

POLITIIKAN TUTKIMUKSEN PÄIVÄT

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2026

Työryhmät, aikataulut ja esitykset

Workshops, schedule and abstracts

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1. The future of (Finnish) democracy

B3109

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Héctor Bahamonde, Kaisa Herne, Salomo Hirvonen, Maarika Kujanen, Inga Saikkonen, Mikko Värttö

Torstai/Thursday 13:30–15:30

Consensus and democracy in Finland's foreign and security politics

Teemu Häkkinen & Hannu Salomaa

Foreign and security politics in Finland have traditionally focused on executive-led decision-making supported by a consensus culture in parliament with little major disagreements on key policies. This has created a challenging environment for plural public discussion on potential alternatives and for critical opinions. This consensus oriented culture clashes with standards of deliberative democracy, which defines democracy through the values of equality, rationality and openness. The research tradition of deliberative democracy has paid only little attention to foreign and security politics. In our presentation we will discuss ongoing book project focusing on parliamentary perceptions towards debating and decision-making with an aim to contribute to discussions on prospects of deliberative democracy.

The primary data is consisted of semi-structured interviews with group of Members of Finnish Parliament from the session 2019-2023. The findings confirm that the consensus remains as an important theme in foreign and security politics, experienced both in positive and negative sense. Decision-making process is primarily perceived rational albeit prone to context-based emotional reactions. We will also discuss factors influencing inclusion and exclusion, shaping how MPs participate. We will also discuss how to potentially improve Finnish foreign, security and defence policy decision-making and thus empower democracy.

Expertise – yes, but which kind? Unravelling the dual dynamics of expertise legitimacy in political decision making

Ilkka Koiranen & Henrik Serup Christensen

A growing body of research has examined support for technocracy and the involvement of experts in political decision-making. However, this research has largely overlooked the fact that experts differ substantially in the types knowledge they draw on. Public support may therefore differ depending on the type of expert in question. Based on this, we argue that distinguishing between different forms of expertise legitimacy can help us better understand the causes and

consequences of support for expert involvement in politics. In this study, we contribute to this research agenda by examining whether people distinguish between business expertise and academic expertise with survey data from Finland (N = 2,546). We demonstrate that support for these two forms of expertise in political decision-making constitutes two empirically distinct dimensions. We also show that the social and political characteristics of their supporters differ considerably. Lastly, when examining the link to populist attitudes, individuals with stronger populist attitudes tend to favour business oriented expertise while discounting the expertise of academics. These findings highlight the importance of distinguishing among types of experts in order to gain a deeper understanding of the contested role of expertise in democratic governance and the ideological foundations of epistemic legitimacy.

Civil Society at a Critical Juncture: Finland's 2025 OSCE Chairpersonship and the Future of Civic Engagement

Johanna Ketola

Over the past decade, democracy has experienced a steady decline. As part of this trend, civic spaces across the globe have continued to shrink. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has a significant legacy of defending civic space, as civil society participation in security politics is fundamental to its approach to peace and security. Yet Russia's war in Ukraine, together with a broader erosion of commitment to OSCE values, has led many to question the continued validity of the OSCE acquis.

This paper examines how engagement with non-governmental actors has evolved throughout the CSCE/OSCE process. Focusing in particular on Finland's activities during its 2025 OSCE Chairpersonship, we categorize contemporary forms of civil society participation in the OSCE.

By analytically connecting past and present, we contribute to the broader debate on the changing relationship between civil society and the OSCE. We argue that the OSCE remains well placed to serve as a forum for comprehensive security dialogue between governments and civil society. However, both individual and institutional innovation is needed if respect for fundamental freedoms is to endure in a shifting international order.

Torstai/Thursday 16:30-18:00

Firm-Connected Politicians and Municipal Finance

Lucas de Melo, Tuuli Tähtinen, Janne Tukiainen & Juho Vesa

We study whether electing firm-connected politicians to municipal councils affects local fiscal policy. Linking Finnish councillors to firm registries, we identify four connection types: any firm connection, significant ownership ($\geq 10\%$ equity), board membership, and CEO roles. To

address endogeneity, we exploit quasi-random seat allocation from within-party close elections under D'Hondt proportional representation. First-stage F-statistics range from 43 to 117 across all definitions. Applying Bonferroni–Holm corrections for multiple testing across four fiscal outcomes, we find that a one-percentage-point increase in the seat share of significant firm owners reduces the municipal income tax rate by 0.028 percentage points (adjusted $p = 0.042$) — the only result surviving familywise error rate control at 5%. The debt ratio effect is suggestive but marginal (-0.047 , adjusted $p = 0.092$). No effects emerge for broader connection definitions, board members, or CEOs after correction. The owner definition also exhibits the strongest instrument and best covariate balance. Our findings identify a preference channel through which politicians with direct financial stakes lower local tax rates, distinct from the bureaucratic self-interest mechanism documented for public employees.

Voter Mobilization via SMS: Evidence from a large-scale trial with language targeting

Salomo Hirvonen, Lauri Sääksvuori & Janne Tukiainen

We conduct a large-scale get-out-the-vote short text-message (SMS) randomized controlled trial targeting the eligible voter population of Finland in 2025 municipal and county elections, with around 350,000 treated individuals. First, consistent with earlier findings, we find a positive average treatment effect for young voters from receiving an SMS voting reminder signed by the official electoral authority. We show that the estimated effect is similar among the older voters. By merging treatment information with rich administrative data, we examine various forms of effect heterogeneity as well as within-household spillovers. Second, among treated individuals whose registered mother tongue is one of the 22 most common non-native languages, we randomized whether they received the message in their own language. We find a positive statistically significant effect of receiving the message in one's own language rather than in Finnish, with notable treatment effect heterogeneities across language groups.

Perjantai/Friday 09:00–10:30

What about outputs? Politics as a question of supply rather than demand

Matias Heikkilä

Following Colin Hay (2007) political science has a strong emphasis on approaching politics as a question of demand, rather than supply. It is common to assess which customer groups (voters demographics) choose which products (candidates or parties). Another side of the same coin is the question of the product that we expect customers to be interested in; namely the “outputs” of politics. Here, the output of interest is the ability of politics to direct and steer other parts of society and thus provide public goods for the constituents. This ability of politics to operate as a central system coordinating other parts of society can be seen as a double-

edged sword. On one hand, it can create predictability and secure operability and even guarantee democratic principles being carried out in various areas of society. On the other hand, external steering can jeopardize specialized operations and often lacks the ability to assess wider impact, leading to unmet promises by the political system. I will utilize conceptualizations of Niklas Luhmann (1995, 2012) to discuss few case examples from my thesis to discuss this duality of politics as a “center of steering”. I will consider implications both from the perspective of democracy and from the perspective of systems being steered by politics.

Rūta Serpytyte & Camille Thibert

Democratic innovations have been making breakthroughs in Finland at the municipal, regional, and national levels. Despite a growing demand for participation and the multiplication of participatory programs, new democratic arrangements struggle to deeply transform the conditions for democratic participation in Finland (Rask, 2022; Värttö, 2022; Jäske, 2019). This paradigm is particularly crystallised around the questions of diffusion, amplification and democratisation, which lie at the core of the authors’ PhD research topics. Coming from the fields of Participatory Design and Democratic Innovation, the authors propose a transdisciplinary lens to interrogate the concept of scaling. Especially, they ask how scaling is conceptualised and operationalised within public institutions. Although conceptually and theoretically rich, the notion of scaling faces normative pressures from parallel disciplines, as well as contextual realities, in the quest to realise systemic transformation. Through a dual-track presentation based on case studies on building inclusive municipal services in Espoo and science-policy interface initiatives, we invite the session’s participants to contribute to the question of whether - and why – democratic innovations should be designed for scaling. We will tentatively contribute to this epistemological question by gauging how and if scaling democratic innovation is a dead end or the only hope for Finnish democracy.

Perjantai/Friday 11:00–12:30

AI-assisted deliberation and the quality of citizens’ statements: A survey experiment

Maija Jäske, Mikko Leino, Toni Wessman & Maija Setälä

Emerging technologies open many new possibilities for citizen participation and deliberation (OECD, 2025). In deliberative mini-publics (DMPs), randomly selected citizens learn and discuss issues of political relevance, and draft recommendations for policymakers (Harris, 2019). Scholars have recently theorized and developed technologies that can assist deliberative processes in different functions, such as discussion moderation, factual learning or integration and consensus-seeking (cf. McKinney, 2024). Of the various AI technologies, democracy scholars have zoomed particularly in LLMs that seems to fit well in the language-

intensive processes such as DMPs. From an empirical perspective, there is some evidence that LLM-based tools can help groups of citizens find common ground (Tessler et al., 2024), co-create new ideas (Poole-Dayana et al., 2025) and represent excluded viewpoints (Fulay & Roy, 2025). However, there has been little attention on the impact of the use of AI technologies on the deliberative process itself, and ultimately on the quality of outputs produced by mini-publics. Our study addresses these gaps by investigating, how does the use of LLMs in a deliberative mini-public affect the quality of citizens' recommendations and final statements, as assessed by an external group of evaluators. In the FPSA 2026 workshop, we will present the preliminary design of the study.

We will conduct a survey in Fall 2026 asking respondents to evaluate short guidelines on the use of AI in university studies developed by “The Student Compass”, i.e. a deliberative mini-public consisting of randomly selected university students at the University of Turku. “The Student Compass” itself takes place in April 2026 and it consists of four different treatment conditions. They produce altogether 80 different guidelines. In treatment 1 guidelines are produced by traditional deliberation with human expert, in treatment 2 the human expert has been replaced by an LLM-expert, in treatment 3 participants co-write their guidelines using an LLM integration agent, and in treatment 4 both types of LLM-agents are applied. The respondents of the evaluation survey are university staff and administrative personnel who are affected by university's AI guidelines. The survey will consist of a forced-choice experiment followed by Likert scale evaluations. Evaluators will first be shown 6 pairwise comparisons of 4 sets of guidelines, and they are asked to choose the one they prefer. These rankings cannot be changed afterwards. After these rankings, the same 4 guidelines will be presented again and respondents will be asked to evaluate each one of them on several quality criteria, such as their relevance and informativeness. In addition, evaluators will be asked about their demographic information, previous use of LLMs and attitudes towards LLMs. An important design feature is that the evaluators will not be aware of whether AI was used in the process. The resulting data can be used to assess the differences in outputs between traditional and AI-assisted deliberation processes, and the study has important implications for the acceptance of DMPs among the wider public and their potential for policy impact.

How mini-public statements affect energy literacy? A survey experiment

Mikko Leino, Maija Jäske & Maija Setälä

This study investigates whether deliberative mini publics (DMPs) can enhance energy literacy among the wider public and how the use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) in producing mini public outputs affects public trust and learning outcomes. Energy literacy—encompassing individuals' knowledge of energy production, consumption, and efficiency—plays a central role in achieving sustainable energy transitions. Recent research suggests that DMPs, through their citizens' statements, may serve as trusted, cognitively accessible sources of information beyond the participants themselves. Building on this literature, we conduct a

large N survey experiment using materials from the Citizens' Assembly on Energy organized in Finland in 2025. The experiment includes three treatment groups: (I) participants who read key facts as produced by the DMP; (II) participants who read the same key facts as produced by AI-assisted (ChatGPT) DMP; and (III) participants who read the same key facts as produced by independent experts. The study tests whether exposure to citizen generated key facts increases both perceived and objective energy literacy (H1–H2), and whether disclosure of AI use lowers trust in the DMP and its outputs, especially among individuals with low baseline trust in AI technologies (H3–H5). The findings will advance understanding of whether and how mini-publics—and emerging AI supported deliberative processes—can contribute to public learning on complex policy issues such as energy.

The influence of information and deliberation on opinion formation and learning: An experiment in a local deliberative mini-public

Kim Backström, Kimmo Grönlund, Kaisa Herne, Harri Jalonen, Kaisa Kurkela, Marina Lindell, Jari Mäkäläinen & Mikko Värttö

The most well-known practical application of deliberative democracy is a deliberative mini-public where a diverse group of citizens come together to reason about an issue of public concern. A deliberative mini-public is assumed to create supportive conditions for deliberations. Based on earlier research, we know that opinion formation and learning take place among mini-public participants. Existing literature suggests that different parts of the deliberative process may not be equally important for opinion changes. Existing studies have not, however, used a controlled experimental design to separate the effect of information and deliberation from information only. We ask, what is the main driver of opinion changes and learning in deliberative mini-publics, is it the combination of information and deliberation or rather just information? We use a controlled experiment in which participants are randomly assigned into treatment and control conditions to study the influence of deliberation and briefing materials. We use pre and post surveys to examine potential changes in participants' responses. We start with a random sample of 20000 of people living in the city of Vaasa. Those in the sample get an invitation to participate in a deliberative mini-public focusing on the topic of equality and non-discrimination in Vaasa. The study includes three conditions: *Information and deliberation*, *Information only* and *Control group*. We allocate participants randomly into the three conditions among those willing to participate. The control group is used to rule out any changes in responses due to unexpected societal events. The mini-public will take place in the last week of March 2026.

2. Monilajinen maailmanpolitiikka

B3108

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Monica Tennberg, Sohvi Kangasluoma & Sanna Kopra

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10:30

Disrupting the Extractivist Regime through Three Modes of Critical Practice

Luliia Gataulina, Anni Kangas & Anna Ilona Rajala

The demand for critical raw materials (CRMs) is projected to skyrocket. These materials are framed as prerequisites for the green transition, despite the well documented environmental and social costs of their extraction. This tension has become a key battleground in the politics of knowledge today. We refer to it as the CRM paradox: building a "greener world" requires its simultaneous destruction through intensifying extraction. A powerful regime of truth—an extractivist regime—works to suture this paradox. It is epistemic and affective, and is held together by fantasies of techno optimistic ecological salvation, narratives of mineral scarcity and geopolitical urgency as well as by expert practices such as geological mapping and ESG metrics. Circulating through policy documents, expert discourses, industry reports, and investment portfolios, these fantasies cast intensified natural resource extraction as a rational, evidence based, and even environmentally progressive response to the climate crisis. In this paper, we introduce three modes of critical practice through which we have experimented to trouble the extractivist regime in our research on CRM politics in the North of Europe. First, photographic materialities re visualizes the ecological impacts of mining by developing photographs in lake water acidified by mining waste. Second, a sonic counter archive uses sampling to unsettle the soundscapes characteristic of the extractivist regime. Third, dirty writing is a methodological intervention into academic practice: it resists the polished neutrality of scholarly and policy discourse, embracing contamination and discomfort as tactics with the potential to interrupt extractivist truths and open space for alternative ways of sensing, knowing, and contesting extraction.

Reproduction as Entanglement of Violence and Care: Feminist Analysis of Commodity Frontiers and "Living Green"

Marjaana Jauhola, Violeta Gutiérrez Zamora, Ilona Steiler & Satu Sundström

This paper offers theoretical and methodological approach into studying multispecies world politics: exploring the intricate relationships of violence and care involved in the connected processes of extraction, production, and exchange of commodities marked as new sustainable products and green living forms.

In the paper will articulate our theoretical approach to studying global commodity frontiers through reproduction, which we conceptualise as an entanglement of violence and care: simultaneously existing interlocking multispecies oppressions, and attempts of care.

The paper offers insights into our research methodology through which we follow three commodities – date palms, natural fibres, and digital platforms – across their value chain from production to “green consumption”. Date palms and natural fibres, such as bamboo and sisal, are examples of new commodities frame as sustainable and healthier options for consumers creating new frontiers. Similarly, spread of digital infrastructures and technologies not only affects human social life but also more-than-human life on a planetary scale. While digital technologies are promoted as both potentially supporting environmental monitoring and conservation and as enabling more sustainable patterns of production and consumption, political ecologists have demonstrated their profound effects on the extraction of materials, becoming enablers of green extractivism, energy consumption, and global CO2 emissions.

Securing salmon life

Monica Tennberg

Annikki is a female salmon growing in the Tornio River, leaving eventually her birth river to live in the Baltic Sea and finally, after some years returning back to her home river to give life to the next generation of Baltic Salmon. What does Annikki’s life tell us about security? Her life is full of dangers and threats, many of them caused by humans and resulting from human activities, such as hydropower development in the river and industrial development in the sea. Questions of multi-species security include how salmon perceive their environment and react to the threats they observe. The question extends beyond an individual salmon to the security of the species and beyond. How do life and well-being of salmon affect the survival of other animals living in the river, such as the freshwater pearl mussels? Combining a multi-species perspective with the discussion of environmental security expands how we understand the “environment” as the object of security thinking, and the different ways we can open “the environment” to include multispecies relations, from recognizing the salmon as sentient beings to complex connections and dependencies between humans and salmons.

3. Challenges of European integration: Internal Divisions and Turbulent World Politics

B3033

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Johannes Lehtinen, Saila Heinikoski & Tyyne Karjalainen

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Dimensionality in contemporary European foreign and security policy

Santeri Iivonen

European foreign and security policy has fragmented in the 2020s, and prevailing assumptions that it can be explained only by socioeconomic and sociocultural dimensions are insufficient. Russia's war in Ukraine challenges the notions of values and attitudes explaining citizens', parties' and states' standpoints in foreign policy. This dissertation examines to what extent established political dimensions explain variation in foreign and security policy preferences, and whether these dimensions are consistently applicable across European polities? The thesis approaches dimensionality through three complementary perspectives. The first article studies the connections of foreign and security policy issues to dimensions at the citizen level. The second article analyses political parties' foreign and security policy salience in party manifestos, thus investigating parties' underlying values in this policy sector. The third article examines parliamentary debates regarding the withdrawal from the Ottawa Convention in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland in 2025. This case study researches values and attitudes in countries with similar threat perceptions. Altogether, the articles elaborate how the political competition and political space are perceived in Europe's changing security environment. Investigating dimensionality gives leads on the continent's potential internal divisions which helps to amplify how values and attitudes can materialize in foreign and security policy.

Democratic conditionality or crisis response? Narrative shifts in EU enlargement policy in the 2020s

Aino Hakovirta

Since the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, EU Enlargement has re-emerged as a central political priority, reflected both in efforts to accelerate the accession processes of the 'old' candidate countries and by adding 'new' ones on the agenda. The Covid-19 pandemic had already exposed the European Union's deepened interdependence with its European neighbourhood. At the same time, Ursula von der Leyen had set up a 'geopolitical' European Commission,

highlighting the Union's role as a promoter of freedom, democracy, and the rules-based global order. What kind of strategic challenges and potential shifts do the 2020s crises reveal in the EU enlargement policy? How do crisis dynamics contest the Union's values and ideology as a 'community of democratic states?' This paper addresses these questions by studying the official enlargement policy narrative and its capacity for change through the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). The analysis focuses on narrative structure, the role and flexibility of democratic membership criteria, and their adaptation under different crisis contexts. The empirical material consists of relevant policy statements from the first von der Leyen (geo)political Commission (1.12.2019–30.11.2024, N=279) and complementary research literature.

Evolution and Challenges of the European Union Foreign and Security Policy Strategic Culture

Teemu Rantanen

The paper looks on the development of shared understanding of key strategic beliefs among the Member States with an analysis of the operational codes in the Union's foreign and security policy strategies. Considering these strategies as an embodiment of the potential supranational strategic culture emerging from intergovernmental cooperation, the paper utilises operational code analysis framework for identification and examination of the key strategic beliefs guiding the Union's approach to foreign and security policy. With this analysis, the paper also considers the pressures for shifting the Union's role in global politics as well as regional security, and the limitations that the Member States set for foreign and security policy integration.

Gendering the Analysis of Inter-Parliamentary Activities: Videography from the EU-UK Parliamentary Partnership Assembly

Cherry Miller

The European Union is currently experiencing turbulent times. In this context, the EU-UK relationship is being "reset" – or at least reshaped. The existing EU-UK relationship is structured through the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA). The TCA has provisions for a Parliamentary Partnership Assembly (PPA). Practitioner and academic discourse alike has framed this inter-parliamentary venue as an arena for 'parliamentary diplomacy'. Parliamentary diplomacy may encourage both pluralism in deliberations and 'people to people contacts', thus enriching the EU-UK relationship. But this cannot be assumed. As such, it may be useful to explore what kinds of relationships and practices are afforded by inter-parliamentary venues and how does gender shape this?

Drawing on six sessions of the PPA, this paper explores how parliamentary diplomacy is accomplished through gender. First, the study analyses inter-delegation interactions quantitatively to explore the structural organisation of gender. Using videography, it then qualitatively explores five practices in the inter-delegation interactions. The findings are significant not only practically, for those wishing to pursue influence in/through inter-parliamentary venues, but also analytically for those wishing to explore the relationship between gender and parliamentary diplomacy.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12:30

Rethinking the Democratic Deficit: Trilogues, Transparency, and Electoral Incentives in EU Lawmaking

Miika Järvisaari

This paper examines the democratic critique of EU trilogues through the lens of political theory and empirical political science. While legal and political scholarship frequently criticises trilogues for lacking transparency and participatory access, this article argues that many such critiques misidentify both the source of the democratic problem and the likely effectiveness of proposed reforms. Using democratic legitimacy theory and comparative insights from parliamentary systems, the paper contends that transparency and participation should not be treated as inherent democratic goods but rather as instruments whose value is context-dependent and reliant on their ability to improve electoral accountability or policy outcomes. In the case of trilogues, common proposals such as real-time publication of inter-institutional negotiating documents or limiting the procedural autonomy of the legislative institutions, are unlikely to meaningfully enhance democratic representation because they do not alter the underlying electoral incentives shaping the behaviour of EU decision-makers. Instead, they risk introducing well-documented costs of transparency, including grandstanding, forum shifting, and reduced efficiency in compromise-based negotiations. The paper further argues that a deeper problem in the literature stems from an overly legalistic understanding of EU governance that neglects the political constraints of a unique supranational system. Critics often attribute democratic deficiencies to the conduct of particular institutions, while overlooking the structural tensions inherent in the EU's hybrid constitutional design, which must simultaneously secure political buy-in from sovereign member states and maintain effective collective governance. From this perspective, practices such as trilogues emerge less as independent causes of democratic deficit than as adaptive responses to these institutional constraints. The article concludes that productive debate about trilogue reform should shift its focus away from procedural transparency fixes toward changes that affect electoral competition and political incentives in EU politics. Reforms that reshape these underlying incentives are much more likely to produce meaningful improvements in democratic accountability without undermining the Union's capacity to govern effectively.

European Parliament's Engagement with Women Human Rights Defenders in Iran

Hanna Tuominen & Mehrnoosh Farzamfar

The EU perceives itself as a front-runner in gender equality. It has declared a commitment to promoting gender equality and women's empowerment through external action. The key strategic framework consists of the Gender Action Plans, which combine gender mainstreaming, targeted actions and political dialogue. Another long-standing priority is the protection of human rights defenders. Over the past decade, the EU has sharpened its focus to protect defenders facing increased risks. The engagement with Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs) combines these objectives.

The European Parliament is the leading EU actor in emphasising support for the WHRDs. The EP aims to raise awareness and public visibility by expressing views through the resolutions, demarches and the annual Sakharov Prize. The Parliament also organises public hearings featuring prominent HRDs. This article studies *How has the EP engaged with women defenders in Iran through its resolutions, hearings and other activities?*

The article fills a gap in the research literature on EU policy on human rights defenders by underlining gender perspective and specific country case. This is although the special needs and vulnerability of the WHRDs are well acknowledged. By focusing on the case of Iran, the article emphasizes especially vulnerable defenders.

Externalisation of migration control within the EU: Commission's ex-post legitimisation of member states' questionable measures

Saila Heinikoski

This chapter examines how exceptional migration measures, namely legalised pushback and externalisation of returnees, initiated by EU member states, initially controversial or rejected, have come to shape the European Union's external migration policy. Through case studies of Finland's response to Russia's instrumentalisation of migration and Italy's extraterritorial asylum arrangement with Albania, the chapter explores how member states engage in migration diplomacy both with third countries and the EU itself. It highlights the European Commission's evolving role in retroactively legitimising such national measures, despite prior legal and normative concerns. The empirical material of the chapter includes policy documents from Finland, Italy and the EU institutions.

