



Principal investigator of research

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| Applicant Heikki Paloheimo | Sex Male | Date of birth 07.03.1946 | Nationality Finland |
| Site of research and department University of Tampere, 0155668-4 , Political Science and International Relations | Present position Professor emeritus | | |
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| | Telephone, other (03) 3551 6552 | | |
| Centre of Excellence | | | |
| Strategic Centre for Science, Technology and Innovation | | Affiliated with a Strategic Centre for Science, Technology and Innovation No | |
| Doctoral programme | | | |
| Ethical permit | | | |

Project to be reported on

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| Applicant Heikki Paloheimo | Site of research and department University of Tampere, 0155668-4 , Political Science and International Relations | | |
| Call Yleiset tutkimusmäärärahat. 11.01.2010 - 03.02.2010 00:00 | Research Council Research Council for Culture and Society | | |
| Research topic/Project title Poliittinen valta Suomessa: Analyysi valtiollisen tason instituutioista ja toimijoista | | | |
| Funding period 01.01.2011 - 31.12.2014 | Funding granted 550 001 € | Realised costs 360 278 € | |

Reported data

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|----------------------------|--------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Project funding | | | | | |
| Academy of Finland | | | 550001 | | |
| Own organisation | | | 0 | | |
| Foundation | | | 0 | | |
| Tekes | | | 0 | | |
| Ministry | | | 0 | | |
| EU | | | 0 | | |
| Enterprise | | | 0 | | |
| Other | | | 0 | | |
| Amount | | | 550001 | | |
| Research personnel | | | | | |
| Name | Sex | Nationality | Year of birth | Research career stage | FTEs (months) |
| Niemi Mari | Female | Finland | 1974 | Postgraduate student | 14.0 |
| Hottinen Jari | Male | Finland | 1965 | Assisting personnel | 10.0 |
| Isaksson Guy-Erik | Male | Finland | 1953 | Researcher | 15.0 |
| Murto Eero | Male | Finland | 1955 | Researcher | 10.0 |
| Mahkonen Jutta | Female | Finland | 1974 | Assisting personnel | 3.0 |
| Karvonen Lauri | Male | Finland | 1952 | Professor | 12.0 |
| Bengtsson von Schoultz Åsa | Female | Sweden | 1973 | Professor | 6.0 |
| Koskimaa Vesa | Male | Finland | 1981 | Postgraduate student | 12.0 |
| Mattila Maija | Female | Finland | 1980 | Postgraduate student | 6.0 |
| Paloheimo Heikki | Male | Finland | 1946 | Professor | 12.0 |
| Raunio Tapio | Male | Finland | 1969 | Professor | 12.0 |
| Ruostetsaari Ilkka | Male | | 1958 | Professor | 12.0 |



| Mobility | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Name | Duration (months) | From | To |
| Niemi Mari | 18.0 | Finland, University of Tampere | United Kingdom, University of Strachlyde |

| Degrees | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|
| Name | Year of degree | Degree | Funding percentage |
| Niemi Mari | 2014 | Doctor | 33 |

Presentation of results

The development of the core areas of political life in Finland – party politics and institutional relations – cannot be understood except against the background of general change in Finnish society and in Finland’s international position. In both these areas, the magnitude and rapidity of change have been remarkable; the transformation itself appears rather unexpected given the previous conditions that largely determined the nature of political life in Finland.

Finland gradually developed from a highly conflict-prone society to a much more consensual polity. The intensity of social and political conflict dated back to the civil war immediately after Finland’s independence. The revolutionary wing of the socialist movement was strong in Finland, and the nearness of Soviet-Russia also increased the fear and hostility towards socialism among the bourgeois circles. From the 1960s on, however, new ideas of conflict resolution emerged. According to this line of thought conflicts form a natural part of a pluralist society. We cannot solve conflicts once and for all, but we can manage them in various ways and thus foster social cohesion. This cultural change paved the way for a more orderly process of corporatist interest intermediation. A system of basically Scandinavian-style corporatist incomes policy was introduced in the late 1960s. In the 1970s it was institutionalized in the form of tripartite negotiations between the central labour market organizations and the government at regular intervals. This cooperation made the systematic and planned development of the Finnish welfare state possible.

