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PUBLIC DISCOUSRE ON ARCTIC POLICIES IN FINLAND 2010-2013.

RHETORICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC OPINION

TOWARDS ARCTIC DEVELOPMENT

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Tiivistelmä:

Arktinen alue houkuttelee huomiota niin itse Arktisella alueella kuin muuallakin. Arktisen alueen kehittämiseen tähtäävä politiikka on ajankohtainen aihe niin valtioiden ohjelmissa kuin julkisessa keskustelussa. Julkista keskustelua ja mielipidettä ei perinteisesti pidetä erityisen vaikuttavana asiana valtion politiikkaan. Julkinen keskustelu voi kuitenkin lopulta nostaa asioita esille niin, että ne päätyvät hallituksen ajamiin ohjelmiin. Julkinen keskustelu heijastaa sitä, miten yleisö suhtautuu asioihin. Julkista suhtautumista Suomen Arktiseen politiikkaan on tutkittu vähän. Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa osoitetaan että Suomen mahdollisuuksiin Arktisella alueella suhtaudutaan innostuneesti, mutta epäillään politiikan toimeenpanon onnistumista. Julkinen keskustelu heijastaa Suomen geopoliittista asemaa sekä vähäistä valtaa vaikuttaa Arktisen alueen kehittämiseen. Julkista keskustelua Suomen Arktisestä politiikasta on, joka kuitenkin näyttäytyy vain osassa Suomen Arktisen strategian aiheista. Alueellinen ja taloudellinen kehitys yhdessä laivanrakennusteollisuuden kanssa on enemmän esillä keskustelussa kuin esimerkiksi alkuperäiskansoihin tai ympäristönsuojeluun liittyvät asiat. Julkinen keskustelu heijastaa alueellista painotusta valtion politiikasta ja sen onnistumista sekä epäonnistumista.

Avainsanat: Arktinen politiikka, geopolitiikka, Suomi, pieni valtio, julkinen mielipide, retorinen diskurssianalyysi

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Summary:

The Arctic region attracts much attention not only in the Arctic itself, but also elsewhere. Within the Arctic region, policies that deal with Arctic development are a relevant topic both in government policies and public discourse. Public discourse and opinions are traditionally seen not to affect notably state's policies. However, Public discourse may eventually bring up a matter so that it ends up on the government's policy agenda. Public discourse reflects how certain issues are regarded within the general public. Research into how public opinion views the Finnish Arctic policies has been studied very little. In this master's thesis it has been shown that enthusiasm on Arctic opportunities and doubt on the Finnish implementation process appear in public discourse about the Arctic. Public discourse reflect the geopolitical position of Finland but also its lack of power to influence Arctic development. Public discourse about the Arctic policies exist, but appears more on some themes instead of all themes described in the Finnish Arctic strategies. The results indicate that regional and economic development of the Arctic along with shipbuilding industry attracts more discourse than the issues of indigenous peoples' or environmental protection. Public discourse reflects regional emphases on state policies and their successes and failures.

Keywords: Arctic policy, geopolitics, Finland, small state, public opinion, rhetoric discourse analysis

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1 Introduction

The idea for my research rises from my interest in Finnish Arctic politics and especially Finland's peculiar and challenging role in the Arctic region. Finland is considered an Arctic state, it is a member state of the Arctic Council, it has land areas both north and south of the Arctic Circle, is affected closely by the subarctic climate zone and as a whole is one of the most Arctic states (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 8). Especially after the financial crisis of 2008 the Arctic region has risen as an economic interest and a potential growth engine for the Finnish economy. This was also recognized in the first Finnish Arctic strategy, released in 2010 (ibid. 8). Within the government there is some enthusiasm about the region as well as is within the business sector. However, there hasn't been much talk about public opinion towards Finnish economic endeavours to the Arctic supported by the government. This graduate thesis will be a contribution to this theme by offering new knowledge to the discourse on Finnish Arctic politics by examining public opinion in the printed media towards Finnish Arctic politics and explaining results through theories of geopolitics and context-defined small states.

Finland has been criticised for lack of commitment to Arctic development. For example Terje Meyer (MTV3, 2013) warns that the gap for Finland to join Arctic development is closing, and thus threatens to leave Finland and especially Finnish companies out of the competition for investments in the Arctic region. The government of Finland sees Finland as an important Arctic actor with an active history in international Arctic politics. As it is later discussed, a strong opinion is that there is high worldwide interest towards the development of the Arctic region, and there are always interested actors ready to step in to take another's place.

Public opinion is an important influencing factor in liberal democratic states, where governments have their support monitored in free and fair elections. Also other means of support monitoring devices are usable. Public discourse is one way for the political representatives as well as civil servants to monitor the general opinion towards issued policies. I began my research process with an assumption that public opinion towards Finland engaging in Arctic economic development does have effects in the practiced policies.

At the moment, all eight Arctic states, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States, have published one or more Arctic strategies. For example Finland has two of which the first, published in 2010, is oriented more in foreign relations (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 7) and the second, published in 2013, is more operative with concrete proposals for actions with responsible operators being named (Prime Minister's Office 2013, 7). Also other actors such as the European Union have published their own Arctic policy statement (European Commission 2008). The strategies and policy statements are a clear piece of evidence that the arctic region is increasing interests within states and organizations alike, also outside the geographical Arctic. (Heininen 2012, 5, 13.)

The eight Arctic states can be divided into three groups: large Arctic states are the United States and the Russian Federation, Canada as a medium-sized state and five Nordic states that in the context of the Arctic region can be categorized as small states. Defining a small state is challenging but still useful when the context is clearly limited. In the Arctic region the five Nordic states are by far smaller than the remaining three when measured by population, geographical size or the size of the economy. The role of the small state is interesting and thus will be researched further in this thesis.

The Arctic council has two groups of states: the littoral Arctic states and the other three. Also as members of the Arctic Council, indigenous peoples have their permanent representation in the Council. Observer status has been granted to other states or organisations such as Peoples Republic of China, The International Federation of Red Cross & Red Crescent Societies, and the University of the Arctic. (Arctic Council 2015)

The 2010 Finnish Arctic strategy focuses on six categories, which Heininen and Numminen (2011, 63) divide into four substance sectors: 1. environment, 2. economic activities and know-how, 3. transport and infrastructure and 4. indigenous peoples. It would be interesting to conduct a research focusing on all areas but for now I will focus only on the policies' economic effects and thus, following the above mentioned division, the economic substance sector.

Reasons for this limiting are firstly, the scope would be by far too extent for a master's thesis with all substance areas, and secondly, at the moment research that solely focuses on the economic effects of Arctic policies in small states has not been researched. However, other substance areas will be included whether found necessary and intertwined, but only when it has direct links to the economic aspects in Finnish Arctic policies.

The theoretical perspective of the analysis will follow a combination of new geopolitics and small state policies. Small states can be understood in many terms, but mostly definition of the small state is always defined by the context in where the analysis of the state is done. In this study Finland holds criteria of a small state in the context of the Arctic region. These criteria include less political power, in the sense that Finland has no jurisdiction in the decision-making processes concerning resources in the Arctic Ocean. Also, Finland as state is measured one of the smallest by population and land-area.

Also, defining the small state as an actor in international relations is required. Defining the small state and the differences in policy-making compared to large states is essential as the differences in the ways and ambitions in using different political tools are understandably different. This is also true for strategy-making. In the case of the Arctic region, all Arctic states have their own Arctic strategies or declarations of intents/policies. Defining the special working environment of politically and economically small states is required in order to understand the position of Finland in Arctic politics.

2 Research formation

2.1 Research Assignment

This thesis will give an answer to the following question:

How do Arctic policies of Finland appear in public discourse 2010-2013?

The research assignment starts from the presumption that there is public discourse about the Arctic policies of Finland. With this research I will open up one aspect to discourse on the state of Finnish Arctic politics and Finnish participation in Arctic development. The time frame has been chosen to focus on the era of the first Finnish Arctic strategy, released in October, 2010. The release of the first Finnish Arctic policy statement was crucial in the way that for the first time Finland defines itself as an Arctic state (Heininen 2011, 49). Examining how public discourse in Arctic issues goes on in this age offers insight to how the Arctic region, which had become an important political issue to the government, appeared in public discourse within one Arctic state.

The research assignment draws on editorials and signed opinion posts as a view of public discourse. Editorials are the ground where the newspapers can express its own opinions and comment on daily issues and even try to influence the reader. Signed opinion posts are on the other hand opinions expressed by readers. The post aims to either raise an issue into awareness or comment on issues in the society.

Regarding the research at hand, there are a few background theories that will be discussed. Firstly, geopolitical thinking can be witnessed in public discourse. In addition to geopolitical aspects, the public discourse does reflect a certain small state identity or at least small state position in Arctic politics. The small state in this context is defined more through the amount of power the state has instead of physical or ethnographical properties. It can be said that in the Arctic context, Finland is geopolitically weak with an emphasis to carry out its agenda through the Arctic council and by strengthening the role of the Arctic council in matters about the Arctic Ocean.

2.2 A small state in the Arctic region

The Arctic region is a geographical region in the Northern hemisphere, with elusive geographical borders. Definitions vary from the coastline or the seabed of the Arctic Ocean to the Arctic Circle with other definitions existing as well, such as climate-bound limiting. However the Arctic region is geographically defined, the Arctic political region is defined by the states that are considered as Arctic: These eight states are the Russian Federation, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Sweden and Finland. These states are members of the Arctic Council, which is the main arena for joint cooperation and negotiation in the Arctic region. The Arctic region consists of several smaller regions, such as the Barents Euro-Arctic region, covering the Northern Scandinavia and North-Western Russia.

The eight Arctic states have a substantial division within. The “A5” states are states that have a coastline to the Arctic Ocean, while the other three do not. The coastline is a key feature when discussing jurisdiction to the Arctic Ocean and its seabed. The other three cannot affect matters concerning the Arctic Ocean, even through the Arctic Council. It is from this perspective that the concept of a small state is introduced to the Arctic region. The three non-littoral states are in a situation where they are unable to have effective say on policies concerning exploitation of natural resources or issues of transportation.

However a small state is defined, it is important to recognise that smallness of a state can but should not exclusively be defined through spatial, geographical or population-related characteristics. A more appropriate understanding would be to examine a Keohanean view of the small state within a system. Antola and Lehtimäki present Keohane’s view of the small power as being an understanding of the state’s government where, the state by itself cannot change the system it is part of but can do that through cooperation with other powers. It is also suggested that discourse on small state versus large state discourse has somewhat suffered devaluation as international cooperation through institutions is limiting the power of larger global powers. (Antola and Lehtimäki 2001, 13-14.)

In their research on the EU member states affecting voting behaviour of states Paul Schure and Amy Verdun divide the 27 EU members into three categories: small,

medium-sized and large. The foundation for this division is the amount of voting power each state possesses in the European Council. (Schure and Verdun 2008, 460.) In a similar way, it will be easier to focus on the Arctic states when comparing their size and level of influence, instead of comparing with the total amount of states in a global view.

When taking security of the small state into discussion, the EU is one example where small states have been able to enter a political area of stability, especially when considering small states in Central Eastern Europe. However, Anders Wivel also argues that the development of EU's security agenda has undermined intentions of small EU member-states of remaining in an area of stability. It is argued that the small states in this case would do better to focus on a group of surrounding issues rather than taking on the main agenda driven by large EU states. (Wivel 2005, 408-410.) In the same sense that small states in the EU should focus on selected issues especially concerning security policies, it should be remembered that the Arctic littoral states regard resources in the Arctic region, at least to some point, a security matter concerning energy and economic security of the state (Keil 2014, 179-181). Small states in the Arctic should in the same way avoid direct confrontation and instead focus on affecting the selected issues around exploitation of natural resources in the Arctic.

However, the concept of the small state does hold inner controversies. For example Armstrong and Read (2003, 117) determine in their article that smallness of a state does not automatically dictate difficulties in economic growth. In contrast, although small states might lack political power in international interstate policies, they are more sensitive to changes and needs in the neighbouring economies with a globalising world enhancing these abilities. It has to be noted that the research carried out by Armstrong and Read only take account into states with a population of less than 3 million, making Iceland the only Arctic state eligible into their definition of a small state. (Greenland as an autonomous country within the Kingdom of Denmark with its population of 55 thousand definitely would also be regarded as a small state, but in this context is seen as part of Denmark.) However, regarding previous discussion on the relativity for the definition of the small state it is still plausible to see the findings of Armstrong and Read as being fruitful regarding this thesis. When

applied to the Arctic region, this does imply that the small powers in Arctic politics would be able to adapt more efficiently to the needs of the Arctic economy.

When small and large states interact and cooperate in international politics, economic and political power has significant effects in the results of any actions. It is those states with more power that tend to use that power more often. (Panke 2011, 137.) In the Arctic region the states that possess political power and jurisdiction over the natural resources of the Arctic have already for example in 2008 had a summit where non-littoral states of the Arctic region were excluded. By executing politics that increases the littoral states' power in the Arctic region, the A5 can be seen as possessing the characteristics of strong powers. Overall, the Nordic states can be viewed as small states in the Arctic region. Cela (2012, 64) points out that the small states in the Arctic region have to give in to power imbalance in the Arctic region as their possibilities in influencing international Arctic politics are diminished if larger states such as Russia, the US or Canada decide to leave Arctic co-operational institutions in pursuit of their national interest. The small states in the Arctic region can influence politics best through institutions such as the Arctic Council; therefore they must accept that their possibilities in influencing the politics of the Arctic are smaller.

Analysis of the small state and especially its definitions can vary. Population, size of economy, land-area and level of development can be used to define the small state and with this in mind it is the researcher that should always be able to determine the criteria according to the needs of the research (Maass 2009, 80-81). Also concepts of vulnerability are important when understanding the situation of the small state. Vulnerability causes the small state to have different level of awareness towards international relations.

However, there is understandably some critical discourse in this matter of accepting multiple definitions for the small state, although, it does supply the scientific community with flexibility when it comes to defining the small state. Flexible definitions of the small state do however add inaccuracy to research concerning small states. The World Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat use a pragmatic definition of a small state where smallness is viewed as a population below 1.5 million or slightly higher if endorsed well enough. Another definition that is actually

very interesting in the case of the Arctic region and could be applied is defining the small state through the concept of vulnerability. When having vulnerability as a concept at the core of the definition of the small state, the small state can be isolated from the other states within the international system. Most importantly, also in a geopolitical sense, a vulnerable state is aware of its situation in its context and should act in the political field in a way that is unique to the small state. (Sutton 2011, 150-151.)

Schools of political thought that have been used to study the Arctic region include realism and geopolitics, with the latter most being recent. For example Heininen and Bailes (2012, 18-19) point out that geopolitics is applicable to be used in a study of the Arctic due to the fact that the Arctic is a physical region with actors ranging from private and public corporations to states as well as non-governmental organisations to intergovernmental international organisations. There is much internal dispute over defining geopolitics. However, when put simply, geopolitics is the study of politics where geographical properties are taken into account (Kirby 2000, 52).

Geopolitics includes within it three schools of study: classical, new and critical (Bailes and Heininen 2012, 19). Classical geopolitics, first introduced by Rudolf Kjellen, sees the state as being the main actor within the geographical space. Also the political space seen by traditional geopolitics is more a “fixed stage” rather than a dynamic and complex environment of states and phenomena. (Dodds 2000, 31-32.)

New geopolitics still holds within state-centricity. However, since the end of the Cold War, geopolitical thought has found a new meaning, where, depending on one’s perspective, the world is seen more as a re-shaping ground of globalisation, or a world where states are threatened more by shared transnational threats than others states or yet even as politics concerned with the future of the planet and ultimately the human planet. New geopolitics holds within it many views but when linked with the research on international relations, the new geopolitical thought sees beyond the state borders and recognises the fact that there are other influences that the states are facing, which include worldwide economy and globalisation and transnational phenomena. (Ó Tuathail 1998, 1-2.)

The concept of critical geopolitical research starts from the idea that the existing situation is a product of actions and how power has been used to create different political and geographical contexts. Critical geopolitics as a school of thought takes a different stance by studying and criticising the axiomatic properties of realist and geopolitical hypotheses. (Dodds 2000, 32-33.) Critical geopolitics is able to capture the political power related to geographical knowledge. By linking and studying security, identity and territory, critical geopolitics is a tool for a scholar to contribute in both constructivist and post-structuralist theories. (Moisio and Harle 2010, 454.) Drawing a linkage to the thesis at hand, critical geopolitics would seem seducing as a certain structure reflecting identity can be explained along with spatial properties.

Geopolitical research in relation to realism can be considered a successor in scientific study. In the Post-Cold War era, realism is seen to have failed as the fall of the Soviet Union was not foreseen or even anticipated. Especially structural realism is seen to have failed for the most part. Critical geopolitical thinking is introduced as “a theory of action”, where the focus of the study is in actors operations beyond legally set up borders outside state-society complexes managed by the actor. (Houweling and Amineh 2003, 321, 325).

Critical geopolitics has gathered some critique as being merely anti-geopolitics. Haverluk et al. claim that classical geopolitics should be woken with a more neo-classical perspective. They argue that reviving the use cartography within geopolitics along with classical geopolitics and environmentalism would enable geopolitical researchers to advance beyond present restrictions. Especially, the use of maps should be reinstated as they would offer geopolitical researchers a more profound insight to global conflict and its reasoning. (Haverluk et al. 2014, 21, 23 & 32-33.) In regard of my thesis, this is a noteworthy aspect. For example, public opinion in Finland regarding Finnish Arctic policies is affected by the geographic fact that Finland has no shoreline on the Arctic Ocean. Efficient use of Arctic experience and resilience to climatic conditions does make up, but cannot overrule the non-existence of a shoreline to the Arctic Ocean.

As the world progresses so do theories in political science. Aaltola et al. (2014, 193–195) have made an effort to give tools for analysing the contemporary world order. In their publication the world order is seen to move from post-Cold War territorial

geopolitics into geopolitics of *flows*. This will have its effects in securities of states, namely those of national, economic or energy security issues. The report inclines on the interconnectedness of the world where international flows can have strong implications within states or their near regions. In their report Aaltola et al. have taken the Arctic corridor and its implications to Finland into scope: if plans to build a railway through Lapland to the Arctic Ocean would go forth, it would increase the importance of Finland within one global flow of goods to and from mainland Europe to Asia. However, the report does condemn this as unlikely in the present situation.

