chair person (69%). Those declaring to have none of them are, as mentioned, the Caritas's institutions. The group of six organizations which have a spokesperson consists of: two labour organizations, three parties and one big educational centre. As presented in table 6, in most of the organizations the general assembly takes place once a year or every two years.

³⁹ Ustawa z 7.04.1989 Prawo o stowarzyszeniach, Ustawa z 6.04.1984 o fundacjach, Ustawa z 27.06.1997 o partiach politycznych, Ustawa z 24.04.2003 o działalności pożytku publicznego i wolontariacie.

Table 6: Internal structures and decision making processes

	Yes %	<i>How often does it meet? (answers in % of each item)</i>				
		<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>Several times a year</i>	<i>Once a year</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>
A constitution	77					
A board	81	5	55	35	5	0
Leader / president	15					
A chair person	69					
A secretary	58					
A spokesperson	23					
A treasurer	69					
A general assembly	73	0	5	21	42	32
Committees / work groups on specific issues	27	17	33	33	0	17

N=26

Most of the researched organizations in Kielce are relatively small. As presented in table 7, 13 out of 20 organizations have up to 10 members in the board. In the category of more than 35 board members are three big parties (PIS, SLD, PSL) and one big labour union.

Table 7: How many members form the board?

	%
Less than 10	65
Between 10 and 20	15
Between 21 and 35	10
More than 35	10

N=20

Table 8: How many of the board are.....

	Mean	N
women	3,1	19
unemployed male workers	0,1	14
unemployed female workers	0,0	15
male precarious workers	0,1	15
female precarious workers	0,1	15

Table 9: Is your president / leader/ secretary / chairperson / spokesperson a man or a woman?

	%
Man	70,8
Woman	25,0
No Answer	4,2

N=24

The characteristic feature of the researched organizations in Kielce is a very small degree of women's involvement in the decision making processes. There are only 24% women in a

summative number of all the board members in the researched organizations (59 women out of 245 members). Similarly, as presented in the table 9, women are the leaders or chairpersons of only the 6 out of 24 organizations. In most of the organizations with a small board (up to 10 persons) there is only one woman in the board (8 cases out of 13). The lowest “feminization rate” of the board is to be seen among: one employers’ association (FP) , where there are no women in the board, socialdemocartic party (SLD) – 2 women out of 17 board members, and the labour union (NSZZ) – 5 women out of 30-person board. The highest “feminization rate” of the board have: a traditional charity organization (80% women) and the local fund for civic development (FL) - 100% women. According to all the respondents there is no quota regulations (Q 28) promoting gender equality in the researched organizations.

Furthermore, the inclusion of the unemployed persons and the precarious workers in organizations’ policy making processes is at a very low level. As mentioned, the researched organizations expressed explicitly little interest in mobilizing the unemployed mobilization. This may be also confirmed by the data on the board composition. There are only: one precariously working man, one precariously working woman and one unemployed man in all the boards of the researched organizations in Kielce. In no organization any measures are introduced to guarantee the presence of the unemployed or precarious workers in the decision-making structures (Q 28). Most of the researched organizations in Kielce, especially those in the group of social services provision represent the attitude towards the management and fulfilment of their tasks, which is rather elitist and based on the notion of traditional charity. One of our respondents expressed her surprise while answering the question on the unemployed people involvement, saying: “What do you mean? It’s us who are the city’s elites willing to help the people in need!”. However, it needs to be stressed that the leaders of the researched organizations seemed, in many cases, to be very familiar with the concepts of, for example, social cooperatives and social economy. It is that very respondent who said that, if her organization had more resources, she would have been more active in developing of social entrepreneurship run by the long-term unemployed persons. Also, the leader of Caritas in Kielce (as discussed more thoroughly in the next part of the report) is one of the advisors and proponents at the national parliamentary level of the law on social cooperatives.

d) Organizational resources: personnel and finances

There are very diverse reasons why the members of the researched organizations join them. Such explanations, as: joining for political support, for financial support or for social contacts were mentioned equally often (each in 2 organizations). In most cases the respondents pointed to the answer “people join the organization for sharing the political ideas or values” (7 respondents) or “for helping or assisting people” (5 respondents). Taking into account the formal prerequisites of joining the researched organizations, we found only the moderate level of organizations’ openness for the new members. Out of the researched 26 organizations 16 closed or limited the access to the new members. Three are foundations, which means that new membership is possible only after the change of the constitution. A similar prerequisite refers to Caritas. In 4 cases there is practically no “membership”, as the they are Caritas’ organizational items. 9 further organizations and political parties set some formal requirements for the new members, such as: letter of invitation from 2 party members (refers to all researched parties), necessity to prove being an active citizen (CW, MD), being an employer (employers’ association FP), being a member of the labour union (DW) or being employed (labour union NSZZ).

Table 10: How many persons work full time?

	%
No full time staff	36,4
Less than 10 full time persons	40,9
From 10 up to 30	18,2
From 30 up to 150	0
More than 150	9

N=22

Table 11: How many part time staff persons does your organisation/group have?