Finland's closure of its eastern border and border emergency legislation, inspiring laws also in other countries such as Poland, allows rapid returns of asylum seekers to Russia (Laine, 2025). Although it has been criticised by international bodies, the law received implicit endorsement from the Commission in its December 2024 communication. Italy's attempt to transfer asylum

seekers to Albania, initially ruled unlawful by national courts (De Leo & Celoria, 2024), has similarly gained EU backing as a model for proposed "return hubs" in third countries, and other countries have expressed willingness to employ similar measures. These developments reflect a broader policy shift: the externalisation of EU migration control is becoming central to the Union's geopolitical strategy.

Building on the concept of migration diplomacy, in this case mainly refugee diplomacy, including both cooperative and coercive instruments (Adamson & Tsourapas, 2019), the chapter introduces a framework for analysing how the informal policy field of the external dimension of migration can be easily shaped by member states initiating questionable policies. It argues that the Commission's increasing support for restrictive national initiatives marks a departure from normative commitments in favour of securitised, interest-driven external migration management.

4. Turbulence in Political Theory?

B3112

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Sergei Prozorov & Mika Ojakangas

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Unraveling the Enigma of Biopolitics: Revisiting Esposito's Challenge to Foucault

Samuel Lindholm

Are we living in a permanent state of exception?

Ville Suuronen

“Subduing the Turbulent and Irrational Crowd”: Plato's Political Philosophy in the Context of His Metaphysics

Mika Ojakangas

5. Moninainen kansalaisuus

B3032

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Katja Mäkinen & Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Köyhät kansalaisuuden marginaalissa: näkökulma suomalaisen yhteiskuntaan 1852-2025

Minna Harjula

Tarkastelen esitelmässäni, miten köyhyys on eri aikoina muovannut mahdollisuutta osallistua suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan sen täysivaltaisena jäsenenä. Pitkän aikavälin tutkimukseni keskittyy köyhyyden takia yhteiskunnan viimesijaiseen apuun – vaivaishoitoon, köyhänapuun, huoltoapuun tai toimeentulotukeen – turvautuneisiin henkilöihin. Tarkastelujakso ulottuu 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskon agraariyhteiskunnan yleisestä niukkuudesta 1900-luvun jälkipuoliskon vaurastuvaan palkkatyöyhteiskunnan sekä 2000-luvun polarisoituvaan yhteiskuntaan.

Kansalaisuuden tutkimuksen ohella nivon tutkimukseni yhteiskuntahistorian ja kokemuksen historian lähtökohtiin. Lähestyn köyhien kansalaisasemaa lakisääteisten oikeuksien ja velvollisuuksien sekä paikallisten käytäntöjen ja arkisen toiminnan tuloksena rakentuvana yhteiskuntaan kuulumisen yhteenkietoutumana. Oletukseni on, että köyhien kansalaisasema muovautuu inkluosivien ja eksklusivien piirteiden jännitteisenä kenttänä, joka samalla rakentaa muuttuvia kuulumisen rajoja.

Tarkastelu osoittaa, miten pohjimmaisesta köyhyysturvan varassa eläminen on rajoittanut äänioikeutta, muutto-oikeutta ja vaikeuttanut esimerkiksi perheen perustamista. Valvonnasta ja holhouksenalaisuus sekä laitossijoitukset ovat kutistaneet itsemääräämisoikeutta. ”Köyhyyskansalaisuus” on siten määrittynyt alisteisena, passivoivana ja ulkopuolisuutta syventävänä asemana.

Pitkän aikavälin tarkastelu haastaa oletuksen pohjimmaisesta tuen saajien kansalaisaseman jatkuvasta kohenemisestä. Avunsaajan ja ilman apua selviävän eriarvoisuus näyttää 2000-luvun yhteiskunnassa kärjistyneemmältä kuin köyhyyden ja niukkuuden leimaamassa agraariyhteiskunnassa. Vertailu nostaa esiin yhtäläisyyksiä nykyisen uusliberaalin politiikan ja 1800-luvun lopun liberaalin politiikan välillä: viimesijainen apu on ehdollista, siihen liittyy työvelvoitteita ja painopiste on köyhän kansalaisen velvollisuuksissa eikä oikeuksissa.

Esitelmä perustuu Suomen Kulttuurirahaston ja Otto A. Malmin lahjoitusrahaston rahoittamaan tutkimukseeni.

Venäjän kansalaisuus Euroopassa ennen ja jälkeen avoimen hyökkäyssodan

Teemu Oivo

Kansalaisuutta hahmotetaan usein vakaan ja kansainvälisesti tunnustetun juridis-poliittisen aseman kautta, vaikka kansalaisuuden merkitykset ovat historian moninaisten murrosten myötä olleet kaikkea muuta kuin pysyviä ja yhtenäisiä. Venäjän käynnistettyä helmikuussa 2022 avoimen hyökkäyssodan Ukrainaa vastaan Euroopan valtiot vastasivat laaja-alaisin vastatoimin. Näissä reaktioissa on kuitenkin ollut merkittäviä eroja: erityisesti Venäjän kansalaisten liikkumiseen, taloudellisiin ja sosiaalisiin oikeuksiin, asevelvollisuuteen sekä kansalaisuuden saamisen ehtojen tiukentamiseen on suhtauduttu vaihtelevasti.

Tässä esityksessä tarkastelen Venäjän kansalaisuutta asemana Euroopassa, joka rakentuu yksittäisten isäntävaltioiden, näiden ylikansallisesti yhteisen EU/Schengen-kehikon ja Venäjän oman kansalaisuus- ja rajapolitiikan ristivaikutuksessa. Lähestyn ilmiötä T. H. Marshallin klassisen jaottelun kautta keskittyen kansalaisuuden muodollisiin ulottuvuuksiin — oikeuksiin ja velvollisuuksiin — ja laajennan analyysiä kriittisen rajatutkimuksen (bordering) viitekehykseen. Menetelmänä käytän laadullista kansainvälistä vertailua Suomen, Saksan ja Norjan välillä.

Huomioiden näiden kolmen valtion erot ja yhtäläisyydet — kuten ennen vuotta 2022 pitkään jatkuneet pragmaattiset Venäjä-suhteet — niiden vertailu osoittaa, miten Venäjän kansalaisuuden merkitys ja riskiprofiili vaihtelee Schengen-maiden välillä ja heijastaa laajempaa muutosta eurooppalaisen turvallisuus- ja rajapolitiikan uudelleenjärjestymisessä.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Kansalaisuus Suomen ja Viron diasporapolitiikassa

Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus

Nykyäikää on sanottu muuttoliikkeen aikakaudeksi, jossa ihmiset liikkuvat toistuvasti yli valtion rajojen ja elävät joko vapaaehtoisesti tai pakotetusti elämänsä aikana useissa maissa. Muuttoliikkeen aikakauden yhtenä ulottuvuutena on liikkeen jatkuvuus ja edestakaisuus. Esimerkkinä tästä toimii ylijäräinen liike, josta johtuen ihmiset ovat asettuneet tavalla tai toisella useampaan kuin yhteen maahan ja kulkevat toistuvasti niiden väliä. Riippumatta virallisesta kansalaisuudestaan heidän jokapäiväinen eletty kansalaisuus rakentuu ylijäräisessä tilassa.

Viron EU:hun liittymisen (2004) jälkeen kiihtynyt Suomen ja Viron välinen muuttoliike on yksi esimerkki ylijäräisestä liikkeestä. Suomessa asuu tilastojen mukaan yli 50 000 Viron kansalaista, Virossa yli 4000 Suomen kansalaista. Lisäksi on arvioitu, että Suomessa on noin 10 000 virolaista kausityöläistä.

Tämän esitelmän keskiössä on Suomen ja Viron valtioiden diasporapolitiikka, joka käsittelee myös maiden keskinäistä muuttoliikettä. Empiirisenä aineistona käytän Suomen ”Ulko-suomalaisuusstrategiaa” (2022-2026) ja Viron ”Üleilmse eestluse tegevuskava” (2022-2025) sekä muita politiikka-asiakirjoja. Esitelmä kysyy, miten politiikka-asiakirjat rakentavat kansalaisuutta, ja mitä subjektiaseimia kansalaisille tarjotaan. Lisäksi kiinnitän huomiota siihen, mitkä ovat maiden politiikka-asiakirjojen erot ja yhtäläisyydet, ja miten Suomi ja Viro näkyvät toistensa diasporapolitiikassa.

Cultural citizenship: Understanding the ‘cultural’ in citizenship

Katja Mäkinen

The presentation explores the concept of cultural citizenship. Citizenship defines a relation to a community which includes various dynamics of pluralisation. It involves horizontal relations with other citizens and non-citizens. This means that citizenship is inextricably cultural.

Citizenship is here conceived as a status and practice that constitutes relation to a political community through regulating the core dimensions of citizenship: access, participation, rights, duties and identifications. Citizenship is also approached as lived practice including novel forms and contexts of participation.

Discussions of cultural citizenship can be seen as part of the increasingly topical discussions on the types and meanings of citizenship in the context of social and cultural pluralism. For example, globalisation and migration transform dimensions and forms of citizenship at different levels from local to transnational and global in various geopolitical contexts. In this context, the cultural and diversity are becoming ever more central to shaping citizenship. While cultural citizenship is often discussed together with global citizenship, the current rapidly transforming global order makes the ideas of post-national citizenship seem out of date. In this presentation, cultural citizenship is discussed by focusing on the notions of inter-personal relations, debate, public sphere, everyday life, identifications, cultural rights and participation.

6. Konfliktinhallinta ja rauhanrakennus moninapaistuvassa maailmassa

B3084

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Katariina Mustasilta & Marko Lehti

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Peace as a Power Play – Mediation in an Era of Disorder

Paula Olavinsilta & Janne Taalas

Great power rivalry, the growing acceptability of force, and the proliferation of internationalised conflicts have moved peace mediation back into the heart of geopolitics. Peace processes are increasingly driven by heads of state, shaped by transactional logics, and embedded in competition among major and middle powers seeking strategic advantage. At the same time, weakened multilateral frameworks no longer structure conflict resolution.

This paper argues that peacemaking has not diminished in relevance but has become more politicised, personalised, and economically entangled. Mediation today often reflects power politics, economic interdependence, and shifting alliances rather than shared normative commitments. This creates risks of unsustainable deals. The situation demands adaptive actors, that can navigate overlapping geopolitical arenas and aligning incentives. The lack of UNSC resolutions could also empower the UN Secretary General and increase room to manoeuvre without the “golden shackles” of the UNSC.

From the perspective of a private mediation actor, the paper examines how peacemaking can adapt to this era of disorder. It highlights the need for sharper geopolitical analysis, engagement with economic statecraft and business actors, and renewed investment in inclusive dialogue processes that connect elite negotiations with societal cohesion and long-term peacemaking.

Shifting fundamentals: What follows the liberal peacebuilding paradigm for the EU as a peace actor?

Katariina Mustasilta

This paper explores whether and how the European Union (EU) is undergoing change as an international actor engaged in civilian peacebuilding, conflict prevention and resolution. With the international order fragmenting and a war raging in Europe, the EU faces unprecedented pressures to its external influence and internal security. Amid a clear focus on strengthening European defence and security, reductions and reallocations in the EU’s and member states’

civilian peacebuilding and conflict prevention resources have been documented. It remains unclear, however, whether these developments represent short-term policy adjustments or signal deeper changes in the EU's foreign and security policy agency. To explore this, the article builds on literature on strategic culture change. It argues that the combined pressures of an evolving external environment and internal political lessons contribute to a cultural shift that goes beyond altered policy priorities or budgetary considerations. Empirically, the paper draws on in-depth interviews with EU officials and experts to assess whether, why, and how they perceive changes in the core beliefs informing the EU's peace and conflict responses. Given the EU's self-ascribed role as a liberal actor, the significant loss of confidence reported in civilian and multilateral peacebuilding tools may carry far-reaching implications for the future of international peace efforts.

Non-western powers and peace diplomacy in a fragmented world

Olli Ruohomäki

Violent conflict increasingly operates as an intertwined set of local, national and transnational conflicts. Traditional mediation models aimed at achieving settlements between belligerents are rare. Instead, diplomatic efforts often seek mainly to manage flashpoints, construct ceasefires, work on humanitarian corridors, signal red lines and avoid mishaps and miscalculations. The engagement of the Gulf States and Turkey in peace mediation is a testament to the growing influence of middle powers in international politics, particularly in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. China has also shown increasing interest in peace mediation, and there is a growing focus on mediation within the ASEAN region. The emerging actors bring economic and political clout, cultural concepts and mediation styles that shape the way peace mediation is conducted. The endgame is not necessarily a transition from a conflict-ridden society to liberal democracy as espoused by traditional actors, but rather a semblance of political stability that emphasizes reconciliation and the restoration of relationships. The non-Western powers are reshaping diplomacy in a multipolar world and directly impacting the peace mediation scene, once the playing field of the UN and primarily Western actors. With increased number of conflict actors come different political agendas making achieving peace more challenging. This presentation analyses the shifting geopolitics impacting the peace mediation scene and focuses on the why and how non-Western powers shape peace diplomacy.

Relational Peace Governance

Benjamin Klasche

The number of global conflicts is on the rise and talks about peace are widespread. For the first time in decades, we also see a war in Europe, and Europeans discuss peace in many forms.

This strengthens my observation that we only talk about peace in war, degrading scholars and policymakers to firefighters. However, we need to change this mode of thinking and view peace-making and building as a process that needs our continuous attention and active work, especially in peaceful times. I suggest that we think of peace-building as a wicked problem: a problem that defies all attempts to define it and one that is constituted by manifold, complex relational settings. In this case, it is constituted by the violent structures of global capitalism and (post-)colonialism, the influence and lack thereof of global governance structures, border regimes, national/local and regional interests, lack and overabundance of expertise and based on all of this, no agreement on how the problem can be tackled. This relational notion of wickedness requires a move away from our substantialist commonplace governance approaches towards governance as a process. This is illustrated by attempts to manage the peace in Ukraine before and after the full-scale Russian invasion.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Diplomacy in transformation: Emerging trends in water diplomacy

Anisa Doty, Emma Hakala, Marko Keskinen & Karoliina Pietarila

Current scholarships on various specialized and thematically focused diplomacies reveal how authority and expertise diffuse across states, NGOs, technical agencies, and epistemic communities. Building on ongoing work examining emerging trends in diplomacy, the paper focuses on how contemporary diplomatic practices are becoming increasingly polycentric, multistakeholder, and specialized. These transformations reshape how conflicts are negotiated, how actors engage, and what forms of cooperation become possible. Within this broader landscape, water diplomacy –with its unique characteristics– offers a lens for analyzing these shifts. Positioned at the intersection of security, development, and environmental governance, it exemplifies the hybrid, expertise-intensive, and multilevel characteristics of emerging diplomatic modalities. By building on a literature review of new and emerging trends in diplomacy, the paper explores the specific characteristics that water diplomacy can provide for diplomatic practice and how it links to other diplomacies. The goal is to deepen understanding of how evolving diplomatic forms influence conflict dynamics and peacebuilding strategies across different regions and governance contexts.

Väkivalta asymmetrisissä konflikteissa: paikallisneuvostot ja suojelestrategiat Syyriassa

Tiina Hyypä

Useat valtiot tukivat Syyrian sodan aikana joko Syyrian hallintoa tai sitä vastustavia erilaisia aseellisia ryhmiä. Samalla konfliktiin yritettiin löytää diplomaattista ratkaisua kansannousun alusta lähtien arabiliiton, YK:n sekä myöhemmin alueellisten ja suurvaltojen toimesta niin

kutsutussa Astana-prosessissa. Mitkään näistä rauhanpyrkimyksistä eivät suojelleet siviileitä, vaan asymmetrisessä sodassa siviilit kapinallisten hallitsemilla alueilla oli jätetty oman onnensa nojaan. Tämä paperi tarkastelee siviilien kapinallisalueille perustamien paikallisneuvostojen kykyä suojella siviileitä epäsuoralta ja suoralta väkivallalta. Väkivallan muodot viittaavat Bashar al-Assadin hallinnon ja sen liittolaisten tekemiin ilmaiskuihin ja kemiallisten aseiden käyttöön sekä paikallisten aseellisten järjestöjen harjoittamaan väkivaltaan, kuten aseellisiin hyökkäyksiin ja uhkailuun. Paperi perustuu 50 kapinallisalueilla eläneen tai paikallisneuvostoja tukeneen syyrialaisen haastatteluun sekä avoimesti saatavilla oleviin lähteisiin. Paperi argumentoi, että paikallisneuvostot pystyivät vain lievittämään epäsuoran väkivallan vaikutuksia, mutta jopa suojelemaan suoralta väkivallalta, jos yhteisö oli yhtenäinen ja kapinallisryhmät paikallisia. Tutkimus lisää ymmärrystämme siviilien toimijuudesta asymmetrisissä konflikteissa ja antaa keinoja suojella heitä vastaavan kaltaisissa sodissa.

Authoritarian conflict resolution in the context of strengthening regional cooperation: The case of the border deal making between Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan

Kristiina Silvan

The borders of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan traverse through the Ferghana Valley, a densely populated area in Central Asia. After the Soviet collapse, these borders remained unresolved, appearing as sites of frequent conflict. Despite several rounds of negotiations with and without external actors, a significant part of all three borders – Kyrgyz-Uzbek, Kyrgyz-Tajik, and Uzbek-Tajik – remained disputed. In 2021 and 2022, the Kyrgyz-Tajik border even witnessed brief but intensive rounds of fighting. However, by March 2025, all three borders had been delimited, and the presidents of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan had signed a declaration of “eternal friendship”.

This paper investigates the factors enabling progress in border resolution in the Ferghana Valley from 2016 to 2025. Drawing from a collection of media sources, it finds that the border deals were enabled by two factors: the intensification of regional cooperation within Central Asia and, paradoxically, the consolidation of authoritarian rule across the region.

The paper argues that the nature of border deal-making in the Ferghana Valley reflects the shift in the global order towards multipolarity as well as the eradication of liberal norms in peace-making. While it recognizes the ability of autocrats in conflict resolution, it questions the sustainability of such deals.

7. Suomalainen vaalitutkimus eri vaaleissa / Finnish electoral research across multiple elections / Finländsk valforskning i olika val

B3110

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Janette Huttunen & Theodora Helimäki

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Migrant Background and Gender Equality Attitudes Among Finnish Youth

Josefina Sipinen & Elina Kestilä-Kekkonen

Is increasing cultural diversity related to immigration a threat for gender equality achievements in Northern Europe? This article investigates how young adults (U40) with and without migrant parents in Finland view gender equality policies. Drawing on political socialization theory, we investigate how parental country of origin influences descendants' attitudes toward gender equality. We test two competing hypotheses: the "culture" hypothesis, which posits that children born to parents from countries with less supportive gender equality norms will adopt less egalitarian attitudes; and the "backlash" hypothesis, which suggests that exposure to more gender-equal contexts may produce less support for gender equality policy. We analyze data from two parallel representative surveys of 18 to 43-year-old Finns collected in 2025: one comprising individuals with at least one foreign-born parent (Gen2, n = 998), and another of native Finns with two Finnish-born parents (n = 1,321). Both groups were asked to evaluate the extent to which gender equality in Finland should be promoted by the state.

Do left-behind areas also exhibit low political efficacy? The case of Eastern Finland in the 21st century

Jussi Westinen

Spatial inequalities and their implications for political behavior have attracted growing scholarly attention in political science in recent years. Some areas have lagged i.a. in terms of economy, employment, birth rates, internal migration and innovations and been labelled as "left-behind areas" or "places that don't matter". Political dissatisfaction in these areas has been manifested in elections and referenda primarily for far-right forces in recent years but there is a lack of studies on the connections between spatial inequalities and external political efficacy (EPE), which as a concept is at the heart of political apathy. Since EPE measures whether the political system responds to citizens' demands and preferences, it is hypothesized

in this study that people who live in areas which are lagging in turnout, economy, employment and population growth have lower external political efficacy. In this frame, this study analyzes the case of Eastern Finland in 21st century, since Eastern Finland can be defined as a left-behind area with low turnout. The study uses data from Finnish National Election Studies in 2007–2023 and deploys regression models explore the connection between spatial inequalities and EPE.

When Two Become One: The Introduction of Concurrent Elections and Women’s Electoral Success in an Open-List PR System

Peter Söderlund

Using a feminist institutionalist framework, this study examines how concurrent elections in Finland altered the gendered logics of political competition. We argue that holding municipal and regional elections simultaneously disproportionately benefited women in municipal contests. The regional tier is strongly oriented toward social and healthcare policy—domains in which women have recognised issue ownership. When these elections were organized together for the first time in 2025, the regional policy agenda spilled over into the municipal arena. This shift potentially disrupted the masculine-coded norms that traditionally shape local politics. Using full-population register data, we show that women candidates received a larger increase in municipal vote shares than men when they also stood as regional candidates. While the analysis does not establish causal identification, the evidence is consistent with a mechanism linked to issue salience, campaign visibility, and gendered recruitment. Overall, the findings demonstrate how institutional reforms like concurrent elections can unintentionally reconfigure gendered power relations within representative institutions.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Women’s Electoral Success in an Open-List PR System

Topias Favorin

Electoral competition takes place not only nationally but, to a large extent, in electoral districts. The aim of this paper is to discover the regional nature of issue-positional competition between candidates and voters in Finland’s most recent parliamentary elections in 2023. The paper uses VAA data (HS 2023) for candidates’ issue positions and survey data (FNES 2023) for electors’ issue positions on various policy issues and dimensions. Constructing the socioeconomic and sociocultural dimension as well as sum variables on policy issues from the extensive data offers a novel opportunity to study Finnish electoral geography. The paper sheds light on positions and on the scope of *congruence* (i.e. the similarity of political opinions) between voters’ and candidates’ positions on different issues and dimensions in all districts in mainland

Finland. The study advances a view that the electoral connection between candidates and voters should be examined in electoral districts, not only at the national level. This notion has implications for research on elections, representation and inter- and intra-party competition, inviting a discussion of the role electoral districts play in politics.

Monimandaatit Suomen kunnissa: valtuutettujen asenteet ja näkemykset

Pinja Niinivuori

Vuosina 2020–2023 toteutettu sote-uudistus nosti esille Suomessa jo entuudestaan yleiset poliitikkojen monimandaatit entistä voimakkaammin esille. Uuden edustuksellisen tason seurauksena suomalaisessa demokratiassa yksittäinen poliitikko voi tulla valituksi sekä kunta- ja aluevaltuutetuksi että kansanedustajaksi. Suomen käytäntö sallia päällekkäiset mandaatit ei ole kansainvälisesti poikkeuksellinen, mutta esimerkiksi muissa Pohjoismaissa ne eivät ole yhtä vakiintunut osa poliittista kulttuuria. Usealla tasolla toimiviin poliitikkoihin liittyvässä keskustelussa ongelmallisiksi näkökulmiksi nousevat esteellisyyden ja ajankäytön haasteet sekä vallan keskittyminen ja intressiristiriidat eri hallinnon tasojen välillä, jotka voivat johtaa myös poliittisen tilivelvollisuuden rajojen sumentumiseen. Päällekkäisiä mandaatteja on toisaalta myös pidetty tärkeinä mm. tiedonkulun ja lainsäädäntötyön kannalta. Edustajat voivat kuitenkin joutua tämän takia tilanteisiin, joissa he ensin kansanedustajina tekevät oman hyvinvointialueensa tai kuntansa kannalta kielteisiä päätöksiä, ja sitten he kunnanvaltuutettuina päätyvät kritisoimaan omia toimiaan kansanedustajina.