2.3 Public opinion as a determinant of public policy

Since I will examine public opinion expressed in public discourse and media, it should also be addressed how public opinion affects the foreign policies of the state. In the case of my research, *public* has been limited to only consist of representations of the economic sector. Once this has been done, through focusing on Finnish Arctic policies in the economic sector I will be able to analyse the image and effect of the general opinion on the foreign policy practiced by the state of Finland.

In a traditional reading of politics, public opinion doesn't weigh in foreign policies of a state (Brewer 2006, 90). However, Davis points out that there are a significant number of cases where public opinion coincides with foreign policy. It is suggested that public opinion functions as a moderator of government policies. There is also research that would suggest that the opinion of the ruling elite would weigh more than the general public opinion. (Davis 2012, 348-349.) Public opinion in Finland towards the Arctic policies practiced by the government of Finland could be seen as falling in this discourse. In this case I would differentiate the general public opinion from economic actors. Focusing on economic actors alone would support the idea that in this context, an elite, or rather group with certain interest (economic) would weigh in more with their opinions than the general public.

Also, it must be noted that in a democratic political system, public opinion matters much more than in authoritarian government. Elections are based on public opinion and acting against the public opinion carries consequences such as being left out of the parliament. However, as Davis points out, there might be situations where the public opinion and the "elite" differ in opinions. In this case it is the political leaders

that must accept the responsibility of decision-making and choose sides. A common understanding is that the public holds less knowledge about the situations and thus does not understand all the factors related to decision-making. (ibid. 350.) When relating this to the study at hand, the public opinion to Arctic development differs from the views of the business sector working in the Arctic region.

Public opinion constituting to important policy areas have been studied in Norway. In their study Jensen and Hønneland conclude that public opinion and discourse does affect decisions on important policies. By conducting a discourse analysis on public discourses about the Norwegian High North, they were able to determine that public opinion in different times is an important and affecting factor in government-level decision-making. (Jensen and Hønneland 2011, 51-52.) This would indicate that also in Finland such findings are plausible. The High North (the Norwegian Arctic), however, holds different kind of importance in Norway, than the Arctic region holds for Finland. Finland has no coastline to the Arctic sea and Norway's source of economic wealth through the extraction and use of fossil fuels is reliant on the Arctic region. These are major differentiating factors when comparing these two states. Despite this, it is reasonable to presume that significant findings can be found from analysing public discourse in Finland also.

Jensen and Hønneland discovered in their study three narratives that framed public discourse about the Norwegian High North from 2000 to 2006. They named these "*Fragments from the 1990s*", "*The great narrative of the High North*" and "*Mixing cold water with hot blood*". Their crucial findings were that in the beginning of this millennium, Norwegian public discourse was carried out with a systemic 1990s voice about region-building in the Norwegian High North and thus countering Russian politics. The second found narrative was described by enthusiasm of the Northern region. The narrative had a high branding feature as it not only raised public awareness but also strongly marketed the opportunity side of the region along with discourses where especially South Norway was accused of not realising the potential. The final narrative is described best by shock as endeavours in the Barents region back-fired, for example at Shtokman gas fields. However, the most important finding is that public discourse about the Norwegian High North does take yet more enthusiastic tones as good news come by. Strong reaction to disappointment but also

to success does seem to have strong effects in the press and thus, public discourse. (Jensen and Hønneland 2011, 45, 47-48 & 50-51.)

From Jensen's and Hønneland's study especially the second narrative is interesting in the perspective of this thesis. It is the same kind of discourse which got me interested in this subject: Discourse where Finland is criticised for not taking part in investments or in any other way for that matter. It is actually interesting that this critique is coming from behind the Norwegian border (MTV3, 15.9.2013). However, another interesting finding is the study overall, as the object of analysis, public discourse as part of public opinion, is studied through newspapers which have lost significant amounts of their market share to more dynamic medias that are present in people's lives through social media.

In the age of increasing IT transition, newspapers still hold a strong foothold as information mediators. Tan and Weaver (2009, 469-472) for example, argue that the local media, public opinion and governmental agenda correlate with each other and thus can be said that newspapers as a media are well aware and up to date on both public opinion and governmental legislative processes.

2.4 Sources for research

The sources for my research consist of 142 newspaper editorials and signed opinion posts from three Finnish daily newspapers. Newspapers are a fruitful data source in the way that as a popular media, they react significantly faster to contemporary events, knowledge and opinions than for example scientific reports. Newspapers for one publish news and opinions but also shape the opinion of the audience. Editorials are more a mix of news and opinion posts where the writer of the text gives an opinion to reality (Rupar 2007, 595). By using newspapers as a data sample, research is able to create an image of not only the ongoing discourses in a society, but also of the power that shapes the opinions in the within the society. All texts published within the pages of newspapers must be regarded with the understanding that newspapers are a product. The aim of the media house could be to produce politically aligned texts along with texts that enhance demand. Despite this, newspapers offer an important arena for public discourse which can be strengthened with consideration on which newspapers are used. (Gibson and Brown 2009, 74-76.)

The newspapers were chosen so that there would be different ownerships behind the newspapers and that they would cover both national and regional media. The chosen newspapers were Helsingin Sanomat, owned by Sanoma Oy, Kaleva, owned by Kaleva Oy and Lapin Kansa, owned by Alma Media Oy. Helsingin Sanomat is the largest daily newspaper in Finland with a distribution of 313 000. Kaleva is a regional newspaper focused in issues about Northern Finland and especially Oulu and Northern Ostrobothnian region. It is the fourth largest newspaper in Finland with a coverage of 69 000. Lapin Kansa is also a regional newspaper, but it has a distribution of only 29 000. (MediaAuditFinland 2013.) It focuses in Northern Finland and especially Lapland. Despite its small distribution rate, Lapin Kansa still holds an important foothold in the Lapland region which is enforced with its strong focus on issues about Lapland.

Although the world of media is in a turbulent transition phase, newspapers still hold a significant share of the news market. Also newspaper companies have been able to resist transition to more dynamic and social news services with their electronic prints of the newspaper and internet websites. Helsingin Sanomat and Lapin Kansa both have a fee to access electronic older material. Kaleva has limited free access to electronic material and archives except for the electronic print version of the newspaper. I had access to the archive of Helsingin Sanomat from which I sought out a list of all published editorials and signed opinion posts. From this list I selected all articles that had something to do with Finnish Arctic policies, their implementation, Arctic development and investments, conservation of natural environment, extraction of fossil fuels and minerals, tourism, logistics, natural resources and their utilisation and indigenous people's rights. The main focus was to select any article that dealt with Finnish Arctic policies, both domestic and foreign policies. I did the same process to the archive of Kaleva, and tried on Lapin Kansa. Kaleva worked out well and I found enough articles, but the archive of Lapin Kansa had a mixture of technical problems. So, I contacted Lapin Kansa about the matter and I was issued access the centralised media archive of the Alma Media company, www.media-arkisto.com. Through this portal I was able to find published editorials and opinion posts that were subjected to the same selection process detailed earlier.

The search process for sources produced a total of 142 articles, of which 14

editorials and 21 signed opinion posts were from Helsingin Sanomat, 37 editorials and 17 signed opinion posts from Kaleva and 42 editorials and 11 signed opinion posts from Lapin Kansa. In Helsingin Sanomat 5 editorials were articles written by experts instead of the editorial board. These texts are edited by the editorials board before publishing. The overall result was surprising as the smallest newspaper of the bunch had more subject related editorials than the rest but still fewest opinion posts. However, this can be explained through the fact that Lapin Kansa, as stated before, has a strong focus on the Lapland region which quite effectively is a significant part of Finnish Arctic policies as it is considered the Arctic region of Finland. Also it is interesting that the ratio between editorials and signed opinion posts differs so dramatically.

Newspaper	Publisher	Editorials	Opinion posts	Total
Helsingin Sanomat	Sanoma Oy	14	21	35
Kaleva	Kaleva Oy	37	17	54
Lapin Kansa	Alma Media Oy	42	11	53
Total		93	49	142

Table 1: Number of editorials and signed opinion posts in different newspapers.

Arctic politics is not a common subject in editorials or in signed opinion posts. Also, with keywords, the Arctic was commonly used to refer to climate change and global warming without actual content in politics related to the Arctic region. The vast variety of articles required me to sort out articles that dealt with Finnish Arctic policies directly or is used as a sub-topic. For this to be done I had to come up with a system that enabled me to sort out non-related articles. The developed system was a simple keyword related search, where articles with predefined keywords were searched from the articles. Articles that contained the defined keywords, were accepted to be a part of the research, the rest were disclosed.

2.5 Methodology for research

Qualitative research in political science is used to determine causality of events, issues or processes (Vromen 2010, 249). This research is done by using rhetorical discourse analysis.

Content analysis is a method for analysing the content of the selected source, in this case written editorials and signed opinion posts. It is useful for determining conscious and unconscious messages sent through the use of written texts. (Julien 2008, 121). By using content analysis I will end up with data which I can arrange and group into themes that each takes part in the discourse about Finnish Arctic politics. For the analysis, this gave me the possibility to form groups determined by the issues taken up by the authors.

In the first part I have combined content analysis, SWOT-analysis (*Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats*) and rhetoric analysis. For me to answer the research question, I formed a set of eight analytical questions to which I sought the answers from the articles I had gathered. Firstly, I wanted to find out from the articles how the author saw the Arctic politics of Finland and especially, what strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats are being considered in the article. The result of this analysis was strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for every article, which were chosen from the perspective from which the author was writing from. The aim was to capture the opinions on how the author sees the mentioned variables.

Rhetorical analysis is used in qualitative research to study the use of communication towards the audience. Any representation issued in words can be understood to be rhetoric. (Pigrum 2008, 793.) In my thesis rhetorical analysis is used in the first part of my analysis to determine the author's stand on the issues he/she is writing about. Rhetorical analysis was required to link texts to the general discourse and most importantly, find conversation between texts and opinions on how authors react towards the discourse.

After the first set of questions, a set of new questions were issued to the articles. In this second set I was looking for discourses and abstract (or physical) authorities to which the author of the article may refer to. The reference was then subjected to rhetorical analysis to find out how the reference was being viewed, with an aim to get an indication of positive or negative stand of the author towards the reference and, whether available, reasons for this. The fourth question in the set and overall final question dealt with future vision. Using both content and rhetorical analysis I sought a future vision drawn by the author and the arguments supporting this vision.

As a summary, below are listed the eight analytical questions I directed to the gathered material:

What theme is related in the article?

What strengths are mentioned?

What weaknesses are mentioned?

What opportunities are mentioned?

What threats are mentioned?

Is there reference to discourses or institutions in the article?

How does the writer of the article position oneself in referred discourses or articles?

How is the future of the subject presented in the article?

Once the first part of the analysis was done, I moved to analyse the discourse I had formed in the first part. This part started with the process of separating contributions to the discourse into suitable themes that arose from the discourse itself. Here discourse analysis was fully utilised to create an image of discourse as a perspective of public opinion. Using discourse analysis, I was able to find discourses that had strong connections issues related to, not only geopolitics but also status of small states.

Once the themes have been determined I can concentrate on analysis and interpretation of the discourse. This part was guided by two theories in the study of international relations: geopolitics and small states. With geopolitical analysis, spatial properties are always kept in the analysis process. Spatial objects, their interactions and the geopolitical space are focused on. (Parker 1998, 6-7.) In my thesis this will imply that in addition to the small state policies, I will examine public opinions so that there is a geopolitical aspect to the reasoning within the discourse and that the spatial features of Finland are visible in public discourse.

3 Themes of discourse in printed media

This chapter exhibits the themes found in the data gathered for this thesis. These themes show into what distinct topics public discourse represented in the printed media focused on in the time period of 2010-2013.

3.1 Finnish government stakeholder policies

The first theme to be introduced is the collection of the Finnish government's stakeholder policies related to operations concerning the Arctic region. There are three major issues, into which this theme divides into. Firstly, the stakeholder policy and control related to government-owned ice-breaking operations causes much discourse, mainly in questions such as should Finnish government-owned ice-breakers be used in the Arctic Ocean in maintenance and support work for the fossil fuel industry.

Secondly, the government's stakeholder policy and ownership is linked to the ship-building industry in Southern Finland. The connection to the Arctic region is built on the dockyards' capacity and knowledge to build vessels that endure the icy conditions of the Arctic region. Especially as the Arctic is increasingly used in logistics and natural resource extraction, also the demand for Arctic ships will increase.

The third topic is more broad with issues relating to the Finnish Arctic development overall. It shows writings on the development of the Finnish north and also writings on the Finnish Arctic policy in general.

3.1.1 Government ownership of the ice-breaker industry

In 2013 a new Arctic strategy was introduced. This brought hopes of new guidelines to steer Finnish Arctic policy into more concrete action. The down side in this is that Finland is losing the race to enter the Arctic region. The question is not so much about Finland being slow, but more about other states and actors leaving Finland behind. As the development in the Arctic region moves forward, projects cannot stay and wait for Finnish money and propositions but have to choose out of those that are at hand.

Arctic icebreaking came up in the data along with the issue where environmental

minister and minister in charge of government stakeholder policy Heidi Hautala was found to have influenced the government owned icebreaking company, Arctia Shipping to drop charges against Greenpeace activists. Overall, the discourse on the question of Finnish icebreakers working in the Arctic region circled around whether Finnish icebreakers should assist fossil fuel drilling, should they be there at all, or should they just wait the Baltic Sea's summer months in harbour.

Also stakeholder policy was raised into question in the Heidi Hautala case where environmental minister was accused of having unsuitable influence in public-owned ice-breaking company. The drawback on this is that politics is being let affect too much in business, although the company doing business is state-owned. There is a cure for this and it is said that clear strategic lines should be drawn to demonstrate the boundary where politics and business should remain on their own sides. Also Kaleva takes part in this discourse as disappointment towards the politician's actions is taken up in two editorials. (Kaleva, 28.9.2013 and 3.10.2013). Also in Kaleva clearer guidelines are requested to guide the actions of politicians when deciding on issues related to business operation of public-owned companies. There is also some "*fear*" that similar incidents could be coming up with other Green party ministers. However, there is an opposing opinion post to this in Kaleva (Kaleva, 22.1.2012) According to the author, as an example Satu Hassi would be an excellent candidate for the new minister in charge of government stakeholder policy. A strong minister would bring more awareness to Arctic protection, which is a key policy within the Green party. The support for a certain candidate is strong, but there appears slightly surprisingly slight exaggeration of Finnish weight in international Arctic politics.

After Heidi Hautala resigned from the minister's post, her successor, Pekka Haavisto was allegedly very cautious to take any stance in the matter of Arctic ice-breaking and Finnish participation in the activity. Lapin Kansa's editorial (Lapin Kansa, 18.10.2013) gives credit to the new minister for cooperative skills and attitude, which will become handy in the new aftermath of the Hautala-incident. The editorial calls for a more clear strategy to guide government stakeholder policies. This would also mean clearer guidelines for example for Arctic ice-breaking during the summer months. Also a clear statement is on whether Finnish ice-breakers should participate in supporting operations for fossil fuel drilling in the Arctic Ocean. According to the

editorial, the minister responded to the question very cautiously.

In the case of the Oulu region, Kaleva (Kaleva, 3.1.2011) had an editorial that criticised the decision to remove ice-breakers from Oulu to ports in South Finland. The opposition for this decision is backed up by stating that the sea area next to Oulu, the Gulf of Bothnia, is the first sea area near Finland to freeze in the winter. Without ice-breakers or their base the North-Bothnian ports could get stranded in ice before ice-breakers would reach the region. It is also stated that the economic life of the Oulu region could suffer as sea logistics to the region would become more difficult. The editorial also supports the offering of Finnish ice-breakers to the Arctic region during the summer months. The writer of the editorial appeals to the ice-breaking knowledge that could be used to make sea transportation in the Arctic region safer. Maintaining sea routes would also be less risky than providing maintenance services to oil rigs in the Arctic Ocean.

Knowledge is more closely tied to Arctic ice-breaking in a newer editorial in Kaleva. (Kaleva, 10.10.2013) The editorial draws attention to a phenomenon where disputes in whether Finnish ice-breakers should be participating in operations in the Arctic or not seem to override attention to the overall region. Therefore, the editorial welcomes the new Arctic strategy to give more concrete proposals for action. Although, here as it will be discussed later the fear of toing and froing comes up as the writer of the editorial suggests that good plans are not being implemented.

3.1.2 Stakeholder policies in Finnish Arctic shipbuilding

In the research data the shipbuilding industry in Finland is represented to be in poor economic state. According to the data, the economic situation and low backlog could lead to shipbuilding to significantly suffer or even end altogether. This is why in many articles, the government is called to find a solution to support the dockyards and thus preserve Finnish shipbuilding and the knowledge they have in Arctic ships.

The economic difficulties of the Finnish shipbuilding rise up in Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva. For example in Helsingin Sanomat opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.5.2013) and editorials (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.12.2013) dockyards and shipbuilding are being represented as strong backbones of the Finnish economy and especially regional economies in Southern Finland. Also, the knowledge in Arctic

shipbuilding is lifted as a specialty and feature to guard and maintain. Opinions state that the government should search for possibilities to assist Russian investors to invest in Finnish shipbuilding. This is backed by Russian future need for Arctic sea vessels and Finnish expertise in the Field. Also government “belief” is stated in opinion posts (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.1.2013). It is stated that the Finnish government believes in a profitable Finnish shipbuilding industry focusing especially in the Arctic but at the same time the government is driving the industry down as economic the shipyards are facing plans of shutting down as their Korean owner is leaving them.

Also in Kaleva (Kaleva, 15.10.2013) the government is urged to save Finnish shipbuilding by finding new owners to the dockyards from Russia. As it has been done earlier, the request is being backed up by appealing to the knowledge of shipbuilding to the needs of the Arctic environment and also Russia’s growing future need for Arctic compatible sea vessels.

3.1.3 Regional development of the Finnish Arctic

The research material also highlight policy issues related to the development of the Finnish Arctic region Lapland as well as remote areas of Finland not part of Lapland regarded as having the same properties.

The government’s investments are one of the issues that come up in the research material. (Kaleva, 21.5.2012) The main idea that continues to repeat itself is the reference to hard economic situation of the Finnish economy and that the Finnish government doesn’t have capabilities to finance plans regarding Arctic development. Such plans would have to be financed with other methods than Finnish public money.