As political parties became engaged as important participants in the effort to expand the welfare state, a more consensus-prone culture emerged also in the party system. The cleavage between socialist and bourgeois parties diminished when left-wing socialists and communists, too, committed themselves to parliamentary democracy, and right-wing parties became more tolerant towards a benevolent, relatively large welfare state. As a result, both the coalition capacity and coalition elasticity of political parties increased. The life span of cabinets increased. Up until the 1970s, minority coalitions and caretaker cabinets were common, and the average life span of cabinets was no more than one year. From the 1980s onwards, all cabinets have been majority coalitions, and in most cases they have remained in office over the whole electoral term. One feature of consensus-seeking in Finnish politics is that since 1987 all Finnish governments have been surplus coalitions, although two of them (the cabinets led by Aho in 1994 and Stubb in 2014), as a result of internal disagreements, have ended their tenures as minimal winning coalitions. In a situation like this, political parties have been willing to strengthen the parliamentary features of the political system at the expense of the powers of the president.

Equally crucial, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 radically changed the context of Finnish foreign policy, indeed Finnish politics at large. It made possible the abandonment of personalized presidential leadership in foreign policy and created opportunities for an expanded co-operation with Western nations. In 1995 Finland joined the European Union (EU). This decision boosted demands to reduce the powers of the president, and to make cabinet responsible for national EU policy. In the 1990s amendments were made to the constitution that enlarged the powers of the government and parliament at the expense of the president. On a more general level, the demise of the Soviet Union marked the definite disappearance of a factor that had conditioned parliamentary politics and inter-party relations since the Second World War.

In 2000, a totally new constitution entered into force. It codified amendments made to the old constitution in the 1990s, and reduced the powers of the president even further. From 2000 onwards, the Finnish political system is essentially a parliamentary system where the president’s powers are confined to foreign policy conducted jointly with the cabinet.

When the new constitution was drafted political elites were much more eager to reduce presidential powers than ordinary citizens. In fact, after the new constitution had entered into force, a majority of the adult population thought that the reduction of the prerogatives of the president had gone too far.

Foreign policy is typically not a top issue in Finnish parliamentary elections. However, in the 2015 parliamentary election campaign foreign policy questions were more prominent than ever since 1962 (that had been an election marked by a crisis in Finnish-Soviet relations). This kind of discussion creates leeway for the president to take a more active leadership role in foreign affairs.

In the period covered by this project, parties as organizations have expanded, peaked and declined. From the 1960s to the 1980s political parties, also liberal and conservative parties, increasingly adopted organizational models and working styles typical of mass parties. Figures on party membership displayed a marked increase, and the role of extra-parliamentary party grew at the expense of the parliamentary party. From the 1980s onwards, the role of extra-parliamentary party organizations has declined.

A marked change in the role of the media in the political process has taken place since the 1980s. Party newspapers and public broadcasting have lost their previously predominant position. Politicians increasingly meet their public through the media while the traditional role of extra-parliamentary parties in this intermediation has declined. Media have become an important arena of policy-



making.

As a result of the increased coalition elasticity of political parties, a new kind of cabinet coalition became also possible. From the early years of Finnish independence to the 1980s, cabinet coalitions in Finland were closed coalitions on the left-right dimension. Parties in office were adjacent to each other on the left-right scale. Opposition parties were either to the left, to the right or both to the left and to the right of the governing coalition (some small parties in between the coalition parties could remain in opposition). When the cleavage between left-wing parties and right-wing parties lost importance, even coalitions that were open on the left-right dimension became possible. In 1987 Finland had her first coalition government (the Holkeri cabinet) based on co-operation between the Conservatives and the Social Democrats, while the Centre Party remained in opposition. This was the first majority cabinet in Finland without the participation of the Centre Party. After that four cabinets (Lipponen I and II, Katainen, and Stubb) have been open coalitions on the left-right scale. The flexible ideological postures of Finnish parties not only constitute a contrast to an earlier practice; they are also peculiar in an international comparison.

The previously regulated capital markets in Finland were opened to international competition in the 1980s. In 1999 Finland joined the third phase of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). These decisions dramatically changed the context of national economic policy-making. Finland was one of the European nations where devaluations of the national currency had been used frequently to improve the international competitiveness of the export sector. Deficits in the balance of payments had been warning bells for politicians both in the parliamentary and corporatist arena to make decisions that secure the international competitiveness of the economy. In the EMU regime national instruments of economic policy making are limited compared to the years of national currency.