Artikkeli tarkastelee kunnanvaltuutettujen suhtautumista monimandaatteihin ja analysoi, miten poliittinen kokemus ja edustusroolit selittävät asenteita vallan kasautumista kohtaan. Poliittisen kokemuksen näkökulma tuo tutkimukseen uuden ulottuvuuden, jota ei ole toistaiseksi laajasti huomioitu edustajia koskevassa tutkimuksessa. Tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään Kunnanvaltuutetut 2020-luvulla -kyselytutkimusaineistoa. Artikkelin tavoitteena on tarkastella monitasoisuuden tuottamia jännitteitä ja henkilötaustojen merkitystä selittäviä tekijöitä, jotta voimme paremmin ymmärtää, miksi edustajien roolit nykyisessä poliittisessa kontekstissa näyttävät aiempaa epäselvempinä sekä kansalaisille että edustajille itselleen.

Promise-keeping vs. policy alignment: How populism, ideology, and political trust shape voters' views of pledge non-fulfilment

Juha Ylisalo

In principle, most citizens want parties to keep their promises. When evaluating specific policies, however, they often reason instrumentally: fulfilment is desirable when a pledge aligns with their views, while non-fulfilment is more acceptable for pledges they oppose. We theorize that populist attitudes, ideological extremity, and political trust shape how citizens resolve the

tension between the norm of promise-keeping and their policy preferences. Specifically, we expect stronger populist attitudes, right-wing ideology, more extreme left-right self-placement, and lower political trust to reduce acceptance of non-fulfilment when a pledge aligns with one's views. Using survey data from Finland and Germany, we find consistent support only for the trust hypothesis. Low-trust voters thus respond more negatively than others when an aligned pledge is not kept. These results clarify how different voter groups balance competing demands on governing parties and identify the citizens most likely to penalize broken promises that bear directly on their own preferences.

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Potentiaaliset kannattajat: Puolueiden väliset yhteydet ja äänestäjien valinnat

Jukka Pietiläinen

Tutkimus perustuu puolueiden tilaamiin puoluebarometreihin, joista julkisesti saatavilla ovat aineistot vuoteen 2005 asti (Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoaarkisto: puolueiden ajankohtaistutkimus) ja tekijän käytettävissä on lisäksi aineistoja vuosilta 2017-2025. Analyysissä keskitytään kolmeen kysymyspatteriin, joista ensimmäisessä kysytään yleissuhtautumista yhdeksään eduskuntapuolueeseen ja toisessa sitä, miten houkuttelevaa olisi äänestää kutakin eduskuntapuoluetta ja kolmannessa sitä, mitä kaikkia puolueita vastaaja olisi valmis äänestämään. Kahden ensimmäisen kysymyksen vastaukset ovat neliportaisella asteikolla ja kolmannen kyllä/ei -asteikolla. Puolueiden väliset yhteydet ovat tulleet pienemmiksi, sillä yhä suurempi osa äänestäjistä mainitsee voivansa äänestää useampaa kuin yhtä puoluetta. Tämä on johtanut puolueiden välisen kilpailun voimistumiseen, erityisesti vihreiden ja vasemmistopuolueiden välillä. Erityisesti nuoret vastaajat ovat valmiita äänestämään useampia puolueita kuin vanhemmat vastaajat. Tulosten perusteella ilmenee, että SDP, vasemmistoliitto ja vihreät ovat äänestäjien valinoissa hyvin lähellä toisiaan, ja tämän punavihreän blokin keskinäiset yhteydet ovat viime vuosikymmeninä vahvistuneet. Porvarillisten puolueiden kohdalla on tapahtunut merkittävä muutos, kun perussuomalaisen ja kokoomuksen kannattajat ovat lähestyneet toisiaan. Aikaisemmin perussuomalaiset muodostivat suurelta osin oman poliittisen klusterinsa.

I don't get it so why bother? - The effect of VAAs on young people's political perceptions in Finland

Theodora Helimäki

Young people are often thought to be disengaged from politics and less willing to vote. Especially in contrast with older voters who already know whom to vote for or are more interested in politics. Therefore, some of the main encouragers for young people to turn out are

to make politics accessible and interesting, as well as provide easy ways to better understand politics. A tool that has been developing rapidly is the Voting Advice Application (VAA). In Finland VAAs are one of the most trusted sources of political recommendations and are widely used by the electorate. Because they provide easily accessible cues through matching voters and candidates, no in-depth knowledge of politics is required. Especially if the VAAs are developed in a way that is user-friendly, they can be a useful tool in increasing citizen knowledge. Therefore, VAAs can provide a straightforward way to influence especially young people's interest and knowledge of politics, as well as their willingness to turn out to vote. In this paper I aim to answer the questions: Do VAAs matter for young people? Does filling out VAAs affect young people's political knowledge and willingness to vote? By analysing data from multiple sources – political education week, VAA user information and workshops with young people, we can develop a coherent understanding of the role that VAAs play in young people's political understanding and willingness to vote. This paper serves as a valuable source for understanding how to develop VAAs in a way that serves the interests and needs of young people.

If you wannabe be my lover, you gotta get with my political views? Impact of party choice and political values on dating choice

Janette Huttunen

Political polarization is increasingly recognized to create challenges for democratic norms and political cooperation, yet the ways in which political divides shape individuals everyday social lives remain less understood. Our study examines how party choice and political values shape dating choices to shed light on the more intimate social effects of political divisions. Studying the phenomenon is especially important in times of growing value and ideological divides between young men and women and declining birth rates. The topic is still scarcely researched. Some international findings indicate that the importance of political homogeneity in dating is increasing, that partisanship matters as much as physical appearance in dating, and that women's choices in particular drives the importance of political homogeneity. We contribute to the emerging literature with an experimental study in the Nordic context. Using data from a conjoint survey experiment combined with background variables from Barometern election data, we analyze how party choice and liberal-conservative value orientations influence dating preferences in the Swedish-speaking minority context in Finland. Our study explores the direct effects of party choice and ideological values, and variation across policy congruence, gender, and age. The study offers insights to broader debates on the social consequences of polarization.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Tutkijankammiosta vaalikentälle: Äänestäjän päätöksentekopsykologian ja vaalidatan soveltaminen kampanjoinnissa

Hanna Willman-livarinen

Väitöskirjassani mallinsin kuluttajien mediavalintoihin liittyvää päätöksentekoa ja siihen kytkeytyviä psykologisia tekijöitä. Pian aloin pohtia, voisiko sama päätöksenteon kehikko selittää myös äänestäjien käyttäytymistä. Pohdinta johti laajaan tutkimuskokonaisuuteen: 40 erillistä analyysia useista eri vaaleista. Olen tarkastellut vaalikoneita, sosiaalisen median käyttöä, vaalikuvia, sanomalehti-ilmoittelua, vaalitapahtumia sekä äänestäjien päätöksentekoa kyselyaineistojen avulla. Lisäksi olen analysoinut 4896 vaalikampanjaa ja selvittänyt, mitkä asiat toimivat ja miksi. Esityksessä tarkastelen, miten kuluttajan päätöksenteon psykologia, empiirinen vaalidata ja mainonnan tutkimus kietoutuvat yhteen. Kuvaan myös, miten tutkimustuloksista on rakennettu systemaattinen, tutkimusperustainen kampanjamalli. Tutkimusperustainen kampanjointi tarkoittaa tiukkaan analyysiin perustuvia päätöksiä myös pieniltä tuntuissa asioissa. Vaalitulos on monimutkainen kokonaisuus, missä pienetkin asiat vaikuttavat. Tutkimukset ja niihin liittyvät palvelut on tuotteistettu Vaalimuusa-brändin alle. Sitä voidaan pitää esimerkkinä siitä, miten vaalitutkimus voi siirtyä akateemisesta analyysista käytännön toiminnaksi. Puheenvuoro avaa keskustelua siitä, mitä tapahtuu, kun vaalitutkimusta ei tarkastella vain analyysina menneistä vaaleista vaan myös työkaluna tulevien kampanjoiden suunnittelussa. On toki selvää, että jos osa ehdokkaista hyödyntää systemaattisesti tutkimustietoa ja osa ei, kampanjointi ei ole enää tasavertaista.

Beyond the two-parent family: political socialisation and political engagement in different family structures

Venla Hannuksela

While family remains the primary political socialisation agent, contemporary societies are increasingly characterised by diverse family structures. Prior research suggests that twoparent families provide more favourable conditions for children's political development than other arrangements, attributing these differences to reduced parental support or constraints on economic resources, time and emotional resources when one parent is missing. Moreover, mothers and fathers may transmit political orientations differently to daughters and sons, with samegender parent-child dyads assumed to be especially powerful. Analysing a nationally representative dataset (N = 5,274) of 15–16-year-olds in multilevel structural equation modelling, this study examines how different family structures – two parents, single mother, single father, and growing up without parents – relate to two key indicators of political engagement: political interest and voting intentions. The findings suggest children raised by a single parent do not exhibit lower political engagement, despite receiving less encouragement from the non-resident parent. Notably, daughters of single mothers report slightly higher

political interest, whereas children of single fathers appear somewhat less interested. Children who grow up without parents emerge as particularly disengaged. The results indicate that diverse families may be equally effective political socialisers and daughters may be empowered by single mothers.

8. Korkeakoulut, politiikka, akateeminen vapaus ja itsehallinto

B3108

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Mikko Poutanen & Tuomas Tervasmäki

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

The Construction of Economic Agents and Financial Modelling in the Higher Education of the Arts (HEA)

Tero Nauha

This presentation argues that financial models and instruments increasingly shape the arts and art education, creating sociotechnical networks that generate economic agencies within non-financial artistic fields. Financial models don't merely influence economic behaviour—they also produce frameworks for cultural production, language, and aesthetics.

Artistic modelling operates as generative, reiterative, and performative, while economic modelling constructs agents through calculative spaces using tools for scaling, evaluation, and distribution. Economic epistemologies now infiltrate artistic calculation spaces during distribution phases: graduation shows, exhibitions, curatorial practices, and evaluations. This presentation highlights findings from my ongoing research examining how economic agents are constructed in the arts and investigating how market-making techniques reshape the public purpose of artistic practice. A significant gap exists in Finnish artistic research, where political economy and critical finance are rarely addressed.

This presentation offers case studies from the Netherlands as potential pathways for generating knowledge on countering market-making practices that destabilize the political economy of HEA. By analysing these examples, the research seeks to illuminate how artistic institutions can resist financialization pressures while maintaining their educational and cultural missions.

The work ultimately questions how economic modelling transforms artistic practice and proposes alternative approaches grounded in critical engagement with financial systems affecting the arts sector.

Institutional governance dynamics in university governance: comparative case of Finland and Portugal

Marjukka Mikkonen, Ana Fransisca Monteiro, Teresa Carvalho, Taru Siekkinen & Elias Pekkola

This study examines interactions and potential tensions between university boards (general councils) and other governance bodies, particularly rectorates and academic senates, in Finland and Portugal. Existing research on university governance has primarily focused on board structures or broader governance frameworks (De Boer et al., 2010; Kretek et al., 2013; Magalhães et al., 2018; Antonowicz et al., 2024) or on state–university relations (Kivistö, 2008; Pekkola & Kivistö, 2022), often overlooking the role of individual board members and institutional governance dynamics (Mikkonen et al., 2025). Addressing this gap, the study asks how boards interact with other governance bodies, what tensions emerge, and how these interactions differ between the two countries.

Methodologically, the study adopts a comparative case study approach (George & Bennett, 2005), drawing on 37 interviews with Finnish and Portuguese board members conducted in 2025 and analysed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis is informed by agency theory (Fama & Jensen, 1983; Jensen & Meckling, 1976), stewardship theory (Donaldson & Davis, 1991; Davis et al., 1997), and the concept of power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005), complemented by socio-cultural literature (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Minkov & Kaasa, 2022). Preliminary findings suggest that institutional factors such as member selection procedures (election or appointment), board composition, and size shape interactions between governance bodies. Moreover, socio-cultural factors influence institutional norms and create taken-for-granted power structures that shape these interactions.

The Fluid, Credibility-Based Network in EU–Finland Higher Education Policymaking

Jaakko Kauko

The focus on EU higher education research has been on reforms (e.g. Bleiklie et al. 2017) and their national variation (e.g. Jungblut & Dobbins 2023). In addition, processes such as the Bologna process and EHEA (e.g. Vucasovic 2017), the Open Method of Coordination (e.g. Lawn & Grek 2012), the European Semester (Eeva 2021), and the European University Initiative (e.g. Kanniainen & Pekkola 2023) have been under previous focus. Preparatory forums for education policy have not yet been under deep scrutiny in the education policy field. The presentation focuses on networks that shape knowledge and policymaking between Finland and the European Union. The presentation is based on a published edited volume (Eeva & Kauko 2025), which is also the final report of a broad research project (Transnational Knowledge Networks in Higher Education Policymaking (KNETS) 2022-2025). The main question is how transnational knowledge networks frame and construct Finnish higher education policymaking.

Data is drawn from three sources. Ministry of Education and Culture database covers 179 Finnish working groups with membership information between 2010–2021. This is analysed with Social Network Analysis (SNA). Finland–EU organization database contains 149 organisations or groups with 702 organisational members. This is analysed both with network ethnography and SNA. 45 interviews with politicians, stakeholders, and officials were conducted and analysed with content and discourse analysis. In addition, an observation dataset of 2021–2021 involved altogether 45 hours of observation in Committee on Culture and Education and two Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture subcommittees.

Findings are categorized with the help of Foucault's (1977; 1986) understanding of relational, normative and power effects of power and knowledge. The findings describe a fluid, credibility-based network. The network is divided into two blocks of actors and the 'formal' structure is supported by an 'informal' structure. The structure is further understood to be fluid: individuals shift their roles in it, while organisations provide stability. The work of this network has normative consequences as it emphasizes credibility of its members. Knowledge is formed in the network based on credibility of its source and credibility is created through informal networks existing in parallel with the formal network. The network can extend EU's weak legislative power in education and thus overcome statutory siloes in higher education policymaking.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Tieteen kokonaiskuva ja vastuun katoaminen: neljä tapauskuvausta tiedepolitiikan ristiriidoista

Mikko Poutanen & Tuukka Tomperi

Suomalaisessa tiedepolitiikassa vallitsee perustavanlaatuinen ongelma, jonka yksittäiset ilmentymät tiedostetaan, mutta jonka kokonaiskuva ei ole käsitelty. On useita havaittuja epäkohtia, joista kuitenkin mikään tiedekentän toimijoista ei katso olevansa vastuussa. Soveltaen Robert K. Mertonin tieteensosiologista tulkintaa tieteestä sosiaaliseen yhteistyöhön perustavana toimintana väitämme, että yhtäältä tiedepolitiikan välinearvoistuminen ja toisaalta akateemisen kapitalismin mukainen tieteen teollistuminen eivät tunnusta tiedettä ja tutkimusta enää yleishyödykkeenä (Ziman 2000; Macfarlane 2024).

Kun vastuuta kokonaiskuvasta ei voida osoittaa, tiedekentän toimijat tarkastelevat herkästi kenttää ja rooliaan siinä osaoptimoinnin näkökulmasta. Lukuisista syistä – mutta usein etenkin ylikorostuneiden kilpailutilanteiden vuoksi – yksittäisillä toimijoilla ei ole intressejä hahmottaa kokonaisuutta ja toimia yleisen ja yhteisen tieteellisen hyvän puolesta, joka on kuitenkin tiedejärjestelmän toimivuuden pääehto. Väitämme, että suomalaisen tiedepolitiikan ongelmana on abstraktius, kapeakatseisuus ja sirpaleisuus, mikä estää hahmottamasta haitallisten kehityskulkujen kokonaiskuva. Tiedejärjestelmän kehitys etenkin 2000-luvulla on

tuottanut ristiriitaisia kannustimia ja tiedepolitiikan sokeita pisteitä, joista kukaan ei osaa tai halua ottaa vastuuta.

Suomalaisen tieteen kokonaiskuvan hahmottamisen ja tieteenteon edellytysten vaalimisen pitäisi tietenkin olla ministeriön ja tiedepolitiikan johdon vastuulla. Kokonaiskuvia esitetään kuitenkin niin abstraktilla tasolla, että hyvien aikeiden ja tavoitteiden yhteys konkreettisiin resursseihin katoaa. Toinen keskeinen tarkastelun taso ovatkin yliopistot, joiden kohdalla Välimaan (2022) esittämä jako organisaatioon ja instituutioon voi kuvata tätä kilpailevien, ristiriitaisten odotusten ja toimintamallien painetta: yliopistot ovat sekä tieteellistä tutkimusta ja korkeakoulutusta ylläpitävä instituutio että omaa tarkkaan määritettyä ja mitattua menestymistään tavoittelevia organisaatioita.

Tässä kommentaarista tutkimusartikkeliksi laajennetussa tekstissä lähestymme suomalaisen tiedepolitiikan julkisesti havaittuja ristiriitoja. Perustelemme väitteemme neljällä esimerkillä tarkoittamistamme ristiriidoista: yliopistojen tilahallinto, tiedejulkaisemisen työpanoksen meritoimisvaje, puute avoimen julkaisemisen rahoituksesta ja tutkimusrahoituksen hakemiseen tuhlatu työaika. Monilta osin meritokraattisen järjestelmän kaapuun puettu kilpailullisuus on hyödytöntä suhteessa yhteistyöhön ja palvelee tieteen ulkopuolisia prioriteetteja.

Eliittiverkostot yliopistojen hallitusten kokoonpanoissa ja hallitusten nimitysprosesseissa

Tuomas Tervasmäki, Hanna Kuusela, Mikko Poutanen & Emmi Lehtinen

Yliopistojärjestelmiä on uudistettu laajalti ympäri maailmaa viime vuosikymmeninä. Monissa maissa tämä on merkinnyt sisäisten hallintorakenteiden uudistamista, erityisesti yliopistojen hallitusten kokoonpanon ja vastuualueiden osalta. Vastaavia kehityskulkuja on tapahtunut kaikkialla Euroopassa, ja niillä on ainakin kaksi yhteistä piirrettä (De Boer & File 2009; Kretek ym. 2013; Veiga ym. 2015). Ensinnäkin uudistuksen jälkeisiin hallituksiin kuuluu sekä sisäisiä että ulkoisia jäseniä tai ne koostuvat yksinomaan ulkoisista jäsenistä, mikä on vahvistanut yliopiston ulkopuolisten toimijoiden roolia yliopistojen päätöksenteossa. Toiseksi hallituksille on annettu lisää valtaa, mikä on muuttanut ne keskeisiksi päätöksentekokoelimeksi, kun taas kollegiaaliset elimet ovat vähitellen menettäneet muodollista valtaansa.

Tässä esityksessä tarkastelemme kahden aineiston avulla, miten nämä yhdenmukaistavat muutokset ovat ilmenneet Suomessa vuoden 2010 yliopistouudistuksen jälkeen. Hyödyntämällä eliittitutkimuksessa (mm. Maclean ym. 2017) käytettyjä teorioita ja menetelmiä osoitamme, kuinka yliopistohallitusten uudelleenjärjestely on vahvistanut eri eliittien asemaa yliopistoyhteisöjen kustannuksella, mikä on vaikuttanut perustuslaissa suojattuihin yliopistojen itsemääräämisoikeuden ja akateemisen vapauden ihanteisiin ja käytännön olosuhteisiin.

Artikkelissa hyödynnetään kahta empiiristä aineistoa. Ensinnäkin analysoimme uudistuksen jälkeen nimitettyjen suomalaisten yliopistojen ulkoisten hallituksen jäsenten taustoja keskittyen heidän edustamiinsa eturyhmiin ja luomiinsa eliittiyhteyksiin. Aineisto sisältää noin 250 ulkoista hallituksen jäsentä vuosilta 2010–2026. Aiemmat 2010-luvun havainnot (Kuusela 2021) osoittavat, että liike-elämän eliitti (39 %) on alkanut hallita yliopistojen hallituksia, ja akateeminen eliitti (28 %) ja poliittinen eliitti (21 %) ovat myös vahvasti edustettuna. Sen sijaan vain 4 % edusti kolmatta sektoria ja 6 % taidetta ja kulttuuria. Vuonna 2021 opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön yliopistojen itsehallinnon tilaa selvittänyt työryhmä (Hallberg ym. 2021) suositteli, että yliopistot kehittäisivät sisäistä demokratiaa ja yliopistoyhteisön vaikutusmahdollisuuksia. Täydentämällä aiempaa analyysia seuraamme, ovatko työryhmän suositukset vaikuttaneet 2020-luvulla nimettyihin yliopistojen hallituksiin.

Toiseksi käytämme haastatteluja tutkiaksemme näiden tulosten taustalla olevia nimitysprosesseja. Vaikka Suomen yliopistolaki edellyttää, että vähintään 40 % hallituksen jäsenistä on ulkopuolisia, yliopistojen kollegiot – jotka koostuvat yksinomaan yliopistoyhteisön jäsenistä – ovat muutoin itsenäisiä nimityksissä. Ymmärtääksemme esimerkiksi liike-elämän etujen ja muiden eliittien yliedustusta haastatteleamme hallitusten nimityksistä vastaavien hallintoelinten puheenjohtajia (n=13). Tutkimalla, miten kollegiot ovat päätyneet delegeoimaan merkittävää valtaa akateemisen maailman ulkopuolisille eliiteille, voimme arvioida, miten yliopistojen autonomiaa määritellään, institutionalisoidaan ja toteutetaan nyky-Suomessa.

9. United Nations in the time of crises

B3084

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Miia Huttunen & Mari Huttunen

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

An Epilogue to Cultural Genocide: The Conceptual (Re)making of International Order

Miia Huttunen & Mari Huttunen

In 1946, the UN set out to cement the principles condemning the worst imaginable atrocities in an international treaty. As a result of a lengthy debate, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted with a notable omission: In contrast to what was originally envisioned, the definition of genocide no longer contained a reference to its cultural forms. Yet recent cases of “cultural cleansing” have resurfaced the need to recognise a wider conception of genocide. In this paper, we analyse the conceptual contestations behind the exclusion of cultural genocide, examining how language was manipulated to advance contradicting understandings of cultural genocide in the making and remaking of an international norm. Drawing upon UN documents concerning the Convention’s formulation and adoption from 1946 to 1948, our analysis shows the forming of two camps. Those championing the inclusion of “cultural” in the concept of genocide argued their case with the understanding of the destruction of the spiritual individuality of a group as the ultimate act of genocide. Those against it advocated its exclusion based on attacks against tangible aspects of culture falling outside the scope of the concept, thus excluding their problematic domestic policies from the remit of the Convention.

Questions of Irish Soft Power at the United Nations: Multilateralism, Geopolitics and the Return of Power Politics

Eoin Micheál McNamara

Ireland’s strong commitment to multilateralism in international politics predates its accession to the United Nations (UN) in 1955. This is rooted in early diplomatic activism within the League of Nations before World War II. Although that institution faltered amid rising great-power conflict, Ireland—like many small European democracies—continues to view international law and multilateral cooperation as essential for the security and prosperity of smaller states, which lack capacity for unilateral ‘self-help’. This chapter argues that Ireland sees the UN as a central institution where it advances ‘soft power’. Defined as the ability to persuade through attraction, soft power is enhanced by Ireland’s visible support for multilateralism and its active

engagement within UN institutions, enabling it to attract likeminded states and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to participate effectively in diplomatic coalitions. Ireland's membership in the European Union (EU) amplifies its influence at the UN. Unlike some Nordic counterparts, Ireland is not a prominent third-party peace mediator, making UN-based diplomacy particularly important in establishing Irish credentials as an 'honest broker'. The chapter examines Ireland's engagement in initiatives like peacekeeping and nuclear disarmament as

key avenues for 'soft power' generation. These efforts often succeed. However, the chapter also highlights important limitations arising from policy contradictions often linking to Irish dependences on Western powers.