In a later editorial in Kaleva (Kaleva, 16.10.2013) it is required that the government fulfils its part of a signed growth agreement to provide Oulu some means on which to develop its economy and region. Oulu’s position and vast technological knowledge reserves are being used as a means of justifying the need for Arctic development programs to take Oulu into account. Later, (Kaleva, 30.10.2013) it is also written that the government hasn’t fully realised the potential of Oulu and its geographic position in Arctic development. Regional development is an important factor in keeping the region lively but this has clear indications to geopolitical thinking, and regional

positioning in geopolitical terms. Yet again there are accusations of the government favouring the Southern parts of the country at the expense of the eastern and northern parts of the state.

Interestingly, the discourse has a kind-of reply from a member of parliament, who in an opinion post (Kaleva, 11.12.2010) wishes to learn more of the northern issues and those especially concerning the Oulu region. Although government funding on all areas is decreasing, with more knowledge the remaining funds could be spent more wisely. It is interesting that a MP approaches so directly, but on the other hand it can also be seen as a positive thing, especially from the northern perspective. Other party politics is also lifted to discussion. Also later a representative of the True Finns party states in an opinion post in Kaleva (Kaleva, 23.9.2013) that it has done much to influence Finnish cooperation in the Arctic region, which should also affect the Northern regions of Finland.

In Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 10.11.2013) government stakeholder policy is being criticised as the airport network of Lapland was threatened to be thinned out. The main reason for shutting down three airports is that government is planning to decrease funding to northern Finnish airports. Although Finavia's director sees Lapland's need for the airports, there still remains a desire to cut costs. Airports in Lapland are especially important because of the near vicinity of the Norwegian High North where development is well under way. Especially Oulu, although not in Lapland, has strong possibilities to enter the flight network into the Arctic region.

The parliamentarians' interest in the Northern regions of Finland gain gratitude but is also subjected under suspicion in Lapin Kansa opinion post (Lapin Kansa, 1.11.2013) as it is suggested that coming elections in 2011 could have affected increased interest in the region. Also relating to the presidential elections of 2012, an opinion post in Kaleva (Kaleva, 29.1.2012) attempts to draw support for a presidential candidate in stating that Sauli Niinistö would as a president be able navigate through the politics related in the Arctic region. After his election, the new president held a conference in the president's summer residence in Kultaranta, which aim was to find solutions to the problems the state was facing. The idea was to find Finnish-based solutions for Finland. According to Lapin Kansa's editorial (Lapin Kansa, 19.6.2013), although more a sideline, the Arctic was also mentioned. Lapin Kansa's vision for the

outcome of the summit was hopeful that Arctic development could get its share of “*solutions from Finnish to Finnish*”.

Also, critique was raised in the HS editorials that the new Arctic strategy holds inner contradictions. Especially the environment and its protection is strongly put up against economic development. Sustainability is used but still economy is seen to prioritise over environmental protection (Helsingin Sanomat, 30.9.2013). Heininen (2011, PP) also lifts this into question he states that it would have been more courageous to have environmental protection and economic development of the region plotted under the same substance fields. This editorial from HS was commented in an opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat (9.10.2013). It is thought positive that the new strategy has new concrete proposals for action, although it also criticised that steering and leading projects are missing, indicating toing and froing within Arctic policies. Good plans exist but they do not lead to action. Although referring to the editorial where Arctic strategies are mentioned to contradict, the opinion post does give a positive picture of Finland’s possibilities to have effect in Arctic policies through strong cooperative networks.

3.2 Arctic railway through Finland

A railroad through Finland to the Arctic Ocean has been on the table for a while and was regarded as an important project in the light of the new Arctic strategy of 2013 (Prime Minister’s Office 2013, 32). However, the Arctic railway was considered also earlier as a transport channel to Finland from the opening logistic routes of the Arctic Ocean. Also, the railway was seen to hold the potential to become the main transportation connection for new mines in Northern parts of Finland to transport their ore to the world market.

As was stated in the first Finnish Arctic strategy, an option of an Arctic railway through Finland was introduced (Prime Minister’s Office 2010, 15). This idea and plan also got significant coverage in the editorials and opinion posts in all three newspapers. Especially in Lapin Kansa and Kaleva this was very strongly highlighted.

The first plans for the railway to the Arctic gained much support and positive feelings. (Lapin Kansa, 6.2.2010) This was supported by the fact that Lapland is mostly out of the reach of railways, making passenger and cargo transportation harder. A railway

through Lapland to the Arctic Ocean, be that in Russia or Norway, would not only benefit the regions at the end of the railway, but also Lapland as a whole. However, it was already clear when the plans were made that the project to build a Finnish Arctic railway wouldn't happen fast. Despite this, the first plans to build a railway gave a very optimistic view of results which might someday lead to a completed railway from Helsinki to the Arctic Ocean.

As an opportunity the railway is given a high value as an alternative transportation route through Finland. It would not only serve as a means of transporting goods from the Arctic sea route to the Baltic sea harbours but also as a route for transporting goods to and from Finland. (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012). Although other options are available, the railway through Rovaniemi would have most support. The Arctic railway was also considered linked with the plans for a LNG terminal to be built in South Finland (Helsingin Sanomat, 6.10.2013). Especially the lining from Norway got supported as Russia seemed in 2013 writings an unreliable and surprising partner.

The question of railway lining drew much discourse as there are disputes over which railways would be cheaper or more expensive. (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.1.2011). In one opinion post it is said that a railway through Russia to Murmansk would be cheaper as a railway has already existed and the lining would be already done. At the same time the Norwegian suggestion is painted expensive. Also, one of the potential destinations, Kirkenes, is considered to be too small to be able to produce enough goods to be profitably transported through Finland. Therefore, it would be better to build the railway to Murmansk, not Norway.

The railway plans demonstrate the will of the government to investigate and pursue any form of Arctic development. (Lapin Kansa, 13.6.2012) While the discourse on the issue is going on, it is written in an editorial that this hype should be used to make decisions about the railway. The sulphur directive will add its own difficulties to the logistical solutions of Finland so the momentum and enthusiasm to build a railway should be used. For Finland to take part in Arctic development in a fundamental way, the railway to the Baltic would be extremely important. By failing to build the railway the Finnish government would leave Northern Finnish companies on their own to reach the Arctic with their products. (Lapin Kansa, 16.2.2012)

The railway has strong support also among academics. (Lapin Kansa, 6.10.2012) However, there is the fear of building the railway for nothing. The railway would require mines to be established and cargo to be transported. Passengers alone are not enough. A positive sign is that there is a wide range of actors working together to find good solutions. The railway would have to profit the companies, municipalities and the state. The railway would be Finland's road to the Arctic, or at least close enough to one. Without the railway Finland would surely be left out of Arctic development.

What would definitely be an inspiring factor in the discourse of the Arctic railway is the establishment of new mines in Lapland. (Lapin Kansa, 16.1.2013) The railway would be the most efficient way of transporting the minerals to the nearest dock, especially with the sulphur directive making logistics in the Baltic Sea more costly. Also natural gas from Russia was seen as one possible subject of transportation from Russian gas fields. However, because of the delay of Shtokhman gas field project, Russian gas is not seen as a probable cargo. Despite the plans, postponed gas field projects in Russia are not seen as a threatening things towards any plans to build the Arctic railway in Finland. (Lapin Kansa, 4.9.2012)

Also Norway expressed its desire to have an Arctic railway built from the Baltic Sea. (Lapin Kansa, 11.2.2013) Along with this announcement, also Russia started to change its attitude to positive. There are some drawbacks, of which one is that Norway would only support a railroad to Kirkenes. Also the project would require a significant amount of cargo, 3 million tons to be exact, to be transported through to the Arctic. The railroad would be making Kirkenes an important logistical junction in the Arctic. However, it all comes to the question of the vision of the railroad. Even with positive attitudes and such, the railway is still only a plan.

Russia would have been also interested to see an Arctic railway being built through Finland to the Arctic. (Lapin Kansa, 12.9.2013) The lining from Salla to Murmansk would have been most welcome and understandably, Russia doesn't have an interest to participate in a railway being built to Norway. There hasn't been a railway to Salla since 2010, when the Finnish traffic office shut it down. In a working group on the Arctic railway, it was stated that Russia would want to have an Arctic railway built within the next few years. Despite hurrying the project, the railway is still a dream and

only a concept on paper, not in real life. Despite this, the railway to Murmansk would be worth considering when the decisions to build the railway are (possibly) made. In the opinions section of Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 1.11.2013) it is stated that the railway from Salla to Murmansk could have a place in future railway plans.

The interest towards the Arctic railway is persistent and can even be considered to increase (Lapin Kansa, 3.10.2013). However, despite the recurring interests, the government still doesn't hold the capability to finance the Arctic railway. This holds even though the railway has support from both the government and the parliament. The government lacks sufficient funds to build a railway to the Arctic Ocean. In an editorial in Lapin Kansa, it was introduced that China could be interested to finance the railway. (Lapin Kansa, 19.11.2013) However, in addition to the lack of funds, the government at least according to the article also lacks political will to engage in a project such as the Arctic railway. The lack of political will is represented in the prolonging of the railway and reluctance to find alternative financiers. The message of the editorial is that there would be financiers for the railway and the government should carefully consider this option.

However the railway to the Arctic might be built, it is still clear that Finland wouldn't be able to do it alone. It would require the permission from either Russia or Norway to which it would include joint cooperation in building. (Lapin Kansa, 4.12.2013)

In the case of Oulu, (Kaleva, 18.10.2010) it is again referred to the sulphur directive that the railway, which would be an important logistical connection to Oulu after the implementation of the sulphur directive, is in fact in poor condition, and should be reconstructed before any plans to build a new railway to the Arctic.

Later, there is a slight discourse on the railway connection to the Arctic. (Kaleva, 11.12.2010) It is in reference to the Baltic Sea sulphur directive that is stated that a railway would be a good alternative for sea transportation. Because of the directive, railroads would gain much more traffic and be more profitable. Despite its importance, it is thought that the railroad will be too expensive to build. However, a quick decision would be a clear sign for neighbouring countries that Finland is committed to Arctic development.

In a corresponding opinion post (Kaleva, 14.12.2010) it is stated that the railway

would never find enough transportable cargo for it to become profitable. The money for the Arctic railway should instead be invested in the reconstruction of the Bothnian railway, which already is in bad condition, and thus would also threaten the Arctic railway logistics. Rebuilding and enhancing an old railway is much cheaper than building a completely new one. Altogether there is an understanding that the money for an Arctic railway should be invested to more important projects.

The opinion post is answered (Kaleva, 16.12.2010) that the amount of logistics to the Arctic would make the railway profitable even without the sulphur directive. It is also stated that the increased costs of transportation at the Baltic Sea would be negated with the Arctic railway. It is again stated that the railway to the Arctic would enhance the mining industry and promote Nordic cooperation, if built through Norway.

In the editorials section of Kaleva, (Kaleva, 9.1.2010) the railway is not greeted with such enthusiasm, indicating that there are more important things to consider than a logistical connection to the Arctic. One of these is for example the preservation and conservation of the Arctic environment.

The Arctic railway is also discussed in editorials and opinion posts relating to the EU Directive to reduce sulphur in ship fuel in the Baltic Sea EU states. In Many cases it is stated that the directive to reduce emissions will raise the logistical costs to Finland via the Baltic (Lapin Kansa, 31.1.2013). In Kaleva it is stated that the Northern regional economy will suffer from the rising costs as shipping becomes increasingly costly and current railways in their poor condition cannot handle any increased cargo transportation. (Kaleva, 18.10.2010). Also, it will cause any plans to open mines in Northern Finland to be reconsidered as ore transportation costs increase as well (Kaleva, 6.6.2012).

There was also an unexpected opinion post on the issue of railways. (Helsingin Sanomat, 1.3.2010) An Asian railway route through Siberia was being planned. The article claimed that although an important cargo link between Europe, Russia and Asia was being planned and launched, it still not gather wide attention it deserved. Although the railway wouldn't go through Finland, the state's economy still could gain from it in the role of a northern knowledge base and transportation hub. The text gave almost an overoptimistic view of the Asian railway with very little facts.

3.3 Natural resource extraction and use

Natural resources came up in the selected media in two different themes. On the one hand editorials and opinion posts focused on natural resources management in Finland. Mostly this had to do with mineral and mines, the mining industry in general. On the other hand, there was discourse on how Finnish operators could influence and contribute to natural resource management abroad in the Arctic region. Namely this theme was focused on the fossil fuel industry in the Norwegian and Russian Arctic.

3.3.1 Natural resources in Finland

The Arctic region has vast resources on which much of the region's development is focused on. The natural resources found in the Arctic region are also one subject in the research material. Focusing on both foreign and domestically found resources, there is some discourse in favour and against of such use.

The world economy is tied to the questions of natural resource management and use in the Arctic region both in Helsingin Sanomat and Kaleva. (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.8.2012 and Kaleva, 6.6.2012) It is stated that the increasing resource prices are an opportunity for Finland to establish and gain profit from mines. Especially the northern areas of Finland could gain positive economic outcomes if new mines were established. North and eastern areas have the potential to develop their economies due to the rising ore prices. The author stresses importance to focus on Finnish regions when talking about Arctic development in the field of natural resource management. The same issue is linked in an earlier editorial. (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012) Natural resources in Finland are located in distant areas which raises the importance on these regions.

Also in Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 25.3.2013) an opinion post defended Finnish natural resource management in stating that those resources wouldn't be running out any time shortly. Instead, the resources should be used to gain profit as the prices of minerals were rising. As technological innovations take place, less accessible minerals become part of the natural resources' supply network. Supporting this same attitude it is stated in a later opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.9.2013) that Finland should turn its look to its own resources in its Arctic region.

According to the article, Finland has rich natural resources when compared with the size of the population. In a low economic situation this could be used to boost the state economy. The overall statement is that Finland should focus on the use of its own natural resources and not be a part of the supply network of others.

(Lapin Kansa, 16.12.2013) Mining industry is acquiring a new study program to the University of Oulu. This is important for the industry and for the regional economy as mining can have 2-3 times wider indirect employment effects.

In Lapin Kansa and in Kaleva (Lapin Kansa, 11.2.2011 and Kaleva, 30.11.2012), the value of natural resources in Lapland is seen to raise also the value of Lapland. Northern and Eastern Finland have strong mining industries, for which the writer of the Kaleva editorial rests high hopes. As it was earlier stated in Kaleva's editorial, the value of the Northern regions of Finland could rise along with the value of the natural resource industry. (Kaleva, 23.1.2011 and Kaleva, 16.2.2012) To support the industry, the state financed a program to boost the mining industry (Kaleva, 21.6.2011). New mines would create jobs to the region. Despite this importance, there region still seems to suffer from a periphery status. The writer sees that the industry is growing and this should shake off the resource bank role it has had for a long time. (Kaleva, 6.6.2012)

The extraction of natural resources holds also the possibility for environmental hazards, of which the most recent case would be problems which Talvivaara faced. These hazards are taken up by Kaleva in its editorial. (Kaleva, 6.6.2012) Discourse on the effects of mining is likely to increase along with the problems the mine is facing. According to the writer Talvivaara shows that there are serious problems in the Finnish mining industry. New reports should be made on mining permissions with more strict limits. The writer criticises the Finnish mining system of too much openness, as anyone can register a mine in Finland. Significant amounts of money could escape the Finnish tax legislation if a foreign investor puts up a mine in Finland. Therefore, the writer suggests that mines should be made more a public wealth and tax should be issued to capture and keep income within the state borders.

3.3.2 Natural resources of the Arctic region in Finnish media

Natural resources in the Arctic region are under the jurisdiction of the states. State

controls those resources that are inside its borders, be that a land or a sea boundary. In the research material articles on the natural resources abroad in the Arctic region mostly focused on fossil fuels.

The Arctic region holds large quantities of oil. Because of the harsh conditions of the Arctic environment, oil drilling holds much higher risks than conventional oil drilling, although these risks could be countered with efficient law policy. The questionable aspect is that the oil reservoirs will be taken into use once climate change has warmed the region enough to ease the ice conditions. (Helsingin Sanomat, 15.10.2013) The near future holds many problems for fossil fuel companies as the ice conditions in the Arctic are harsh despite climate change. The risk for environmental disaster is allegedly high. (Helsingin Sanomat, 10.5.2011)

Lapland is doing well with its mining industry as ongoing mining processes are working and new ones are planned according to an editorial in Lapin Kansa. (Lapin Kansa, 4.9.2012) Shtokman will be postponed until further. Lapland had high hopes for contracts to spur around the gas field, which will now have to be put elsewhere. A gas field as large as Shtokman would have vast effects in the entire Barents region. Finland and Lapland especially could be part of these effects. However, the economic situation of Russia currently prevents the opening of the gas field. Although the news of the Shtokman gas field was disappointing in Lapland, it wasn't seen as a catastrophe.

In an editorial in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 28.11.2012) it is written that Norway with its natural resource reserves has opportunities for Finnish companies to invest and offer contracts. Despite these opportunities, not much has been done about them.

A new project came up in Kaleva (Kaleva, 15.11.2011) as an editorial discussed a planned pipeline to transport gas from Norway to Europe. Although Europe would accept Norwegian natural gas, Oulu is still too small of an actor to carry out the project on its own. However, as Norway utilises more of its resources in the Arctic region, new opportunities pop up for neighbouring countries, such as Finland. Nord Stream pipeline being built from Russia to Germany threatens to leave a North Baltic pipeline to its shadow. Without question a pipeline to be built near Oulu would bring work to Oulu.

3.4 Environment protection claims

Not surprisingly, environmental protection and related topics stood out from the research material in high number and in many cases emotionally coloured. The Arctic region has a strong defence backing the protection of the Arctic environment. Therefore it is not surprising that there are many very personal statements about the protection of the Arctic region. The Arctic paradox formulated by Teemu Palosaari (2011, 97–98) is an interesting concept which also repeats itself in the discourse on Arctic policies. According to Palosaari, the increasing use of fossil fuels contributes to climate change which at the moment is enabling the use of the Arctic fossil fuel reserves which will end up warming the planet further. However, in addition to claims to protect the Arctic environment, the Greenpeace strike on the Russia oil rig (BBC News 2013) got attention in the editorials and opinion posts. This chapter has been divided into sections to present on the one hand discourse on the Arctic environmental protection in general and on the other the Greenpeace protest to the Russian oil rig Prirazlomnaya.