	%
No part time staff	16,7
Less than 10	72,2
From 10 up to 40	11,1

N=18

The organizations' human capital resources are relatively small. As presented in the table 10, 8 out of 22 organizations have no paid full time staff. 2 have neither full time nor part time employees. Most of the organizations (17 out of 22) employ less than 10 persons. Similarly, most of them have up to 10 part-time employees. There are two big organizations (ZDZ, Caritas) that hire more than 150 people. Such findings are consistent with the data referring to the national level. Surprisingly, the researched organizations are often reluctant in trying to expand their human potential by cooperation with volunteers. Every third of the researched organizations has no volunteers and every second – less has than 10 persons (see: table 12). However, most of the organizations that cooperate with volunteers, include them in every-day activities – in 21 out of 25 it is claimed that the volunteers and the members meet there every day (see: table 13).

Table 12: How many persons do voluntary (unpaid) work for your organization/group on a regular basis?

No volunteers	27,8%
Less than 10	50,0%
From 10 up to 40	22,2%

N=18

Table 13: Q 39 How regularly do members and volunteers meet (apart from the general assembly)?

	%
Monthly	3,8
Weekly	7,7
Every Day	80,8
Don't Know / No Answer	3,8

N=25

Most of the researched organizations **rent the place they use for their activities** (16 out of 26 organizations, see: table 15). The organizations that have own properties are exclusively the biggest ones, that is: Caritas and its organizational units, organization running big educational programs (ZDZ) and the labour union (NSZZ). Every second organization rents a space that is shared with other organizations. The reason of that is, in most cases, the fact that the city rents for the reduced prices certain own properties to the organizations. Thus, there are a few city's own buildings, where many organizations have their offices.

Table 14: Is the space your organization uses for its activities shared with other organizations?

	%
No	46,2
Yes	53,8

N=26

Table 15: Is the space your organization uses...

	%
owned by your organization	30,8
hosted by another organization/institution	7,7
rented by your organization	61,5

N=26

As presented on a figure 3, there are three groups of organizations in Kielce in terms of the level of the budget. In the first group there is an organization with only a very small budget up to 1,000 € a year (small youth organization). In the second, the biggest group, there are 13 out all having the budget between 5,000 and 100,000 € (including 6 organizations, whose budget amounts between 10,000 and 50,000 €). In the third group there are 7 organizations with the highest budget exceeding 200,000 € a year. This group consist of: Caritas, the big vocational training centre (ZDZ), the local fund (FL), two big organizations running almost exclusively educational programmes funded by the European Social Fund (SIR, AZPM) and two big charitable organizations (TD, NR).

Basing on the question 44 (see: table 16) it is difficult to precisely enumerate and group the organization's income sources. The reason is that some of the organizations having the agreement with the city on public services provision (for example: Caritas, NR, TD, AZPM) treat this cash flow as an income from the sale of goods and services, yet the others – consider it as a grant from the city on financing a project. Moreover, in the category “grants from governments” are both the transfers from the city's budget on services' provision as well as various grants from the EU, paid by the regional (voivodship) government. However, the two biggest sources of income of the researched organizations (apart from the political parties and the labour unions) are the cash flows from city's budget for the public services provision and the grants from the European Social Fund and other EU resources. The first refers to, above all to:

- Caritas and its various organizational items, which deliver public services in the fields of: the activation of the long-term unemployed and socially excluded persons (running of the Social Integration Centre – CIS, Social Integration Club – KIS), help to the homeless people (TBA), help to the victims of the family assault (CIK),
- Charity Organization (TD), which delivers services to the elderly and the people with disabilities,
- NR, which organizes help to the children from the families struggling with the problems of addictions, etc.

The second refers to, for example SiR, CW, mainly for the educational programs.

Figure 3 If you don't know the precise budget, do you know in what range is it?

