Business Meets Politics
Intertwined economic and political discursive structures in the case of Nokia in Finland
MIKKO POUTANEN

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As my career at Nokia drew to an end in 2012, it was time for a change. This was true for many ex-Nokians. In my case, however, that change included a plan that would take me back academia, six years after graduating. Rationally speaking the choice was not at all obvious: the funding structures of Finnish academia had become tight – today they are tighter still! – and after a six year break I would be competing for jobs and grants with younger scholars whose connection with the University had never been broken. This is not to say I hadn’t flirted with academia persistently during my Nokia career. I had presented a few papers at conferences at my own expense because it was fun.

Working at Nokia had sparked an increasingly pressing interest in the combination of language and society, and the relationship of business and politics in particular. In that sense my experience in Nokia motivated me to think deeper and more critically about what was being said, why, and by whom. When I got a chance to reconnect with the academic community via the Sustainable Transformation (SUSTR) project at Aalto University, it seemed clear enough that I would return to the University of Tampere. There was more for me yet to learn, and I also had a burning desire to talk about what I had learned – as many of my friends have found out, some to their pleasure and others to their chagrin.

Going back to academia to pursue a PhD could be equated with what some would describe as a calling. It is not guided by rationality as much as it is guided by feeling. A feeling that this is the right thing to do, and that I have arrived at the right place, for me. While research and teaching are often endless time-sinks and sure-fire ways to develop crippling anxieties and inferiority-complexes, they are also immensely rewarding and enjoyable. Wanting to make academia a better place for everyone also channelled into me getting involved in trade union affairs and taking up a position as a shop steward at the University. Higher education deserves to be defended vigorously. However, I want to keep this positive and not tumble into a rant on education policy. So, instead, I wish to thank everyone who has been a part of this journey, the end-result of which you now hold in your hands.
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My mother, Ulla Poutanen has been there for me all my life. She has shown nothing but dedication to both of her sons since our father passed away in 2002. It is a warm feeling to know that I am always welcomed back home – for Christmas or just to unwind for a weekend. Even if we sometimes argue, we always make up soon afterwards. The deep appreciation I have for her goes unsaid far too often, as she kindly took over watching the PhDoge when I was nearing exhaustion at various points of the writing process. Kiitos, äiti.


Mikko Poutanen
ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the range of public discourse and argumentation in Finland. Political arguments in public discourse are a site of a struggle over meaning and hegemonic influence, defining what issues get talked about and by whom. Specific arguments are at one hand strategically promoted, and on the other autonomously adopted. Persuasion, rather than coercion, is necessary to convince others of the legitimacy of proposed actions in a democracy. The dissertation focuses in particular on how public economic discourse and argumentation resonates in political discourse. Discourse, after all, reflects social practice.

The sharing of similar meanings, premises and arguments informs a specific kind of logic that is not unique to a single discursive field. The mutual supportiveness of the argumentative elements increase their salience. Successful arguments, in particular, lead by example. A corporate actor may find it useful to stress extraneous circumstances over his own agency to claim that controversial actions are inevitable and necessary, and thus not debatable. Lack of agency suggests lack of accountability. Political agents gain more legitimacy for their proposed policy agenda if the assumptions and arguments implicit in that agenda are familiar to audiences from the business context.

This research is motivated by a critical examination of the proliferation of arguments of “tough but necessary” decisions, commonplace in the public sphere. The same argumentative structure is visible between CEOs, who argue for downsizings as painful but necessary, even inevitable actions that would safeguard the company's future prosperity, and politicians, who argue that reduction of public expenditures is an equally painful but necessary action to balance public finances in order to secure the future of the Finnish welfare society. In both cases, actors declare reluctance and yet demand decisive action, short-term loss over long-term gain. After all, reducing public expenditure and labour costs both serve the bottom-line. This rationale reflects the economic logic of scarcity in both cases. The dissertation considers the consequences of prioritizing economic discourse in political discourse and democratic practice.