3.4.1 Discourse on the protection of the Arctic environment

There is strong for and against discourse in the theme of environmental protection. The theme basically divides into three categories. Firstly, there are the opinions where the Arctic environment is currently being protected sufficiently or even too much. Secondly there is the group of articles according to which the Arctic environment is being protected but should be protected more still giving room for economic development of the region. The third group consists of articles where the Arctic environment (among the global environment of the human species) should be completely protected and left to a natural state.

The first group

The first group of themes consist of claims that the Arctic environment is being protected sufficiently.

In Helsingin Sanomat editorials (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.5.2013 and 12.8.2012) Canada's efforts to protect the Arctic environment are brought up. Canada began its chairmanship of the Arctic council in 2013 and as one of its goals for the

chairmanship period, attempt to restrain climate change was adopted. The writer is highly sceptical that such would happen, as investing into fossil fuels is cheaper than into renewable energy sources. Because of this, the Arctic region will be consumed to bring energy to the world.

Also the Arctic Council is given credit in Helsingin Sanomat opinion posts (Helsingin Sanomat, 8.4.2010 and 8.5.2011). The writer of the opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 8.4.2010) states that environmental protection is on the agenda of the Arctic council. This unawareness could cause actors to work alone to protect the Arctic environment, which would undermine joint efforts to protect the region. A later opinion post reminds of the fact that the AC has a working group to monitor the Arctic environment. Despite the working group's efforts, the processes of drilling fossil fuels in the Arctic are increasing and thus causing increased chances of environmental disasters. The opinion post calls for more power for the Arctic Council to regulate the environmentally hazardous activities in the Arctic. Also standards should be put up to minimize any chance of disasters. An example of increasing activities is the Norwegians' opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat that the Norwegians will continue to use the resources found in the Arctic region in a sustainable way, to answer the demands of Norwegian energy security. (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.1.2013)

With some similarities the same argumentation is used in Helsingin Sanomat opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 27.9.2012) on the resource use in Lapland. It is stated that the resources should be used but in a way where the tourism industry won't suffer. According to the writer the conservation of the nature is explained through Lapland's brand of clean and untouched nature which any projects to gather natural resources in Lapland shouldn't harm.

Finland is taking part in offshore operations in the Arctic region. This according to MPs Eila Tiainen and Silvia Modig (Helsingin Sanomat, 21.10.2013) is contradictory with the Finnish aims to protect the Arctic environment. It is also stated that despite the operations taking place, there is a risk of environmental disasters and in addition the risk to be brought into liability in a case of an accident. The writer supports the maintenance work on the sea routes but is argues against supporting operations in oil drilling. In a late opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 15.10.2013) the writer states that some governments are allowing slab oil production

which is more polluting than the drilled oil from the Arctic Ocean. In order to reduce the need for slab oil, the writer states that Arctic oil drilling shouldn't be regulated and Finnish ice-breaking technology and knowledge would be the best guarantee to ensure safe transportation of oil.

In Lapin Kansa's editorial (Lapin Kansa, 17.5.2013) it is anticipated that climate change will make resources more available in the Arctic region. Also rising prices will encourage investments to find these resources. Climate change is also anticipated to make access easier to the Arctic region as the Ocean is free of is in a larger scale and longer periods in the summer months. (Lapin Kansa, 4.5.2013) This has strong connections to the Arctic paradox introduced by Palosaari (2011, 97.)

The second group

In the second group of editorials and opinion posts on commenting on environmental protection there are writings that generally see Arctic protection taking place but not to a sufficient level. Often, the need for increased protection of the Arctic environment is argued with the undefined effects of climate change. For example in Helsingin Sanomat editorial (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.8.2013) it is stated that climate change will constitute undetermined challenges that threaten the Arctic region along with other regions of the world as well. In the same editorial the state is called to invest in green technologies in order to fulfil the need for economic growth and also take part in slowing climate change. Despite this it is stated that any decision made to gain economic profits will contribute to accelerating climate change.

Relating to the same issue, in an opinion post in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 4.9.2013) it was stated that Arctic development is happening despite many unanswered questions. The writer implies that only queries that determine profitability of projects are being done and research to answer questions related to the environmental impacts are being neglected. Not all risks have been identified although it is clear that transportation industry will gain from the retracting ice cover of the Arctic Ocean.

Although the melting of sea ice is a threat to the Arctic environment, Kaleva's editorial (Kaleva, 9.1.2010) also states that the transportation needs from Europe to Asia will gain a new and shorter route as the ice cover retracts and the Arctic Ocean is ice-

free for longer periods during the summer months. Despite the enthusiasm created by the new sea route the writer states that slowing climate change has to be implemented although it cannot be stopped.

In Helsingin Sanomat opinion posts (Helsingin Sanomat, 23.12.2011) Finland's efforts to protect the Arctic environment are highlighted. Other Arctic states have now begun to work to preserve the Arctic environment. It is stated that although the Finnish government doesn't have enough leverage to directly affect environmental protection, the active participation in the past helps in any political efforts.

Finland has its own interests in Lapland, where environmental protection claims are also strong. In an opinion post written to Kaleva (Kaleva, 30.11.2012) the writer states that Lapland wouldn't be able to stand an environmental disaster caused for example by a mine. Along with the primary damages to nature, also the region's tourism industry would suffer damages to its image and branding and could face decline of the tourism industry as the image of an unpolluted an untouched Lapland environment is lost.

Decisions to reduce emissions and slow climate change cannot be done solely in the Arctic region. That is why an editorial in Kaleva (Kaleva, 18.9.2013) seemed so important. It was stated that the US and China had agreed to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. As an agreement this was seen to have major implications although the script issued some degree some scepticism. Although it was as only one delicate step, the agreement could show way to other polluting industries and societies to reduce emissions as well.

The third group

The third group consists of articles that mainly state that the Arctic nature is not being protected enough and that all economic activity should be stopped in order to protect the region's natural state. The difficulty in protecting the region is often linked to reluctant littoral states that do not want to limit their right to use natural resources. However, the writer of an opinion post to Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 10.5.2011) refers to the protection of the Antarctic in offense to the difficulty in protecting the Arctic. The writer does see all economic activity in the region as being harmful, and urges to have a similar international agreement protect the Arctic region.

In many writings, private consumption and growth-oriented markets are stated as being the main reasons for climate change. In Helsingin Sanomat opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.5.2013) the writer states that level of private consumption cannot be sustained with renewable resources. Short-sighted use of non-renewable resources like the fossil fuels will lead to a situation where conveniences have to be given up. Later, in another Helsingin Sanomat opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 28.10.2013) the writer urges the government of Finland to do whatever it can to enhance a sustainable economy in the Arctic region. The writer appeals to the same argument that fossil fuels will eventually run out. Unrestricted economic development in the Arctic region will allegedly accelerate climate change to an undesirable rate.

An editorial in Kaleva (Kaleva, 17.5.2013) participates in the discourse on the difficulties of environmental protection. The writer argues that the cost of environmental protection is not seen as tempting. Environmental protection costs money in the form of activities to preserve the nature but also in the form of lost income. There is a lack of political will to implement something that costs money but isn't returned as profit. Attention is turned to the long-term consequences where in the future it might actually cost more to deal with the damages caused by climate change. Lapin Kansa's editorial (Lapin Kansa, 18.8.2010) states that the effects of climate change could be something unforeseeable. Putting a price tag on a clean and untouched nature is not as easy as putting a price tag on a ton of minerals or other resources. This makes environmental protection hard in the Arctic region. (Lapin Kansa, 24.11.2010) Also, a writer sees the lack of environmental consideration in economic activity resulting from the cost of environmental awareness. It is stated in Kaleva's opinion post (Kaleva, 22.1.2012) that use of natural resources in the Russian Arctic wouldn't be profitable if environmental concern would have to be taken into consideration.

Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 1.10.2013) encouragingly states that climate change can be countered, although this scenario is admitted to be unlikely. USA and China produce over 40% of the world's CO₂ emissions with considerable amounts resulting from western industries working in other states. Climate change is fact, which is demonstrated by scientific knowledge. A worldwide consensus to reduce emissions would slow climate change and thus help protect the Arctic region.

According to an opinion post (Lapin Kansa, 12.4.2013) along with the changes to the environment, climate change also causes social changes. In the Arctic traditional livelihoods will be lost as climate change and a warming climate makes traditional ways of life impossible. According to the writer the current situation where Arctic resources must be used should serve as a wake-up call to change the ways of life.

3.4.2 Greenpeace protest on Prirazlomnaya

There were vast discourses following the Greenpeace protest to a Russian oil rig. (Helsingin Sanomat, 4.10.2013) According to one writer the protest brought much needed attention to the Arctic affairs. Despite the publicity, the fate of the protesters is overtaking the issue of Arctic oil drilling in the media. IPCC published a report where an estimate was stated on how much oil could still be consumed so that climate change could be efficiently countered. According to this estimate, only a fraction of the amount of oil could be drilled in order to reduce the effects of climate change. The writer clearly states that no more oil should be allowed to be drilled.

With its protests Greenpeace intended to stop all economic use of the Arctic region. (Lapin Kansa, 4.10.2013) Although Finland in its strategy does value the environment, this Greenpeace plan contradicts with plans such as the railway. Despite the negative influences of the strike, the Greenpeace protest in the Arctic can draw attention to the working methods in the Arctic and thus influence in acquiring more environmentally friendly working methods. Despite the publicity and the negative sanctions Greenpeace intends to continue at an increasing rate its strikes against all Arctic economic activities. The writer clearly feels that the strike was necessary but also sees a requirement for both parties to learn from the causes. Climate and environmental protection also popped up in another case. (Lapin Kansa, 18.10.2013) In Lapland's development, the region threatens to drop out of Arctic development because of strict claims to stop all economic activity in the region.

In the case of the Greenpeace activists boarding a Russian oil rig, Russia decided not to pursue piracy charges against the activists. Instead they will be facing charges of hooliganism. The point of the protest was to draw attention to the state of the Arctic and the economic development which threatens to harm the Arctic environment. The big question is whether Greenpeace succeeded in raising questions in the Russian

authorities about Arctic oil exploration and drilling. There is also foreign pressure to let the activists go without charges. In their dispute, both Russia and Greenpeace are clearly standing on opposite sides without plans of really backing down. (Lapin Kansa, 25.10.2013)

Also Kaleva took part in the Greenpeace discourse. (Kaleva, 4.8.2013) With its protest Greenpeace clearly drew attention to the Arctic. Russia took this very aggressively. Despite this, Greenpeace was able to attract vast global attention to the trouble points in the Arctic economy. This however increased distrust towards Greenpeace in behalf of governments. Despite the attention, the writer sees the act to be more harmful towards Greenpeace and Arctic protection than it is useful.

3.5 Economic interests in Finnish Arctic policies

Economic interests show up relatively high in number in the collected data. Editorials and opinion posts discuss economic use of the Arctic region in general, but also for example the tourism industry in the Finnish domestic Arctic. Also strange remark was found as there are both statements that Finnish companies have found their way to the Arctic region but also that they haven't.

3.5.1 Economic activities in the non-Finnish Arctic

The Arctic region of Norway and Russia are often seen as possible areas for which Finnish companies and workers can offer their services and products. The Barents region is seen as the closest area with opportunities for also Finnish companies to take part in the development processes of the Arctic region. Processes such as supportive operation to fossil fuel extraction, infrastructure building and others are seen as new markets for which Finnish companies could contribute to. Although the Arctic region is never seen a sole saviour of the Finnish economy, it is still in many cases seen as one region that could boost the private sector from the economic recession.

Especially the East and Northern parts of Finland are geographically close to the Arctic region and especially the Barents Euro-Arctic region. This is recognised in editorials in all the collected newspapers such as in Helsingin Sanomat. (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012) Examples of the industries that Finnish actors could contribute

to are maritime rescue services to be developed along with the increasing sea traffic as well as Finnish ice-breakers to serve in sea route logistics during the summer months while they would otherwise be set in harbour. (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.8.2013) Regarding the sea route, Finland has a central position which would become even more central if a link to the Baltic Sea was built from the Arctic Ocean. (Kaleva, 29.1.2012)

There is some more discourse on the geographical positioning of Finland (Kaleva, 20.6.2012). It is said that Finland has good potential next to the opening Arctic and Russia. However, the economic decline stresses the Bothnian economy. Good plans have been made to which should be quickly implemented. In addition to this, the Finnish government should improve its response towards the Arctic opening. (Kaleva, 28.6.2012) Russia's WTO membership is offered as a discussion opener. The writer still feels sceptical towards economic and structural changes in Russia. However, WTO membership will offer new opportunities. Despite this, it is possible that the unreliable nature of the working culture may take long to change.

There is opposing views in both editorials and opinion posts in all newspapers on the issue of whether Finnish companies have been able to use the Arctic region as a market area or not. For example in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 16.2.2012) it is stated that some Finnish companies would have found their way to the Arctic and been able to create business deals with local needs. Also in Kaleva it is stated that the Finnish private sector is finding new areas in which to invest in. Although other market areas have also been found, also the Arctic is becoming a region to offer opportunities for the Finnish economic life. (Kaleva, 9.5.2012 and 23.1.2011) However, the article in Helsingin Sanomat suggests that there seems to be a lack of interest to offer services and products to the Arctic region within the Finnish private sector. (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.11.2013)

Where these opportunities would be found? In the opinion post by Yrjö Myllylä (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.9.2013) it is suggested that the littoral states and their governmental and non-governmental partners require investments into technology and research to be able to reach the natural resources found in the Arctic Ocean. This need for high-level technology is where the writer of the article suggests Finnish companies and educational facilities could answer demand. Also the need for ships

compatible with the Arctic environment is mentioned in Kaleva. (Kaleva, 15.10.2013) Without support, these projects could be lost to other docks that are able to produce the required ships faster.

Although any economic development processes carried out in the Arctic region increase the risk for environmental disasters. Despite this, the increasing demand and prices of natural resources encourage to continue development processes despite the risks. The continuing development requires investments which also Finland has to offer (Kaleva, 17.5.2012 and 21.5.2012)

However, it is also stated that the current regional development policy in Finland is undermining efforts to make the Finnish Arctic closer to the Barents region. (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012) In many writings the policies of the government are often criticised being ineffective in helping the Finnish business sector find work in the Norwegian and Russian Arctic. Also for example the editorial in Lapin Kansa criticises the government for not being aware of opportunities available to Lapland and the near regions. (Lapin Kansa, 6.10.2012) Even in 2013, there is an editorial where the newspaper editors in their article encourage the region of Lapland to change their direction of interest from south to north. (Lapin Kansa, 30.12.2013) This would indicate that in the four year long observation period, the government is not seen as a reliable supporter in Arctic development. In Kaleva editorial (Kaleva, 20.2.2013) it is stated very straightforward: Without support from the government the Northern regions of Finland won't be able to efficiently take part in the development going on in the near regions. Whether an Arctic summit planned by the Finnish government would happen, it would draw attention to Lapland, and possibly aid some industries.

Overall, Lapland is quickly becoming more interesting as a part of Finland than Helsinki in an international perspective. The government is allegedly realising this, but the private sector is having a hard time finding the projects in the Arctic. Also the government is accused of not supporting the regions enough and also not realising the opportunities in the region. (Kaleva, 30.11.2011) At least when relying on the articles alone, there seems to be a lack of networking between the actors working in the Arctic and those who are willing to offer products and services. (Lapin Kansa, 21.10.2012)

In relation with the planned gas terminal to Helsinki, Estonia was seen as a strong opponent. Also partnership with Russia was seen as troublesome. (Helsingin Sanomat, 6.10.2013) With logistical connections to the Arctic region, Finland could become a new link to Europe whether a gas terminal was built. If Estonia manages to “steal” the project from the Finns, it would be a major setback in placing Finland in a logistical junction.

3.5.2 Domestic Arctic operations in Finland

Not all Arctic economic operations in Finland are linked to Norway and Russia alone, but also to Lapland and near northern and eastern areas of Finland as well. Although it is suggested that there would be work for Finnish expertise and workers in the near regions of Lapland (Helsingin Sanomat, 10.5.2011), it is at the same time suggested that Finland should concentrate on investing and consuming into industries that benefit the Finnish economy, not others’. (Helsingin Sanomat, 8.5.2011)

The Arctic is gathering international and domestic interest (Lapin Kansa, 2.2.2013). Although plans to develop the Arctic region have existed for a long time, only now with climate change warming the region, the plans can be carried out. (Lapin Kansa, 4.9.2013) This implementation will allegedly (Lapin Kansa, 30.1.2013) make an interesting region not only in the eyes of the Arctic states but also other global actors. In the case of Finland and its Arctic intentions, the government is urged to enable the development of knowledge and industries to answer the requirements to develop Finland’s Arctic region. (Lapin Kansa, 31.1.2013)

Lapland is Finland’s Arctic dimension. Despite this, the state’s workforce has been moved away from Lapland. According to the editorial (Lapin Kansa, 2.1.2010) thousands of jobs have been moved towards southern parts of the country while only a few hundred have been moved towards the North. The editorial accuses state of favouring the Helsinki region on the expense of other regions in Finland. The Arctic aspect of Lapland is strongly highlighted when discussing regional development. In order for Lapland as a region to keep up on the level of Arctic development, the region requires support from the regional council as well as from the governmental institutions as well. (Lapin Kansa, 23.3.2011) It is noted that it is possible that the will to develop the region could be tied with the parliamentary elections that were held in

spring 2011.

The elections of 2011 were offered as a source of interest for Lapland's issues. For example supporters for the development of the country's northern regions was in Lapin Kansa offered as being motivated by the elections. (Lapin Kansa, 11.2.2011) Lapland has allegedly strong lobbyists in the parliament and the head of state. Although strong lobbying didn't bring the Arctic summit to Rovaniemi, it brought much needed attention to the Arctic region (Lapin Kansa, 19.1.2011 and 18.8.2010) It seems that the government would somewhat be aware of the situation and needs and offering of the region. However, as the summit was buried Arctic cooperation threatens to remain at the level of cooperation in environmental issues and indigenous people. These are important issues and on the Finnish Arctic agenda, but lack of comprehensive cooperation could lead to a situation where other areas of cooperation are left out. (Lapin Kansa, 8.1.2011).

The Arctic strategy of 2010 is greeted with positive attitudes towards development of Northern regions of Finland. Despite the good plans presented in the strategy it is stated in the opinion post in Kaleva (Lapin Kansa, 8.1.2011) that there still is a lack of common interest to develop the Oulu region. The writer sees Oulu as central in the Finnish Arctic perspective which should encourage to the development of the region. The Arctic is seen to offer opportunities for the Oulu region as well (Kaleva, 11.12.2010) of which Norway and Russian North-Western region is highlighted (Kaleva, 16.12.2010).