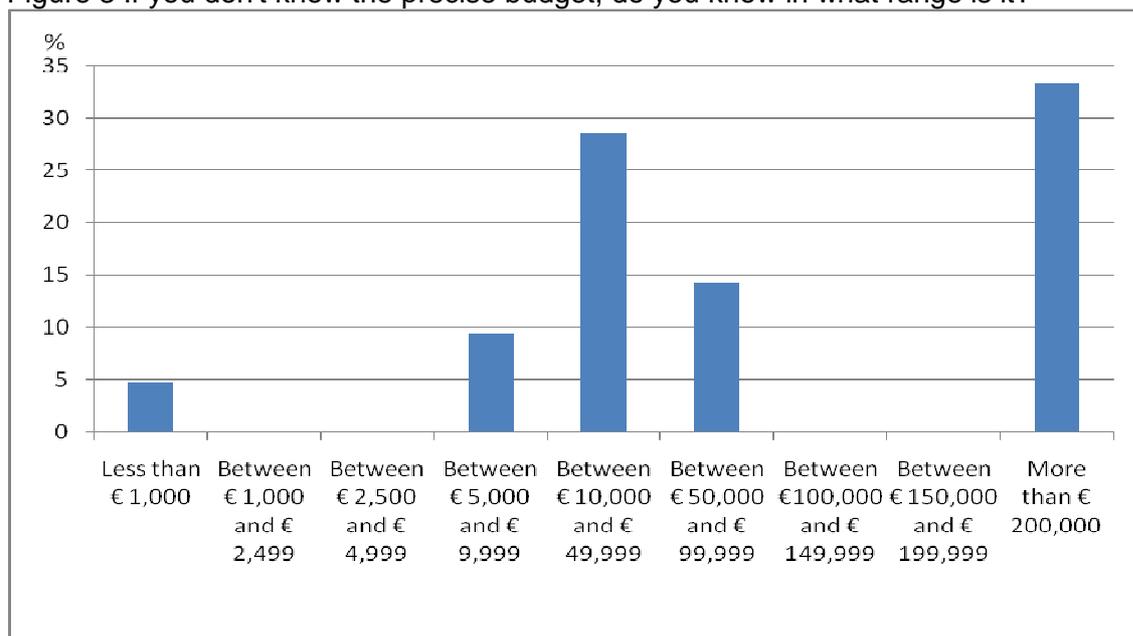


Table 16: What are income sources of your organization (in % of total budget)?

	0%	1% - 25%	25% - 50%	50% - 75%	75% - 100%
Returns from funds raising (events, sales of goods / services, etc)	56%	31%	6%	0%	6%
Membership fees	19%	63%	6%	13%	0%
Donations from individuals	38%	31%	6%	6%	19%
Sponsoring from companies / firms	88%	13%	0%	0%	0%
Finance from federation or umbrella organization	75%	6%	13%	6%	0%
Grants or financing of specific projects from governments	56%	13%	0%	13%	19%
Other sources	63%	31%	0%	0%	6%

N=16

e) Organizational strategies (repertoires of action and communication)

Most of the researched organizations are active at the level of a wider region (voivodship). In the interviews many respondents claimed that the most of members or services' recipients live in the city of Kielce, however it is also possible for the inhabitants of other cities of the region or those out of the region (especially in the case of help to the homeless) to receive the services or become organization members.

As stated, in most cases our respondents expressed that the main organizational strategy of the organization they represent is the provision of the services. As presented in table 18, all but one organization maintains to provide services to other people. Also the representatives of the parties stressed that they provide various forms of help to non-members (for example: legal advisory), although formally the parties are not entitled to provide services. Social integration is the second mentioned organizational strategy (see: table 18), however, only 3 organizations maintain it's their most important type of activity. 19 out of 16 organizations are active in the field of fundraising, but it's only the Local Fund claiming to be especially focused on that organizational strategy. It's a notice worthy that the least mentioned organizational strategy is "mobilizing the members" (see: table 18). None of the respondents agrees that it's the most important way of pursuing the goals of the given organization. Many of the

interviewed stressed in this very context that their organization “is not interested in having anything to do with the politics”.

Table 17: Is your organization / group active...

	% YES	% NO
...only in the LOCAL NEIGHBOURHOOD?	3,8	96,2
...in the CITY (in general)?	26,9	73,1
...in the WIDER REGION / PROVINCE?	57,7	42,3
...in the whole COUNTRY?	15,4	84,6
...in other COUNTRIES?	7,7	92,3
...at the EUROPEAN UNION level?	3,8	96,2
...other?	7,7	92,3

N=26

Table 18: Which are the main actions used by your organization?

	%
...mobilizing members?	19,2
...political education of citizens / rising awareness?	61,5
...interest representation / lobbying institutions?	50,0
...services to members?	26,9
...self-help?	42,3
...advisory / counseling activities?	53,8
...services to other (e.g. clients)?	92,3
...social integration?	84,6
...fundraising?	69,2
...other?	11,5

N=26

Table 19: Which action used by your organization has been the most important?

	%
...mobilizing members?	0
...political education of citizens / rising awareness?	19,2
...interest representation / lobbying institutions?	7,7
...services to members?	11,5
...self-help?	3,8
...advisory / counseling activities?	0
...services to other (e.g. clients)?	42
...social integration?	11,5
...fundraising?	3,8

N=26

The informational strategies of the researched organizations are broad and diverse. As presented in the table 20, the most of organizations produce a website (65%), press releases (52%) and co-produce local TV and radio programs (56%). 23 out of 26 organizations have certain information channels thanks to which the beneficiaries may get to know about the organization. In 6 organizations it is stressed that there are certain institutions in the city that provide the information or even “direct” the people to them. Among such institutions are: social assistance centers (which refers to the homeless people directed to the hostels, people with addictions directed to self-help group of alcoholics, long term unemployed informed on Social Integration Club’s activities, information on various forms of help offered by Caritas) labor offices (that provide the long-term unemployed with the information on

educational and social reintegration programs run by Caritas or ZDZ). In 5 cases the informal information channels are perceived as the most effective way of distributing information on organizations' activities. This refers, among others, to the hostels for the homeless people and the self-help groups of anonymous alcoholics.

Table 20: Does your organization produce...

	% of YES produce	% of YES co-produce
press releases	52,2	39,1
newsletter	30,4	4,3
produce Website / blog / forum	65,2	21,7
OFFLINE newspaper / journal / review / magazine	21,7	8,7
ONLINE newspaper / journal / review / magazine	26,1	4,3
books	26,1	34,8
local / regional radio / television program	21,7	56,5
national radio / television program	13	26,1

N=23

Table 21: Are there any information channels, thanks to which unemployed or/and precarious workers may get to know about the organisation (advertisement, flyers, notices in church)?