Parallel with the internationalization of the economy, increasingly market-oriented practices at home have had the effect of diminishing the role of the government and thus in fact limited the sphere of political decision-making. While outright privatization is rarer than commonly assumed, public service is increasingly produced outside the public sector itself. Government enterprise increasingly functions similar to private enterprise, and government as shareholder has pursued a strictly market-oriented policy. Citizens are often bewildered by political passiveness in contexts where the government seemingly has superior clout thanks to its role as the main shareholder.

The debate on the need to restrict the rise of public expenditure, to cut public expenditure and cope with the public debt, has brought to the fore the ideological gap between left-wing and right-wing parties

In a comparative perspective, Finnish citizens display a high degree of trust in the central institutions of government and good level of knowledge about politics. Surprisingly enough, their subjective citizen competence is comparatively low; more than citizens in neighbouring West European countries, Finns frequently find politics difficult to understand.



| Publications | | | | |
|--|------|------------------------|--|-------------|
| Reference | Year | Country of publication | Type | Open access |
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| Karvonen, Lauri: Multiple Facets of Democratization, International Studies Review, Volume 13, 2011, 174-179. | 2011 | Foreign | A1. Original scientific article | No |
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| Karvonen, Lauri: Preferential Vote in Party List, ingår i Josep M. Colomer, (red.), Personal representation. The neglected dimension of electoral systems, Colchester 2011: ECPR Press, 119-134. | 2011 | Foreign | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
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| Niemi, Mari K.: Messenger and defender - Timo Soini's populist leadership and media strategies in winning the elections of 2011. Research on Finnish Society, vol. 5, 7-17 (2012). | 2012 | Domestic | A1. Original scientific article | No |
| Niemi, Mari K.: Kun huipulla tuulee. SDP:n, keskustan ja kokoomuksen puheenjohtajavaihdokset 1987-2010. Politiikka, 53: 4, 271-284 (2011). | 2011 | Domestic | A1. Original scientific article | No |