The Curious Case of Kyoto: On the Two Rationales of Protecting Heritage in Armed Conflict

Miia Huttunen

Cultural heritage is frequently and increasingly weaponised as a tool of terror and destruction in fuelling conflicts. In this paper, I turn my attention to the other side of the coin and explore the reasons why and under what circumstances the adversary's cultural heritage might be deemed worthy of protection. I examine two possible rationales for heritage protection during times of war – the moral logic and the strategic logic – and build my analysis on the Truman government's 1945 decision to spare the city of Kyoto from the atomic bomb based on its cultural significance. I propose that the anecdotal Kyoto case demonstrates that strategic and moral justifications are not to be looked at as mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary. Furthermore, the strategic logic is best understood as consisting of two parallel considerations: the immediate one, aiming for an effective end and victory, and the deferred one, concentrating on ensuring the most advantageous post-conflict scenario. As the moral logic deployed in the Kyoto case seems to be lacking an international normative frame of reference, later put in place by the UN system, the case surfaces a need to distinguish between ideological and institutional considerations underpinning the autonomous, universal value of cultural heritage granted in contemporary legal instruments.

10. Resilience politics and governance in an age of polycrisis

B4115

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Tapio Juntunen, Elias Pekkola & Johanna Liljeroos-Cork

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Resilience by Contract? Explaining the Limits of Proactivity in Norway’s Total Defense

Betina Slagnes

In an era of polycrisis, resilience has become a central organizing principle in national security and preparedness strategies. In the Nordic region, resilience is commonly institutionalized through total defense models that integrate military defense, civil preparedness, and collaboration with private companies across society (Wrangle et al., 2024). Yet while these arrangements are increasingly emphasized in policy and doctrine, their practical implementation remains uneven and comparatively underexamined. This chapter investigates a key governance challenge within this shift: how reliance on private companies for the delivery of critical services affects preparedness in Norway’s total defense. Empirically, the chapter examines Norway as a case of public–private emergency preparedness. In contemporary total defense, essential capabilities such as transportation, logistics, telecommunications, energy supply, and parts of the health sector are largely delivered through contractual arrangements with private companies. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with 43 Norwegian managers from the Armed Forces, public organizations, private companies, and trade unions, the chapter asks: How do challenges in public–private collaboration within Norway’s total defense arise in practice, and why do they persist? The analysis identifies four recurring and interrelated challenges that systematically undermine preparedness. First, fragmentation and [...]

Countering Hybrid Threats - A Codebook Thematic Analysis of Norway and Sweden’s Policy Documents

Julie Celine Bergaust

States increasingly invoke “hybrid threats” to describe contemporary security challenges, yet systematic knowledge of how these threats are governed through resilience-oriented frameworks remains limited. In the Nordic region, hybrid threats have become central to national preparedness, comprehensive security, and total defence debates—linking external interference with societal vulnerabilities and the need for integrated, whole-of-government responses. Understanding how governments operationalize resilience in this context is crucial,

as countermeasures in liberal democracies may prove ineffective or generate unintended consequences, such as tensions between security ambitions and civil liberties. This paper compares how Norway and Sweden have institutionalized and implemented policies to counter hybrid threats from 2014 to 2025, and how these policies draw on evolving conceptions of societal resilience. Using a mixed-methods research design, it combines quantitative text analysis in R (keyword-in-context) with close reading of publicly available security strategies and policy documents on security, defence and foreign affairs. All references to hybrid threats in these documents (n=757) are analysed and traced, showing how the two countries frame hybrid threats, how they embed resilience within detect–prevent–respond measures, and what explains variation over time. The findings contribute to understanding how democratic states navigate countermeasures against hybrid threats within security and defense policy frameworks.

Resilience and Securitisation: Bed fellows or strangers in the dark?

Rómulo Pinheiro, Tanja Klenk & Maria Laura Frigotto

Following the advents of the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian aggression in the Ukraine, European policy circles have catapulted both ‘resilience’ and ‘securitization’ at the epicentre of the policy agenda. Located at the intersection between change and stability, resilience refers to the ability of entities (and the larger systems in which they are nested in) to withstand adversities by retaining a sense of function and identity (Frigotto et al. 2022). Despite its multiple definitions, there is a consensus that resilience is both a property and an outcome of social systems and that, given certain ideal conditions, it can be fostered structurally (Boin & Lodge, 2016). Securitization scholars, on the other hand, seek to explain the politics through which: (1) the security character of public problems is established, (2) the social commitments resulting from the collective acceptance that a phenomenon is a threat worth dealing with, and (3) the possibility of a particular policy being created (agenda setting) and enacted upon (implementation) (Balzacq et al 2016). Given this backdrop, the aims of this chapter are twofold: 1) to critically interrogate the nexus between the burgeoning resilience and securitisation literatures as applied to public policy in Europe (agenda setting) on the one hand, and 2) to identify and explore creative synergies as well as highlight important limitations or demarcations amongst the two constructs in the context of European public policy across sectors of the economy such as health, social services, higher education, etc. Methodologically, the chapter combines a conceptual-laden approach aimed at clarifying how resilience and securitization overlap, diverge, and interact - by comparing definitions, underlying tensions, and conditions - in addition to selected empirical (case) illustrations of specific public policies and/or strategies (focus to be defined at a later stage).

Preemptive policy learning from Ukraine: Local Adoption of Points of Invincibility in Estonia and Sweden

Anne-May Nagel, Tom Nilsson, Hannes Nagel & Mariia Tyshchenko

Following Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, civil defence and preparedness have gained renewed attention across Europe. Within this context, "learning from Ukraine" has emerged as an expectation for preemptive policy learning, learning in anticipation of potential crises. However, empirical understanding of how such learning unfolds at the local level during prolonged preparedness phases remains limited. This paper examines how the Ukrainian crisis-response instrument, the Point of Invincibility, is interpreted and adapted within preparedness-oriented municipalities in Estonia and Sweden. The study draws on 21 semi-structured interviews with crisis managers and specialists in Ukraine, Estonia, and Sweden, complemented by practitioner seminars and document analysis. The findings identify five themes shaping local preemptive policy learning: debates about contextual fit and local plausibility; learning from actors' own previous crisis responses; outcome-bound flexibility in defining hub functions; the need for institutional and bureaucratic anchoring; and the prioritization of tangible, material solutions. The article refines the concept of preemptive policy learning by demonstrating how learning processes are shaped by temporal uncertainty, institutional constraints, and pressures to demonstrate preparedness before a crisis materializes.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Building Resilience in a Small State: Institutional Adaptation in Lithuania During a Polycrisis

Vytenis Fuks & Vitalis Nakrošis

The paper examines how public institutions in small states build resilience under conditions of polycrisis, focusing on Lithuania's response to three interconnected crises: the Belarus-orchestrated irregular migration crisis, the surge in energy prices following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and the governance of economic sanctions against Russia and Belarus. Occurring in close succession and interacting across policy domains, these shocks produced cross-sector spillovers and placed significant pressure on national governance systems. Methodologically, the study combines semi-structured interviews from an ongoing research project with analysis of legal acts, administrative decisions, policy documents, and government communications to trace institutional adaptation across three policy areas. The paper makes three contributions. First, it advances the operationalisation of resilience by systematically classifying governance practices according to whether they support reactive "bounce-back" stabilisation or adaptive "bounce-forward" capacity-building. Second, it shows how resilience was largely constructed during the crises themselves, as Lithuanian institutions responded to capacity gaps through

coordination reforms, digitalisation, and rapid resource mobilisation. Third, it highlights a distinctive small-state resilience repertoire based on agility, network-based coordination, and the strategic use of EU and international partnerships rather than costly redundancy. Preliminary findings suggest that resilience-building occurred mainly through system-level coordination reforms and organisational-level digital and procedural upgrades, reflecting a shift from reactive crisis absorption toward more adaptive governance arrangements.

Incorporating global freshwater disturbances into security of supply: A review of policy frameworks in the European Union, Finland, and Sweden

Emma Hakala & Karoliina Pietarila

The world is facing a water crisis which will have not only local and regional but also global implications: the connection between people, nations, and regions through the water cycle is becoming increasingly apparent. Besides the severe ecological impacts of the water cycle becoming out of balance, the disturbances pose a significant security challenge given that water is essential for all life. Global connections of water-related risks can cause supply disruptions, inequality and geopolitical tension. Security of supply provides a lens to understanding how societies can prepare for and safeguard critical functions in the case of global water-related risks. In this paper, we ask to what extent the policy frameworks of the EU, Finland, and Sweden, which are at the forefront of security of supply, are producing sustainable water security. In these frameworks, we observed growing recognition of the complexity and escalating nature of threats caused by freshwater disruptions in other parts of the world. However, comprehensive overview of their specific implications for the EU, Finland, and Sweden, as well as concrete proposals for preparedness measures, remain scarce. Therefore, the consequences of global water risks are not adequately addressed even in forefront security of supply policy frameworks.

Whose water security? Governing telecoupled social–hydrological systems in an era of polycrisis

Amy Fallon, Suvi Sojamo, Suvi-Tuuli Puharinen, Vili Virkki, Miina Porkka, Antto Vihma, Anisa Doty, Maria Ojanen, Bruce Lankford, Naho Mirumachi & Marko Keskinen

Water security is increasingly shaped by drivers and feedbacks that extend far beyond local water scarcity conditions. Trade, foreign investment, policy, and land use decisions reshape water availability and risks across spatial and temporal scales, securing water for some while externalising social/ecological impacts to others. These dynamics raise questions for resilience politics and governance in an era of polycrisis, where infrastructures, institutions, and policy choices redistribute vulnerability and risk across interconnected systems. In this paper, we develop a conceptual framework for governing sustainable water

security in a telecoupled and unequal world, where decisions made in one place can reshape water outcomes in distantly connected systems elsewhere. Drawing on Earth System Governance, social–hydrological systems, political ecology, and complexity science, we consider water (in)security as an evolving outcome of interactions between social and biophysical systems. The framework introduces two conceptual elements: (1) water security profiles capturing ecological sustainability and social equity across connected systems; and (2) water security pathways tracing how water security trajectories shift over time. By treating governance as embedded within social–hydrological systems, the framework critically engages with how securitisation discourses, institutional arrangements, and historical inequalities shape whose water security is prioritised and how risks are displaced.

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Resilience as Democratic Deterrence? A Critical Inquiry into the “deterrentification” of societal resilience within the European security landscape

Tapio Juntunen & Mikko Poutanen

The paper critically examines the emerging discourse that frames societal resilience and democratic practices as a form of “soft” deterrence within national security strategies, particularly in the European context. Anchored in the intellectual tradition of strategic realism, the modern concept of deterrence has traditionally dealt with political and military usability of weapons of mass destruction for strategic ends. During the last few decades or so, however, the concept of deterrence has been increasingly reappropriated in other contexts, including the non-military sphere of politics and societal structures. Indeed, recent discussions in both policy circles and within academia suggest that democratic resilience – the values and practices inherent to (typically liberal) democratic political systems – is increasingly evaluated as something that may serve as a deterrent, especially against what is understood as below-threshold hybrid threats and ambiguous forms of “grey zone aggression”. Conceptually, the chapter draws on the nascent field of critical deterrence studies, particularly the notion of deterrentification, coined by Juha Vuori (2016). Empirically, the paper will analyze discourses of resilience in the EU and NATO documents between 2014-2022, especially efforts to introduce societal resilience as a “third pillar” of collective defense structures and planning. These cases illustrate how resilience is increasingly institutionalized as a strategic asset to counter threats against liberal democratic societies, yet simultaneously the very same policy discourse risks transforming democratic openness into the realm of securitized exceptions – a means, rather than an end.

Nation's Psychological Resilience as a Functional Boundary Object in Nordic Security Strategies

Johanna Liljeroos-Cork, Elias Pekkola, Tapio Juntunen & Jan-Erik Johanson

The paper examines how nation's psychological resilience operates as a functional boundary object within Nordic security strategies, enabling coordination across defence, welfare, civil protection, and democratic governance despite conceptual ambiguity. Rather than treating resilience as a fixed or unified concept, the chapter analyses how its interpretive flexibility becomes a strategic asset in contemporary security governance, allowing heterogeneous institutions to align practices without consensus. Drawing on recent Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic security frameworks, the chapter shows how psychological resilience serves institutional, analytical, and discursive functions: it structures cross-sector cooperation, supports comparative analysis across divergent national contexts, and produces normative expectations of adaptable, informed, and responsible citizens. By conceptualising psychological resilience as a boundary object, the chapter highlights both its integrative capacity and its political ambiguities—particularly the ways in which resilience discourse may obscure power asymmetries or shift responsibilities toward individuals under conditions of prolonged uncertainty.

Resilience to Hysteresis – a Bourdieusian Perspective on the Collective Action-Oriented Finnish Individual Psychological Resilience

Luiz Alonso de Andrade, Johanna Liljeroos-Cork, Samuli Taira, Emmi Siirtola, Marjukka Mikkonen, Elias Pekkola & João Paulo dos Santos da Silva

Resilience has become a central notion in contemporary security frameworks, yet its conceptual heterogeneity across disciplines complicates its application to societal-level threats. Psychological research typically defines resilience as an individual capacity to maintain or regain mental health when facing adversity, operationalised through traits, coping strategies, and adaptive processes (Bonanno, 2004; Campbell-Sills & Stein, 2007; Masten, 2014). Organisational and security studies, in turn, portray resilience as a multi-temporal capability of anticipation, coping, and adaptation (Duchek, 2020; Hyvönen et al., 2019). However, these approaches struggle to capture the relational and structural dimensions shaping citizens' responses to societal crises. This paper advances a Bourdieusian reconceptualisation of psychological resilience, interpreting societal-level threats as triggers of hysteresis: the misalignment between habitus and rapidly shifting social fields (Bourdieu, 2001; 2018). From this perspective, stress emerges less from intrapsychic overload than from disruptions to the structures that give individuals' capitals meaning and efficacy. Resilience, therefore, entails the capacity to mobilise and recombine capitals in coordination with collective and institutional resources to restore field-habitus alignment. Using the Finnish comprehensive security strategy as an illustrative case (Valtioneuvosto, 2025), the chapter

proposes a relational, field-dependent understanding of psychological resilience better suited to hybrid security environments.

12. Liberaalin demokratian ahdinko ja resilienssi

B4116

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Jenni Karimäki & Pasi Saukkonen

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

The story behind the system: A mnemonic and semiotic approach to democracy and the threats facing it

Ilana Hartikainen

By integrating memory studies, semiotics, and political theory, this paper proposes a novel framework for studying democracy through the lens of collective memory. It argues that viewing democracy as an interpretation of the past that becomes dominant in each democratic nation might reveal new insights about its strengths and the potential threats rising against it. Lotman's work on cultural semiotics then guides an analysis of the myths, values, and layered meanings that each significant sign – like major historical figures or events – represents in this narrative and how political movements contest the meanings of these signs and the dominance of the narrative. In this view, democratic backsliding not only changes governmental systems, but also contests the democratic master narrative and the underlying values of democratic states.

This paper will assemble the Czech democratic narrative through a semiotic analysis of media coverage of the Czech centennial celebration in 2018. It will then show how Czech politicians have rearticulated, contested, and bolstered the elements of this narrative – and thus also Czech democracy – in their rhetoric since the centennial. Through this preliminary application, this paper aims to share the framework for testing and refinement using other national contexts.

Unkarin tie ja Yhdysvallat: Vaalit ja hallinto 2026

Heino Nyssönen & Jussi Metsälä

Vapaat ja rehelliset vaalit ovat demokratian välttämätön edellytys, mutta eivät ole ainoa ja riittävä kriteeri demokratian toteutumiselle. Sama pätee käänteisesti autoritarismiin, jossa vapaiden vaalien järjestäminen ei vielä itsessään tarkoita autoritarismin loppua. Epärehellisten vaalien järjestäminen on arkipäivää riippumatta valtioiden hallintomuodoista, joita on arvioitava vaalien lisäksi myös lukuisten muiden kriteerien avulla.

Väitämme, että vuoden 2026 tärkeimmät ja merkityksellisimmät vaalit järjestetään Unkarissa ja Yhdysvalloissa. Molempien demokratiakehitys on ollut jo pitkään heikkenevää: kevään Unkarin parlamenttivaalit ja syksyn Yhdysvaltojen kongressin välivaalit ovat tärkeä tienhaara, jolla on myös maailmanpoliittista merkitystä.

Paperi tarkastelee ja vertailee sekä Unkarin että Yhdysvaltojen vaaleja sekä aiempaan tutkimukseemme että vuoden 2026 kampanjointiin perustuen. Tätä kirjoitettaessa Unkarin pääministeri Viktor Orbánin 16 vuoden valta-asema on vakavasti uhattuna Péter Magyarin johtaman Tisza-puolueen nousun myötä. Yhdysvalloissa presidentti Donald Trump ja republikaanien yksinvalta voi katketa hallinnon syvän epäsuosion takia, tosin Trumpin toisella kaudella kongressin rooli on ollut jo valmiiksi rajallinen. Missä määrin siis vaalien voittaminen – tai häviäminen – muuttaa autokratisaatiokehityksen suuntaa? Mikä mahdollisesti muuttuu vai muuttuuko mikään?

Vakaan demokratian vakavat ongelmat. Alankomaiden politiikka 2000-luvulla

Pasi Saukkonen

Demokratia poliittisena järjestelmänä on ollut vaikeuksissa parin viime vuosikymmenen aikana. Hankaluuksia on ollut myös monien perinteisesti vakaana pidettyjen liberaalien demokratioiden toiminnassa, samoin heikentynyttä luottamusta kansalliseen politiikkaan ja päätöksentekijöihin. Yksi tällainen maa on Alankomaat, jossa poliittiset suhdannevaihtelut ovat 2000-luvulla olleet suuria, puoluejärjestelmä suuresti fragmentoitunut, hallitusten pystyttäminen ja koossa pitäminen hankalaa ja poliittinen päätöksentekokyky heikkoa. Tämä on yleisesti heikentänyt kansalaisten luottamusta ja tulevaisuudenuskoa sekä osaltaan tuottanut myös poliittista, osin epädemokraattista, radikalismia. Esityksessäni analysoin Alankomaiden demokratian kriisiytymisen ilmenemismuotoja ja selvitän niiden taustalla olevia tekijöitä. Lisäksi pohdin syitä sille, miksi Alankomaiden kanssa monella tapaa samankaltaiset Pohjoismaat ovat ainakin toistaiseksi selvinneet paljon vähemmällä. Ovatko Suomi ja muut Pohjoismaat joistain historiallisista, rakenteellisista tai institutionaalisista syistä vähemmän haavoittuvia, vai kulkeeko Alankomaat demokraattisten poliittisten järjestelmien vakavien haasteiden tiellä vain näiden maiden edellä?

Edistyksellisyttä hylkivät kulttuuriset traditiot 2020-luvun Suomessa

Joonas Timonen

Aiempi sosiaalitieteellinen tutkimus on viitoittanut tutkijoita tarkastelemaan antiliberalismia liberaalidemokratian harhauman sijaan omalakisena kulttuurisena traditiona, jonka elementtejä on uppoutuneina myös ”edistyksellisinä” tai ”liberaaleina” pidettyihin arjen käytänteisiin ja poliittisiin instituutioihin. Tässä esityksessä tarkastelen liberalismia ja edistystä hylkivää kulttuuria Suomessa, kysyen erityisesti: miten edistysajattelua hylkivä kulttuuri

kietoutuu osaksi 2020-luvun sosiaalisia ja poliittisia rakenteita ja minkälaisen historiallisen jatkumon osaksi ne tulisi tulkita? Esitys pohjautuu Suomessa tekemääni etnografiseen tutkimukseen konservatiivisissa ja äärioikeistolaisissa kulttuurisissa miljöissä, nojautuen erityisesti kahden empiirisen havainnon varaan. Yhtäältä osoitan, kuinka monet tutkimani ihmiset ammentavat yhteiskunnallisessa ajattelussaan edistyksellisyyttä hylkivistä kulttuurisista rakenteista ja että nämä rakenteet ovat usein uppoutuneina heidän arkisiin sosiaalisiin miljöihinsä, mahdollistaen myös vaihtoehtoisten institutionaalisten järjestelyiden kuvittelun. Toisaalta osoitan, miten erilaiset strategiset toimijat tietoisesti tuottavat, muovaavat ja valtavirtaistavat edistysvastaisia kulttuurisia rakenteita, venyttäen arkijärjen rajoja. Ristivalottamalla näitä havaintoja pohdin edistystä hylkivien kulttuuristen traditioiden rakentumista Suomessa.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Misanthrooppinen kyynisyys ja poliittinen ahdinko

Samu Paajanen

Sekä kyynisyys että misantropia ovat monin tavoin vivahteikkaita käsitteitä, joista kumpaakaan ei voida pitää yksiselitteisesti negatiivisena. Esimerkiksi korruptioepäilyä tutkiva journalisti voi hyödyntää kyynistä järjenjuoksua kysymällä ”cui bono?”. Samaten misantroopin arvio ihmiskunnan systemaattisista moraalisisista puutteista voi olla vailla vihaa ja johtaa poliittiseen aktivismiin, jossa laajalle levinneitä epäkohtia pyritään kohentamaan.

Esitykseni tarkastelee, kuinka antiikista nimensä perinyt ja 1700-luvun valistusaikana nykymuotonsa saaneesta kyynisyydestä on eroteltavissa alalaji, joka ei ole nimetty tutkimuskirjallisuudessa. Tämä kyynisyyden alalaji, jota kutsun misantrooppiseksi kyynisyydeksi, vaurioittaa sosiaalisia suhteita ja syventää yksinäisyyden kokemusta. Tarkastelen tässä työryhmäesityksessä misantrooppisen kyynisyyden vaikutuksia prososiaaliseen toimintaan. Lisäksi kysyn, miten misantrooppinen kyynisyys kytkeytyy liberaalin demokratian ahdinkoon? Tarkastelen ilmiötä filosofisin metodein.

Misanthrooppisessa kyynisyydessä kyynisyyden ja misantropian viheliäisemmät puolet lyövät kättä. Lopputulos on antisosiaalinen suhtautumistapa, jossa julkilausutut motiivit nähdään petollisina ja ihminen sutena ihmiselle. Misanthrooppinen kyynikko suhtautuu maailmaan pragmaattisen opportunistisesti: maailma ja sen olennot ei ole hänelle ensisijaisesti kehitystyön tai huolenpidon kohde vaan hyödyn lähde, josta häikäilemättömästi otetaan kaikki irti.

Väitän, että misantrooppinen kyynisyys äärimmäinen ja väliaikainen positio osana erilaisista misantrooppisista asenteista koostuvaa kenttää, jota tutkimuskirjallisuudessa nimitetään misantrooppiseksi ahdinkoksi. Positio on viheliäinen, sillä pitkäjänteistä yhteistyötä on mahdotonta rakentaa kroonisen epäluottamuksen varaan. Lisäksi misantrooppinen kyynikko

rikkoo omia ja muiden moraalisitoumuksia toistuvasti, joka aiheuttaa psykologista, moraalista ja sosiaalista vahinkoa.

Demokratian jälleenrakennus toisen maailmansodan jälkeen: Suomi suhteessa länsieurooppalaiseen kehitykseen

Jenni Karimäki

Toisen maailmansodan jälkeinen aika merkitsi Euroopassa laajamittaista poliittista jälleenrakennusta, jossa demokratian palauttaminen ja vahvistaminen nousivat keskeisiksi tavoitteiksi. Länsi-Euroopassa kehitys tarkoitti poliittisten ja taloudellisten instituutioiden uudelleen rakentamista sekä korporatistisen kompromissipolitiikan ja muodollisen ja varsin välineellisen demokratian vakiintumista. Suomessa tilanne oli samankaltainen mutta samalla myös erityinen: Suomi säilyi demokratiana niin sotien välillä kuin toisen maailmansodan jälkeen, vaikka poliittinen toimintaympäristö muuttui ratkaisevasti. Suomi ei kokenut miehitystä eikä ulkoa määrättyjä institutionaalisia ratkaisuja samassa mitassa kuin monet Länsi-Euroopan valtiot, mutta joutui yhtä kaikki sopeutumaan uuden geopoliittisen asetelman vaatimuksiin.