	%
No	11,5
Yes	88,5

N=26

Table 22: Is it rather that unemployed or/and precarious workers have to 'apply' for help or does the organisation actively look for them (ex. street-working)?

Both sides	23,1%
Unemployed need to apply	42,3%
The organization seeks beneficiaries	15,4%
Doesn't refer to the organization	19,2%

N=26

f) Services provided by the organizations

The interviewed representatives of the most of researched organizations (21 out of 26) state they provide some kind of services (see: table 23). The group of non-providers of the services consists solely of the parties. However, as presented in the table 24, none of the organizations, according to what was stated, provides any kind of services mentioned in question 17b. In the practical terms this does not hold the truth, as many of the researched organizations provide the courses, trainings, therapeutic, psychological help and others. Among the services provided weekly or monthly it is the legal assistance that is supplied the most often (26,9%), followed by the assistance in employment seeking and the assistance in access to the welfare system (both 19,2%).

Table 23: Does your organization provide any kind of service?

	%
No	19,2
Yes	80,8

N=26

Table 24: In the last 2 years, how frequently has your organisation provided...

	assistance in HOUSING?	assistance in EMPLOYMENT seeking?	assistance in access to the WELFARE system?	FINANCIAL support?	IN-KIND support?	LEGAL ASSISTANCE?	OTHER services?
Don't Know / No answer	7,7%	42,3%	34,6%	19,2%	34,6%	30,8%	11,5%
Never	61,5%	38,5%	42,3%	65,4%	61,5%	42,3%	80,8%
Less frequently	3,8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Once a year	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2-5 times a year	15,4%	0,0%	3,8%	0%	0%	0%	3,8%
Monthly	3,8%	11,5%	15,4%	7,7%	0%	3,8%	3,8%
Weekly	7,7%	7,7%	3,8%	7,7%	3,8%	23,1%	0%
Daily	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

N=26

Table 25: How many persons (beneficiaries) overall obtained such services in the last year?

	%
below 50	20,0
51 - 200	33,3
201-1000	33,3
1001 and more	13,3

N=15

In none of the researched organizations the group of organizations' beneficiaries overlaps with the group of members or volunteers. This does not mean that the access to the provided services is wide open to the citizens of Kielce. Two thirds of the organizations provide services only to the group between 50 and 1000 people yearly and solely two organizations to the more than 1000 persons a year (Caritas and the vocational training centre ZDZ) (see: table 24). Moreover, every three out of four organizations address their services to the group of people that meet certain criteria. The organizations that provide services according to the universal criteria (thus practically open to all groups of citizens) are, almost exclusively those who are active either in, broadly speaking, educational sphere (SIR, FRDL, KIS, SEI) or helping the people with addictions (RAJ, SAN, NR). For most of the respondents it was difficult to answer to the question on the required criteria, as there were many different criteria used in different programs run by one organization (for example: more restrictive criteria apply to financial support than to legal advisory support). Also, in some cases there were different "paths" to some services (for example: either reimbursement of the costs for staying at the homeless hostel or the formal placement from the social assistance centre).

The access to the financial help or complex support programs is confined to the citizens that meet certain set of criteria, which are in some cases legally defined and usually restrictive. This refers to the:

- Participation in activation programs of the Social Integration Center (Centrum Integracji Społecznej - CIS) run by Caritas. According to Law on social employment (Ustawa o zatrudnieniu socjalnym z 13.06.2003) such prerequisites have to be met by the participants, as: absolute no income and at least one of the following conditions: minimum 1 year of unemployment during last two years, homelessness, disability or the experience of the custodial sentence. The participants of CIS take part in trainings and workshops, need to actively seek for a job and obtain a psychological help. They receive a relatively high "scholarship" during one year of the program (500 zł – ca 125 € per month).

- Financial help, which is provided by two charitable organizations (TD, DW). Both organizations require from the people applying for help the official confirmation from the social assistance centre that they need the financial support. In practical terms, those applying for financial help at the social assistance centre, who fail the means test, may be in some cases “directed” to the above mentioned organizations.
- Staying at the homeless’ hostel (BRA, TBA) – the placement from the social assistance centre is required (BRA) or, when no placement – the reimbursement of the costs by the beneficiary is needed,
- Receiving a student scholarship (FL) – such requirements must be met, as: low family income, outstanding school notes, age below 20 years.

Table 26: Is there a required criterion to obtain such services?

	%	% of organizations providing services
No	38,5	23,9
Yes	61,5	76,1

N=26

Table 27: What is the required criterion to obtain such services?

	%
income level (tested)	29,4
inclusion in public programs for unemployed or precarious workers	5,9
age	29,4
Other*	88,2

N=17

In the category other: sobriety, gender (hostels for men/women only), occupation (EU programs for farmers), education completed at a certain level, engagement in civic life.