In contrast with the earlier opinion and editorials stating Lapland along with other distant regions in Finland are regarded as increasingly important with their Arctic dimension there is a group of articles questioning this view. For example an opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat starts by criticising the custom of purchasing products from abroad into Arctic environments that cannot handle to extreme climate, for example in trains, while at the same time Finnish "cold-how" is being branded elsewhere. (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.9.2013) In Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 16.1.2013) Arctic enthusiasm is seen to be undermined by the lack of implementation practiced by the government regarding any Arctic development projects Northern Finland, like the railway connection to the Arctic Ocean.

According to a later editorial in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 26.11.2013), the regional council in Lapland is trying to increase the awareness of Lapland's issues in the parliament. However, the editorial states that such information mediation could be overridden by other issues lobbied more strongly and regarded as more important. Although a later editorial (Lapin Kansa, 4.12.2013) stated the prime minister at the time, Jyrki Katainen, would have been well aware of projects going on, it seemed that the blame was then passed on to taxpayers in the rest of the country not aware of the opportunities that would open up with the development of the region. Despite interests or lack of knowledge, an editorial in Kaleva (Kaleva, 21.6.2011) states that the lack of implementation shows the low interest in Arctic development. It is feared that despite any plans, investments to develop the Northern and eastern regions in Finland will be drawn to the southern parts to the major population centres. In Kaleva (Kaleva, 16.10.2013 and 30.10.2013) Arctic development is offered as a possibility for the Oulu region to find its way out of poor economic situation. The city and its near region have the youngest population in Finland with a high percentage of high education. The Arctic could be one direction where this workforce could be given an opportunity to work. The SME's and knowledge in Oulu region could be offered to the Arctic region (Kaleva, 16.2.2012) However, according to the editorial the boundaries between the states, still prevent the moving of projects and workforce. Also it is stated that there seems to be reluctance towards offering knowledge and work to the Arctic.

Lapland is a region with long distances between population centres, which makes working logistics an important part the region's everyday life. Alongside the road network, the airport network is important for the local people as well as for the tourism industry in Lapland. The government wanted to decrease the amount of airports in Lapland, to which the head of Finavia, the company responsible for the ownership of the Finnish airports, stated that a broad network of airports is needed in Lapland (Lapin Kansa, 10.11.2013). In regard to the Arctic region, Ivalo airport is Finland's closest link to the Arctic region. An airport closer to the Arctic region with scheduled flights would better enable business travel from Finland to the near Arctic regions. (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.1.2012) In Kaleva the airport issue is also lifted in promotion of Oulu's aviation connection (Kaleva, 24.9.2010) It is suggested that Oulu could have a strong "hub" status to the direction of the Arctic. Establishment of an

Arctic air travel hub would be highly dependent on the general development of the Arctic region. A connection from northern Finland to Northern Norway and Russia would ease pressure from the capital airport as well as make everyday travelling easier for local residents in the Northern regions of the country.

Shipbuilding also comes up in relation to domestic economic development. In many instances knowledge in Arctic shipbuilding is highlighted and in domestic economic development shipbuilding appears in the context of local economies. Finland has three dockyards capable of producing arctic vessels, which are all in Russian possession. In Helsingin Sanomat the writer of an opinion post urges the government to contribute to finding new owners to the dockyards. (Helsingin Sanomat, 11.1.2013) The Shipyards are facing economic difficulties along with their owners. If the situation doesn't get better the Finnish economy faces of losing its shipbuilding industry (Helsingin Sanomat, 25.3.2013)

In domestic economic development mining also comes up. As it was earlier noted, mining can have strong regional effects both economically and environmentally. It can give an area a new source of income for people but it can also harm the regions tourism industry. Also, the risk of environmental disaster is always present, as was witnessed with the difficulties Talvivaara mine suffered in Kainuu region. Kaleva editorial (Kaleva, 13.3.2010) states that Oulu University will get an education program in mining. This allegedly will stimulate the mining industry in Finland and also bring more expertise to the field, which was seen as a demand after the Talvivaara problems started. The image of Finnish mining knowledge was damaged with the incident, and would need to be corrected if possible.

3.5.3 Tourism in the Finnish Arctic

Tourism is an important industry in Northern and Eastern Finland. Therefore when talking about the Finnish Arctic also tourism comes up in discourses as a significant field. For example the municipality of Salla is highly dependent on Russian tourism (Lapin Kansa, 17.11.2013). Economic developments in the region have made the industry even more crucial for the region. Lapland has a strong brand in tourism as a clean and untouched natural region with an Arctic climate in winter and warm summer.

Branding of the region comes up in the research material in the form of branding for tourism and design. These are very closely interlinked with each other. Especially Rovaniemi has a strong image as a design city. An editorial in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 15.2.2011) suggests that this should be used to benefit other sectors as well, such as tourism. Some faults of the city are listed, but most importantly it is urged that the design education in Rovaniemi should be used in the entire region. Wood building has strong roots in Lapland which the writer of the opinion post (Lapin Kansa, 11.11.2013) urges to be used to strengthen any brand image. The Arctic brand what Lapland has is highly dependent on the actions of the government and its policies. (Helsingin Sanomat, 15.10.2013) Any brand is easily destroyed if wrong decisions are made in contradiction with the desired image.

In the opinions section of Lapin Kansa there is an opinion post (Lapin Kansa, 5.6.2013) on Lapland's tourism in which it is stated that when considering Lapland's tourism industry and how to support it, care should be taken with environmental issues. Peace and cleanliness of the Finnish nature is one of the key factors in the Finnish tourism industry. Anything that harms this has negative effects to tourism as well. The clean nature should be cherished in Lapland, and environmentally harming activity should be carefully considered. It is Finland's key competitive edge in tourism.

3.5.4 Indigenous people in the centre of Finnish Arctic development

Rather surprisingly the issues related to the Saami, the Scandinavian indigenous people came up in the data very seldom. Only two articles within the search methods came up. As a preliminary result I see this as an implication that the issues related to Saami are not seen as closely relating to Arctic politics within the media as it is stated in the Finnish Arctic strategy of 2010. The government of Finland in its Arctic strategy clearly defines the rights of the indigenous people as a priority in Arctic politics. The objectives of the Finnish government are to ensure the participation of the indigenous people in affairs that affect their status, safeguard sufficient funding to ensure this participation and increase awareness to the issues of indigenous people in the Barents region. (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 30.)

One of the few articles found in the research material was an opinion post in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 18.4.2013) According to this post the indigenous peoples in the

Nordic countries, the Saami, have a gatekeeper status in ILO 169 agreement. It is claimed that if final decisive power is given to one part of the population instead of a consensus of all groups, harmful decisions or disagreements might be made. Therefore, it should be taken care that all affected are heard when making decisions, not just one portion. As a warning example the opinion post gives an example of China negotiating its workers to Greenland on lower wages than native workers. With this in mind the writer states that representation in Arctic affairs should be given to everyone concerned, not only Saami.

The opinion post is very sceptical towards extending rights to land to the Saami in fear that native Finns living in the Saami regions of the Nordic countries might lose decision-making rights.

3.6 EU's role and position in Finnish arctic policies

The European Union has strong connections to the Arctic region. Three of its members are part of the Arctic council, although Greenland, through which Denmark is regarded as an Arctic state, resigned from the EU in 1985. Also, considering the resources collected from the Arctic to a large amount end up in the EU. The EU's regard for the relevance of the region is demonstrated by the fact that the EU has its own policy outline for the Arctic region. The EU is also given a reason to join Arctic cooperation. The EU is seen to possess possibilities to capture some economic growth from Arctic development. (Kaleva, 20.2.2013)

It is clear that as a near region, the EU has its own interests in the Arctic region. (Helsingin Sanomat, 8.10.2010) Also it has to be remembered that the EU has three member states within the Arctic, Finland, Sweden and Denmark. Despite this, the EU does not again have say in question concerning the Arctic Ocean nor its natural resources, or the way they are used. The Nordic member states possess Arctic knowledge, and therefore of course the Nordic states would be a suitable place to house the EU's information centre to strengthen EU's Arctic knowledge. Although, the information centre wouldn't be an administrative office, it would still serve as a knowledge bank of the Arctic. Finland is a strong candidate for the centre to be established. The centre would bring EU closer to the political Arctic and enhance communication, cooperation and knowledge within the Arctic region. It goes without

saying that to be accepted into a group, the new member needs to bring something extra, this also is the requirement for the EU if it desires to be a permanent part of Arctic cooperation. Unluckily for the EU, it wasn't later accepted as an observer member of the Arctic council due to Canada's opposition. (Lapin Kansa, 17.5.2013) Mainly it was thought that EU's importing restrictions for Canadian seal products were one reason for objection of membership. (Lapin Kansa, 4.5.2013). The EU will have to utilise its Arctic member states' voice through which it can make its voice heard in the Arctic.

The EU has its own guideline for the Arctic region, but it should be strengthened. From the Finnish perspective, Finland could bring value to the EU by doing exactly this. (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.10.2013) The EU lacks efficient guidelines for its Arctic policy, and Finland would have a good opportunity to strengthen them.

Earlier on in an opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat, it was stated (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.1.2012) that Finland could use its own Arctic position to try to bring the EU closer to the Arctic. After all, the EU has an Arctic dimension through Finland and Sweden.

Common in the EU, there have been serious economic difficulties in the EU since 2008. Although Finland was one within the economically strong, recently it dropped into not so well-doing states of the EU. For Finland as well as for the EU, the Arctic could prove to be one source of economic growth, which the continent seems to desperately seek. (Lapin Kansa, 19.6.2013)

The EU is clearly showing interest in the Arctic region. This is exhibited by the granting of a 1M € to the University of Lapland to plan EU's information centre in Rovaniemi. (Lapin Kansa, 2.2.2013) The information centre would be a clear signal for other Arctic states that the EU is seriously making an effort to contribute to the Arctic region. By establishing one in Lapland, the EU could find new ways of cooperation in the Arctic. Along with the Arctic Information centre, Lapland brings wealth not only to Finland, but to the rest of the EU as well. Through member states, other EU states could find it easier to approach Arctic cooperation. (Lapin Kansa, 24.11.2010)

The plans for the Arctic information centre were notified also in Kaleva (Kaleva, 13.3.2010). The centre was also suggested to be established in Tromsø, Norway.

However, according to the editorial, the Information centre would suit much better to Rovaniemi, because Finland is an EU member, and it holds special status in the entire Arctic cooperation history. Tromsø does have better access to the Arctic, and this is why Norway applied for the centre also. Establishing such a centre would increase discourse between Arctic actors, which in turn would also highlight Lapland's and North Finland's status in the Arctic. Also the information centre to be built in Rovaniemi has high support.

The sulphur directive (Lapin Kansa, 31.1.2013) that was passed in 2012 and to be implemented from the start of 2015 has serious consequences for the economy and for the environment. The EU's directive to cut pollution in the Baltic sea will lead to rising transportation costs for EU member states within the Baltic sea region. For that reason, it was stated in Lapin Kansa's opinion posts that Finland should apply for a long customisation period. The Baltic Sea is the only sea route to Finland and if the costs of transportation rise, also the product prices will rise also.

3.7 Arctic and related knowledge in Finland

In many cases shipbuilding and ice-breaking technologies come up as strong sectors in Finnish Arctic know-how. Although these were discussed earlier, it seemed that the knowledge aspect is important enough to be briefly presented under this chapter as well. There is a strong demand for ice-breaking technology and knowledge as well as there is for shipbuilding and technology to produce off-shore equipment (Lapin Kansa, 31.1.2013). The demand for Finnish products and services in the Arctic derives from the Finnish climate where technology has been modified to stand the cold weather. (Kaleva, 9.1.2010) In Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 15.10.2013) these fields of knowledge are also mentioned along with notes that these industries have strong backbones within the Finnish society. In the case of ice-breaking, an editorial in lapin Kansa states that the Finnish knowledge in ice-breaking in the summer. It is argued that the knowledge found in Finland should be used in the Arctic to make seafaring safer for ships that are not fitted to handle arctic sea conditions and reduce the risk of environmental accidents in sea traffic. In Kaleva (Kaleva, 26.5.2013) vessels made in Finland are stated as internationally well-known for their endurance for the Arctic climate and valuable products in the Arctic region (Kaleva, 10.10.2013). The economic difficulties in Finnish dockyards which were also earlier

mentioned is seen as a threat to the industry as well as the knowledge. If the dockyards die out, also the knowledge in ship-building will be lost.

Finland has a strong IT-sector that was powered by the success of Nokia in the turn of the millennium. Although this “Nokia-boom” is well in its aftermath, knowledge gained in that era should according to some opinion posts be used to offer IT-knowledge, products and services to the development of the Arctic region. (Helsingin Sanomat, 10.9.2013) For example the plans to open a sea route to Asia would require setting up communication networks throughout the route to serve the traffic operators as well as rescue operators. In the opinion post the Arctic knowledge is offered as a new Nokia, a source for income for the Finnish economy. However, Finnish IT companies have strong rivals in other countries and regions, which are also being affected by the development needs of the Arctic region.

In addition to the IT sector, also mining and other use of natural resources come up under the theme of knowledge. The mining industry is in many cases predicted to have a significant part in domestic development of the Finnish Arctic region. There are plans to open mines in Lapland as well as in other northern and eastern areas of Finland. Therefore, high education to serve the mining industry is re-entering the Finnish educational system in universities and polytechnics. It is stated in that the IT-boom altered the educational system into a direction where high education was produced to serve the growing IT-sector with the consequence that other subjects in higher education lost at least some of their significance.

Considering the role of natural resource extraction happening and planned to happen in the Arctic region, this high education in natural resource management would have been helpful. (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.9.2013) Oulu University is being financed to create a faculty to concentrate on the mining industry. (Lapin Kansa, 16.12.2013) According to the editorial this decision is an illustration of the increasing role of mining in the Finnish economy. Also the editorial takes part in the discourse on the problems Talvivaara mine is facing and uses its mishaps to increase the importance to have more high education on the field of mining, especially if the industry is going to be developed further. An example of the education and knowledge produced for the mining industry is explained in an opinion post by Simo Rundgren to Kaleva (Kaleva, 22.1.2012). According to Rundgren, research into the working conditions in

the mining industry is a field of study that can be used in the Barents region mining industry. Working conditions in Finland in mines are good, despite the hazardous working environment. With research produced in Finnish educational institutions these hazards have been countered to minimise health risks. Despite the possibility of losing funding, such projects contribute knowledge to a growing industry in the Arctic region, as well as elsewhere.

The demand for Finnish knowledge is high in Russia (Lapin Kansa, 1.11.2013). The opinion post states that the development of the Arctic region by the littoral states requires strong knowledge in the Arctic. For some reason it is stated that Finnish companies have not found their way to provide service and answer the demand for knowledge, although there is a clear need for it. In Helsingin Sanomat there is a worrying statement made in an editorial (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012) that the educated workforce in northern and eastern parts of the country are finding their way to south Finland to the bigger cities where a source of income is easier to find with a high education. One way to utilise the educated work force is to find ways how Finnish knowledge and workers could be used in the Arctic region. Although the state cannot send anyone to the Arctic, the government can find political ways of creating opportunities for Finnish workers and companies to use the knowledge in the Arctic. This would also benefit the Finnish economy as the private sector would employ workers. If this opportunity is wasted, it could lead to a situation where others override Finnish expertise. (Lapin Kansa, 3.5.2013) The cold-how of Finnish workers, companies and other actors shouldn't be wasted as the region that demands this knowledge is nearby. Knowledge for the Arctic work abroad, in the Arctic for example, and there it should be also offered. (Lapin Kansa, 30.1.2013)

3.8 Summary on themes

The Finnish Arctic strategy of 2010 deals with four individual themes, which Heininen represents (2011, 48) as being: 1) The Arctic environment, 2) economic activities and related know-how, 3) Transportation and infrastructure and 4) The indigenous people and their right to participate in decision-making processes. The first three substance fields are well represented in the gathered data. However, the theme of indigenous people shows up only a few times in the gathered 142 editorials and opinion posts. It would suggest that the used search criteria for the articles have not covered the

indigenous people. Seemingly the three newspapers in focus do not annex indigenous people strongly with Arctic policies in Finland. The used search criteria were related strictly to Arctic policies / politics.

The first three substance fields are rather strongly represented. In many cases the found articles seem to concentrate on one or two issues within the substance fields. For example the substance field of transportation includes development of transportation opportunities, development of transportation routes and unifying the safety procedures of Arctic maritime transportation. The found articles mainly discuss the railway project from the Baltic Sea to the Arctic Ocean through Lapland and the government's stakeholder policies within the ice-breaking industry.

Also the environmental protection theme has distinct groups of articles. The groups divide into a discourse on how much the Arctic region should be protected with three groups of opinions coming up: 1) the Arctic environment should be protected more, 2) the Arctic environment is being protected sufficiently and 3) the Arctic environment should be protected less. In addition to this discourse, a major issue that came up was the Greenpeace protest on the Russian oil rig Pirazlomnaya, which also caught wide international attention.

Governmental policies came up in the research material in the above-mentioned ice-breaking operations but also in issues concerning regional development of the Finnish Arctic and stakeholder policies in the Finnish ship-building industry. Firstly, the ice-breaking operations was subject to some debate whether Finnish government owned ice-breakers should be given permission to participate in Arctic maintenance and service operations in the Arctic region during the summer months while they would be situated in the harbours in Finland. Main arguments dealt with the risks in participating in such activities against the opinions stating that Arctic seafaring would be more secure with Finnish ice-breaking know-how being used in the region, thus decreasing the risk of environmental accidents caused by poor sea route maintenance and ice conditions.

The environmental and economic interests were tied together in articles discussing the tourism industry in Lapland. In many cases economic activity and conservation of nature are the opposites in discourse, but the tourism industry confuses this layout.

The tourism industry in Lapland relies heavily on the image of clean and untouched nature of the region. Any environmental accident caused by economic activities in the region and severely damage this image and brand that has been built with considerable effort. The position of the tourism industry is interesting within the discourse as it supports economic development while conserving the natural state of the environment of the region. The most difficult controversy is highlighted in discourses on the establishment of new mines. Although successful mining and tourism industry can co-exist near each other as was represented earlier in the chapter, the industries introduce restrictions to each other.