Esitelmä tarkastelee, miten Suomen demokratiakehitys suhteutui sodanjälkeiseen länsieurooppalaiseen malliin ja missä määrin suomalainen ratkaisu muistutti tai poikkesi Länsi-Euroopan demokratisoitumisen keskeisistä piirteistä. Kehitystä tarkastellaan yhden poliittisen toimijan, Suomen Kansanpuolueen, näkökulmasta ja tarkastelu kohdistuu poliittisen järjestelmän institutionaaliseen jatkuvuuteen, puoluejärjestelmän uudelleenmuotoutumiseen sekä siihen, miten sisä- ja ulkopoliittiset rajoitteet vaikuttivat demokraattisen tilan muotoutumiseen. Tarkastelu osoittaa, että vaikka Suomen demokratiakehitys kulki osin rinnakkain länsieurooppalaisten trendien kanssa, se rakentui kuitenkin ainutlaatuisessa kontekstissa, jossa kansallinen jatkuvuus ja geopoliittinen sopeutuminen yhdistyivät.

Suomalainen kansalaisyhteiskunta monikriisin ajassa: järjestökentän strategiat, resilienssi ja universaalien solidaarisuuden murros

Waltteri Immonen, Mikael Hekkala & Henri Vogt

Esitelmä tarkastelee suomalaisen kansalaisyhteiskunnan tämänhetkistä tilaa järjestökentältä katsottuna monikriisin aikakaudella. Lähtökohtana on havainto kansalaisyhteiskunnan kaksinaisesta asemasta: toisaalta järjestöt nähdään edelleen hyvinvointivaltion kumppaneina, palveluiden täydentäjinä ja yhteiskunnallisen resilienssin vahvistajina, mutta toisaalta ne toimivat kiristyvän rahoituksen, kasvavan epävarmuuden ja yhteiskunnallisten jakolinjojen paineessa. Tämä ristipaine tekee näkyväksi järjestöjen muuttuvan aseman suhteessa valtioon, markkinoihin ja demokraattiseen osallistumiseen.

Teoreettisesti esitelmä nojaa erityisesti Jeffrey C. Alexanderin civil sphere -ajatteluun sekä sitä pohjoismaiseen hyvinvointivaltioon soveltavaan keskusteluun. Näiden avulla kysymme, miten universaalin solidaarisuuden institutionaaliset muodot muuttuvat tilanteessa, jossa hyvinvointivaltion resurssipohja heikkenee ja kansalaisyhteiskuntaan kohdistuu samanaikaisesti uusia odotuksia. Samalla hyödynnämme monikriisin käsitettä jäsentämään sitä, miten päällekkäiset kriisit – kuten julkisen talouden paineet, turvallisuuspoliittinen murros ja yhteiskunnallinen polarisaatio – muokkaavat järjestöjen toimintaympäristöä, itseymmärrystä ja strategisia valintoja.

Tutkimus perustuu kirjallisuuskatsaukseen, järjestöaineistojen analyysiin ja haastatteluihin. Osoitamme, että suomalaiset järjestöt kehittävät selviytymis- ja sopeutumisstrategioita, joissa korostuvat rahoituksen monipuolistaminen, vaikuttamistyö, verkostomainen yhteistyö ja oman yhteiskunnallisen roolin uudelleenmäärittely. Esitelmässä avaamme, mitä nämä muutokset kertovat suomalaisen kansalaisyhteiskunnan resilienssistä, legitimitetistä ja demokratiasta nykyisessä konjunktuurissa.

13. Being Political

B3113

Puheenjohaja/chair: Timo Pankakoski

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

The Political in Wilhelmine Germany and the Early Weimar Republic: A Conceptual History with Contemporary Resonances

Timo Pankakoski

This paper addresses the conceptual history of “the political” (das Politische) in modern German political theory in its relations to the concepts of politics and political (adjective). Current scholarship focuses almost exclusively on the political as characterized by Carl Schmitt and his followers and critical interlocutors or on the philosophical notions of the political in French philosophy since the 1970s. The category, however, has a longer genealogy, which resonates remarkably, and by no means accidentally, with the present-day theoretical accounts. In 19th-century and early-20th-century Germany, the nominalized adjective “the political” was first used as an aggregative concept for all things political, wherein being political was primarily understood as being related to the state. Secondly, the political denoted the area where such things were to be found – a sector alongside e.g. the economic, the judicial, and the religious. However, by revisiting German political theory at the turn of the 20th century, I seek to show that the concept of the political gradually attained connotations of ubiquity, unavoidability, potentiality, profundity, realism, seriousness, and existentiality – denoting that which was political in a paradigmatic or particularly noteworthy manner. Many of these aspects resonate with later theorizing of the political. While certainly being both innovative and provocative, Schmitt’s well-known theory in 1927 and 1932 responded to a prevailing conceptual need and in so doing utilized conceptual and discursive resources derived from these anterior discourses. Overlooking this background risks attributing too much originality to his concept of the political, and the intellectual history examination in this paper seeks to prepare the ground for alternative views.

“Culture's Politics” as a Conceptual Tool in the Analysis of Soviet Intellectual History – The Case of Heinrich Neuhaus (1888–1964)

Elina Viljanen

In Stalinism’s authoritarian politico-cultural context, I propose, cultural actors’ professional strategies were ‘political,’ although not necessarily in Mouffe’s (2008) sense of opposing

hegemonic order. In contrast to democratic societies, the “critical” and “political” aspect of cultural practices in authoritarian societies are significantly more nuanced, follow multiple logics, and give rise to varying professional strategies.

In this paper I employ the concept of culture’s politics to analyse Soviet intellectual culture. By this concept I mean a struggle for power to define and rule one’s own cultural existence. Historians have demonstrated that Soviet intellectual culture was a site of ongoing negotiation for relative autonomy from the dominating ideology and state politics. My aim is not to reinvent this insight, but to deepen it. In examining how culture’s politics operated, I understand culture’s politicality not only as a producer of ideas but also as an active consumer of political ideas—according to its own internal logic and in the pursuit of relative autonomy.

How should we characterize the relative autonomy of prominent Soviet intellectuals? What did their “autonomy” produce within the sphere of classical music in the late Stalin period? As a case, I will show that Heinrich Neuhaus world-famous book *The Art of Piano Playing* is complexly political and ideological, despite not being Stalinist or Marxist-Leninist in nature.

Being Apolitical: Surviving (and Upholding) Authoritarianism

Veera Laine

Positioning oneself “outside politics” has been a survival strategy for those living in an authoritarian system. Declaring as “apolitical”, an individual or organization may attempt to escape regime control and repression. But how, exactly, does this pattern describe and perhaps influence understanding of “political” in those contexts? The presentation draws from empirics in Russian contemporary history as well as present, post-2022 circumstances in the country to analyse “apolitical” (apoliticheskiy; vne politiki) and, more precisely, how these cases present the “political” from which they withdraw. Theoretically, the presentation differentiates apolitical as a survival strategy from refusal of politics as a form of protest (e.g. by refraining from voting; Debruil 2016), as well as from news avoidance (Andersen et al 2024), while detecting some common traits with these phenomena. The presentation also asks whether claiming to be apolitical in an authoritarian context is, in fact, a political act, as it may work towards upholding the authoritarian power (Meduza 2023). Understanding apolitical as a strategy and its consequences becomes more crucial when authoritarianism(s) gain renewed strength across the globe and disappointment with traditional forms of politics diffuses.

Andersen, K., Toff, B., & Ytre-Arne, B. (2024). Introduction: What We (Don’t) Know About News Avoidance. *Journalism Studies*, 25(12), 1367–1384: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2024.2393131>.

Dubreuil, L., & Browning, C. (2016). *The Refusal of Politics*. Edinburgh University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g052sp>

”Ya vne politiki?. Takaya li eto udobnaya pozitsiya?” Signal Meduza podcasts, 26.1.2023, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R3lYRh0wwiQ>.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Judging Power: Citizens’ Political Judgments and the Boundaries of the Political

Eva Lan Montford

What makes a claim or activity « political »? This paper argues that the boundaries of the political are determined by the way people assess public events, institutions, and collective matters. Drawing on Hannah Arendt’s interpretation of Kantian aesthetic judgment, it conceptualises political judgment as the process by which citizens decide whether issues, actions, or institutions belong to the political domain. This theoretical perspective is developed through an empirical analysis of the French cahiers de doléances produced during the 2019 « Grand Débat National. »

The analysis of these texts aims to examine how ordinary citizens evaluate public institutions, attribute responsibility, and articulate normative expectations regarding justice, legitimacy, and the common good. This has two implications: first, it demonstrates that the qualification of public events as political or not cannot be determined solely based on preset criteria; second, it questions the conditions under which something can be considered political.

The overall argument is that politicality is not solely derived from institutional participation or collective action, but also (if not primarily) from citizens’ capacity to judge public affairs and determine whether they belong to the political sphere.

“Quarantine Politicizing COVID”: The World Health Organization’s Balancing Act between Science and Politics during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Maisa Borg-Jokinen

The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the World Health Organization’s (WHO) role as the leading official in global pandemic governance. That said, global health crises have also increased criticism towards the organization and during the COVID-19 pandemic, the WHO was accused of playing politics instead of limiting its actions strictly to scientific and technical advice. Indeed, since its founding, the WHO has balanced between science and politics, often reinforcing the boundary between the two. The criticism levelled against the WHO today is linked more broadly to the erosion of multilateral international order, increasing anti-science sentiments and the crisis of expertise. Amid these challenges, the organization has sought to defend its position especially through the Director-General’s repeated and systematic public statements. This paper examines the WHO’s self-understanding of politics and science by

analyzing the Director-General's speeches (N = 287) during the first year following the declaration of the COVID-19 disease as a public health emergency of international concern. According to expert assessments, we are likely to face international disease outbreaks with increasing frequency in the future. Therefore, understanding WHO's conception of science and politics as well as its pandemic communications is particularly relevant.

14. Poliittinen talous myrskyn silmässä

B3112

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Aatu Puhakka, Johan Wahlsten & Konsta Kotilainen

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Mielikuvastosta politiikaksi: Suomen startup-yhteisö talous- ja työmarkkinauudistusten tekijänä

Henri Koskinen

Esitys tarkastelee Suomen startup-yhteisöä ry:ä (SSY) talouden mielikuvaston (economic imaginary; Sum & Jessop 2013) tuottajana ja institutionaalisen toimijana murroksessa olevassa työmarkkina- ja talouskontekstissa. Talouden mielikuvasto viittaa taloudellisen todellisuuden jäsentämiseen siten, että tietyt toimijat, käytännöt ja tavoitteet näyttäytyvät rationaalisina, välttämättöminä ja yhteisesti hyödyllisinä.

Analyysi perustuu 27:ään SSY:n vuosina 2021–2025 julkaisemaan dokumenttiin, kuten politiikkasuosituksiin, raportteihin ja kannanottoihin. Analyysi osoittaa, että SSY rakentaa startup-taloudesta kansallista tulevaisuutta määrittävän talouden mielikuvaston, jossa innovaatiovetoinen kasvu ja riskipääoman ja teknologiastartupien symbioosi esitetään hyvinvointivaltion rahoituspohjan turvaamisen ehtona. Tämä mielikuvasto rajaa poliittisesti mahdollisten ratkaisujen kenttää ja normalisoi sääntelyuudistuksia, jotka tukevat skaalautuvia ja korkean riskin liiketoimintamalleja, joiden taustalla toimii kansainvälinen riskipääoma.

Keskeiseksi ideaksi ja SSY:n politiikkatavoitteeksi muodostuu työperäinen maahanmuutto, jota määrittää työvoiman hierarkkinen jäsentäminen: kansainväliset huippuosaajat konstruoidaan elintärkeäksi resurssiksi, jonka maahanmuuttoa ja työsuhde-ehtoja tulee joustavoittaa, kun taas muut työperäisen maahanmuuton muodot jäävät marginaaliin kasvottomana työvoimana. Esitys osoittaa, kuinka startup-toimijat tuottavat talouden mielikuvastoa, joka kytkee yksityisen riskipääoman intressit kansalliseen etuun ja pyrkii siten muokkaamaan talous- ja työmarkkinapolitiikan suuntaa.

Avaruuden poliittinen talous

Konsta Kotilainen, Laura Nordström & Hanna Wass

Avaruudesta on tullut poliittisten ja kasvavissa määrin myös taloudellisten kamppailuiden tila. Kun vielä kylmän sodan vuosina avaruustoiminta oli pitkälti YK:n yleissopimuksilla säädeltyä valtiollista kilpailua ja tutkimustyötä, sittemmin avaruuteen ovat ennättäneet myös monet

yksityiset tahot erilaisine kaupallisine intresseineen. Maata kiertäville radoille on pian laukaistu kymmeniätuhansia satelliitteja, joista merkittävä osa on yksityisten yritysten omistamia. Avaruus on myös ekstraktivististen pyrkimysten kohde. Asteroidikaivoksista hamutaan avaruusmineraaleja, kuten rautaa, nikkeliä ja kobolttia. Kuusta puolestaan toivotaan saatavan Helium-3:sta fuusioreaktoreiden polttoaineeksi. Samaan aikaan avaruusturismi on nosteessa ja maailman rikkain mies uhoaa perustavansa pysyvän siirtokunnan Marsiin.

Avaruuden poliittinen talous on orastava tutkimusala, joka tutkii ulkoavaruuden poliittis-taloudellisia ulottuvuuksia. Vaikka ulkoavaruus itsessään on valtaosin elinkelvoton luonnonympäristö, vilkastuvan avaruustoiminnan voi vaiheittain odottaa ulottavan politiikan ja talouden piirin käsittämään Maan ja sen lähiavaruuden lisäksi merkittävän osan aurinkokunnasta. Uuden avaruustalouden suuruusluokka on nyt noin 500 miljardia euroa ja sen on arvioitu moninkertaistuvan lähivuosikymmeninä.

Avaruuden poliittinen talous tutkii, kuka avaruuden omistaa, miten sitä hallitaan ja ketkä siitä hyötyvät. Minkälaisia seurauksia uudella avaruustaloudella on esimerkiksi demokratialle ja globaalille oikeudenmukaisuudelle? Miten estää se, etteivät avaruustalouden hyödyt valu harvoille supervalloille ja suuryrityksille? Kuka avaruuteen investoi, millä rahalla ja mitä tavoitellen? Kuka rakentaa ja kontrolloi tulevaisuuden avaruusinfrastruktuuria? Muun muassa näihin kysymyksiin tämä avaruuden poliittista taloutta kartoittava artikkeli tarjoaa vastauksia.

Wealth, Power, and Access of AI-Driven Copper Exploration

Elisa Husu

This PhD thesis explores the increasing influence of the ultra-rich individuals in the critical raw materials sector and the implications of AI-driven mineral exploration, particularly in the copper industry. During the past decade, the ultra-rich have become subjects of extensive social analysis due to growing wealth disparities (Piketty 2014; Farrell 2020a; Chancel 2025) and they have been centered as agents of social and environmental change and costs (Chancel & Mohren 2025). As fossil fuel+-development proceeds (Dunlap 2021) and the demand for critical raw materials surges, the AI-driven exploration technologies are emerging as a reshaping force in how mineral resources can be discovered, assessed, and managed (Bae & Yoon 2026). The global race for copper is not just about decarbonization, but also about power and profit. The theoretical framework intersects political economy of resources, global inequality, and science and technology studies (STS). The thesis analyzes ownership structures and networks of the leading AI-driven mineral exploration companies, taking specific cases. It explores the factors that drive choices of investment and their environmental outcomes by integrating several databases. The thesis aims to advance research efforts of the ultra-rich investments in the critical raw materials sector and the types of inequalities that are produced.

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

The EU's Geoeconomic Turn in Finland

Tomi Kristeri

This article examines how Finland has responded to the European Union's emerging economic security agenda and the broader "geoeconomic turn" in EU external economic policy. Recent scholarship suggests that the EU increasingly frames trade, industrial policy, and international economic relations through the lens of security, emphasizing resilience, strategic autonomy, and the management of economic interdependence. However, most existing research focuses on EU-level developments, leaving the role of member states in interpreting and internalizing this agenda underexplored. The study investigates how Finnish official thinking on trade, security, and international economic interdependence has evolved in response to this shift. Finland represents an analytically valuable case because it combines a longstanding commitment to open trade with a strong institutional tradition of security-of-supply policy and preparedness planning. This article asks whether the EU's geoeconomic turn represents a rupture in Finnish policy thinking or rather an adaptation of existing practices. Empirically, the article employs a qualitative case study based on analysis of Finnish parliamentary E- and U-letters related to EU policy processes, semi-structured elite interviews with policymakers and stakeholders, and examination of national implementation of selected EU economic security initiatives.

Protestit taloudessa: Näkökulmia populaarifeminismin ja markkinoiden suhteisiin

Julius Hokkanen

Uusliberaalin markkinatalouden ja feminismin suhde on jännitteinen. Tutkimuksessa kitkaa on jäsennetty esimerkiksi käsitteillä markkinafeminismi ja populaarifeminismi, joilla niin feministisen liikkeen kaupallistamista kuin sen perustavaa muuttumista alustatalouden ajan mediakulttuurissa on tutkittu. Toisaalta poliittisen talouden viimeaikaiset myrskyt ovat osoittaneet, että monet taloudessa esiintyvät kevyen populaarit ja edistykselliset tavoitteet kuten DEI-ohjelmat ovat alkaneet kohdata lännen liberaaleissa demokratioissa vastustusta. Esitelmä osallistuu keskusteluihin tarkastelemalla "talouden valtavirrassa" vaikuttavia feministisiä toimijoita ja päämääriä. Kysyn, missä määrin tarkastelemieni toimijoiden käytännöt ja toiminnalleen antamat merkitykset ovat sovitettavissa feministisen poliittisen talouden näkemyksiin, joissa jatkuvan kasvun sijasta korostuvat ihmisten tarpeiden ja hyvinvoinnin sekä luonnon huomiointi. Esitelmän empiirinen aineisto koostuu sekä eksplisiittisesti että implisiittisesti feminististen yritysten, yrittäjien ja vaikuttajien haastatteluista sekä heidän toimintaansa liittyvistä media-aineistoista. Teoreettisesti esitelmä ottaa etäisyyttä uusliberaaliin hallintaan (kaiken)kattavana selitysmallina. Sen sijaan se käsittelee muutosvoiman mahdollisuuksia ajassa, jossa finansialisoitunut kapitalismi, Nancy

Fraseria lainaten, nakertaa protestiliikkeiden lisäksi myös perinteisten poliittisten instituutioiden toimintakykyä. Esitelmä syventää feministisen poliittisen talouden keskusteluja uusliberalismin tavasta ”kaapata” feminismi ja tarjoaa korjaavan luennan markkinoiden ja popularisoituvan feminismien suhteista.

Talouspoliittinen argumentaatio kuntien alijäämän kattamisen kiristämisen taustalla

Aatu Puhakka

Suomalaisten kuntien talousohjausta valtion suunnalta voidaan kuvata talouskurin käsitteen avulla. Valtio edellyttää kuntia kattamaan taseeseen kertyneen alijäämän neljän vuoden kuluessa suhdannetilanteesta riippumatta. Samalla yleiskatteelliset valtionosuudet kannustavat kuntia suoriutumaan tehtävistään mahdollisimman pienin kustannuksin.

Taloussuunnittelu ei ole syntynyt yhdessä yössä, vaan osana useita lakeja ja lainmuutoksia. Kuntien talousohjaus alkoi vähitellen muuttumaan 1990-luvulla. Tätä ennen valtio kannusti kuntia investoimaan palveluihin korvamerkityillä valtionosuuksilla. Osana yleisempää uusliberalisoitumista, järjestelmää kuitenkin arvosteltiin byrokraattiseksi, sekavaksi ja vanhanaikaiseksi ja sitä haluttiin muuttaa. Tiiviin kunta-valtio-suhteen koordinoinnin tilalle säädettiin uusi valtionosuusjärjestelmä (1993) sekä vuoden 1995 kuntalaki, jotka korostivat vapautta ja vastuuta.

Pian kuntalakia muutettiin myös alijäämän kattamisvelvollisuudella. Aluksi alijäämän kattaminen tuli osaksi kuntien taloussuunnittelua vuonna 2001. Myöhemmin lakia haluttiin kiristää entisestään, kun keväällä 2006 Vanhasen punamultahallitus antoi esityksen Laista kuntalain muuttamiseksi. Jälkimmäisen lainmuutoksen myötä kuntien on täytynyt kattaa taseeseen kertynyt alijäämä neljän vuoden kuluessa.

Lakiesitys perustui viranhaltijoista ja kuntien edustajista koostuvan alijäämätyöryhmän mietintöön, jonka tehtävänä oli arvioida vuoden 2001 lainmuutoksen vaikutuksia. Osana monografiamuotoista väitöskirjaani arvioin tämän mietinnön talouspoliittista argumentaatiota. Mihin ongelmaan alijäämän kattamisen kiristäminen oli ratkaisu, mitä sillä tavoiteltiin ja oliko sen rinnalla mahdollisesti muita keinoja? Entä millaista talousteoreettista maailmankuvaa mietintö edusti?

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Authority, Power, and Cooptation in Global Financial Governance

Johan Wahlsten

In this paper, I explain why in recent decades the international rules concerning cross-border capital movements and their regulation have become more permissive toward capital

controls—measures that limit capital movements. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) sets the international standard for how states should manage these movements, that is, for capital account policy. Before the 2008–9 financial crisis, the IMF had for decades strongly opposed the use of capital controls; capital movements and their economic effects were to be managed through market-determined exchange rate adjustments and domestic macroeconomic policies. However, in 2012 and 2022, the organization changed its guidelines to be more supportive of capital controls. The concept of *cooptation* helps explain this development. Cooptation is a process in which powerful defenders of the status quo provide strategic concessions to actors demanding change, with the objective of neutralizing their dissent and protecting their own interests and the established arrangements. In the present case, the concessions took the form of institutional change.

In the 2010s, the BRICS and East Asian states contested the IMF's established stance on capital controls through critique and noncompliance, leading to an undermining of its authority and the force of its rules—that is, *institutional erosion*. For the IMF's secretariat (management and staff), such erosion was problematic in itself. For the organization's North American and European members, effective international rules discouraging capital controls were important, since such measures could be used to maintain undervalued exchange rates or restrict access to foreign assets or their returns. To protect the IMF's authority and the force of its rules, the secretariat and member states from the global North were prepared to accept institutional changes that legitimized capital controls, but only under specific, predetermined circumstances. A complete refusal to compromise would have risked a disempowered IMF or the absence of international rules altogether and thus would have also weakened the ability of North American and European countries to indirectly exert power over other states through these rules.

Sopeutuslaskelmien poliittinen talous: Tapaus velkajarru

Otto Kyyrönen

Geopoliittisen sirpaloitumisen ja ekologisen kriisin aikakaudella aktiivisen finanssipolitiikan merkitys talouskasvun ja vihreän siirtymän edistämässä korostuu. Suomessa finanssipoliittista liikkumavaraa ollaan kuitenkin rajoittamassa merkittävästi ottamalla käyttöön niin kutsuttu velkajarru, joka edellyttää, että julkisen bruttovelan BKT-suhde laskee vähintään 0,75 prosenttiyksikköä vuodessa, kunnes velkasuhde on alle 40 prosenttia suhteessa BKT:hen. Valtiovarainministeriön laatimat sopeutuslaskelmat ja -suositukset tulevat muodostamaan velkajarrun toimeenpanon perustan, ja ministeriö on jo arvioinut ensi vaalikauden sopeutustarpeeksi 7–12 miljardia euroa.