2. Organizations and their environment

a) Political structural setting as an organizations’ environment

The political context of the functioning of Polish nongovernmental organizations is, above all, the incoherent and ad-hoc policy toward the civic organizations. (Rymsza 2007: 33, Makowski 2007: 305). During last several years, there were different concepts of the policy concerning the third sector implemented by the different governments. The governments’ attitude toward the civic sector varied from the ideas of stronger cooperation to the concepts of stronger fiscal control (Rymsza 2007). The breakthrough was the setting of a “law on activity in the field of the public benefit and the voluntary work”. One of its main regulations was the implementation of the national and local institutions of civic dialogue between the governments and the representatives of nongovernmental sector (Rada Działalności Pożytku Publicznego). The other was obligating the local governments on the different levels to setting the annual “program of cooperation with the nongovernmental organizations”. According to the research of Klon/Jawor about 80% of Polish local governments have passed such a local document (Indeks 2007:43).

Both the civic dialogue institutions and the local programs of cooperation with the nongovernmental organizations are often missing the important role and have rather façade meaning for the local governments. In some local contexts they seem to be post-democratic solution to give the local governments’ decisions a cover of the solutions accepted by the civic society (Makowski 2007: 306). In Kielce however, as it was discussed in WP1 report, we have not noticed the local government’s interest in giving the political decisions the face

of being widely discussed and accepted by the local society. On the contrary, the representative of the city's hall unit responsible for the cooperation with the nongovernmental organizations said explicitly: "it's the city's president who writes the annual program of the cooperation with the local nongovernmental organizations. He gives the priority to the cooperation and subletting the tasks in the spheres, he finds particularly important to the city, such as: sport and leisure activities, culture and the prevention of the addictions." Answering to our question on how the president treats the cooperation in the field of unemployment and the precariousness, she said: "well, he maintains it is the exclusive responsibility of the labor office to deal with these problems". Thus, the city's local government attitude towards organizations' engagement in both politics and policy shaping of employment and precariousness constitutes a very difficult political environment for expanding the local organizations' political role in these spheres.

As it was described in the part of the report concerning framing the unemployment issues, there are two groups of organizations that have a certain political role in policy towards unemployment. The first consist of the organizations that are educational and vocational-training providers. It is noticeable that one of the main sources of their financing are the EU educational programs. Thus, it is the regional board of "Operational Program Human Capital" that is a very important political structure having formally a strong influence on the regional social policy as well as being informal political power (as it is a forum joining the representatives from various local educational institutions, local governments and nongovernmental organizations). The second group of organizations that may shape the local policy of unemployment are, as described, the parties and labor unions. However, as it is presented in the network analysis, it's a group that is very weak in institutional connections as well as obviously internally conflicted – no strong cooperation among the opposing parties is possible. The reinforcing of a relatively weak political role of the organizations encounters, in our opinion, serious structural obstacles in Kilece.

b) Relationships with the institutions

The relations with institutions of the most of the researched organizations ore occasional and seldom base on the organizations' involvement in decision-making processes. Our respondents stated relatively often that they are invited to local conferences or meetings. However there are limited institutional possibilities to be involved in decision-making processes in Kielce. The positive answers in table 29 and 30, expressing that the organization has been invited to decision-making processes were expressed solely by the parties' or labor unions' representatives. As shown in the table 28, the relationships with the institutions at the regional level are perceived as better, than with the city's institutions. Almost all of the organizations have no contacts with the EU or international institutions.

Table 28: Relationship with institutions at particular levels

	%				
	Relationship with institutions at the International level (beyond EU)	Relationship with institutions at the European level	Relationship with institutions at the national level	Relationship with institutions at the regional level	Relationship with institutions at the local level
The public authorities frequently seek the advice of our organization	0	4	19	35	31
The public authorities is friendly to our organization, but our organization initiates most of the contact	4	12	15	42	38
The public authorities sometimes receives our organization with hostility and other times is welcoming depending on the issue/s or department/s involved	0	4	19	12	19
The public authorities hardly listen to our organization although our organisation does try to influence them	0	0	0	0	4
Our organization doesn't seek any contact with the public authorities	88	81	42	12	8
No Data	8	0	4	0	0

N=26

Table 29: Has your organization ever been called to participate in any public decision-making processes?

	%
No	84,6
Yes	15,4

N=26

Table 30: In the last 2 years, has your organization...

	been called to participate...	participated...
	% of YES	% of YES
As a permanent member of the district or neighbourhood council?	15%	15%
As a permanent member of a municipal council on specific issues?	12%	12%
Occasionally in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem?	42%	38%
in a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue?	58%	50%

N=26

Table 31: During the last 12 months, how frequently did your organization engage in sending letters or writings to the authorities (allegations, petitions, denunciations, etc.)?