The age of globalization has prompted a shift towards conceptualizing politics through competitiveness and fiscal responsibility first. Rather than looking at the
arguments presented alone, it is necessary to understand such macro-level shifts in discourse and social practice in broader terms. These arguments and discourse form the operational level of pro-market frames, informed by neoliberal ideology. All three levels – argumentation theory informed by the argumentative turn of “Faircloughian” critical discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012), framing theory, and ideology theory – are necessary to fully encapsulate how understanding and decision-making in society develops not only through sense-making but sense-giving. This approach is integral to producing, reproducing, and sustaining structures of power through an interplay of business and political interests in public discourse.

The theoretical triangulation of this work is matched with an empirical triangulation of business, media, and political discourse. The risk posed by hegemonic dominance of one particular ideology and its associated frames and discourse are different depending on the discursive field in question. In business discourse prioritizing corporate logic can be expected to dominate. In media reporting, however, a plurality of viewpoints should be available to inform the citizenry. Moreover, deliberative democracy in particular relies on sincere debates and arguments in order to, according to the Habermasian ideal, achieve equitable and inclusive decision-making.

However, if there are no viable alternatives, and discourse links financial survival directly to national political survival, political deliberation becomes fraught. Hesitation and delay are often presented as irresponsible in what is seen as an impending crisis. As such, politics risk becoming a de facto extension of economics. In so doing political decisions necessarily derive their basis and legitimacy from economics, and economic language. This leads to a narrowing of credible and feasible political alternatives, when it is the purpose of politics to find possibilities and alternatives. A singular ideology means there is no choice, and politics lose their raison d’être.

The Finland-originated but multinational telecommunications company Nokia serves in this dissertation as a corporate operative exemplifying the rationale of business argumentation and discourse. This dissertation is not as much an investigation of what kind of a corporate actor Nokia is, but what kind of corporate discourse it promoted in the Finnish context. Nokia’s power and influence in Finland make it a suitable example to draw on for the purposes of analysing the interplay of economic and political discourse. What was good for Nokia was often seen as being good for Finland. Furthermore, Finland’s position in the tradition of Nordic welfare states makes the competition between the
competing frames of pro-market and societal interest also relevant, as the corresponding ideological struggle is between neoliberal ideology and the tradition of the Nordic welfare state respectively. The role of elite-dissemination of hegemonic ideological logic and discursive practice is also explored, given the tightly knit composition of Finnish business and political elites.

The first level of analysis focuses on corporate speech via Nokia's press releases, particularly relating to downsizing events, which were controversial and required careful argumentation to preserve the legitimacy of the company as a responsible corporate citizen. The second level of analysis deals with media discourse relating to Nokia's downsizing. It observes how strongly the media took up Nokia's pro-market framing of the events. Media analysis focuses on three Finnish newspapers: Helsingin Sanomat (a socio-political approach), Kauppalehti (business approach) and Ilta-Sanomat (tabloid with national interest leanings) to provide a broad overview of reporting relating to Nokia's downsizing events. The third level of analysis looks at political discourse in the form of budgetary speeches by Finnish Finance Ministers and party responses in Parliament. This last level follows the example set by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) in seeing budgetary debates as key moments that present the state of the national political economy is stated and propose possible ways forward.

The research timeline covers business discourse from Nokia from the early 2000s to 2013 – to the point when Nokia's mobile phone business was sold to Microsoft. The same timeline is followed in the media material following Nokia's rationalizations and public reactions to its downsizing events. Political discourse is explored through four budgetary speeches and their responses from 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2013. This allows the research to canvas the state of Finnish public discourse in three fields over a period of time – 12 years. This period covers the rapid globalization process of Finland and Nokia both in the early 2000s, the height of an economic boom in 2006, the shift from stimulus to austerity in 2011, and an uncertain future discussed in 2013.

The research shows that economic logic is a powerful means to frame the debate: while it is expected that corporations prioritize economic logic in stating their case, it is troubling from the perspective of societal plurality that the same logic is reproduced in mainstream Finnish media. In some cases it is not only reproduced, but amplified through quoted expert sources, leaving very little room for objections challenging economic logic. This is not to say societal concerns are not addressed, but they are clearly given lower priority. Objections from the point of view of e.g. employee interest are subservient to issues of competitiveness and
efficiency. It becomes increasingly problematic when the same logic is applied, most notably after the 2007-2008 financial crisis, to political debates. This argumentative development continues with later Finnish governments.