Esityksessäni analysoin valtiovarainministeriön sopeutuslaskelmia ja niiden vaikutuksia Suomen talouteen. Argumentoin, että ministeriön sopeutuslaskelmat aliarvioivat julkisiin menoihin kohdistuvien leikkausten kielteisiä vaikutuksia jättämällä huomiotta

suhdannesidonnaisten menojen muutokset ja soveltamalla epärealistisen matalaa finanssipolitiikan kerrointa. Jälkikeynesiläisen kysyntä- ja kasvumallitutkimuksen avulla osoitan, että Suomen talouden kasvumalli on perustunut finanssikriisistä lähtien pääosin kotimaiseen kysyntään. Koska menoleikkaukset supistavat nimenomaan kotimaista kysyntää, sopeutustoimet voivat heikentää talouskasvua ja julkista taloutta enemmän kuin valtiovarainministeriön sopeutuslaskelmissa oletetaan.

Lopuksi esittelen vaihtoehdoisen velkakestävyyslaskelman, jossa sovelletaan taloustieteellisen tutkimuskirjallisuuden mukaisia finanssipolitiikan hystereesivaikutuksia ja verokertoimia. Laskelman mukaan velkajarrun tavoitteet on mahdollista saavuttaa Suomessa julkisten investointien ja verotoimenpiteiden avulla. Vaihtoehtoinen velkakestävyyslaskelma havainnollistaa, kuinka merkittävästi – usein julkisen keskustelun ulkopuolelle jäävät – tekniset yksityiskohdat määrittävät talouspoliittista liikkumatilaa Suomessa.

15. Politics of concepts

B3113

Puheenjohtaja/chair: Lise Moawad

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Studying Politics Through Conceptual Contestations: The Concepts of Debate, Deliberation, Rhetoric

Taru Haapala & Lise Moawad

This paper develops a methodological typology for the study of politics through conceptual contestation, contributing to the literature on conceptual history and political theory. It takes a view of politics as activity (e.g. Kauppi et al., 2016; Wiesner et al., 2017), focusing specifically on analysing the interrelated concepts of debate, deliberation, and rhetoric.

First, the paper departs from the theoretical discussion on the uses of concepts in political activity. Political activity is understood in terms of speech acts, which means that concepts have their ideological and rhetorical uses but no standard meaning (Skinner 2002), and as an effort to intervene in debates. It further develops the concept of debate as found at its paradigmatic form in parliamentary-style settings (Wiesner et al., 2017). From it follows that the practices of debate are intrinsically connected to political agency. Second, the idea of deliberation is communication the weighing of different alternatives presented by participants, emerging from the necessity to form a decision. Third, this decision-making involves rhetoric, which is broadly understood as the persuasion of audiences, as well as discourse in terms of hierarchies of argumentation.

Through analysing the links between these different concepts, we take into consideration a variety of procedures and practices of political action. The theoretical approach accentuates politics as an activity, focusing on temporal aspects, although it also considers the spatial framework of debate, deliberation, discourse and rhetoric. This is justified from the perspective of debate as a procedure which takes place in a specific context of time-restricted rules and norms set to make debates fair to all participants. Even in the case of debates in a polity, debates themselves are not necessarily political, but the contestation of the activity itself is a way to mark debate in political terms. In other words, it is the act of interpreting something as politics that makes debate a form of political contestation.

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The Deep State as a Concept: A Question of Existence, Not Meaning

Juha Kekomäki

The Deep State became a convenient framing tool in Donald Trump's attempts to shape public debate in the United States. In my paper, I examine how Donald Trump has used the concept of the Deep State in his public speech acts and tweets and what meanings the Deep State held in conservative ideology.

I analyze the concept of the Deep State in relation to the conceptual relationship between conservative ideology and social reality. I define the Deep State in relation to other established ideological concepts within conservative ideology, such as the elites, the Administrative State, and a cabal of world government. Trump and the conservatives shifted the conceptual contestation from the question of meaning to the question of existence.

Trump used the Deep State to apply meanings to different events, thereby shaping how political events were interpreted by conservatives. I argue that framing is both a form of political action as well as a cognitive function through which reality is constructed. According to my research, Trump's use of the Deep State in his rhetoric played an important part in normalizing conspiracy theories in mainstream conservatism.

Prospensiveness: A Conceptual Innovation for Agenda-Setting in Digital Governance

Mikko Rask

The rapid expansion of digital participation platforms, civic technologies, and AI-assisted analytics has transformed how governments receive and process citizen input. Yet existing governance concepts, such as *responsiveness*, *participation*, and *anticipatory governance*, capture only partially the institutional challenge of translating large volumes of societal signals into legitimate political agendas. This paper introduces the concept of *prospensiveness* to analyse how political and administrative actors may develop capacities to sense, interpret, and prioritise emerging public concerns in digitally mediated governance environments.

The paper approaches prospensiveness as a case of conceptual innovation in governance, examining how new governance concepts emerge in academic debate but gain political significance as they are translated into policy discourse and institutional reform efforts. Rather than functioning solely as analytical tools, such concepts can operate as ideational devices

that structure how actors frame policy problems, justify governance reforms, and organise agenda-setting processes.

Drawing on insights from deliberative democratic theory, digital governance research, and emerging practices of civic technology, the paper outlines the core dimensions of responsiveness and reflects on its potential institutional uses and risks of misuse in contemporary governance contexts.

Religious Authority and the Politics of Conceptual Fixation: An Inquiry into Post-Revolutionary Sovereignty

Naser Ghobadzadeh

This paper inquires into the politics of conceptual innovation. It asks how fluid religious authority is transformed into a fixed sovereign principle during post-revolutionary consolidation. Through a genealogical analysis of Iran's 1979 revolution, and the emergence of *wilāyat-i faqīh* (guardianship of the jurist) as its constitutional linchpin, I argue that sovereign concepts do not emerge from doctrinal maturation or mass revolutionary articulation. Rather, they arise from contingent political struggles in which victorious actors stabilise meaning and entrench power.

Drawing on Michael Freeden's theory of ideological morphology, I trace how an essentially contested concept of religious authority was progressively decontested through processes of ideologization and constitutional inscription. Following Reinhart Koselleck, I show that this involved a temporal reorganisation, whereby the concept was projected backwards as the revolution's animating principle and forward as the authentic expression of political theology. The analysis unfolds across three moments of conceptual politics. First, it considers why political actors create sovereign concepts, arguing that they do so to consolidate power amid institutional fluidity. Second, it examines how concepts are modified within specific structural settings, focusing on a constitutional assembly where clerical actors translated a marginal theological proposition into constitutional architecture while justifying it through comparison with Soviet and Chinese models of the ideological state. Third, it demonstrates how such conceptual fixation entrenches power imbalances by foreclosing rival revolutionary imaginaries.

This inquiry illuminates how victorious actors fix the meaning of open signifiers, how comparative reference shapes conceptual innovation, and how constitutional moments become sites where meanings are contested, stabilised, and embedded.

Keywords: sovereignty, conceptual change, decontestation, ideologization, religious authority, political theology, Iran

16. Antagonistic Threats and Crises in the Nordic-Baltic Region

B4114

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Gwenaëlle Bauvois, Niko Pyrhönen & Kanerva Kuokkanen

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

China's and Russia's dual-use activities in the Arctic as an antagonistic threat for the Nordics?

Sasu Katajamäki

Proposal: Dual-use is a theme that has featured prominently in Arctic security debates in recent years, driven largely by concerns over Chinese and Russian activities in the region. In Russia's case, dual-use has been primarily linked to its systematic development of dual-use ports, vessels, and other facilities in the Russian Arctic (Zysk, 2020). With China, the discussion has centered around its economic and infrastructure investments, scientific research, and space activities in the region (Doshi 2021, Conley et al., 2024). However, what has been left unclear is what constitutes as dual-use activities and what are the potential security implications of these activities for the Nordics. This presentation examines how dual-use has featured in Arctic security discussions as an antagonistic threat. It presents findings from research conducted for the FDNU during 2025 and early 2026 (potentially then published) on potential Sino-Russian dual-use economic and technological cooperation in the Russian Arctic. It discusses how dual-use can be seen as distinct from other similar concepts such as hybrid threats and situates these means to Russian and Chinese understandings of the concept.

Emotional governance in the debates of the European Parliament on the war in Ukraine

Kanerva Kuokkanen

This presentation addresses the issue of emotional governance in EU policy-making, particularly in the context of the war in Ukraine. The analysis focuses on how elected EU policy-makers address and govern emotions and express emotions themselves in the case of what can be defined as an antagonistic or human-led crisis. The paper is based on an analysis of EU policy material, with a specific focus on a selection of the debates of the European Parliament. This material is analysed with a qualitative approach drawing on discourse and narrative analyses and interpretive policy analysis. The findings reveal multiple ways of addressing emotions by elected politicians, with particular references to feelings of solidarity, but even to grief, anger, guilt, grievances and other emotions, used in the speech of the politicians in

multiple ways. The presentation is related to the Horizon Europe project Politics of Grievance and Democratic Governance (PLEDGE).

Sanctions as an Antagonistic Crisis: Strategic Business Agency and Resilience in the Finnish and Kazakhstani Borders

Nurkhat Ibadildin

The EU's sanctions against Russia represent an antagonistic threat to the economic stability of borderline states and their regional partners. This paper examines the "reality gap" of the sanctions regime by focusing on the strategic decision-making of business actors in Finland and Kazakhstan. As the Nordic-Baltic region faces increasing geopolitical pressure, Finnish companies navigate a landscape of compliance and reputational risk. Simultaneously, Kazakhstani companies operating within the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) employ "strategic hedging" to mitigate the impact of secondary sanctions while maintaining essential trade links. Utilizing a comparative qualitative approach, this research explores how private-sector actors define the "sanctions" within their respective institutional contexts. It asks: how do legal frameworks and varying degrees of geopolitical alignment condition the survival strategies of companies? By analyzing the diverging responses in a EU's member Finland and an EAEU's member Kazakhstan, the study looks at that business agency as a critical factor in regional economic resilience. The preliminary findings suggest that the impact of sanctions is not merely a top-down policy outcome, but a negotiated reality shaped by the pragmatism, risk-assessment of economic actors, and informal relations between the actors.

Antagonistic threats: Towards a Broader Conceptualization

Gwenaëlle Bauvois

Our societies face increasingly complex and hybrid antagonistic threats that challenge societal security. These threats are difficult to predict, interdependent, and span multiple societal domains, constituting "wicked problems" with cascading effects.

The KOMKRIS (Governance and resilience under antagonistic threats in the NB8 region in times of complex crisis) project seeks to develop a joint understanding of these threats. Currently, "antagonistic threats" is primarily used in supply chain and transportation security to describe deliberate, human-caused risks such as theft, piracy, smuggling, and terrorism—a definition too limited to capture all societal-level challenges. We explore the need for a broader conceptualisation that encompasses both traditional and emerging threats, including extremism, radicalisation, disinformation, and hybrid operations, recognizing their multi-actor, cross-domain, and hybrid nature. By developing this framework, KOMKRIS aims to support more effective strategic responses, resilience-building, and policy development to address the evolving threat landscape across the Nordic and Baltic region.

The presentation is related to the Nordfosrk project Governance and resilience under antagonistic threats in the NB8 region in times of complex crisis (KOMKRIS).

17. Technology and Artificial Intelligence in Modern Politics

B4118

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Suvi Soininen & Oili Pulkkinen

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Beyond the 'Great Tradition' and Cybernetics: Towards Technodiversity and Relationality

Toni Čerkez

Relationality in International Relations (IR) is often conceptualized as human relationality with the bio-ecological world(s). I argue that it is important to ask how we can think through relationality and diversity via technology. This article establishes that the dominant forms of technology today (e.g., predictive technologies) – underpinned by cybernetics – postulates a mind/body dualism, as evident in the extractivist view that information is mined from material substrata for knowledge, which characterizes Big Data capitalism and the nascent AI revolution.

Using Arendt's critique of Western political philosophy, which posited that mind vs. body dualism stands at the centre of Western thought, I portray cybernetics as a continuation of the dualism, albeit in a new, digital form (Arendt 1968; 2005). I postulate that cybernetic technologies risk noetic massification premised on techno-colonial logics whose capital is data about life itself. Asking how we can overcome thinking dualist categories, the article focuses on the work of Yuk Hui and his concept of technodiversity (Hui 2019; 2021). This concept allows me to reposition relational struggles away from dualisms and towards theorizing pluralist practices. I suggest further that thinking relationality without deferring to technology risks strengthening the domination of techno-capital, which is also always colonial and racial.

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AI based methodologies in political studies

Santeri Leinonen

How to use artificial intelligence tools in qualitative research for political science? The paper looks at the question both from a metatheoretical philosophy of science viewpoint and also practical methodological categorization. The use of tools is presented through three different categories: 1) AI based new unique methodologies, 2) AI based automation of existing methodologies, 3) AI tool use in non-research support tasks.

Understanding the use of AI can not only help us to better research, but also give insight into how AI tools could be used to automate AI research and whether the so called singularity scenarios are even possible. Singularity refers to the point in which artificial intelligence or other developed technology can start to self improve without or with very minor human interference. From a society's point of view singularity looks like exponential technological progress, which some people fear can even lead into loss of control scenarios and human independent developing AI.

The goal of this paper is mainly to present the reader with an understanding of how AI can be used in research and also to introduce a new framework / taxonomy on how to evaluate the usability and progress of AI tools in different research fields and subtasks.

New Technology – New Rhetoric: Green ICT and totalitarian algorithms

Oili Pulkkinen

Suullinen ja täydentävä esitys.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Kiinan teknologinen maailmanjärjestys

Matti Puranen

Gloaali suurvaltakilpailu on tehnyt voimakkaan paluun maailmanpolitiikkaan, ja monien tutkijoiden metaforissa puhutaan jo Kiinan ja Yhdysvaltojen välisestä ”uudesta kylmästä sodasta”. Siinä missä edellisen kylmän sodan fokus oli ideologiassa ja ydinasevarustelussa, tavoittelevat 2020-luvun suurvallat taloudellista etulyöntiasemaa, sekä johtajuutta etenkin tekoälyn ja kvanttiteknologian kaltaisissa ”murroksellisissa teknologioissa”. Ja toisin kuin edellisen kylmän sodan maantieteellisesti rajatut valtioblokkit, nykypäivän suurvaltakilpailussa vastakkain ovat paremminkin keskenään limittäiset ja valtiorajat ylittävät verkostot, jotka ovat rakentuneet johtavien suurvalltojen ympärille. Verkostojen kilpailussa johtavat suurvallat – etenkin Kiina ja Yhdysvallat – pyrkivät integroimaan solmukohtia (kuten suuryrityksiä ja

tuotantoketjuja) sekä solmujen välisiä, esimerkiksi datan ja pääoman virtauksia kohti itseään. Verkostojen kilpailussa useimmat valtiot sijaitsevat verkostojen välisessä limbossa, ja ovat useimpien Euroopan maiden lailla integroituneita sekä amerikkalaisiin turvallisuusrakenteisiin että kiinalaiseen tietoliikenneinfrastruktuuriin.

Esitelmä tarkastelee verkostojen välistä suurvaltakamppailua Kiinan näkökulmasta. Se perehtyy Kiinan pyrkimykseen rakentaa ympärilleen teknologisiin yhtenäisriippuvuuksiin pohjautuvaa verkostoa – ”kohtalonyhteisöä” –, jonka digitaaliset valtatiet vievät Pekingiin, ja jonka kriittisimmät tuotantoketjut ja pinot (*stack*) ovat kiinalaisten toimijoiden hallussa.

On Freedom, Liberty and Mass Surveillance in the Age of AI – From Conceptual Confusion to the Practices of Resistance?

Suvi Soininen

Having long examined freedom and liberty as concepts, ideas, and practices — and having engaged with questions of mass surveillance in the process — in this paper, Suvi Soininen moves to question whether we can still speak seriously of freedom and liberty in the context of ongoing efforts and actualisations that erode both personal freedom and civil liberties through legislation, unacknowledged mass manipulation, and surveillance. Given the pervasive presence of AI across nearly all electronic communications, and the striking lack of political initiative in favour of protective — let alone foreseeing — measures for safeguarding freedom, including the fact that even proposed technical remedies such as watermarking of AI-generated content prove exceedingly difficult to enforce at any meaningful scale, how are we to reconceptualise and think about freedom, liberty, and political action?

Taking into account that AI has already unsettled questions of authorship in art and scientific writing, that our environments grow increasingly synthetic, and that the origins and spread of political movements may become ever harder to trace, we may be compelled to seriously reconsider the very practices of resistance available to us in the face of an advancing totalitarian surveillance state — a task that falls, ultimately, to political theory itself: diagnostic and critical in equal measure, charged with clarifying these transformations and defending the procedural and moral foundations of democratic life under conditions of perhaps extreme artifice.

Kehittyvien kaksikäyttöisten teknologioiden vaikutus turvallisuusparadigman muutokseen

Kaarina Vainio

Sodat Ukrainassa ja Gazassa ovat kiihdyttäneet teknologian kehitystä samaan aikaan, kun tekoälyssä on otettu edistysaskeleita. Pilvipalveluita, satelliittikuvaa, reaaliaikaista valvontaa

ja erilaisia ohjelmistoja tarjoavat yhtiöt ovat työntyneet valtioiden tontille. Toisaalta valtiot etsivät yhä tiiviimpää yhteistyötä kaupallisten toimijoiden kanssa turvallisuus- ja puolustussektoreilla.

Tutkin väitöskirjassani kaksikäyttöteknologiaa kehittäviä yrityksiä ja yritysten ympärille rakentuvia ekosysteemejä valtiollisten toimijoiden kanssa: eli mikä vaikutus sotilaallis-siviilikäyttöön tarkoitetun ja tekoälyä sisältävän teknologian hyödyntämisellä on turvallisuusparadigman muutokseen. Hypoteesini on, että turvallisuusparadigma muuttuu, kun sotilaallisiin tarkoituksiin kehitettyä teknologiaa tullaan hyödyntämään yhä enemmän turvallisuussyistä muuallakin kuin vain puolustussektorilla, mikä alistaa yhä uusia siviilielämän osa-alueita kontrolliin.

Perinteisesti kaksikäyttöteknologian vientiä rajoitetaan. Käänän tämän asetelman toisinpäin tuontiin ja innovointiin sekä niiden ympärille rakentuvaan ekosysteemiin. Tutkimus yhdistää kriittistä turvallisuustutkimusta ja kansainvälistä poliittista taloutta. Pääosin kvalitatiivista tutkimustani varten tulen keräämään empiiristä aineistoa. Käytän tutkimusmetodeina verkostanalyysiä, etnografista havainnointia asemessuilta ja puolistrukturoituja haastatteluita.

Tutkimukseni tuo uutta tietoa käynnissä olevista mullistuksista aikana, jolloin puolustusmenot kasvavat räjähdysmäisesti, kansalaisten yksityisyyden suoja on koetuksella ja tekoälyä ympäröi mittava hype.

18. Hegemonic struggles: Transnational hegemony challengers and populist discourse

B4114

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Alexander Alekseev & Emilia Palonen

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Redefining ‘the Right’: How the Transnational Illiberal Right Tries to Build a ‘Conservative International’

Alexander Alekseev

The rise of the illiberal right in the West and globally has been accompanied by a general rightward shift in politics. As illiberal discourses and policies have been mainstreamed, the lines between the illiberal and mainstream right have become increasingly blurred, highlighting the central role of the illiberal right as a hegemony challenger. Rising illiberal forces have built a transnational movement uniting actors as diverse as Trump, Meloni, Abascal, Nawrocki, and Milei — all identifying with the right, but many not easily labelled “far right.” Rather than assuming pre-existing ideological unity, this paper approaches the transnational right-wing movement as a political project actively constructed through negotiation and identification. For this movement to emerge globally, right-wing actors must continuously (re)negotiate common points of identification and a shared political language. International conferences provide key sites where such identification takes shape, revealing how political subjects emerge through particularising and universalising claims. The paper examines the National Conservatism conference in Brussels (April 2024), analysing discourses at, around, and about the event through multimodal discourse analysis, interpretive topic modelling, corpus linguistics, and socio-semantic network analysis. The findings show that such conferences function as sites of hegemonic articulation, where signifiers like “the Right,” “conservatism,” and “nationalism” are strategically reappropriated. Through shared performances and mediated circulation, these events consolidate an emergent transnational illiberal right-wing movement.

International Climate Adaptation Norms: A Comparative Analysis of the US and Nigeria

Areesha Anwer

Why are some developed countries, especially hegemonic powers, less compliant with international climate norms than some developing countries? I compare the adaptation of international climate norms between the US and Nigeria from 2015-2025. Building on neoclassical realism and employing a triangulation strategy with rich empirical sources, such

as statements, speeches, statistics, and documents, and through a discourse analysis, my theory explains that the divergent climate adaptation behaviors of the US and Nigeria are shaped by incentives and constraints shaped by international norms alongside domestic interests mainly political consensus and interests groups such as NGOs and MNCs. The United States, despite being a liberal democracy with strong institutions, vast economic capacity, a long-standing role as a rule-maker in the international system, and being a major emitter, has resisted adopting climate norms, constrained by fragmented domestic consensus and the influence of powerful interest groups. In contrast, Nigeria, despite facing considerable economic and institutional constraints and contributing negligible greenhouse gas emissions, exhibits greater compliance with international climate adaptation norms. This is primarily driven by access to international climate finance opportunities, stronger domestic political consensus, and supportive engagement from interest groups. By situating these cases within the international climate change regime, this study offers original insights into comparative political economy and environmental politics.

A Shift in the World Order – A Prerequisite for Future Peace

Petri Kylliäinen

The roots of the prevailing world order lie in the world conquest of Judeo-Christian civilization, which began more than 500 years ago, and on the basis of which the current world order, which was based on hegemonic world domination, was built. Before the 20th century, power in the hegemonic world system was quite stable, as it was fought only about every hundred years. In the 20th century, however, its stability was shaken several times when hegemonic power was fought three times, i.e. in the First and Second World Wars, and in the Cold War. After the Cold War, the unipolar hegemonic world power of the United States was stable for a couple of decades, but the current new struggle for control of the world order, which began in the late 2000s, has taken the world order into a period of transition, at the end of which systemic changes in the structures and functions of the world system seem to be looming. With the rise of China, the current battle for control of the world order has been fought between the three great powers. Polarizing proxy and trade wars, as well as the integration process of the BRICS countries, have brought the world order into a deepening power vacuum, which, despite its disadvantages, is also an enabler of change in the world order. In this article, I discuss the past and present development of the world order from the holistic perspectives of functionalism, hegemony theories, civilization theories, and evolutionary systems theory, among others, in order to explain why this transformation of the world order has been reached. I also heuristically argue what future solutions lie ahead in order for us to survive this transition towards a world order that solves the current problems. One that would enable a new order and peace for relations between states. One of the results of my research is that for the first time in the history of the world order, we are in a situation where no state has the opportunity to become the hegemonic leader of the world system. This situation creates an opportunity for a

change in the world order, as well as a prerequisite for it, as old structures and functions collapse and become dysfunctional.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Constructing Illiberal Hegemony: Z-Posters and the Visual Legitimation of Russia’s War in Ukraine

Nikita (Mykyta) Vorobiov

This presentation examines Russian pro-war Z-posters produced between 2022 and 2025 as instruments of hegemonic struggle in the context of the war in Ukraine. Drawing on an analysis of eighty-one propaganda posters, billboards, and street installations displayed across urban Russia, the paper argues that visual propaganda plays a central role in consolidating domestic illiberal authority while articulating a broader ideological challenge to liberal hegemony. Rather than presenting the invasion as a contested political decision, Z-posters frame it as a moral necessity and civilisational defence. Through recurring symbols such as the letters Z, V, and O, references to the Great Patriotic War, and slogans invoking unity, sacrifice, and historical justice, the war is positioned as essential for the preservation of sovereignty and cultural continuity. These visuals establish a binary opposition between “us” and “them,” portraying Russia as the guardian of truth and tradition against a hostile and decadent West. By occupying streets, transport hubs, and administrative buildings, Z-posters transform public space into a medium for the continuous reinforcement of militarised values. At the domestic level, this visual discourse normalises militarisation and embeds the war into everyday urban space, reinforcing loyalty and suppressing dissent. At the same time, it contributes to a narrative of Russia as a hegemonic challenger that rejects liberal norms and advances an alternative geopolitical vision grounded in sovereignty and historical continuity. By analysing visual propaganda as a discursive practice, the paper contributes to debates on populism and hegemonic contestation, showing how aesthetic forms are mobilised to stabilise authority internally while articulating an external ideological struggle.