Less frequently or never	38,9%
2-5 times a year	38,9%
Monthly	5,6%
Weekly	16,7%

N=18

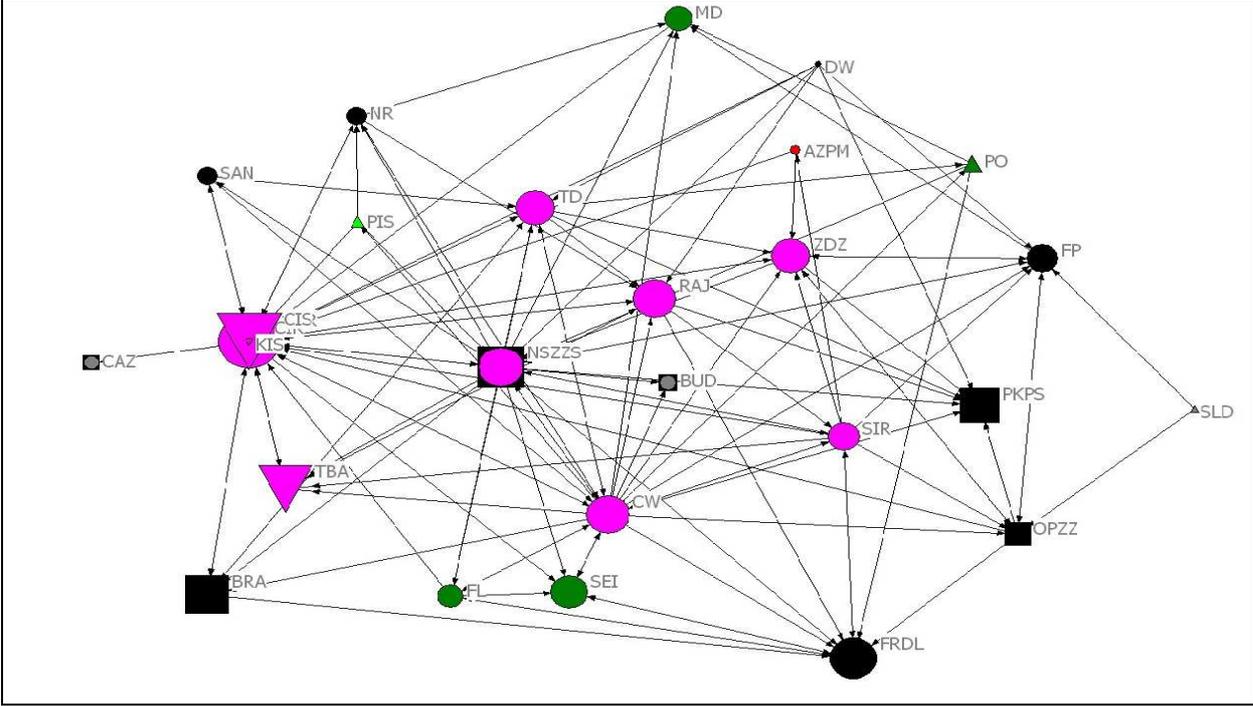
c) The Network of organizations dealing with unemployment and precariousness

The exchange of information between the organizations is presented at the figure 4. As it can be observed, the density of the network, as well as the reciprocity level is relatively low. During the interviews it was claimed very rarely that the organizations discuss regularly certain issues or collaborate informally on solving problems.

On the left side of the figure the cluster of Caritas is to be seen. The network analysis confirms the mentioned opinion of the president of Caritas Kielce, who said that the strength of the organization inheres in an own Caritas's network. The Caritas's (CAR) cluster consists of, as stated, its services provision centers (CIS, KIS, CIK) as well as of the organizations that are relatively right-oriented, refer to traditional charity values and have relatively strong connections to the Catholic Church (TD, TBA, CW). The specific feature of Kielce's network is the presence of labor union "Solidarity" (NSZZS) in this cluster. Generally speaking, all the organizations in this cluster have the identity of being a group which heritages the "Solidarity" tradition. This was often stressed during the interviews. When describing the exchange of information, the organizations of this cluster often pointed out to the similar background or tradition, saying, for example: "we have the similar roots" or "we stem from the same post-Solidarity group".