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| Niemi, Mari K.: Kaksi tietä huipulle. Media ja puoluejohtajuus Suomessa naisten noususta populismin aaltoon. Turun yliopiston julkaisuja, sarja C, osa 385. (doctoral thesis) https://www.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/98697/AnnalesC385Mari_K_Niemi.pdf?sequence=2 | 2014 | Domestic | G5. Doctoral Thesis, articles | Yes |
| Murto, Eero. Virkamiesvaltaa? Ministerien ja virkamiesten väliset suhteet Suomessa viime vuosikymmenien aikana. Tampere University Press 2014. 323p. | 2014 | Domestic | C1. Published scientific monograph | No |
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| Paloheimo, Heikki: Poliitiikan pitkät syklit ja poliittisen kentän uusjako. Poliitiikka 56:1, pp. 15-28 | 2014 | Domestic | A1. Original scientific article | No |
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| Auel, Katrin & Raunio, Tapio (2014): Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Journal of Legislative Studies 20:1, 13-28. | 2014 | Foreign | A1. Original scientific article | No |
| Hyvärinen, Anna & Raunio, Tapio (2014): Who Decides What EU Issues Ministers Talk About? Explaining Governmental EU Policy Co-Ordination in Finland. Journal of Common Market Studies 52:5, 1019-1034. | 2014 | Foreign | A1. Original scientific article | No |
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| Raunio, Tapio (2011): Semi-presidentialism and the Dual Executive in EU Affairs: What Can We Learn from the Finnish Experience? In Thomas Persson & Matti Wiberg (eds) Parliamentary Government in the Nordic Countries at a Crossroads: Coping with Challenges from Europeanisation and Presidentialisation. Santérus Academic Press, Stockholm, 301-325. | 2011 | Foreign | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Wiberg, Matti & Raunio, Tapio (2012): The Minor Impact of EU Legislation in Finland. In Sylvain Brouard, Olivier Costa & Thomas König (eds) The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures: The Empirical Implications of the Delors' Myth in Nine Countries. Springer, New York, 59-73. | 2012 | Foreign | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Raunio, Tapio (2012): 'Whenever the EU is involved, you get problems': Explaining the European Policy of The (True) Finns. Sussex European Institute (SEI) Working Paper No 127 & European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) Working Paper No 26, 2012. | 2012 | Foreign | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Raunio, Tapio (2013): The Finns: Filling a Gap in the Party System. In Karsten Grabow & Florian Hartleb (eds) Exposing the Demagogues: Right-wing and National Populist Parties in Europe. Centre for European Studies & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Brussels, 133-160. | 2013 | Foreign | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
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| Hyvärinen, Anna & Raunio, Tapio (2014): Mistä EU-asioista hallitus keskustelee ja kenen aloitteesta? Suomen hallituksen Eurooppa-politiikan koordinaatio vuosina 1995-2012. Poliitiikka 56:2, 87-100. | 2014 | Domestic | A1. Original scientific article | No |
| Raunio, Tapio (2011): Missä EU, siellä ongelma: populistinen Eurooppa-vastaisuus Suomessa. In Matti Wiberg (ed.) Populismi: kriittinen arvio. Edita, Helsinki, 197-220. | 2011 | Domestic | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
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| Raunio, Tapio (2013): Poliittiset järjestelmät. In Tapio Raunio & Juho Saari (eds) Euroopan paras maa? Suomen muuttuva asema Euroopan unionissa. Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 24-39. | 2013 | Domestic | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Raunio, Tapio & Saari, Juho (2013): Euroopan paras maa? In Tapio Raunio & Juho Saari (eds) Euroopan paras maa? Suomen muuttuva asema Euroopan unionissa. Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 160-174. | 2013 | Domestic | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
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| Raunio, Tapio & Saari, Juho (eds.) (2013): Euroopan paras maa? Suomen muuttuva asema Euroopan unionissa. Gaudeamus, Helsinki. | 2013 | Domestic | C2. Edited book, compilation, conference proceeding or special issue of journal | No |
| Raunio, Tapio & Wiberg, Matti (2014): Eduskunta: Kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla. Gaudeamus, Helsinki. | 2014 | Domestic | C2. Edited book, compilation, conference proceeding or special issue of journal | No |
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| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: Suomi murroksessa 1991-2011: Muuttuiko eliittirakenne? Poliittikka 54:4, 269-284, 2012. | 2012 | Domestic | A1. Original scientific article | No |
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| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: Eduskunnan valta ja asema eliittien ja kansalaisten silmin. Teoksessa Raunio, Tapio & Wiberg, Matti (toim.), Eduskunta. Kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla. Helsinki: Gaudeamus 2014, 91-108. | 2014 | Domestic | B2. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: The Changing Influence of the Finnish Parliament since the Early 1990s. Teoksessa Raunio, Tapio & Nurmi, Hannu (toim.), The Serious Game of Politics. Festschrift for Matti Wiberg. Helsinki: Finnish Political Science Association 2014, 177-192. | 2014 | Domestic | B2. Contribution to book/other compilations | No |
| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: Vallan sisäpiirissä. Tampere: Vastapaino 2014. | 2014 | Domestic | C1. Published scientific monograph | No |
| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: Edustuksellisen demokratian kannatus ja sen kipukohdat. Teoksessa Uusi ja vanha demokratia. Eduskunnan tulevaisuusvaliokunnan julkaisu 7/2013. Helsinki: eduskunta, 30-48. | 2013 | Domestic | E1. Popular article, newspaper article | No |
| MAIN REPORT OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT: Karvonen, Lauri, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio (ed.): The Changing Balance of Power in Finnish Political System. Finalized manuscript, 300 pages. To be published in 2015 or 2016. | 2015 | Foreign | C2. Edited book, compilation, conference proceeding or special issue of journal | No |
| Ruostetsaari, Ilkka: Elite Recruitment and Coherence of the Inner Core of Power in Finland. Changing Patterns during the Economic Crises of 1991-2011. Lanham: Lexington Books 2015 (forthcoming). | 2015 | Foreign | C1. Published scientific monograph | No |