The mining industry and natural resource use in the Arctic came up as one theme. Resource discourse both domestically and abroad came, with the domestic discourse concentrating on the mining industry and its development and abroad in supporting infrastructure building. The mining industry would economically benefit the regions where mines would be opened, although most profit would according to a few articles flow abroad as mainly foreign mining companies are investing in Finland.

Regional development policy was more a discourse between South and North. In general it was stated that Northern regions are losing in regional development as the government focuses development plans in the southern regions. Trying to argue for development plans and funds to be concentrated in the Northern regions, it was in many cases reasoned that the Arctic regions are gaining international interest, making it true also for the Arctic regions in Finland. Also, in Lapin Kansa it was stated that companies and other actors should be turning their interest towards the North instead of relying to the South for projects and such.

Economic interests in the printed media were represented in the data in themes of economic interests outside Finland, interests in Finland with tourism as an individual theme. Also, surprisingly the issues of the indigenous people come up in the economic interests' section. Firstly the economic activities in the Arctic relate mostly to the use of natural resources and infrastructure building to support this industry. Also the cross-border working and collaboration came in the articles. One finding was that for some reason in many articles the lack of working cross-border movement in the Finnish Arctic was seen as being small-scaled compared with the potential. It was invoked that for example the amount of Swedish or even Polish workers were

outnumbering the ones of Finnish in the Norwegian High North. Although very light cultural boundaries exist between the nations, it still seems that Finnish workers are reluctant to leave for work in the Arctic region. Even any difficulties in language shouldn't be the major obstacle as Polish allegedly seem to fit in the working environment.

One of the most shocking findings was that the indigenous people came up in the economic theme of the research material and was represented as an obstacle for development. It is revealing that the rights for the indigenous people to be heard in matter affecting their lives and living regions is being seen as an obstacle for development. Although the Finnish Arctic strategy points out the rights of the indigenous people to be an important issue, it would seem according to the research material to be more a nuisance that slows and endangers projects. Also the right to decide on issues affecting the indigenous people is seen to be subject to vulnerable to outside misconduct as was presented in the article concerning Greenland Inuit and Chinese projects in Greenland.

Arctic know-how is highlighted in many occasions as a strong property within the Finnish society. Finnish knowledge and capability to cope with the Arctic environment is emphasized as a competitive edge to be used in the Arctic region. A number of articles raise industries like ship-building, ice-breaking and construction as key strong points in Finnish Arctic competence. Finnish Arctic knowledge and geographic positioning in the Arctic region are mentioned in the Arctic strategy as a gateway for the EU to access the Arctic region (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 8-9). For this reason Finland was strongly pursuing to get the EU's Arctic Information Centre to Rovaniemi, a historically important city in the history of Arctic cooperation. Although EU's Arctic policies are not discussed in the articles, it is mentioned that the information centre shows also the EU's interest in the region.

4 The role of a small state in the Arctic

4.1 Security in the Arctic region

Over the past few decades the Arctic has transformed from a Cold War frontline to a peaceful and stable region that holds important economical and environmental

issues. Despite the natural resources, the states of the region have through cooperation been able to create a stable area, where there is no immediate threat of conflict or instability. The resources in the region are vast, but interestingly the region has been able to maintain a cooperative atmosphere where disputes are being settled according to international law.

The natural resources of the Arctic are also seen easily as strategic assets which are tightly attached to state's security politics. Especially the fields of energy and economic security are easily connected to natural resources. For example in Russia the natural resources of the Arctic are regarded as a strategic resource base which would enhance well-being in the entire Russian Federation (Bailes and Heininen 2012, 48-49). In the collected data there are references to the security aspect related to the relationship between security and natural resources. In Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.8.2012) it is stated that potential violence in other oil producing countries could lead to rising oil prices. This in turn might eat potential for economic development and increase pressure of oil exportation from the Arctic.

Although there is no immediate risk of conflict, according to an opinion post in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 30.12.2013) the risk has not completely vanished since the end of the Cold War. As it has happened elsewhere, diminishing resources could cause potential for conflict in the Arctic region. Kathrin Keil does not believe in an open confrontation due to resources within the five Arctic states. According to Keil, most probable disputes would be caused by Russia and the high European demand for Russian fossil fuels. This could be a spark for confrontation within the Arctic region, although mentioned as unlikely. Also, it is stated that such confrontation would be influenced by complex state-TNC relations where Russian legislation of strong domestic ownership of natural resources would be one causal factor. Despite the possibility, the probability for such to happen is seen as low. (Keil 2014, 179-180.)

The importance of the Arctic Council (AC) is recognised in the politics of the Arctic region. The AC is seen as the main arena for joint cooperation, through which Finland has best possibilities to influence international Arctic politics. Concerning the Arctic region, for example Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 17.5.2013) states that the AC is an important regional actor in the Arctic. The expansion of the Arctic Council in 2013 was found an important step for the region as it signals that the Arctic states are

willing to cooperate with non-arctic states as well. However, the fact that the EU was denied observer membership shows that there still exist obstacles that deny acceptance to one of the closest inter-governmental organisation to the Arctic. Despite this, new members in the Arctic council are seen as a way to decrease possibility for tension in the region.

An unambiguous sign of increasing interest in the Arctic region is increasing espionage. According to Kaleva's editorial the Finnish government admitted that espionage does happen in Finland. One reason for increasing espionage activity is the rising interest towards the Arctic region. The issue has allegedly been acknowledged, which is a positive outcome. The article indirectly points towards Russia and China, which both have their interests in the Arctic region. The risk of espionage should be acknowledged in the government and private sector so that trade and policy secrets could be guarded. (Kaleva, 28.10.2012) Espionage to be practiced from non-arctic states would be another clear sign of global interest in the region. Also, espionage to happen would indicate that there are states that are attempting to benefit from knowledge of Arctic policies and technology.

The Nordic states practice close defence cooperation. Especially Finland and Sweden have strong sense of cooperation in the field of joint defence. The planned defence cooperation between the Nordic states raises a possibility that the Russian government might see a Nordic military defensive cooperation a threat to its own security. (Helsingin Sanomat, 14.6.2012) Nordic Defence cooperation is strengthening which is seen as a positive outcome from the Finnish perspective. The geopolitical position where Finland is challenging which will allegedly enforce military tension in the future. (Kaleva, 14.12.2010) Military tension would supposedly be formed as Russian policy includes strengthening Russian presence in the Arctic region. (Keil 2014, 167.) Relating to the Icelandic air-surveillance operation, the author of the editorial sees the operation as a way to strengthen Nordic cooperation which is needed in the current political situation as well as in Arctic relations.

Historical knowledge and experience in governmental decisions concerning foreign policies is given attention. An editorial in Helsingin Sanomat claims that the Finnish defence forces are weak and could not respond to issues related to increasing importance of economic, military and energy security issues. If this development is

permitted to continue, the peace of the region might be challenged. The writer is very pessimistic towards the Finnish defence force's ability to counter this development if the region becomes an arena for strategic competition. (Helsingin Sanomat, 25.3.2013) Despite an estimated high moral to defend the nation, it is also claimed that Finland lacks security bonds that would influence organisations such as NATO to defend Finland. The writer feels that the high moral is not enough and money should be spent to enforce the defence forces to counter increased security pressure. Although the Arctic region is stable and peaceful, in the Second World War the natural resources in the Arctic were fought over. (Kaleva, 25.8.2013)

Everyday security of the local people in the Finnish Arctic is also raised as an issue. In the opinions of Lapin Kansa it is stated that domestic everyday security has not been considered enough in Finnish Arctic development and domestic security policy. Also the Finnish Arctic strategies, which include domestic fields as well, do not consider domestic security in the Arctic region. According to the writer, leaving police and fire department services from rural areas is a sign from the government that they are forgetting the local people and the region. The writer urges to consider the Arctic also as a region that holds complex domestic security issues along with other issues. (Lapin Kansa, 11.11.2013) In domestic terms, Finland to accept a visa-free zone in the Arctic region would threaten to create a criminal operations and tax avoidance in North Finland as well as elsewhere. (Lapin Kansa, 10.6.2013) Also climate change is seen as a security issues in Arctic policies discourse. A warming and increasingly volatile climate can cause harm in the lives of the local people. (Lapin Kansa, 4.9.2013)

4.2 Small state in the Arctic political system

Defining a small state is difficult and controversial interpretations of *smallness* exist. Despite this the gathered data holds pieces that seem to reflect a certain small state identity. These editorials that reflect the position of Finland in Arctic politics as a small state appear surprisingly often. Although the five coastal states have the right to govern resources within their borders, the emerging global interest is seen as limiting factor from littoral states' one-sided action in the region. (Helsingin Sanomat, 30.9.2013) With the global interest the Arctic region is becoming a region that is even more complex with challenges not faced before. As there is encouraging talk about

limiting power, there still remains the fact that the littoral states of the Arctic Ocean are not ready to share the rights for the natural resources in the Arctic Ocean. This can be seen as an act of power statement. Also the AC although an important arena for cooperation in the Arctic region, will not become an organisation with binding power towards its members. (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.5.2013)

The above mentioned can also be witnessed in politics between the Arctic littoral states. According to the HS editorial (Helsingin Sanomat, 14.6.2012), Norway has more important cooperation with Russia concerning the Arctic than it has towards other Nordic states. This can be explained by the fact that they are neighbouring states in the Arctic Ocean, but still remains a puzzling issue.

In HS opinion posts there is a rather utopistic view of Finnish leverage in the Arctic Council, (Helsingin Sanomat, 28.10.2013) According to the writer in environmental issues Finland should use more its membership to gain support for the protection of the Arctic environment. The reasons for this are clear, but there is some difficulty in understanding how the Finnish government could possess such power to limit the actions of other states. The littoral states have continuously disregarded other states' attempts to have a say in the Arctic Ocean. This isn't likely to change. Again, in (Helsingin Sanomat, 10.5.2011) the opinions section of Hs, writers clearly over-estimated the level of influence what Finland has in the Arctic council and its overall political leverage when the question is about the conservation of the Arctic environment. The utopistic view is surprising to repeat itself, and usually with claims to have strict environmental protection of the region put in place. (Helsingin Sanomat, 8.4.2010) When the question is about environmental protection, there seems to be a sense that nobody is doing anything to protect the Arctic environment. Although there is vast economic development and cooperation towards this, the Arctic council does have environmental protection on its agenda, and it has a working group to support the protection of the Arctic environment. The claims indicate that the role of the AC also as an arena for cooperation in conserving the environment is not fully recognised. In Lapin Kansa editorials there are also linkages to the small state role in Arctic politics. This has to do with the plans to build a railway through Finland to the Arctic Ocean. The small state role of course is not the only defining factor, but because Finland does not have a shoreline to the Ocean, it cannot one-sidedly

decide on whether to build a railway or not. It must have acceptance from either Russia or Norway, depending on where the railway would end.

In the opinion post by national representatives of the Nordic Council in Helsingin Sanomat, (Helsingin Sanomat, 23.5.2012) the Nordic states are represented in a view that would suggest thinking that Nordic states are viewed as small powers. It is stated that individually the Nordic states would be considered weak in Arctic politics, especially the non-littoral states. In joint cooperation the five Nordic states could be a more important player in international Arctic politics. By pursuing individual goals the smaller Arctic states could face isolation by larger states in the Arctic. As it was earlier pointed out in Helsingin Sanomat and in Kaleva as well (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.1.2012 and Kaleva, 23.1.2011) Finland is one of the non-littoral Arctic states without direct access to the Arctic Ocean. The geographical fact is brought up in many instances when encouraging the government and companies to increase cooperation towards the Arctic region and especially the Barents region. Arctic conditions and knowledge of them in Finland are in many cases offered as a means to contribute to Arctic cooperation. Although Finnish actors, be they governmental or private, cannot decide solely on Arctic development, they can offer expertise through cooperation in projects and such. Despite the small power status in Arctic politics, many articles give an enthusiastic inspiring image of Finnish influence in decision concerning any Arctic development.

Along with the new Arctic strategy came up opinions that followed the same line of thinking. (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.10.2013) With the new strategy, some authors saw the Finnish importance grow in the Arctic region.

In 2013 the Arctic council agreed on enlargement (Lapin Kansa, 17.5.2013), and new observer members were accepted to the council. EU has to wait for its turn a while longer, but however, the AC enlargement is a sign that other nations are taken into account when deciding on Arctic cooperation. However, as it came in Helsingin Sanomat, the AC is not a powerful and binding actor, but more a forum for cooperation. The actor role is also supported in Kaleva's opinion posts. According to the author, Finland is a small actor in the context of the Arctic region, which affects enthusiasm to enter the arctic economy and development for any company. (Kaleva, 16.12.2010)

It is a positive thing that the large non-Arctic states that have interests in the Arctic, approach the Arctic region through the observer membership of the Arctic Council. This, according to the editorial, is a clear sign of the peaceful intentions of those states. There is no desire within them to make the Arctic less stable.

The US foreign secretary on her visit did wish that Finland could take part more actively in Arctic development (Kaleva, 6.6.2012). A statement where the US secretary wished the Nordic states could be equal partners in Arctic development does seem to say that they are not equal at the moment, strengthening the view that the Nordic states, namely Finland and Sweden along with Iceland are small states in the Arctic, at least according to one state's view. Of course the wish for a more equal cooperation may be changed whether there are any changes within the US government after the elections.

The small state "dilemma" also came up at a slightly surprising field. Russia is stated to practice power politics to alter internal politics within neighbouring states, also Finland. In this instance, it is stated that Finland has no crucial bargain for security from the EU, in counter of such power politics. The security question is important in Finland, and such statements do invoke some unease. (Kaleva, 16.7.2012)

4.3 Nordic cooperation

The Nordic states have a long history in strong mutual cooperation. In the 1960's many Finns moved to Sweden in search of a better income. In the economic situation of today, such movement would according to Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 18.6.2012) be available in Norway.

In the collected data, Nordic cooperation appears in multiple forms. Firstly, Nordic cooperation is seen as through work immigration. Emigration to other Nordic states is seen as an easy transition. In Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.11.2013) it is stated that working opportunities for Finnish citizens are available in other Nordic countries, including the Norwegian High North. Despite the opportunity, according to the editorial, only a fraction of workers have taken up jobs in neighbouring countries. It is recognised that Norway is heavily investing in the High North, which is also backed up by Norwegian ambassadors' opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 13.2.2013). These investments will provide Finnish companies and

workers opportunities to earn a living.

Norway's economy according to an editorial in Kaleva (Kaleva, 23.12.2012) states that the Norwegian economy rests heavily on oil and gas industries. Since Norway will not limit these industries, it is clear that there would be work available for Finnish workers and requirement for expertise. Despite the small number of workers already working there, the editorial urges the government to enhance the flow of workers to the Norwegian High North.

Despite the low cultural barriers, these barriers still effectively obstructs workforce movement. Especially in Northern Finland, both regions would mutually benefit from work exchange. The Nordic states have a long history in cooperation and joint collaboration. This cooperation is founded on mutual trust and low cultural differences. There is a strong sense of cooperation which can benefit the entire Nordic region. The writer of the editorial suggests that the Finnish government should pursue Nordic cooperation in Arctic development. (Helsingin Sanomat, 14.6.2012)

Working opportunities in the near regions would benefit above all the Northern regions of Finland, which is highlighted in the editorials and opinions posts in Lapin Kansa. For example in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 28.11.2012) it is suggested that Norway holds potential for Finnish companies to offer their products and services. Although there is potential and interest, it is also stated that very little implementation has occurred. However, in Kaleva, an editorial that comments on a Finnish "spearhead" being established in Tromsö will serve Finnish companies in making contacts to Norway and the Arctic region altogether. (Kaleva, 17.5.2013)

Despite the small cultural differences it seems that work is not moving through borders in the case of Finland. For example an opinion post in Kaleva (Kaleva, 17.10.2013) states that the amount of Swedes working the Norwegian High North exceeds Finnish tenfold. There is strong discourse in favour of Finnish participation in Norwegian working markets due to the lack of jobs in Finland.

As a challenge to the economic cooperation is the belief that cooperation between the Nordic states concerning the Arctic region, is often left to the level of environmental protection and the consideration of indigenous people's position in the Arctic region. By including all areas of cooperation, the results could be more efficient

in all areas.

Secondly, Nordic cooperation is seen through collaborative work in the Arctic Council. The Arctic council found new observer members to join the Arctic council in Kiiruna summit in 2013. (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.5.2013)

The Finnish Arctic strategy of 2010 states that the Nordic Council of Ministers is an important inter-governmental body for Finland to support the work done in the Arctic council (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 4). So, it is clear that the Finnish government sees that Nordic cooperation in Arctic affairs and especially the work in the Arctic Council can be enhanced and supported with Nordic cooperation. Kaleva states in its editorial (Kaleva, 8.11.2011) that the Nordic states have numerous common interests. Nordic governmental summit had important issues in discussions but could still be forgotten. With the chairmanship, Finland attempts to take an active role in Nordic cooperation. However, the Nordic council according to the article seems to lack respect towards results. Overall it seems that Nordic cooperation has been taken for granted and Finland faces serious challenges in its chairmanship period in the Nordic council.

The importance of united "Nordic front" is also highlighted in the data. For example in an Helsingin Sanomat opinion post (Helsingin Sanomat, 23.5.2012) it is stated that a joint Arctic strategy between the Nordic states would best strengthen the entire Nordic region's position in Arctic politics. Working alone would according to the writer of the post lead to the possibility that the non-littoral Arctic states, which are all also Nordic states, be left out of the deciding tables. Ilulissat and Chelsea meetings already show that non-littoral states can be left out, which caused opposition from the ones left out. (Nord 2010, 834-835.) The non-littoral states are already cooperating together as is shown in the discourse on the Icelandic air surveillance issue. Finland and Sweden took part in the exercise together. As a positive outcome, Nordic cooperation does take place at least between some Nordic states. (Kaleva, 10.7.2012)

Opinion posts reflect the same attitude as was witnessed in the editorials. The Finnish government hasn't been able to take Nordic cooperation to level where trade relations and cooperation have not benefitted. It is stated that the chairmanship of the

Barents Euro-Arctic council opens this opportunity to increase cooperation and sustainable development. Despite this Norway still seems far away Arctic cooperation. (Lapin Kansa, 17.11.2013)

In the Finnish discourse on the Arctic, also Russia has a role. Although not considered a part of the Nordic states, it is clear that adjacent regions are important to each other, despite the age of globalisation. By working together, the Nordic states can promote the stable relations with Russia to continue in the future. (Kaleva, 16.7.2012)

5 (In)decision-making in Finnish Arctic policy implementation

Indecision-making comes up strongly in the gathered research material. Both editorials and opinion posts in all themes seem to repeat the message that the government in many cases lacks concrete action to implement decisions based on policies. For example in many cases it was mentioned that good plans have been made and their existence has been acknowledged, but the implementation process of those plans is not being done.