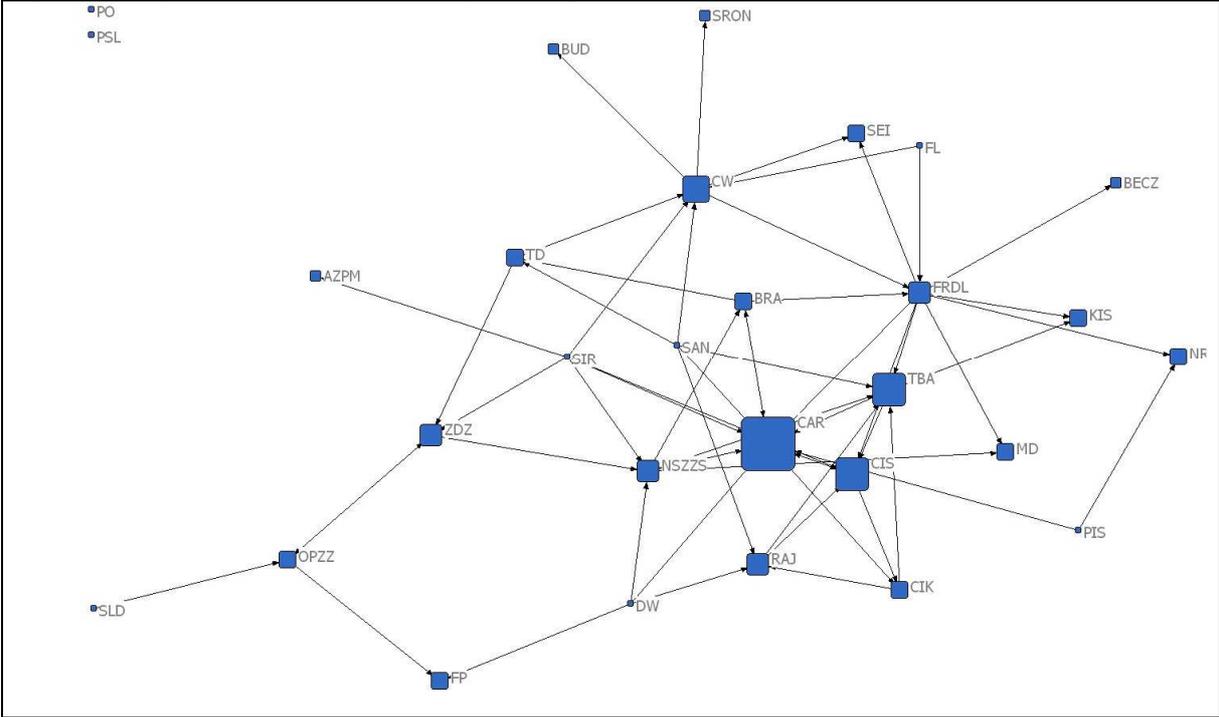
The second, smaller, cluster is to be seen at the right side of the figure. It consists of a group of organizations that might be described as the opponents (in terms of expressing detachment) from the Caritas' cluster. Its members are: the social democratic party (SLD), left-oriented labor union (OPZZ), the employers' association (FP) and the vocational-training centre (ZDZ). It is notice worthy that during the interviews the respondents form this group expressed very often the strong dissatisfaction with "the church clique who governs the city".

Figure 4 Information exchange between organizations



The figure 5 bases on the respondents' answers on with whom they cooperated on a joint project. The figure, seems, however to describe rather the low level of general reciprocity and cohesion among the researched organizations in Kielce, than the factual "project teams". It is very surprising that there are no reciprocal relations in this graph, which should have occurred if the accurate description of the cooperation partners would have been made. One of the possible interpretation of this fact is that, apart from very low level of cohesion of this network, the horizontal links based on trust and partnership are rare among the researched organizations. In some cases, during the interviews it seemed that claiming to have a "household-name organization" as a partner was treated by the respondents as a kind of PR-instrument. In one of the organizations we were told "we know that they maintain to cooperate with us, but we deny; they are very weak."

Figure 5 Project partnerships among the organizations



Appendix 1

A list of the mapped organizations in Kielce

	Full name of the organization	Acronym	Type of organization	Legal status	Name of the federation	Main field of activity	If included in the research
1.	Stowarzyszenie ATTAC - Polska Obywatelska Inicjatywa Opodatkowania Obrotu Kapitałowego	ATTAC	Soc. Mov. Org.	Association	ATTAC	head office of ATTAC Polska, located in Kielce	NO
2.	Świętokrzyskie Stowarzyszenie Na Rzecz Aktywizacji Zawodowej i Pomocy Młodzieży w Kielcach	AZPM	Service Centre (NP)	Association	not a member	vocational training center, are running 6 different types of schools for the adults	YES
3.	Fundacja Gospodarcza św. Brata Alberta	BRA	Rel. Org.	Other (fund)	not a member	hostel (overnight only) for the homeless men	YES
4.	Caritas Diecezji Kieleckiej	CAR	Rel. Org.	Rel. Inst.	Caritas Polska	are running about 20 places offering help: free medical center, used clothing storage, consultation center for the addicted	YES
5.	Schronisko dla Kobiet i Centrum Interwencji Kryzysowej	CIK	Service Centre (NP)	Other	Caritas Polska	hostel for the homeless and abused women ran by Caritas	YES
6.	Centrum Integracji Społecznej w Kielcach	CIS	Service Centre (NP)	Other	Caritas Polska	"social integration center" ran by Caritas, based on special regulations	YES
7.	Stowarzyszenie Centrum Wolontariatu	CW	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	The Network of Centres of Voluntary Work In Poland	center of voluntary work	YES
8.	Fundacja dla Dobra Wspólnego	DW	Civ. Soc. Org.	Other (fund)	not a member	Set up by the members of NSZZS, help to the unemployed	YES
9.	Stowarzyszenie Świętokrzyski Fundusz Lokalny	FL	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	A member of Polish Local Funds network	local fund, set by FRDL, mainly supporting youth's education	YES
10.	Stowarzyszenie Forum Pracodawców	FP	Civ. Soc.	Association	not a member	employers' association for local	YES