The “Two-Level Game” of Islamist Anti-Gender Politics in Turkey: Transnational Legitimation and Moralized Geopolitics

Didem Unal

This paper examines how Islamist anti-gender actors in Turkey deploy gender and sexuality as key sites of authoritarian legitimation through a strategic “two-level game” that simultaneously targets domestic audiences and transnational ideological arenas. Building on Putnam’s concept of the two-level game, the paper reconceptualizes it beyond interstate bargaining to capture how authoritarian regimes and aligned civil society actors actively connect domestic

power struggles with global normative contestations. Focusing on the post-2017 period of competitive authoritarianism under the AKP (Justice and Development Party) in Turkey, the analysis shows how anti-gender discourse operates as a central repertoire through which illiberal populism is consolidated and democratic accountability eroded. The study examines the discursive and political collaboration between AKP elites, Islamist civil society actors, and pro-government media outlets. Together, these actors form a loosely coordinated assemblage in which civil society actors translate global anti-gender discourses into nationally resonant narratives while state elites institutionalize them through policy and executive power. Drawing on critical discourse analysis of public statements, campaigns, and media interventions, the paper argues that anti-gender politics in Turkey functions as a form of moralized geopolitics. By framing Western sexual politics as cultural imperialism and civilizational threat, Islamist actors embed domestic gender repression within broader transnational struggles over norms, sovereignty, and moral authority.

Religion and politics in Hungary: selective redistribution or universalism?

Emilia Palonen

This study investigates Viktor Orbán's Fidesz government's politics in the context of transnational politics. The idea of Christian society that has been strongly present in Viktor Orbán's discourse has often been reduced to civilizationalism. The general elections in 2026 irrespective of their outcome, were an interesting moment in Hungarian politics. The Orbán regime's support basis is on the one hand following a strong enemy image and built on a network of distribution. The discourse of redistribution is following the logic of those who are the deserving ones (and potentially supporting the regime) will also be receiving tax redemptions and cash. At the same time the opposition criticises Orbán's Fidesz for generating a network of oligarchs and showing their wealth. The discourse of Péter Magyar of the opposition movement and party TISZA was claiming that benefits should reach all and everywhere in Hungary. Analysing the discourse, in the Hungarian elections in 2026, we can see that two concepts of morality of redistribution were contesting each other. In the rhetoric where Orbán explicitly refers to the Christian society, what does he really refer to and how does this map on to theological and political discourses around the religious right? How, on the other hand, Péter Magyar's campaign fares on that front? It is noteworthy that Magyar has a Catholic background. In contrast, Orbán has networked many Christian institutions but has a strong allegiance on the Protestant Calvinist (református) community, which also has received state funding. This denomination is very strong in a version of Hungarian nationalism, that emphasises particularity of Hungary, which we will further discuss in the paper. In the end instead of the right-wing discourse simply being a civilizationalist argument, the religious and political views can be conceptualised in new ways.

19. Poliitiikan tutkimuksen historia

B3032

Puheenjohtaja/chair: Kari Palonen

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Miksi tutkia poliitiikan tutkimuksen historiaa? Poliitiikan tutkimuksen politiikka ja itseymmärrys.

Erkki Berndtson

Poliitiikan tutkimus itsenäisenä yliopistollisena tieteenalana alkoi kehittyä Yhdysvalloissa 1800-luvun loppupuolella. Euroopassa kehitys sai vauhtia toisen maailmansodan jälkeen perustetun alan kansainvälisen järjestön (IPSA) vaikutuksesta. Esitykseni tarkastelee tämän kehityksen negatiivisia ja positiivisia puolia. Pohdin myös poliitiikan tutkimuksen tulevaisuutta nykyisessä akateemisessa maailmassa, jota hallitsevat tieteenalojen sisäinen erikoistuminen, vaatimukset tieteidenvälisyydestä ja ulkoiset paineet yliopistoille.

Taustamateriaalina verkosta vapaasti ladattava artikkelini: The Adaptation of New Countries to Existing (Old) Institutional Frameworks, teoksessa Gabriella Ilonszki and Christophe Roux: Opportunities and Challenges for New and Peripheral Political Science Communities. A Consolidated Discipline?, Springer, 2022.

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-79054-7_8

***Politiikka* suomalaisen poliitiikan tutkimuksen historian tutkimuksen korpuksena – esimerkkitapauksena poliitiikan teorian klassikot ja alan aate- ja oppihistoria**

Mikko Lahtinen

Politiikka-lehden kaikki numerot (1959–) ovat verkossa. Esityksessäni tarkastelen tämän lähes 70 vuoden aikana syntyneen korpuksen hyödyntämisen mahdollisuuksia. Lisäksi teen esimerkinomaisen tarkastelun siitä, missä määrin ja miten jakautuen poliitiikan teorian klassikot ja muutenkin alan aate- ja oppihistoria menetelmineen on ollut lehden vuosikerroissa ja vuosikymmenillä esillä.

International organizations in political science

Anna Kronlund

International organizations (IOs) have been studied primarily in the literature on international relations, particularly from the perspectives of liberalism and institutionalism, to mention a few. Since the establishment of the UN, for example, International Organization (the journal) has provided a forum for scholarly discussion. However, there is comparatively less research on IOS (including the UN and EU) in the field of political science.

The idea of the paper is twofold: firstly, it will be to map out existing studies on IOs in political science and to identify relevant traditions, theoretical frameworks, concepts and approaches by applying relevant empirical materials, including political science journals; secondly, it will examine what kind of role IOs have had in political science as a discipline. The contribution of this paper will enhance our understanding of the research programme on IOs and how it relates to political science and demonstrate how political science can provide further understanding of IOs and international politics.

Maria Rossi & Nina Hokkala

Tässä artikkelissa tutkimme kansainvälisen politiikan opetuksen ja tutkimuksen kehitystä ja jatkumoa Suomessa. Aloitamme kirjallisuuteen pohjautuvalla katsauksella alan historiaan 2000-luvulle asti, jonka jälkeen analysoimme Suomessa julkaistuja pro gradu -tutkielmia vuosilta 2005–2025. Kysymme, millainen tutkimuksen jatkumo 1900-luvulta 2000-luvulle on, vai onko ala fragmentoitunut siinä määrin, ettei kehitystä voi enää ymmärtää jatkumona? Tutkimme erityisesti alan lähimenneisyyttä, sillä vuosituhaten vaihteesta eteenpäin aiheen tutkimuskirjallisuus vähenee.

Tamperelaisen kansainvälisen politiikan opetuksen ja tutkimuksen täytettyä sata vuotta vuonna 2025, havaitsimme aukon suomalaisessa tieteenalan lähihistorian kartoituksessa ja päätimme tutkia aiheita itse. Pro gradu -tutkielmat refleктоivat alan opetusta ja tutkimusta, mutta kertovat myös, miten opiskelijat näkevät alan ja mitkä aiheet ja menetelmät ovat olleet suosiossa. Sisällyttämällä analyysiin Tampereen, Helsingin, Turun, Lapin ja Jyväskylän yliopistoissa julkaistut gradut, voimme hahmottaa alan kokonaiskenttää Suomessa sekä tutkia onko kaupunkien välillä eroja.

Tarkastelemme sisällönanalyysillä alan suomenkielisiä graduja, tutkien muun muassa niissä käytettyjä teorioita, metodeja ja niiden avainsanoja sekä maantieteellistä painopistettä. Alustavat tulokset viittaavat siihen, että graduissa on nähtävissä jatkuvuus uteliaisuudessa uusiin ilmiöihin ja maailmantapahtumiin, mutta myös monialaistuminen ja aiheiden laajentuminen. Gradut käsittelevät klassisia kansainvälisen politiikan aiheita, kuten sotia ja suurvaltasuhteita, mutta myös esimerkiksi supersankarielokuvia, kaupunkitoimijuutta ja hoivasuhteita.

Jan Sundberg

Jag har ett manuskript som är snart klart och ska ingå i en antologi i Sverige beträffande hotet mot den akademiska och kulturella friheten i Norden. Mitt inlägg handlar om FN och världsordningens kollaps, små staters problematiska suveränitet och hur Carl Schmitt fått en ny relevans med demokratins tillbakagång i USA. Alternativet för kultur och vetenskap är soft power (Joseph Nye) där attraktion står för värdegrunden i ett Norden som kan gå i bräsch för krafter som attackerar den fria vetenskapen och kulturen

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Valtio-oppi eräänlaisena kirjoittamisena

Pertti Ahonen

Richard Rortyn harjoittamaan tapaan tarkastelen eräänlaista kirjoittamista, mutta en kuten hän filosofian, vaan valtio-opin. Paneudun valtio-opiin joukkona historiallisesti kontingenteja, kohdeilmiöitään uudelleenkuvaavia kirjoittamisen käytäntöjä. Sanoudun irti käsityksistä, joiden mukaan määrä sääntöjä noudattaen voitaisiin tehdä oikeita tulkintoja ja jopa muodostaa ainoa oikea tulkinta, vaan lähdän siitä, että tekstiin kuin tekstiin voidaan aina kohdistaa vielä yksi luenta. Vaikka en laadi juonellista kertomusta, puntaroinnilleni erottuu alkukohta. Osallistuin 28.-29.10.1981 erääseen seminaariin. Yhtenä esiintyjistä Ilkka Heiskanen kertoi omaksuneensa vaikutteita ranskalaisilta Roland Barthes'ilta, Jacques Derridalta, Michel Foucault'ltä, Julia Kristevalta ja Jacques Lacanilta. Hankkiuduin Heiskasen puheille, koska silloisen väitöskirjakäsikirjoitukseni avainauktorien joukkoon sijoittuvat Heiskasen mainitsemat, itsenäisesti löytämäni ajattelijat. Yhdistelen kirjoituksessani omakohtaisuutta ja yleisempiä näkökohtia. Ensin tarkastelen kirjoittamista keskittyen valtio-opilliseen kirjoittamiseen lähtien liikkeelle poststrukturalistisiksi laajalti kutsuttujen kirjoittajien avaamista näkökulmista mutta en jääden vain niihin. Sitten paneudun kirjoittamiseen tarkastelulla sen vaikutuksista ja sen jälkeen keskityn valtio-opillisen kirjoittamisen jälkeisiin valtio-oppia itseään koskeneissa tutkimusteksteissä. Jatkan puntaroimalla valtio-opillisen ja siihen rinnastuvan kirjoittamisen etenemistä kirjoittamisen lajien kautta tuollaisten lajien yli. Siitä siirryn tarkastelemaan lukijoiden tapoja jatkaa kirjoitetun valtio-opin kirjoittamista perehtymällä tuon kirjoittamiseen tuloksiin ja sitten antamalla oma kirjoittajan panoksensa. Seuraava aiheeni koostuu valtio-opillisen kirjoittamisen, julkaisemisen, julkaisematta jättämisen ja kirjoittamatta jättämisen keskinäisistä suhteista. Huipennan esityksen tarkastelemalla valtio-opillisesta kirjoittamisesta näköjään tyystin poikkeavaa kirjoittamista, runouden kirjoittamista, valtio-opillisen kirjoittamisen eräänlaisena varjona.

20. Research on Policymaking

B4117

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Noora Alasuutari, Juho Mölsä & Kati Rantala

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Civil Society Organizations in LawDrafting Preparatory Bodies: Representational Capacity by Organizational Type and Distance

Noora Alasuutari & Kati Rantala

The idea of participatory policymaking has been a widely shared objective in most Western democracies in the twenty first century. It also concerns law drafting processes, where participation is realized mainly through the involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs), which are expected to represent citizens and their insights. This arrangement places the organizations' capacity to represent the views of civil society at the core, a question addressed in this article. The data consist of all preparatory bodies in Finland across three years (2013, 2017, 2021) that involved civil society organizations that were non economic or non-professional. By examining such organizations, we analyze the extent of distinct group types in the preparatory bodies and the representational capacity of these group types. Additionally, the status of being an umbrella organization is studied, given its effect on the distance between representatives and those being represented. This article aims to highlight the differences that occur within the large variety of civil society organizations and to theoretically discuss them through reflections on the actual engagement of various CSOs. The findings indicate an almost equal involvement of public interest groups and identity groups, most of which were found to be umbrella organizations, which raises concerns about their representative capacities.

Protecting or Politicizing Trans Children's Rights? Affective-discursive Reading of the 2023 Gender Recognition Reform Debates in Finland

Matti Pihalajamaa

While extant research has sought to understand the complex entanglements of anti-gender campaigns, anti-trans feminisms and far-right groups in Europe, it often overlooks how these movements increasingly target trans children and youth. Despite a growing interest in conceptualizing anti-gender politics in the Nordic states, attempts to theorize the Finnish manifestations of the phenomenon remain limited. This paper contributes to these debates by offering empirical insights into the political struggles surrounding trans children and youth's rights in the 2023 legal gender recognition (LGR) reform in Finland, which abolished the harmful

requirements to prove forced infertility and to undergo a psychiatric evaluation to obtain LGR but continues to exclude minors from accessing LGR. Through an affective-discursive reading of parliamentary debates, committee reports and expert hearings, this paper critically examines the gender knowledge constructed by opponents and proponents of extending LGR access to trans minors. It further explores how these constructions are situated within broader anti-trans mobilizations and trans rights organizing in Europe, and how they circulate between parliamentary and non-parliamentary actors. By centering on the intersection of gender diversity and age, the article sheds light on the challenges facing contemporary democracies from a perspective marginalized in parliamentary practices and their feminist research.

Employing employment evaluations: Analyzing employment-impact-evaluations within the case of Finnish wind and solar EIA -documentation

Aleksi Kivimaa

The focus of this paper is on investigating the employment impact assessments included in environmental impact assessments. While not initially designed for the purpose of evaluating societal impacts in a non-environmental sense, this task has become a regular aspect of such documents. Utilizing the case of Finnish solar and wind EIA -documents, the paper investigates the extent and depth with which they evaluate the employment effects associated. The findings are then analyzed through the perspective of procedural justice in the wider contexts of just transition and energy justice. This investigative approach is intended to investigate to what extent current methodological state of the art is utilized in the practical implementation of assessing employment effects as notable societal impacts on local, regional, and national levels.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Advancing empirical research on everyday policymaking in Finnish municipalities: multi-sited and multi-bodied ethnography on lobbying

Salla Mikkonen, Jenni Spännäri, Kaisa Kurkela & Emilia Korkea-aho

Political ethnography has brought new possibilities for empirically studying everyday democratic life and policymaking. Yet, it is seldom applied in lobbying research, which has been dominated by other forms of qualitative research - case studies and surveys, as well as quantitative studies. In this paper, we explore the relevance of ethnography for lobbying research. The context is local and everyday policymaking in nine Finnish municipalities, researched by four researchers in 2024-2026. The research data consists of interviews, observation notes and field diaries, including our reflections on our research practices and findings. We argue that multi-sited and multi-bodied ethnography has great potential for

advancing empirical research on lobbying. We demonstrate how multi-sited ethnography broadens understandings of representation and access as well as opens new research avenues beyond influence in lobbying by providing richer knowledge of everyday practices and relations. However, as multi-sited ethnography requires substantial resources, time, and effort, we recommend combining it with multi-bodied ethnographic practices. Moreover, the broader need for theory development in lobbying research can be met through interdisciplinary multi-bodied ethnography

Financialization of socio-political issues in financial advocacy organisations' discourses

Annika Mikkonen & Armi Mustosmäki

In recent years, financial-sector actors have actively promoted policies encouraging individuals to engage in financial investing. One key initiative is the Equity Savings Account for Newborns (ESAN), through which the state would grant an initial investment to every child. ESAN gained political traction when it was included in the 2023–2027 government programme, signaling the growing influence of financial market actors on policy agendas.

This presentation examines how financial advocacy organisations shape policy agenda setting and policy ideas, asking how the organisations construct the (lack of) individual financial investing as a political problem, and with what implications? Theoretically, we draw on critical policy analysis, studies on policy ideas and financialization illustrating how financial actors, ideas and instruments shape problem definitions. In our analysis, we apply the What Is the Problem Represented to Be? (WPR) methodology to examine the organisations' discursive practices and governing rationalities in their documents on ESAN. We argue that by building on persistent societal issues, such as inequality and financing of personal care, the organisations contribute to reframing these problems, expanding financial logics to policy objectives and interventions targeting individuals and families.

Power Through Narratives: Animal Welfare Lawmaking in Finland

Suvi Mutanen

This article examines how power operates in the lawmaking process of Finland's Animal Welfare Act (693/2023). Drawing on Lukes's multidimensional conception of power and a Foucauldian biopower, the study uses Narrative Policy Framework to analyze how narratives legitimize decisions, delimit the scope of reform, shape perceptions of what appears necessary or feasible, and render animal life governable. The analysis is based on a qualitative analysis of official documents and parliamentary materials related to the reform process between 2011 and 2023. The findings indicate that while animal-oriented narrative influenced the direction of the reform, production-oriented narrative was more decisive in shaping outcomes. It

legitimized acceptance of a constrained reform, delimited the scope of reform to protect production, and normalized incrementalism through exemptions and transition periods. At the same time, the legislation operates biopolitically by categorizing and regulating animal life and death, thereby constituting animals as administratively differentially valued. The article contributes to policy process research by demonstrating how narrative analysis can capture intersecting dimensions of power, including biopower, in legislative contexts where the primary subjects of regulation lack direct political representation.

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Government programmes and deregulatory drives: Policy and political entrepreneurs setting the agenda for (de)regulating the public sector automation

Juho Mölsä

This paper presents preliminary findings from a case study on the proposals to deregulate the use of automation and AI technologies in provision of guidance for citizens by the public organizations. It asks how the digital deregulatory drive set in the government programme, from which the proposal originates, has influenced the flow policy ideas and problem definitions between political and policy specialist spheres. Theoretically the paper is anchored to the Multiple Streams Framework, and the preliminary findings are made by tracing the policy process using the document materials.

The paper proposes that the policy and governmental agenda-setting can be explained by the reciprocal dynamics between government parties as political entrepreneurs and public organizations as policy entrepreneurs. It argues that the political environment and goal setting, including party politics, actively shape the policy entrepreneurship of public organizations. However, it also argues that the success of political entrepreneurs is likewise conditioned by the pre-existing technological and regulatory work in the public organizations. The paper further discusses how the Finnish institutional setting, where the government programmes have a stronghold on agenda-setting, structures the relationships between policy and political entrepreneurs in regulating the public sector.

AI-Simulated Affective Statements for Lawmaking: A Useful Approach?

Kati Rantala, Mika Simonen & Ilkka Arminen

This paper examines AI simulated affective statements concerning individuals affected by a Finnish law reform tightening permanent residence requirements. These perspectives are generated through simulated consultations using generative AI (GenAI). Those seeking permanent residence are typically excluded from participatory lawmaking despite being significantly impacted by rules governing their status. Therefore, we assess the usefulness of

simulated consultations to understand perspectives related to their positions: resulting insights and their value as ex ante impact assessments compared to actual open consultations. The main dataset is based on extensive experimentation with different LLMs, immigrant profiles, and prompt designs. We ultimately created seven profiles representing low income jobs, varied genders, and diverse national and family backgrounds. The final material consists of six simulation sets (210 question–answer pairs) and a complementary dataset of real consultation comments by professionals. Compared to actual comments, simulated consultations yield more concrete accounts embedded with fears, frustrations, and perceived injustices—factors known to influence immigrant integration. We also analyse the epistemic nature of such simulations and their relation to epistemic injustice: whether they reinforce epistemic injustice by replacing direct participation, or whether they help bring the affected groups’ concerns into consideration, and how to foster their ethically sound use.

Multiple streams, temporal politics: Ambiguity and temporality in the formulation of Finnish infrastructure policies

Vertti Sahala

Due to environmental and geopolitical developments, as well as accelerating urbanization and economic change, governments face increasing pressure to deliver solutions through infrastructure development. While infrastructure policy research has substantially advanced technical and economic knowledge for policy—such as goal setting, cost–benefit analysis, and implementation— less attention has been paid to how infrastructure policies are designed, negotiated and shaped by underlying power relations and interests. Our research addresses this gap in the literature by applying the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) to the analysis of policy formulation and agenda-setting in Finnish infrastructure policy, focusing on exploring the three streams of MSF and their coupling. Our aim is to explore how infrastructure projects get onto the agenda of policymakers and what factors influence their success. We contribute to wider infrastructure policy research by clarifying how policymaking processes in infrastructure development unfold beyond technical rationality and by assessing the analytical value of MSF in the Nordic context. In addition, we examine MSF’s capacity to account for temporality, a defining characteristic of infrastructure policy. The study draws on qualitative interviews with actors from state and local governments, including politicians, civil servants, cabinet members, and other key stakeholders.

Perjantai/Friday 11.00–12.30

Lakitutka-palvelu demokratiatyökaluna: oikea-aikainen tiedonhaku kuulemisvaiheen säädöshankkeista

Edvin Sarlund & István Rytönen

Tiedon puute on yksi merkittävä este lainvalmisteluun osallistumiselle. Turun yliopistossa kehitetyllä Lakitutka-palvelulla¹ pyritään osaltaan korjaamaan tätä ongelmaa, ja palvelun käyttömäärä on kasvanut kolmessa vuodessa 23 000 vuosittaisesta hausta 76 000 hakuun. Kasvusta huolimatta Lakitutkan merkitys demokratiatyökaluna on jäänyt epävarmaksi. Tutkimuksemme selvittääkin, miten Lakitutkaa käytetään lainvalmisteluun osallistumisen tukena erityisesti lausuntokierros- ja valiokuntakuulemisvaiheissa. Tutkimuksessa tarkastelemme Lakitutkassa tehtyjen hakujen ajankohtaisuutta suhteessa kulloinkin käynnissä olleisiin lakihankkeisiin. Tarkastelu toteutetaan keskittymällä tiettyihin, rajattuihin ajankohtiin: olemme valinneet yhden viikon syksyltä ja yhden viikon keväältä, jolloin Lakitutkassa on ollut runsaasti hakuja vuosina 2024–25. Samoja viikkoja tarkastellaan molemmilta vuosilta, ja Lakitutka-hakuja verrataan tällöin käynnissä olleisiin lakihankkeisiin. Kun olemme tunnistaneeet ajankohtaiset hankkeet, joihin kohdistuu Lakitutka-hauissa lainvalmistelun kannalta oikea-aikaista, kuulemisvaiheisiin ajoittuvaa kiinnostusta, analysoimme hankkeita aiheittain ja teemoittain. Olennaista on tunnistaa, millaiset aiheet herättävät Lakitutkan käyttäjissä mielenkiintoa sellaisissa lainvalmistelun vaiheissa, jotka mahdollistavat oikea-aikaisen osallistumisen. Tämän lisäksi selvitämme, kuinka suuri osuus hauista ylipäänsä liittyy osallistumisvaiheessa oleviin säädöshankkeisiin. Alustavat tulokset osoittavat, että Lakitutka vaikuttaa tuottavan tietoa erityisesti eduskunnan valiokuntakuulemisten aikaan. Osan tästä käytöstä tiedetään olevan valiokunnille lausuvilta asiantuntijoilta peräisin. Sen sijaan ajankohtainen kiinnostus ministeriövalmistelussa lausuntokierroksella oleviin hankkeisiin on vähäistä. Jako heijastanee Lakitutkan akateemista taustatarkoitusta ja kertoo siitä, että Lakitutkan kehittämisessä saavutettavammaksi, arkiseksi demokratiatyökaluksi riittää vielä työtä.

