

**“We are living in pivotal times for the humankind”:
Presidential framing power in 2013–2024**

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This article examines presidential power in Finland from the perspective of framing power. Framing power refers to president’s ability to frame issues so effectively that he or she can influence popular perceptions and socialise citizens into particular norms. In the public debate in Finland, this is often referred to as value leadership, which is an ambiguous and fluid concept. In this article, the New Year’s Speeches by President Sauli Niinistö (2012–2024) are studied through frame analysis, identifying four key frames: (1) the national cohesion frame, (2) the perishing environment frame, (3) the deteriorating economy frame and (4) the durable foreign policy frame. These frames are analysed in relation to the societal conditions at the end of the president’s term in 2024. The article responds to the questions of *what type* of framing power Niinistö exerted during his two presidential terms and *how* he succeeded in it. Niinistö has been called a powerful leader, but this study shows that his framing power appears weak. At the end of his term, the societal conditions in Finland were in conflict with the norms he was disseminating as President.

Keywords: power, president, frame analysis, rhetoric, Sauli Niinistö

In search of the ideology of the educational policies of the far-right

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The article examines the education policy programs of two Finnish and two German far-right parties. The parties we looked at are the Basic Finns and the Blue and Black Movement in Finland, and in Germany the Alternative for Germany (Alternativ für Deutschland) and the National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, since then renamed Heimat). The article's research question is how these parties formulate educational policy ideas typical of far-right parties in their educational policy programs, and what similarities and differences there are between the programs. We answer the question by analyzing the educational policy and other programs of the parties using the method of theory-driven content analysis. The categories that guide the content analysis are derived from previous research on far-right education policy. Our analysis shows that the far-right education policy programs are similar in many respects. Their ethos emphasizes anti-intellectualism, an instrumental understanding of education, national identity, and sport. They accuse current educational institutions of ideological indoctrination. In addition, they consider it important to differentiate students according to their skill level and demand restoration of the authority of teachers, discipline and order in schools. Several of these principles contradict the ideals and values of liberal democracy.

Keywords: far-right, education policy, educational ideology, liberal democracy, illiberalism

Who wants “super-politicians”?

A study about the relationship between trust in the political system, political sophistication and attitudes towards multiple-mandate holding among Finnish politicians

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Previous research has shown that citizens in general tend to express a negative disposition towards the phenomenon of multiple-mandate holding, i.e., the simultaneous exercise of at least two directly elected political functions. This phenomenon has in Finland also contributed to a public debate, as the extent of multiple-mandate holding in Finland stands out in a comparative European perspective. The potential costs and benefits from a political system perspective have been extensively discussed by previous research, although the literature is still missing more explanatory studies from a citizen perspective focusing on explaining individual-level variation in attitudes towards multiple-mandate holding. This especially applies within a national context characterized by extensive multiple-mandate holding among politicians. The purpose of this study is therefore to make an empirical contribution to fill that lacuna. In order to explore this phenomenon, we use survey data collected from a Finnish citizen panel during 2022–2023 which is analysed using suitable statistical analyses. The results show that there is a clear association between how citizens relate to the workings of the political system, and attitudes towards multiple-mandate holding, while we were unable to confirm an expected association between individual-level political sophistication and attitudes towards multiple-mandate holding.

Keywords: multiple-mandate holding, critical citizens, cognitive mobilization, political trust, political sophistication