			Org.			economic development running some educational activities	
11	Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej Kielce	FRDL	Civ. Soc. Org.	Other (fund)	Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej	Legal status: fund, broad scope of activities to support civic society	YES
12	Klub Integracji Społecznej	KIS	Service Centre (NP)	Other	Caritas Polska	„social integration center” ran by Caritas	YES
13	Stowarzyszenie "Nadzieja Rodzinie"	NR	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	not a member	Focus on help to the children and youth from the difficult social background: are running local youth clubs	YES
14	Świętokrzyski Klub Abstynentów "Raj"	RAJ	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	not a member	abstinents' association	YES
15	Stowarzyszenie "Arka Nadziei"	SAN	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	not a member	Ecumenical self-help organization for the homeless and addicted people	YES
16	Stowarzyszenie Edukacja przez Internet	SEI	Civ. Soc. Org.	Association	not a member	organization running e-learning projects	YES
17	Stowarzyszenie "Integracja i Rozwój"	SIR	Service Centre (NP)	Association	not a member	regional European Social Fund office, mainly educational activity	YES
18	Towarzystwo Pomocy im. Św. Brata Alberta	TBA	Rel. Org.	Association	Caritas, St. Brother Albert's Aid Society	hostel for the homeless men	YES
19	Towarzystwo Dobroczynności	TD	Rel. Org.	Association	not a member	charity of catholic origin, helping the poor and the disabled	YES
20	Zakład Doskonalenia Zawodowego	ZDZ	Service Centre (P)	Association	The Network of Vocational Training Centres In Poland	vocational training center	YES
21	Stowarzyszenie "Młodzi Demokraci" Koło Kielce	MD	Political Party	Association	Platforma Obywatelska	youth's club of liberal party "Platforma Obywatelska"	YES
22	Biuro Zarządu Okręgowego PIS w okręgu nr 33 Kielce	PIS	Political Party	Pol. Party	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	The conservative party „Law and Justice” local branch	YES

23	Biuro Regionu Świętokrzyskiego PO RP	PO	Political Party	Pol. Party	Platforma Obywatelska	The liberal party „Civic Platform” local branch	YES
24	PSL Zarząd woj. Świętokrzyskiego i Forum Młodych Ludowców przy Zarządzie kieleckim PSL	PSL	Political Party	Pol. Party	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Agrar party and its youth's club	YES
25	Biuro Rady Wojewódzkiej SLD Województwa Świętokrzyskiego	SLD	Political Party	Pol. Party	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	The socialdemocratic party SLD local branch	YES
26	NSZZ "Solidarność" Region Świętokrzyski	NSZZ S	Unions	Trade Unions	NSZZ "Solidarność"	Labour union "Solidarity", are running a job club	YES
27	Solidarność '80. Region Świętokrzyski	S 80	Unions	Trade Unions	Solidarność '80		NO
28	OPZZ Woj. Świętokrzyskiego	OPZZ	Unions	Trade Unions	Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych		YES

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Concluding remarks

This report presented the results of a research about the role that organizations of civil society can play in contributing keeping the society together in the selected European cities (Cologne, Geneva, Karlstad, Kielce, Lyon, and Turin). There is much emphasis in civil society studies as well in research on democracy about the wide range of opportunities that societal organizations can offer through their actions and structures to integrate groups, in particular groups at risk of exclusion (e.g. minorities, immigrants, unemployed), into wider society. The national reports presented here have showed that organizations support integration of young unemployed and precarious workers in two ways: by fostering individuals' engagement and political or public awareness on specific issues like unemployment; and/or by delivering to people in need services related to welfare provisions.

Of course, when analysing organizational capacities to include people, we need to consider that organizations do not operate in a vacuum. Their work for a better social cohesion is influenced, among other things, by their embedding political-institutional context (including their political cultural tradition), by the type of relations (networks) they establish with their institutional counterparts or among themselves. However, despite different contextual characteristics among our countries, all of them show a comparable relevant role of civil society actors in (un)employment policies. In countries with a federal structure and with direct democratic institutions, like Switzerland, civil society organizations intervene not only in the implementation phase but also in the policy making. However, even in countries where access to policy making for civil society actors is restrained, like Italy, the capacity of organizations to be active in liaison with local powers make them essential partners for policy change in the field.

In all the countries we found a reality where civil society organizations are important vehicles of people integration in case of unemployment and precariousness because they fill different gaps. They provide services that a poorly developed or scarcely funded welfare state do not or cannot provide or, conversely, like in Sweden, they are almost a component of the public welfare state. Furthermore, civil society organizations interact with local governmental levels (only sporadic attention is also given to supranational governmental actors like the European one) to stimulate, via project proposals, policy solutions. Moreover, when we consider the organizations perceptions about the motivations according to which people join them, we see that civil society organizations offer also concrete opportunities for people engagement, so they increase people awareness about their position and role, but they also foster face-to-face interaction in the classical understanding of social capital.

Furthermore, organizations in our European cities are far from the post-modern organizational model based on professional managerial techniques and business oriented activities. On the contrary, they are more focused on local service delivery, local participation opportunities, and even in the very few cases where they are allowed considerable budgets, their decision making procedure is still an open and inclusive one.

This report, though, represents just one piece to understand how really societal organizations can succeed in integrating people to their larger society in European cities. The missing, but crucial, pieces will be added when we will have research findings from the survey on young people living in the city (WP3) and the in-depth interviews with a sample of them (WP4).