Epistemic Logics of Evidence-based policymaking

Saara Turkka

The paper approaches *evidence-based policymaking* (EBPM) as a global policy model that moves from one location to another through international expert networks and organisations, such as the OECD, and is also modified during this process. These processes of policy mobility carry power in today's policymaking, as models of good governance, such as EBPM, are recommended as a normatively right way to organise governing. As such, EBPM has implications on democratic governance. However, there is still limited understanding in research literature about the ways in which EBPM is embedded in governance in empirical

settings and about the ramifications of its adoption. These are the themes explored by the proposed paper.

In the paper, I study how EBPM has been adopted in the Finnish core of government, the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Finance through analysing its role in two administrative reforms. The data used consists of policy documents and interviews of civil servants. I analyse what kind of *epistemic logics*, norms related to knowledge and knowing (cf. Jasanoff 2005, *civic epistemologies*), were constructed through this process of adoption of EBPM, and how these logics were legitimated, partly unsuccessfully. My approach offers new theoretical and methodological insights on the topic.

AI Bias and Policymaking: Extending Lobbying Theory to Large Language Models

Mika Vehka & Juho Vesa

According to exchange- and resource-dependence theories of lobbying, a firm's capacity to shape public policy is contingent upon its possession of exchangeable resources needed by public decision-makers. For instance, large, economically robust, internationally operating firms—and those concentrated in specific industries or possessing distinctive political resources—enjoy disproportionate influence in public policymaking. We extend this scholarship to the domain of generative artificial intelligence and large language models (LLMs), which are increasingly deployed for policy advice, formulation, and governance. Specifically, we examine whether the structural determinants that generate asymmetries in firms' political influence also manifest as systematic biases within large LLMs. Based on theorizing that the policy views of more visible and politically more powerful firms are better reflected in the training data of LLMs also, we formulate two testable propositions: (1) LLMs simulations of corporations' political positions is biased towards positions of larger and more politically prominent firms; and (2) the policy recommendations generated by these models align more closely with the policy preferences articulated by such firms. We test these propositions by utilizing survey data on corporate policy positions. Our methodology incorporates local LLM simulations of corporate policy stances derived from register and survey data, alongside the generation of bias scores for LLM policy proposals based on recent literature.

21. Gender, militarism and war-preparedness across the Nordics

B4119

Puheenjohtajat/chairs: Noora Kotilainen & Leena Vastapuu

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Militarisation of the everyday in contemporary Finland

Lotta Kivelä

Recent events in the global political environment have elevated military security as a growing concern in democratic states. Alongside rising military expenditures, military practices, values, and symbols are increasingly normalised through a process understood as militarisation. Given this context, the PhD research asks how and why militarisation manifests in Finland during peacetime, while also comparing the dynamics with broader global political positions of democratic middle powers.

Drawing on feminist international relations and critical military studies, this research focuses on militarism that permeates everyday life. The militarisation of the everyday can appear in the spread of defence logic into civilian governance, the use of militaristic language in media, and in the ideas of duty and sacrifice as a civic responsibility.

This study has three objectives. Firstly, militarism is conceptualised as an ideological system, rather than a purely materialistic way to measure military power. Secondly, the research maps how militarisation occurs outside of its traditional domains and looks for causal explanations with methods of process tracing, institutional analysis and critical discourse analysis. Thirdly, the research focuses on bottom-up experiences of militarism and investigates the effects on civic identities, inequalities and insecurities.

Challenging Western Heroic Militarized Masculinities

Laura-Kaisa Välimäki

Militarization is a process in which military values, beliefs, and practices become increasingly prominent. The logic of militarization is also gendered: for instance, a straightforward connection is often assumed between men, masculinity, and warfare. The concept of militarized masculinity allows this connection to be questioned. My dissertation examines how the production of heroic Western militarized masculine identities is discursively challenged. I explore how figures typically perceived as embodying heroic militarized masculinity, and the

representational practices surrounding them, can also be read as exhibiting traits that may be understood as, for example, feminine, non-heterosexual, or villainous. The research material consists of contemporary visual and audiovisual content, including news images, videos from key military actors (such as NATO and the United States Armed Forces), and superhero films. Methodologically, I apply discourse analysis, semiotic analysis, and content analysis – each informed by queer curiosity. Theoretically, I draw on feminist and queer approaches in International Relations and Critical Military Studies. The aim is to problematize, diversify, and deconstruct understandings of Western militarized masculinities as uniform, overtly masculine, and inherently heroic identities. In doing so, the study contributes to and strengthens existing critical scholarship.

Keywords: discourse, identity, militarized masculinity, queer

Military Threat Perceptions and Security Elites in Finland and NATO post-1945

Vilma-Lotta Pajala

Recent changes in the global security environment have increased the influence of military threat perceptions in politics and further in society. Consequently, as we move even further into what Cynthia Enloe calls the patriarchal time zone, the power held and exercised by security elites and military institutions increases as well. A timely question to ask is how are these military threat perceptions constructed, justified, and eventually articulated to the public, and by whom?

This dissertation examines forms of military power in Finland and NATO from post-1945 era to present day through the processes of construction, justification, and public articulation of military threat perceptions. I also analyze changes and continuities in security elites holding, exercising, and distributing military power. This research draws on critical security and military studies, and elite studies approaches.

By asking these questions, the objective of this research is to first study both Finland and NATO's military ideologies, especially how different military threat perceptions have shaped them. Second, I aim to uncover different forms of power security elites exercise, and how these elites relate to military power. Thirdly, the dissertation will produce knowledge on the exceptional role militaristic values hold in Finnish and other NATO societies.

Challenging militarised masculinity: Conscientious objectors navigating gendered militarism in Finland

Myungjin Moon

Conscientious objection remains underexplored in scholarship on the intersections of war, militarism, and masculinities, despite its potential to unsettle dominant gendered logics of

militarisation. This paper examines how militarised masculinity operates within the Finnish context – a nation often perceived as peaceful and committed to gender equality, yet where male conscription remains tied to Finnish manhood and entangled with gendered expectations. Drawing on in-depth interviews with ten Finnish conscientious objectors, the paper investigates how these individuals position themselves both within and in resistance to hegemonic masculine norms. Their accounts demonstrate how militarised masculinity asserts its hegemony through gendered stigma, particularly via homophobic taunts directed at their refusal. Concurrently, their reflections on the potential heroic connotations linked to refusal highlight how their anti-militarist narratives not only destabilise the dominance of militarised masculinity but also point to the emergence of alternative masculinities oriented toward gender equality. By illuminating how their ambivalent positionality – whose masculinities are subordinated yet benefit from male privilege – engages with the military and militarism, the paper contributes to understandings of masculinities beyond associations with violence. It offers a nuanced perspective on gendered militarism and resistance to it in a context increasingly shaped by militarisation and NATO alignment.

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Militarization of a military reality TV show Erikoisjoukot [Special Forces]

Saara Särmä

The genre of military reality TV show is an understudied field of popular culture in IR and at least in Finland the genre has been gaining popularity in recent years. Military reality shows are militarized by default, as they take military education as their starting point, but the intensity of militarization can vary within the seasons of a show or from show to show. In this paper, I examine the Finnish military reality Erikoisjoukot [Special forces] which is modeled after the British SAS Who dares wins format. Through a content analysis I expose how militarization intensifies by bringing on more and more militaristic elements as the show proceeds from season 2 to season 5. Furthermore, through a comparison to another military reality, I examine how the features of bodily and emotional control are exceptional in this format.

Home/Base – Militarism entering the home

Leena Vastapuu

Setting up a military base requires substantial material, logistical, and human resources. In addition, it demands a community that is willing to embrace both the expected and unexpected changes that a new military presence may entail. These transformations are never gender-neutral: they reshape everyday routines, local economies, and human and more-than-human

relations in ways that reflect and often reproduce militarised and traditional gender roles and expectations.

In this paper, I present preliminary findings from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Mikkeli, Finland, in 2026, where NATO's Multi-Corps Land Component Command was recently established. Operational since September 2025, the HQ is tasked with planning, preparing, and commanding NATO's land forces in Northern Europe. Drawing on Feminist International Relations scholarship, and in particular Linda Åhäll's conceptualisation of the "dance of militarisation", the paper examines militarisation as a multilayered process that is performed through gendered labour.

The paper has three main focuses: 1) Understanding how the local population in Mikkeli perceives the presence of the new NATO HQ; 2) Providing a feminist analysis of how war preparedness unfolds in the everyday through gendered expectations and labour; and analysing militarisation as an ongoing dance in which military actors, civilian communities, and more-than-human relations enable, shape and resists its rhythms and movements within and around the 'home.'

The emotional regime in Finnish politics following Russia's war of aggression

Johanna Vuorelma & Noora Kotilainen

This article examines the emotional regime in the Finnish parliament following Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine. As Reddy (2001, 124; 129) argues, 'any enduring political regime must establish as an essential element a normative order for emotions, an "emotional regime"'. We argue that Russia's war of aggression activated a strict emotional regime in the Finnish parliament because it brought to the surface historical traumas connected both to national memory and to family experiences. To analyse this, we interviewed MPs from eight political parties (N=13) in March–April 2022 and utilised a set of public statements by MPs from the same period. To identify the essential elements of the emotional regime, we mapped the shared normative emotions in our data. Our findings suggest that six elements formed the emotional regime in the Finnish parliament: (1) difficult emotions such as fear and shock were not socially sanctioned but expected to be followed by determination and calmness; (2) hatred towards Russia's regime was socially accepted; (3) empathy towards Ukraine was expected because Finland has experienced similar events in the past; (4) the war was sensed beforehand; (5) foreign policy decisions ought to be based on evidence rather than emotions; and (6) rationality and emotions can be clearly separated from one another.

Perjantai/Friday 9.00–10.30

Home, care and everyday life in military museums: Proposal for the Political Science Days panel “Gender, militarism and war preparedness across the Nordics”

Minna Lyytikäinen & Emma Rosengren

Finland and Sweden have undergone rapid and publicly visible processes of militarization in recent years. While much scholarly attention has focused on policy shifts and defence cooperation, less is known about how these transformations are experienced and responded to through national memory practices. This paper explores the blurry distinction between civilian life and militarization by approaching military museums in Finland and Sweden as sights for meaning-making about national heritage and security in relation to the past, the present, and the future. Drawing on feminist International Relations and critical memory studies, the paper argues that museums function not only as sites of remembrance but as affective infrastructures that contribute to the normalisation of prolonged war readiness and the legitimate use of military violence. Focusing on spatial design, visual and textual narratives, and curatorial choices, the paper explores how museums mobilise ideas of home, care, and everyday life to narrate past wars in ways that speak to present security anxieties. The comparative perspective highlights both shared Nordic patterns and context-specific differences in how militarisation is framed and felt. At the same time, differences in history, geopolitics and society result in significant diversity within our small sample.

‘Prepared People Cope Better’ – Feminist Reflections on the Nexus of Militarization, Gender and the Domestic

Sina J. Krämer & Meeri Tiensuu

In November 2024, Finland published a guide for citizens and households to prepare for ‘extraordinary events.’ This initiative places preparedness within the domestic sphere and thus, links it intimately with Finnish national security discourse. Through an iterative, reflective and dialogic analytical process, we explore how preparedness operates in the Guide and how it interacts with existing power structures. Although the proposed practices of the Guide may appear harmless, in this article we argue that the guide infiltrates the domestic sphere by relying on gendered unpaid domestic labour division, a patriarchal organisation of society, and thus, normalizes militaristic logics and mindsets in the everyday.

This paper offers a critical feminist lens to Finland’s evolving preparedness landscape, with a particular focus on the above-mentioned Preparedness Guide. The aims of this paper are twofold: First, it adds to feminist conversations on militarization in the Nordics; and second, it gives visibility to the preparedness work that often remains unseen and undervalued. Furthermore, we explore feminist alternatives to the dominant understandings of preparedness and engage in feminist imaginaries rooted in care in times of rising militarization.

23. Kilpailuvaltiosta turvallisuusvaltioon: valtion muuttuva rooli eri aikakausina

B3033

Puheenjohtaja/chair: Johanna Vuorelma

Torstai/Thursday 13.30–15.30

Kokonaisturvallisuus kilpailuvaltiossa

Heikki Sirviö

Esityksessäni muotoilen argumentin, jonka mukaan uusliberaali kilpailuvaltio on rakenteellisesti heikko turvallisuuden tuottaja. Kytken tarkastelun Suomen kokonaisturvallisuuden malliin ja niihin vaikeuksiin, joita sen käytännön toteuttamisessa on ilmennyt 2020-luvulla. Kokonaisturvallisuus edellyttää valtion toimintakykyä, institutionaalista koordinaatiota sekä kansalaisten luottamusta ja osallisuuden kokemusta. Kilpailuvaltion toimintalogiikassa valtion tehtäviksi tulkitaan kansainvälisen kilpailukyvyyn vahvistaminen, julkisen sektorin tehostaminen ja palveluiden markkinaehtoistaminen. Tämän seurauksena turvallisuus ymmärretään kapeasti sotilaalliseksi puolustukseksi tai kriisinhallinnaksi samalla kun alueellinen ja sosiaalinen koheesio rapautuvat. Analysoin teoreettisesti, miten valtiomuutos hyvinvointivaltiosta kilpailuvaltioksi vaikuttaa kokonaisturvallisuuden edellytyksiin. Lisäksi pyrin tunnistamaan empiirisiä tutkimuskohteita, joiden avulla voidaan tarkastella julkisten palveluiden vetäytymisen, alueellisen eriytymisen ja poliittisen luottamuksen muutosten seurauksia. Tutkimusidean tavoitteena on valaista valtion, alueiden ja kansalaisten suhteen uudelleenmuotoutumista 2020-luvun geopolitiisessä murroksessa.

Valtio, metsät ja yhteiskuntarauha Suomessa 1900–2000

Kati Katajisto

Valtio on käsitteenä tunnetusti erittäin vaikea määritellä. Valtiota voi lähestyä tutkimuksessa normatiivisesti, empiirisesti, tarkastellen ulkoisia tai sisäisiä tekijöitä valtiota muokkaavina voimina tai painottaen sattumanvaraisia tai suunnitelmallisia lähtökohtia (Pierson 2011). Tässä paperissa valtiota lähestytään näkökulmasta, joka on ollut erittäin keskeinen Suomen valtion kehityksessä ja muutoksessa, nimittäin metsien ja yhteiskuntarauhan kautta. Monelle nykyajan ihmiselle saattaa tulla yllätyksenä, että metsien yksityisomistus on Suomessa suhteellisen nuori ilmiö. Nykypäivän hyvin kärjistyneessä ja ristiriitoja herättävässä metsäpolitiisessa keskustelussa on hyvä muistaa, että metsiä koskevia ratkaisuja on aikaisemminkin tehty erittäin haastavissa ja yhteiskunnallisesti vielä vaikeammassakin oloissa. Paperissa käsitellään

sitä, miten aiemmin metsäpolitiikan keskeiset linjat soviteltiin ja neuvoteltiin nyt jo historiaan jääneen instituution, valtion komitealaitoksen, avulla (Lindroos & Ruohonen 2007, 68). Komitealaitos kuului vielä muutama vuosikymmen sitten suomalaisen lainvalmistelun ydininstituutioihin. Komiteoiden, eli ministeriöiden linjaorganisaation ulkopuolisten sivuelinten, kautta päätöksentekoon oli mahdollista tuoda mukaan laaja kirjo asianosaisia, näkökulmia ja asiantuntemusta, jotka täydensivät virkakoneiston omia rajallisia resursseja. Komiteoihin osallistamisen kautta luotiin yhteiskunnallista inklusiota, kanavoitiin yhteiskunnallisia muospaineita konkreettiseen päätöksentekoon sekä tarjottiin areena kuulemisille ja kompromissien rakentamiselle (Rainio-Niemi 2022; Katajisto ja Rainio-Niemi 2025). Tutkimus pureutuu siihen, miten komiteainstituutio toimi osallistavana ja eri intressiryhmiä sitovana neuvottelu- ja päätöksentekoalustana ja mitkä olivat ne mekanismit, jotka mahdollistivat konsensuksen ja kompromissien rakentamisen komiteoissa – ja miten ne vertautuvat nykykäytäntöihin ja -olosuhteisiin.

Etäisyyden politiikka ja valtiosuhteen muutos Suomessa

Johanna Vuorelma & Mattias Lehtinen

Kehitämme paperissamme moniulotteista etäisyyden politiikan käsitettä. Käsitteen avulla tarkastelemme, kuinka territoriaalista epätasaisuutta hallitaan kansallisvaltiossa. Nojaamme Henri Lefebvren tilan sosiaalisen tuotannon teoriaan sekä hallintamentaliteettia koskevaan aluepoliittiseen tutkimukseen jäsentääksemme etäisyyden politiikkaa tekniikkana, jonka kautta valtio tuottaa ja ylläpitää yhteenkuuluvuutta. Emme ymmärrä etäisyyttä ainoastaan fyysisenä kategoriana vaan myös valtasuhteiden tuottamana vaikutuksena, jonka taustalla on valtiovallan toimeenpanemien hallinnollisten, infrastruktuuristen, juridisten ja taloudellisten mekanismien kirjo. Valtiovallan toimenpiteiden kautta etäisyyden politiikka näyttäytyy myös koettuna ja elettyinä ilmiönä erityisesti sen kohteena olevien kansalaisten näkökulmasta. Sovellamme teoreettista lähestymistapaamme etäisyyden politiikan tarkasteluun Suomessa. Esitämme paperissamme, että metropolivaltiovaiheen muutos etäisyyden politiikassa tuottaa vallankäytön muodon, jossa etäisyyttä hallinnoidaan muun muassa valikoivan vetäytymisen ja investointien purkamisen kautta. Tällä on vaikutuksia kansalaisten kokemuksiin valtiosta ja julkisesta vallasta. Kun metropolivaltion etäisyyden hallintalogiikka vaikuttaa kansalaisten ja valtion suhteeseen periferioissa, syntyy ambivalentteja tapoja kokea ja jäsentää yhteenkuuluvuutta valtioon. Etäisyyden politiikka tarjoaa näin linssin, jonka kautta voi tarkastella alueellisen epätasa-arvon, polarisaation ja muiden politiikan tutkimuksen näkökulmasta relevanttien territoriaalisten ilmiöiden lisäksi myös yksilön ja valtion välistä suhdetta ja sen muutoksia.

24. Kansallinen ja kansainvälinen kriminaalipolitiikka

B4114

Puheenjohtaja/chair: Tatu Hyttinen

Torstai/Thursday 16.30–18.00

Valtionjohtajan rikosvastuu

Lauri Luoto

Berliinin muurin murtumista ja Neuvostoliiton hajoamista seurannut usko liberaalin demokratian väistämättömään voittokulkuun on haihtunut 2000-luvun kuluessa. Nykyisin elämme autoritaaristen johtajien uutta nousukautta eri puolilla maailmaa. Rikosoikeudellisesta näkökulmasta on jälleen valitettavan tarpeellista pohtia, miten valtiojohtaja voi olla vastuussa rikoksista, jotka hän tekee valtiokoneistoa apunaan käyttäen. Kysymys kuului rikosoikeuden keskeisimpiin toisen maailmansodan jälkeisessä maailmassa, ja nyt sitä koskevat teoriat ovat taas ajankohtaisempia kuin kertaakaan kylmän sodan päättymisen jälkeen. Alustuksessa tehdään katsaus erilaisiin teorioihin valtiojohtajan rikosvastuusta ja pohditaan, soveltuvatko teoriat edelleen 2020-luvun maailmassa

Rikosoikeustutkimuksen metodologia ja kriminaalipoliittinen orientaatio

Jani Hannonen

Oikeustieteen keskeisin kysymys on, mitä oikeuden tulisi olla (Smits 2012). Tämä eroaa perinteisestä käytännöllisen lainopin mielenkiinnon kohteesta eli voimassa olevan oikeuden sisällöstä. Tapio Lappi-Seppälän (1997) mukaan rikosoikeustutkimuksen leimallinen piirre on kriminaalipoliittinen orientaatio. Kriminaalipoliittiseksi luonnehdittava rikosoikeustutkimus kattaa kaiken tutkimuksen, jolla pyritään vaikuttamaan tai osallistumaan yhteiskunnalliseen päätöksentekoon, suunnitteluun, linjausten muotoiluun tai käytäntöihin. Määritelmä kattaa myös teoreettisen lainopin, jota usein kuvataan kriminaalipoliittisesti latautuneeksi tai kriminaalipoliittisesti orientoituneeksi (Tapani 2004). Työryhmän alustuksessa tarkastellaan teoreettisen rikoslainopin metodologisia perusteita. Mihin arvopohjaan rikosoikeustieteilijä ankkuroi omat tulkintasuosituksensa ja millaisia metodologisia perussitoumuksia rikosoikeudessa tehdään?

The Political Ontology of the Criminal Law's Person

Esko Yli-Hemminki

This chapter of my book manuscript examines how political and moral values shape the ontology of the Criminal Law's Person (CLP). I argue that the CLP is ultimately a legal fiction: a constructed and often mistaken view of human nature whose assumptions were selected to serve societal aims rather than to reflect scientific or metaphysical reality. By distinguishing law's internal perspective from the external viewpoints of empirical science and metaphysics, the chapter shows how the CLP can be analysed both for its internal contradictions – arising from conflicting legal aims – and for its external shortcomings when compared with scientific representations of the human individual. I explain how political decision-making determines the perspectives and properties attributed to the CLP, even when these properties selectively borrow from scientific models, such as in doctrines of mental incapacity. Because criminal law relies on multiple, sometimes incompatible perspectives on the person, CLP becomes a partial and distorted representation of reality – neither a true metaphysical subject nor a coherent scientific one. The chapter clarifies the relationships among CLPs, scientific representations (SR), and the individual in reality (IoR), and sets out the analytical framework used later in the thesis to evaluate CLP's perspectives and properties from both internal and external points of view.

Vankien siirron ja maasta poistaminen oikeudelliset edellytykset ja käytännön haasteet

Kirsikka Ruonala

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan ulkomaalaisten vankien siirtämisen ja maasta poistamisen oikeudellisia reunaehtoja sekä vankien siirtämiseen ja maasta poistamiseen liittyvän viranomaistyön käytännön haasteita.

Rikos- ja ulkomaalaisyhteistyön kysymysten lisäksi tutkimusaiheeseen liittyy keskeisesti teemaan liittyvät perus- ja ihmisoikeusnäkökulmat. Oikeudellisen analyysin keskiössä ovatkin kansallisen sääntelyn lisäksi vankien siirtämistä ja maasta poistamista koskevat Suomea sitovat kansainväliset velvoitteet. Eräs keskeinen kansainvälinen ihmisoikeusvelvoite on niin sanottu palautuskiellon periaate, jonka luomia reunaehtoja hankkeessa tarkastellaan.

Rikoksesta tuomittujen maasta poistamisen käytännöt ja mahdollisuudet vaihtelevat maittain. Tarkoituksena on analysoida vankien siirtoa tilanteissa, jossa vastaanottava maa on vastahakoinen ottamaan vastaan vankeusrangaistusta kärsivää kansalaistaan. Lisäksi tarkastellaan muun muassa laajempien kahdenvälisen vanginsiirtosopimusten hyötyjä ja haittoja.