In relation to the extraction of minerals and fossil fuels, it is stated that discussion should be inverted into action. (Helsingin Sanomat, 15.10.2013) It is pointless to just let things be instead of choosing one way or another. However, it is the wide disagreement which is seen in the way of things, which is also anticipated to continue in the future. The other Arctic states will not wait for the disagreements to go on, and thus Finland threatens to be left out of Arctic cooperation in all fields.

In many occasions articles give positive feedback towards plans and policies that have been made. For example in Helsingin Sanomat in 2013 an editorial (Helsingin Sanomat, 12.11.2013) sees the Finnish Arctic policies as being a constructive plan to proceed in the Arctic region. Also in Lapin Kansa opinion post (Lapin Kansa, 16.12.2013) the writer marks discourse on the Arctic region as fruitful and successful. Following this, the decisions made should be honoured with concrete steps to ensure that Finnish companies and other institutions make their way to the Arctic region and take part in Arctic development. Likewise in Kaleva it is also written (Kaleva, 24.9.2010) that plausible plans for the development of the Oulu region as a part of the Finnish Arctic dimension exist. However, the editorial states in a pessimistic way that these plans to develop the region into a traffic hub are merely plans, nothing more.

In many cases indecision-making is argued to exist within the government. In Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 24.11.2010) it is stated that the government hasn't been able to see the positive outcomes in Arctic development, at least according to the editorial staff of the newspaper. The editorial urges to take part in the international Arctic development processes going on in the near regions of Finland. Later this indecision-making is given as a cause for regional problems in development: It is

stated in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 19.1.2011) that Lapland is facing economic difficulties which should be countered with strong implementation of forward going plans. These plans would according to the editorial include regional Nordic cooperation and economic development of the cross-border Arctic region.

The processes of indecision-making seem to show up throughout the observation period. In Kaleva opinion post (Kaleva, 25.6.2010) the writer comments on the Nordic cooperation and the 2010 Arctic strategy which is given credit for positive propositions. The writer comments that these plans are propositions without processes of implementation. Even in the end of the observation period in 2013 it was said in an opinion post in Helsingin Sanomat (Helsingin Sanomat, 9.10.2013) that leading arctic projects are missing.

The elections that were also mentioned earlier come up in the articles that discussed toing and froing. For example in Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 23.3.2011 and Lapin Kansa, 11.2.2011) it is stated that at the time of parliamentary election of 2011, MP's were more active in discussing about regions, Lapland included. However, there is a possibility that the promises and discourses might have been influenced by the elections in order to gather votes from region voters. Towards the end of the observation period in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 26.11.2013), parliamentary representatives come up in the discourse on toing and froing. In the editorial it is stated that the Kultaranta summit, housed by the president came up with new ideas and plans, which however seemed according to the article to be unlikely to happen. The summit brought new ideas, but no concrete action and although the Arctic was mentioned, it did not gain much coverage in the talks.

The northern regions of Finland are represented in the gathered material. For example in an editorial in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 8.1.2011) Lapland is said to house Arctic knowledge of the climate and environmental conditions which should be used and not stand idle as it allegedly is done now. Potential for economic growth in Lapland is highlighted in many instances. It is stated that the potential is used by giving plans and programs but no resources to carry them out (Lapin Kansa, 16.1.2013). In Lapin Kansa editorial in 2012 (Lapin Kansa, 28.11.2012) the Lapland region is facing a situation where only talks are the only thing that is happening in the Finnish Arctic region. The editorial states that this threatens to make the region a

“land of lost opportunities”. It is stated that Norway has projects starting every week without Finnish companies to provide their input in them. Although nearby the Norwegian High North doesn’t attract Finnish companies. Earlier it was stated that Finnish companies should be more active in their search for investment opportunities and market areas in the Arctic. The actors deciding on the projects in the Arctic regions of Russia and Norway will not come to companies’ doorsteps to ask for any bids. The projects going on in the Arctic region will be carried out regardless of Finnish participation. (Kaleva, 21.5.2012) Therefore Finnish companies should be encouraged to take part in the development projects and the government should find ways to assist in this. (Lapin Kansa, 16.2.2012) Towards the end of the observation period it was stated in an editorial in Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 4.12.2013) that government would be aware of the situation and possibilities the region has for Lapland. However, there seems to be negative attitude towards any proceedings in Arctic development of the Finnish Arctic region.

Again (Lapin Kansa, 15.10.2013), there is talk about the use of Arctic natural resources, both internationally and domestically. Besides talks, physical investments, that would show Finnish interest for cooperation in the Arctic, have not shown up in Norwegian High North. Relating to the discourse on Finnish ice breakers, the editorials see that in the future, the ice-breakers would be sitting in Finnish harbours through summer while they could be ensuring safe transportation in the Arctic Ocean with the ice-breaking expertise they have gained in Finnish conditions. The writer strongly comments on the opportunities for Finland to take part in Arctic cooperation is quickly fading away as new actors are arriving to the region. However, Matti Kyllönen in Kaleva (Kaleva, 29.1.2012) comments on an opinion post that the plans to create a lively sea route in the Arctic are also at the level of plans. It would create logistical connections, but many prerequisites are missing in order to fully introduce a new sea route.

In the case of Lapland, also the planned Arctic railway is also caught in indecision-making. In Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 13.6.2012) it is stated that new knowledge needs to be acquired in order to make sufficient plans. This knowledge is required sooner than later in order to keep the plans moving forward. Forecasts of future cargo volume to be transported will constitute the linings and destination of the

railway. In Lapin Kansa editorial (Lapin Kansa, 13.6.2012) the Arctic railway was seen closer to a dream than reality even at the level of plans. It is stated in the editorial that keeping the topic in people's minds it will not be forgotten and thus will be completed eventually. The Arctic railway would be an important link with the North-Eastern sea route. In Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 2.2.2013) the Arctic sea route is witnessed in the same manner as is the railway: Planned but not real. According to the editorial the Arctic vision seems to be far more impressive than reality.

In general there are findings that seem to criticise Finnish participation in Arctic development and cooperation as slow. In Kaleva (Kaleva, 17.4.2012) it is noted that Finnish actors would easily be able to access the development projects going on in the Arctic. However, all plans made to encourage and activate Finnish companies to enter the Arctic region seem to be waiting for implementation. Earlier it was already stated in Kaleva (Kaleva, 30.11.2011) that indecision-making will leave Finnish actors out of the region. In Lapin Kansa (Kaleva, 17.5.2012) the government and the parliament are given credit for discussing the Arctic region. Political discourse on the region states interest in the issue but beside the discourse no implementation of policies is being done. A sharpened comment in Kaleva by Erkki Keski-Nisula (Kaleva, 16.12.2010) accuses Finnish companies of waiting for someone else to make the first steps to avoid risks. This can also be considered in the job market, as an opinion post in Kaleva (Kaleva, 17.10.2013) wonders why Swedish workers and even Polish workers reach the Arctic region easier than the Finnish workers. The opinion post draws on toing and froing to explain the minor barriers that seem to obstruct the movement of labour in the Scandinavian Arctic.

6 Discussion

The first analytical question has already been answered in the chapters above by presenting themes that came up in the research material as separate and independent subjects. In this discussion chapter I will go through the other analytical questions connecting them to geopolitical research and in the end of this chapter I answer my initial research question.

6.1 SWOT Analysis

6.1.1 Strengths

The first analytical question sought to find out what strengths different writers saw in the Finnish policies or themes they had discussed in their articles. Throughout the research material many writers in both editorials and opinion posts saw Finnish knowledge in Arctic conditions and technology as one strong key area, from which the state, its economy and people could gain from. Fields such as ice-breaking or the required technology were commended. Keil (2014, 180) states that Russia will require both foreign capital and expertise to secure the fossil fuel industry in the Arctic to provide economic growth for the state. In the Finnish Arctic strategy of 2010, the government sees Finnish Arctic know-how as internationally top-level, though development of know-how is required. In the know-how field, the government sees the proximity of Russia as a competitive advantage which needs to be used. (Prime Minister's Office 2010, 20-21.) In many cases the neighbouring Arctic states are seen as plausible areas of cooperation in Arctic business. Anticipated projects such as the Shtokman field in the Barents Sea would benefit also neighbouring economies.

EU's Arctic interest is also seen as a positive aspect, and thus is frequently viewed as a strength. EU itself is not an Arctic organisation as such and it does not have direct links to the Arctic Ocean. However, the EU has many interests in the Arctic region: large proportion of Russian Arctic oil and gas is imported to the EU, the EU has three Arctic member states, although Greenland, having withdrawn from the EU's earlier form, EEC, makes Denmark's position as EU's link to the Arctic more complex. EU's interest in the Arctic region is promoted in the Finnish Arctic strategy and policy overall. As an EU member this is natural, but there are also implications that trying to gain the EU to adopt a stronger role in the Arctic region would also back Finnish

interests in the region. For a state of small power such as Finland in Arctic politics, it would make sense to try to pull a stronger power such as the EU into the decision-making processes in the Arctic region.

Finland's role as an Arctic state and an EU member state is complex. Finland is a state of small power in both arenas. However, small states tend to find their place in creating and sustaining cooperation. Antola and Lehtimäki (2001, 71–72) see niche diplomacy as a possibility for small states to secure their positions in international politics.

6.1.2 Weaknesses

In the weaknesses section indecision-making processes came up in numerous occasions and stood up as a major negative aspect in Finnish Arctic policies. Toing-and-froing, or indecision-making as it is called here can be divided between cases where a decision cannot be made by the responsible institution, be that the central government, regional or municipality governments or else. The other is where decisions have been made but have been failed to implement. In other words planning without implementation is just about as negative as genuine lack of interest. It would be easy to understand that lack of interest in Finnish Arctic policies could be influenced by the long distance between the southern and northern parts of the state. As Haverluk et al. (2014, 32) suggest, it is possible that in the southern parts of Finland, Europe is economically more interesting and much closer than the Norwegian Arctic.

One major issue that came up in the articles found in Lapin Kansa and Kaleva was the conception of Northern Finland as being an area of less importance than the southern part of the country. In a number of articles Northern (and Eastern) regions of Finland were seen to suffer from regional development strategies focusing on the southern centres along with Oulu about midway of the state. On the other hand, less development plans and funding in the remote regions can be understood by the fact that most the population is concentrated in the southern parts of Finland.

Other themes that were considered in a negative tone were for example the stakeholder policies practiced by the Finnish government especially in the cases of ice-breaking and Arctic railway through Finland to the Arctic Ocean. Also regional

development of Lapland and the rest of the northern and eastern regions of Finland were seen as weaknesses. Regional development was seen to interest the government in the level of speeches and promises but not as much to generate investments and supporting funding to carry out plans to develop the region. Also the cross-border movement in the northern region was seen to be more a weakness as the close proximity of a foreign developing region is not being utilised in the Northern parts of Lapland.

6.1.3 Opportunities

The Arctic region as a whole is seen as an opportunity in many ways, although all opportunities are closely linked with economic interests. A railway to the Arctic, the shipbuilding industries and ice-breaking services as well as infrastructure construction in the Arctic region all have economic ties and hopes for profit also in Finland. Opportunities found in the research material in most cases are strongly linked to the prospect of Arctic development profiting also actors in Finland.

Relating to the economic aspects, Finnish Arctic know-how is mentioned in relation to opportunities in the Arctic region. Although offering knowledge and expert services does contribute to economic developments of the region, it does also according to the research material reflect a possibility to make development of the region safer for the environment. In the Articles Finnish expertise of Arctic conditions is seen to be able to make transportation and infrastructure building safer in the Arctic region. One good example is the work safety research that is done in Kemi-Torinio University of Applied Sciences (Kaleva, 23.9.2013), which aims to improve occupational safety and health in the mining industry, also in the Arctic region.

Linked to the discourse on the protection of the Arctic environment, the Greenpeace protest to Russian oil rig Prirazlomnaya drew attention to the effects of Arctic development and the fossil fuel industry in the Arctic region. The incident with its aftermath is represented as an opportunity for environmental protection to at least bring attention to the problematic development of the region. According to the articles, Arctic development in many cases overrides demands to protect and preserve the Arctic environment. However, Palosaari points out (2011, 98) that the question whether for a government to engage in Arctic protection or its utilisation.

With its strategies on the Arctic, the Finnish government has been oriented more with the economic utilisation option. However, the need for environmental protection gained publicity with the Greenpeace strike, which did cause public conversation, also about the environmental state of the Arctic. Public opinion may have an effect in foreign policies of a state (Brewer 2006, 98). Therefore, it is possible that increasing concern may alter the Arctic policies towards the public opinion.

6.1.4 Threats

As was the case with the weaknesses mentioned earlier, the main threats recognised in the articles deal with the effects of toing-and-froing. The threats can be divided into two categories: on the one hand there is a risk of losing projects and work in general to other actors than one's coming from Finland. On the other hand the articles state a threat over regional development in the northern regions of Finland, those of Lapland and the near region of Ostro-Bothnia. Especially local difficulties in the city Oulu seem shift attention towards the north instead of south.

Also government stakeholder policies were seen to threaten the shipbuilding industry of Finland. As the government seemed reluctant to finance the dockyards capable of manufacturing vessel that endure the Arctic conditions found in the Arctic Ocean, it seemed to threaten the entire industry that could provide an important boost for the economy of the state. Also, it was visioned in the articles that shutting down the docks would cause the loss of knowledge in Arctic shipbuilding. Relating to the shipbuilding industry and the government stakeholder policies, also ice-breaking was taken up into focus. It was stated in many articles that the Finnish knowledge of ice-breaking and icy sea conditions could be used to make seafaring in the Arctic Ocean safer. Services could be offered during the summer season when the ships would otherwise stand idle in port. However, the government's stakeholder policies threaten to disrupt this activity. Although ice-breaking services are mostly provided by a government-owned company, it is still strongly controlled by the ministry responsible for government ownerships. This arrangement along with political steering is seen as a threat to the business and to the Arctic environment as less qualified and experienced crews will be operating in the area in any case.

Interestingly Jensen's and Hønneland's (2011, 47–48) research findings displaying

“The great narrative of the High North” are very similar to what is said in articles on Finnish participation in Arctic development operations. A message of everybody else is in the Arctic region and the Finns are holding back and letting other actors to take their positions. For example in the article where the amount of Finnish workers working in the Norwegian High North was compared with Swedes and even Polish workers working in the region.

6.1.5 Implications of the SWOT-analysis

When conducting a SWOT- analysis, it is not enough to just note down the observed four different parts. In addition also implications what these different parts imply to have to be thought of. These implications reflect the public discourse in newspaper media during the observation period.

Firstly, Finnish know-how in Arctic conditions according to the research data is noted. Articles that discuss Finnish Arctic know-how show the knowledge and expertise in positive light. The expertise is seen as something that could be offered to domestic Arctic development projects as well as to Arctic development project abroad. Also, by offering their expertise to the Arctic littoral states, the Finns, according to the opinions expressed in the articles, justify active involvement in Arctic development by claiming that Finnish expertise can be used to make Arctic development projects safer for the environment. One good example of this is the communication and traffic monitoring procedures used in marine traffic in the Baltic Sea could also be modified to create similar sea traffic procedures in the Arctic Ocean. The issue is very relevant especially due to the fact that such traffic from Asia to Europe is increasing by the year as ice conditions permit.

However, public discourse around Arctic know-how and business opportunities reflect the policy of the state for the Arctic region. The states policy follows the idea of economic utilisation of the region, with the expense of protection of the environment. One reason may be that other than the littoral states have very little influence in matters concerning fossil fuel extraction. If pressured, this could lead to increased isolation of the A5 group of the rest of the states (Palosaari 2011, 100). Therefore, for states that have less political leverage, it in many cases is wiser to try to positively influence larger political powers instead of directly confronting them (Antola and

Lehtimäki 2001, 13-14).

Also another important issue is the discussion around indecision-making. It comes up in weaknesses and threats but also relating to strengths and opportunities. On the one side it is clear that toing-and-froing threatens development of the Arctic region, both domestic and foreign. Failure to make decisions is causing same kind of discourse as was witnessed in Norway (Jensen and Hønneland 2011). It claims that other actors are taking the opportunities that are left behind by Finnish actors. However, as was discussed earlier, the positive side of toing-and-froing lies in the group where indecision-making is caused by lack of financing. Although nothing is done without money there still remains the fact that plans do exist, even good plans in some cases according to the articles. In these cases it is “only” a matter of finding a financier to invest in development projects, such as the Arctic railway through Finland to the Arctic Ocean.

Considering the effects of national economic and regional politics it is understandable that the regions and actors within seek opportunities in other directions. For the northern municipalities in Lapland, the Arctic regions of Norway and North-Western Russia with projects requiring expertise in Arctic conditions offer a new possibility to find areas of cooperation mutually beneficial. Although being actors within a state, the regions do have possibilities to influence and strengthen cross-border cooperation within their region. Although Armstrong and Read (2003) do discuss about states as actors in their article, regions within a state given the opportunity, may be more sensitive to the needs of the nearby regions across their borders. For example in Lapland the needs of the nearby regions of Troms, Finnmark, and Murmansk may be recognised more effectively than for example in the central government of Finland. The Lapin Kansa article (Lapin Kansa, 18.8.2010) does provide an example of the opinion that the region should adopt a more active role in searching opportunities with its own involvement. It does make sense that a nearby region with high expertise is able to respond to the needs nearby.

6.2 References in the articles

The concept of Arctic politics holds within many different aspects of issues ranging from everyday security concerns to fossil fuel industries and cross-border

cooperation between states with an increasing pressure from non-Arctic states. As was discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5 there were many themes and general discourses that were taken part in.

The Arctic railway through Finland was under a significant amount of attention in the articles. It clearly was seen as being an important project not only for the mining industry in Lapland but also for the transportation network of mainland Europe. However, Aaltola et al. contradict this by stating that such a logistic pathway with current projections of transportation amounts would be unprofitable and thus would have difficulties in finding resources to build it. (Aaltola et al. 2014, 195.) The articles in the research data discuss this in length and even a three article long discussion develops in Kaleva, the railway to the Arctic still gives hopes for enhancing regional economies in Northern Finland. However, the lack of political will to build such a railway can be seen as implication that the costs of the project would rule over the benefits.