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|--|--|---|----------------------------|---|-----|
| Bengtsson, Å. & Christensen, H. S. (2012). Medborgarnas förväntningar på politiskt beslutfattande. I Muutosvaalit 2011. Helsingfors : Justitieministeriet, Finland. | | 2012 | Domestic | A3. Contribution to book/other compilations | Yes |
| http://www.oikeusministerio.fi/fi/index/julkaisut/julkaisuarkisto/162012muutosvaalit2011/Files/OMSO_16_2012_Muutosvaalit_2011_352_s.pdf | | | | | |
| Bengtsson, Å. & Wass, H. (2011). The Representative Roles of MPs : A Citizen Perspective. Scandinavian Political Studies, vol. 34: 2, ss. 143-167. | | 2011 | Foreign | A1. Original scientific article | No |
| Bengtsson, Å. (2012). Citizens' perceptions of political processes : A critical evaluation of consistency and survey items. Revista Internacional de Sociologia, vol. 70: Extra 2, ss. 45-60. | | 2012 | Foreign | A1. Original scientific article | No |
| Invention notifications | | | | | |
| Year | | Amount | | | |
| 2011 | | | | | |
| 2012 | | | | | |
| 2013 | | | | | |
| 2014 | | | | | |
| Patent notifications | | | | | |
| Year | | Amount | | | |
| 2011 | | | | | |
| 2012 | | | | | |
| 2013 | | | | | |
| 2014 | | | | | |
| Communication (other than to the scientific community) | | | | | |
| Year | | Type of communication | Amount | | |
| 2011 | | Newspaper/magazine article or interview | 15 | | |
| 2012 | | Newspaper/magazine article or interview | 15 | | |
| 2013 | | Newspaper/magazine article or interview | 15 | | |
| 2014 | | Newspaper/magazine article or interview | 15 | | |
| Project impacts | | | | | |
| <p>Members of the research program have contributed in political life for instance in the following ways:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - expert statements to the constitutional committee of the Finnish Parliament - presentatations in seminars organized by political parties, ministries and the Finnish Parliament - expert evaluation of the programme of government's democracy policy to the Ministry of Justice <p>Main report of the research project has been written in English. It will be a valuable volume for foreign scholars giving information on the changing balance of power in Finnish political system.</p> <p>The research team is also writing an edited volume in Finnish language. It gives Finnish speaking readers up today analyses on the changing balance of power in Finnish political system. It can be used in political science curriculums at the universities as well as in adult education centres. The book gives theoretically relevant empirical analyses for civic discussions and analyses on the functioning of Finnish democracy.</p> | | | | | |
| Project collaborators | | | | | |
| Organisation | | Country | Type of organisation | Field of research | |
| Form of cooperation | | | Description of cooperation | | |
| Keywords | | | | | |
| Poliittinen valta Suomessa Political power in Finland | | | | | |
| Field of research | | | | | |
| 1. Political science | | | | | |
| 2. Public administration | | | | | |
| 3. Law | | | | | |
| 4. Journalism | | | | | |
| 5. History | | | | | |



Public description

Suomen poliittisen järjestelmän valtarakenteet ovat muuttuneet kuluneen 40 vuoden aikana. Sekä ulkoiset että sisäiset tekijät ovat edistäneet näitä valtarakenteiden muutoksia. Ulkoisista tekijöistä tärkeimpiä ovat Neuvostoliiton romahtaminen, Suomen liittyminen Euroopan unioniin ja maamme integroituminen avoimeen kansainväliseen markkinatalouteen. Sisäisinä tekijöinä valtarakenteiden muutoksiin ovat vaikuttaneet vahvaan presidentinvaltaan kohdistuva kritiikki presidentti Kekkonen presidenttikauden jälkeen, vuonna 2000 voimaan tullut uusi perustuslaki, poliittisen kulttuurin muutos konfliktihakuisesta konsensushakuisen politiikkaan, kansalaisten vaali- ja puolueosallistumisen vähentyminen ja siihen liittyvä puolueiden järjestötoiminnan heikentyminen. Puolueiden koalitiokapasiteetti on lisääntynyt. Ei-poliittisen median merkitys poliittisen julkisuuden areenana on vahvistunut. Työmarkkinoiden keskitetty päätöksentekojärjestelmä on joutunut sopeutumaan aikaisempaa avoimempaan talouteen.

Power structures of the Finnish political system have changed during the last 40 years. Both external and internal factors have contributed to these changes. Among the external factors were the collapse of the Soviet Union, Finnish membership in the European Union and the ongoing integration to the open international economy. Among the internal factors were criticism towards the strong powers of the president after the long tenure of president Urho Kekkonen, new constitution that came into force in 2000, cultural changes in the political culture from a conflict-prone to a more consensus-prone culture, decline in the party and electoral participation, and the following decline in the activities of extra-parliamentary parties. The coalition capacity of political parties has increased. The role of non-partisan media in politics has increased. The system of centralized interest intermediation of the labour market has been stressed due to the openness of the economy.