Environmental protection is another theme that caught wide attention in the research data. As was discussed the environmental protection claims of the Arctic environment were divided into three views: 1. the current amount of protection is sufficient, 2. the current amount of protection is too much, and 3. the current amount of protection is not enough. Also the Greenpeace protest to the Russian oil rig Prirazlomnaya inspired much debate over the effects and overall sensibility. Attitudes for and against Arctic protection was found, and it seems in the articles that Arctic protection and economic activities in the Arctic contradict with each other. Any progress made in environmental protection hampers economic development of the region, and vice versa.

In strong connection with economic development as well as environmental protection, the fossil fuel and mineral extraction industries were discussed to a certain degree. In the case of the fossil fuel industry, the case of extraction oil and natural gas is a strong matter of national security in practicing states, near Finland these are Norway and Russia. For example Russia has openly declared the oil industry an issue of national security (Keil 2014, 166-167). The case with Norway came up in the research material as the opinion post by the Norwegian ministers dictated the country's fossil fuel industry a matter of national energy security. As

being matter of state security, outside actors have limited opportunities to affect policies concerning the fossil fuel industry. In some articles the position of Finland in this aspect was well exaggerated as chances of affecting the energy policies of either state are slim.

Mineral extraction was more an issue of domestic concern. Mines in Lapland were seen as regional economic boosters and endangerments to the environment. The articles were both in favour and against mines, but also concerned the economic effects of mines to the regional economy and the national economy. An established mine would create economic effects for decades, along with jobs to the regions.

6.3 The research question

I started this thesis with the question of how do Arctic policies of Finland appear in public discourse 2010-2013. In this chapter I will sum up the results and answer this query.

Firstly, the public discourse that took place in the selected newspapers circled around seven themes. These were government stakeholder policies, Arctic railway, natural resource extraction, environmental protection claims, economic interest, EU's role in the Arctic and Arctic knowledge. As such these themes can be found from the 2010 Finnish Arctic strategy. However, many issues lack attention, such as the indigenous people of Saami, which appear only in one article in the research data. It seems that not all themes considered as Arctic in the Arctic Strategy of Finland are seen as Arctic in the newspaper media.

Secondly, there were certain issues that seemed to follow the themes. These issues were: toing-and-froing in decision-making processes, small state policies, security issues and Nordic cooperation. The issue of toing-and froing was perhaps the most interesting in the sense that it came up in a fairly large amount of articles, meaning that indecision-making exists in Finnish Arctic politics and is comprehended has a problem. This comes up for example in regional development issues, government stakeholder policies, economic development projects both in internal and external markets and in the case of the Arctic railway plans.

The appearance of toing-and-froing can be caused by numerous reasons. For

example in the case of the Arctic railway there are two main obstacles that came up in the data: financing and lining. Lining as such is not a big problem per se, but does provide a glimpse into the political effects such a railway would have in the Barents region. Finland cannot one-sidedly decide to build a railway to a port in the Arctic Ocean. There has to be consent from either Russia or Norway, depending on which lining is chosen. This brings forth the fact that however good plans, prospects and possible income such a railway would produce; it has to be agreed with the littoral state in question. Although a clear question of jurisdiction obtains, the policies of Finland are still in this matter dependant on the decisions of others. The other major reason for the toing-and-froing is finance. The government lacks funds to carry out plans that have been made in the areas of regional development, cross-border cooperation in Lapland or in government stakeholder policies.

The concept of small state holds within issues of security, small state policies and Nordic cooperation. As it was discussed earlier in chapter 2, states with small amount of power or influence tend to cooperate with other small states to achieve their goals. (Wivel 2005, 408-410.) Nordic cooperation and especially Finland's policies to some extent can be seen as relating to the small power policy practice. Finland cannot directly influence what goes on in the Arctic Ocean, but it can build cooperative networks with other Arctic states to have some effect in the way how the Arctic region is being developed. Also, as Kathrin Keil (2014, 179-181) considers the EU to be an important player especially in Russian Arctic politics in the energy sector, it is understandable that Finland attempts to draw the EU to become a more influential Arctic player.

The security issues related with Arctic policies mainly dealt with the overall security of the Arctic region. The research data showed that the region was observed to hold the pieces required for conflict to erupt despite the fact that the region has maintained its peaceful status since the end of the Cold War. The articles did find a common tone in issues relating to military cooperation, aligned with the Nordic states. As a part of Nordic cooperation, joint military cooperation was in many cases predicated to be necessary to maintain the peaceful status. No doubt in the matter, Russia is seen as a spontaneous neighbour which requires certain measures to be undertaken.

Overall the Arctic is recognised as an important region also for Finland and a

direction where cooperation could lead to a boost in the economy, both domestically and internationally. Although economic issues are important environmental issues are also taken into account in the gathered articles. Finland is perceived as a nation possessing vast expertise in Arctic issues and conditions as well as the required technologies to withstand the Arctic climate. The cooperative policies practiced in the Arctic region are seen to contribute to the causes that Finland is pursuing in its Arctic strategy.

7 Conclusion

This research has shown that there is rich discourse in issues relating to Finnish Arctic politics in the selected newspaper media. In general, it is safe to say that such discourse would also take place in other newspapers as well, although with regional nuances in both volume and themes. However, the discourses going on seem to limit only into a handful of topics, which all deal with Arctic politics, but leave out many issues that are for example mentioned in the Arctic strategies of Finland. Especially surprising was the fact that with the search criteria limited to Arctic, only one article dealt with the indigenous people of Saami. I have no doubt that articles on the issues of the indigenous people would have appeared in the newspapers' editorials and opinion posts if search criteria would have been extended into themes mentioned in the Arctic strategies. However, this does provide a specific piece of evidence that the issues of the Saami are not perceived as belonging into Arctic affairs in the media.

In this research I have not included analysis on the differences of government programs within the selected time period. It would have been also interesting and revealing to study how different elected governments have considered the Arctic region and its policies in their government programs. Within the time period that was focused on in this study Finland had three governments: Matti Vanhanen's second government, Mari Kiviniemi's government and Jyrki Katainen's government (Finnish Government 2015). In this study the focus was more on the issues of public discourses. A similar study with research data gathered from the news could reveal more interesting facts about the Finnish approach towards Arctic policies.

Also, this research focused on three newspapers, which were chosen to represent both a national level and more regional level. Although all newspapers focus on

regional issues, especially Helsingin Sanomat is also considered a national level newspaper. However, in order to get a more broad picture, it should be considered that other newspapers be included as well, for example from the South-Western region of Finland which has strong shipbuilding industries in Turku and Rauma which have a strong footprint in Finnish ice-breaker manufacturing.

This thesis has merely scratched the surface of the public opinions towards Finnish engagement in Arctic activities. The research at hand has revealed that the public discourse in newspaper media circle around certain popular themes, which are to some extent dictated by the policies practiced by the central government. Also regional emphases exist, concentrating on the most part the regional economic situation and development.

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Appendix: List of editorials and opinion posts

Editorials in Helsingin Sanomat

Signed editorials in Helsingin Sanomat are expert statements on timely issues that are edited by the editorial board.

8.10.2010, Euroopassa tarvitaan tietoa arktisesta alueesta, Paula Kankaanpää

14.6.2012, Pohjolan yhteistyö saa kunnan pirstyrukseen

18.6.2012, Kehitysalueista talouden vetureiksi

12.8.2012, Kultasuoni on lähempänä kuin uskoisi, Yrjö Myllylä

19.5.2013, Arktinen neuvosto ei käske

8.7.2013, Saamelaisuudelle tärkeintä on oman kielen vaaliminen, Janne Saarikivi and Irja Seurujärvi-Kari

12.8.2013, Suomen politiikka vie kohti ilmastokatastrofia, Kaisa-Reeta Koskinen and Meri Pukarinen

13.8.2013, Kuuma kesä Koillisväylällä

30.9.2013, Suomen arktiset tavoitteet ovat ristiriidassa keskenään, Harri Mikkola and Juha Käpylä

6.10.2013, LNG-hanketta turha pilata riitelyllä

15.10.2013, Hautalan ero paljasti erimielisyyden Suomen arktisesta strategiasta

16.10.2013, Omistajaohjaus on pidettävä taka-alalla

12.11.2013, Työ voi liikkua neljään suuntaan

19.12.2013, Taitava siirto valtiolta

Opinion posts in Helsingin Sanomat

1.3.2010, Suomi sopisi sijainniltaan öljyputkien ja rautatierahdin kauttakulkumaaksi, Markku Heiskanen

8.4.2010, Arktista aluetta suojellaan jo olemassa olevassa neuvostossa, Olli Pahkala

29.4.2010, Kuka sanoo, että sodat on jo sodittu?, Perttu Helin

19.1.2011, Murmansk olisi paras päätepiste Jäämeren radalle, Markku af Heurlin

8.5.2011, Arktinen luonto ei saa tallautua talouden jalkoihin, Hannele Pokka

10.5.2011, Suomella on erityisvastuu arktisen alueen tulevaisuudesta, Tapio Laakso

23.12.2011, Rovaniemi arktisen toiminnan keskuksiksi, Esko Rieppola

13.1.2012, Suomelle voi olla paikka arktisessa buumissa, Timo Koivusalo

23.5.2012, Pohjoismaat voisivat osallistua aiempaa tiiviimmin arktisen alueen hankkeisiin, Kimmo Sasi, Helgi Hjörvar, Bendiks H. Arnesen, Karin Åström and Bertel Haarder

27.9.2012, Jäämeren ratayhteys auttaisi teollisuutta, Aimo Piirainen Ylivieska

11.1.2013, Suomea ei voi jättää muiden armoille poikkeusoloissa, Tuija Alanko

13.2.2013, Kansainvälinen yhteistyö toimii arktisilla alueilla, Torgeir Larsen and Per Rune Henriksen

25.3.2013, Malmivarat eivät hupene, vaikka hinnat nousevat, Mikael Rinne

11.5.2013, Yhteistyö Venäjän kanssa voisi pelastaa telakat, Kari Uotila and Antero Eerola

9.9.2013, Osaaminen on kytkettävä takaisin ympäristöön, Yrjö Myllylä

10.9.2013, Arktinen osaaminen on yksi Suomen vahvuuksista, Markku Heiskanen

4.10.2013, Jäämeren öljy pitää jättää rauhaan, Harri Haanpää

9.10.2013, Arktinen strategia toteuttaa yhteisiä tavoitteita, Hannu Halinen

15.10.2013, Arktinen öljynporaus on tullut jäädäkseen, Pauli Jumppanen

21.10.2013, Öljynporaus ei kuulu arktiseen politiikkaamme, Eila Tiainen and Silvia Modig

28.10.2013, Arktista aluetta suojeltava tiukasti, Niko Urho

Editorials in Kaleva

9.1.2010, Kylmää säätä, muuttuvaa ilmastoa

13.3.2010, Keskus istuu Rovaniemelle

16.3.2010, Avaus oloasudiplomatiaan

24.9.2010, Oululle luvassa nousukiito

18.10.2010, Meriliikenne joutuu ahtaalle

3.1.2011, Jäänmurtajat pohjoiseen

23.1.2011, Arktinen on auki toiminnalle

21.6.2011, Merja Kyllönen paljon vartijana

8.11.2011, Esteitä raivattava sujuvan yhteistyön tieltä

15.11.2011, Kaasuputkesta uutta virtaa

30.11.2011, Alueen äänellä on merkitystä

16.2.2012, Kaasua ei kannata ohittaa

12.3.2012, Uutta sampoja taotaan nyt

17.4.2012, Venäläiset voisivat aloittaa anteeksipyynnöllä

9.5.2012, Hyvinvoinnin ehtona kasvu
17.5.2012, Valtausoikeutta syytä harkita
21.5.2012, Tilaukset kohta ennätystasolla
6.6.2012, Venäjän arktinen markkina-alue lupaava
20.6.2012, Pohjoisen nousu vaatii toimintaa
28.6.2012, Tärkeintä, että Clintonin Suomen-vierailu toteutui
10.7.2012, Ei vain yhden tukijalan varaan
16.7.2012, WTO:sta virtaa idänkauppaan
28.10.2012, Ilmavalvonta ei ole mörkö
8.12.2012, Talous suhteiden moottoriksi
23.12.2012, Tiivistä vakoilua myös Suomessa
20.2.2013, Uutta puhtia pohjoiseen
17.5.2013, Norjasta löytyy työtä suomalaisillekin
26.5.2013, Harvat päät yhteen pohjoisilla alueilla
4.8.2013, Ilmastokeskustelussa pidettävä pää kylmänä
18.9.2013, Yksi tukijalka uhkaa pettää
28.9.2013, Venäjä ampuu tykillä hyttysiä
3.10.2013, Saastuttajat ensin kuriin
10.10.2013, Ministeri Hautala ei ole tehtäviensä tasalla
15.10.2013, Satu Hassi jatkaisi Hautalan linjalla
16.10.2013, Arktinen taito toiminnaksi
30.10.2013, Epävarmuuden sijaan toivoa
23.12.2013, Aitoa vauhtia arktisuuteen

Opinion posts in Kaleva

7.3.2010, Pohjoisen uudet väylät mahdollisuus, Tytti Tuppurainen
25.6.2010, Oulu kurottaa pohjoiseen, Niko Finnilä
11.12.2010, Jäämeren radat, Erkki Keski-Nisula
14.12.2010, Jäämeren ratahanke, Eero Lindgren
16.12.2010, Jäämeren radat tukevat Seinäjoen radan kunnostusta, Erkki Keski-Nisula
22.11.2011, Vielä arktisen alueen kehittämisestä, Mauri Pekkarinen
22.1.2012, Lappi ei ole Pohjolan Kongo, Simo Rundgren
29.1.2012, Suomi tarvitsee Sauli Niinistön kokemusta, Matti Kyllönen

18.2.2012, Asevelvollisia tarvitaan jatkossakin, Vilho Kinnunen
8.5.2012, Perussuomalaiset käänsi jo maan suunnan, Matti Kyllönen
6.6.2012, Erilaisiin uhkiin varaudutaan yhteistyöllä, Esko Kurvinen
30.11.2012, Koillisväylä reitti myös suomalaisille, Esko Kurvinen
31.5.2013, Pohjoista työtä tarjolla, Esko Kurvinen
25.8.2013, Omavaraisuus kunniaan, Matti Kyllönen
23.9.2013, Työhyvinvointia kaivosalalle, Airi Palostie
17.10.2013, Hassi näkee kokonaisuudet, Veikko Ervasti
8.12.2013, Kasvua arktiselta alueelta, Valtteri Huhtamalla

Editorials in Lapin Kansa

2.1.2010, Lappiko etelän elätti?
6.2.2010, Rata avaisi Jäämeren käytävän
18.8.2010, Lapilla on tuhannen taalan paikka
24.11.2010, Terävä katse nyt kohti pohjoista
8.1.2011, Pohjoinen nostaa profiiliaan
19.1.2011, Pohjoinen on saanut lisää puolestapuhujia
11.2.2011, Ulkoministerikin lobbaa pohjoista
15.2.2011, Arktisuus on pohjaton luovuuden lähde
23.3.2011, Hallitus tarvitsee Lappi-ohjelman
16.2.2012, Arktisen tulevaisuus Suomenkin käsissä
13.6.2012, Arktiselle ei pääse ilman kulkureittejä
4.9.2012, Kaasukentän kaatumisen pettymys pohjoisessa
6.10.2012, Jäämeren radalle tukea tohtoreilta
21.10.2012, Norjan houkutus kasvaa edelleen
28.11.2012, Norjan potentiaalia ihmetelty jo tarpeeksi
11.12.2012, Vain aito brändi toimii käytännössä
16.1.2013, Maakunta ei kehity pelkillä ohjelmilla
2.2.2013, Informaatiokeskus pykälän eteenpäin
11.2.2013, Jäämeren rata innostaa Norjassa
4.5.2013, Suurvallat innostuivat pohjoisesta
17.5.2013, Arktinen neuvosto turvaa puhevälit
10.6.2013, Ulkoministeriö hätäili kannanotossaan
19.6.2013, Kultaranta muuttaa puhetapaa, ei linjaa

12.9.2013, Venäjä lämpeni Sallan ratayhteydelle
19.9.2013, Polveutumista vai kielitaitoa?
1.10.2013, On korkein aika ryhtyä toimiin
3.10.2013, Eduskunta sanaili pohjoisesta
4.10.2013, Öljynpora on koko Venäjän selkäranka
15.10.2013, Suomelta löytyy arktista annettavaa
18.10.2013, Haavisto aloittaa varovaisesti
25.10.2013, Kovat tuomiot yhä mahdollisia
6.11.2013, Lappi tarvitsee yhä kultaväkeään
10.11.2013, Lapista ei löydy turhia lentokenttiä
17.11.2013, Matkailijat tuovat toivoa Sallaan
19.11.2013, Kiinalaista ratarahaa tarjolla?
26.11.2013, Lappi tarvitsee poroelinkeinoaan
26.11.2013, Pukuherrat pistäytyivät pohjoisessa
2.12.2013, Kaivos ei estä matkailua
4.12.2013, Katainen näkee hyvin pohjoiseen
16.12.2013, Pohjoiseen tarvitaan lisää kaivososaamista
16.12.2013, Arktiselle osaamiselle hintalappu
30.12.2013, Suurta kalaa on syytä tavoitella

Opinion posts in Lapin Kansa

30.1.2013, Edessä arktinen muutosmyrsky, Mika Aaltonen
31.1.2013, Katse kohti pohjoista, Johanna Ojala-Niemelä
2.2.2013, Suomen globaali asema vahvistuu, Sauli Niinistö
12.4.2013, Voiko arktisia luonnonvaroja hyödyntää kestävästi?, Timo Koivurova
18.4.2013, Arktisten luonnonvarojen portinvartijat, Tapio Kiiskinen
3.5.2013, Kaikki osaaminen hyödynnettävä, Erkki Leppävuori
5.6.2013, Luonnossa lepää Lapin matkailupotentiaali, Minna-Carita Haantie
4.9.2013, Jäämerellä tulee aina olemaan jäätä, Justiina Dahl
1.11.2013, Jäämeren markkinoista, Kari Nojonen
11.11.2013, Arktisuus muutakin kuin jään murtamista, Aimo Ahti
16.12.2013, Lukekaa, päättäjät, Juhani Sipola