The analysis reveals a powerful preference for pro-market frames that are largely interpreted as austerity policy. While both societal and fiscal responsibilities feature strongly in the arguments deciding the course of Finnish public finances, the arguably more powerful aspect is the latter one. It is only through fiscal responsibility that societal responsibilities can be realized. In essence, this argumentative structure is notably similar to that of a corporation undergoing restructuring: only once the company returns to profitability can the company’s responsibilities towards its employees be realized. The media, it is found, often emphasizes this framing of priorities. Indeed, trade unions fail to argue for their members and politicians use Nokia’s decline as a direct comparison to the decline of Finnish public finances. Both Nokia and Finland are represented in a crisis, and the only way out for both is fiscal discipline. On the level of discourse, there still exists wide support for responsible, fair, and socially just policies of the welfare state. While these values exist in discourse, they are relegated to secondary positions because they make less sense in the context of pro-market arguments in a competitive state.

This research contributes expansively to both theoretical and empirical literature on the neoliberal shift in conceptualizing the political economy in the Nordic states. Theoretical triangulation serves as a workable model of intertwined approaches to qualitative analysis that still presents argumentative political discourse, frames and ideology as separate concepts. It also contributes in the fields of 1) business studies – and organization studies and critical literature of corporate social responsibility in particular – 2) critical media studies and 3) studies on the political economy. The findings are in line with previous literature in the critical tradition, and shed light on the transformation of Finnish society (and welfare state) in the 21st century.

While centred on Finland and partially on Nokia, it is unlikely that this homogenizing argumentative this practice is unique to the Finnish context. The consequences of this development for active social and political participation need to be explored further.
Keywords: austerity, argumentation, business studies, corporate social responsibility, critical discourse analysis, critical media studies, deliberation, Finland, ideology theory, Nokia, political debates, political economy, public discourse, public policy
TIIVISTELMÄ


argumentaatio-rakennetta. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan taloudellisen toimintalogiikan ja argumentaation valta-asemaa demokraattisessa päätöksenteossa.


Tutkimuksen teoreettinen kolmijakoisuus yhdistyy tutkimusaineiston omaan kolmijakoisuuteen: tutkimusalueena ovat yhtälailla yritysten, median ja politiikan diskurssit. Mikäli yhden yhteiskunnallisen alueen puhetapa ja logiikka ylikorostuu todellisesti hegemoniaksi, kenttien väliset erot muuttuvat pinnalliksi. Vaikka on ymmärrettävää, että liiketoiminnassa taloudellinen ajattelutapa on luonnollisesti keskiössä, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin. Yksipuolisen kuvan välittäminen kiihtävää näkökulmaa yhteiskunnallisin asioihin, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin. Yksipuolisen kuvan välittäminen kiihtävää näkökulmaa yhteiskunnallisin asioihin, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin. Yksipuolisen kuvan välittäminen kiihtävää näkökulmaa yhteiskunnallisin asioihin, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin. Yksipuolisen kuvan välittäminen kiihtävää näkökulmaa yhteiskunnallisin asioihin, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin. Yksipuolisen kuvan välittäminen kiihtävää näkökulmaa yhteiskunnallisin asioihin, median tehtävä on informoida kansalaisia ja tarjota moninäisiä näkökulmia yhteiskunnallisiin asioihin.


edelleen ja tulevaisuus näyttää yhä epävarmalta. Samana vuonna Nokian matkapuhelintoiminta myytiin Microsoftille.


tutkimuksen – risteykseen. Tutkimuksen löydökset vahvistavat kriittisen tutkimuksen aiempia löyöksiä, sekä valottavat suomalaisen yhteiskunnan muutosta.

Vaikka tutkimus on keskittynyt osittain Nokiaan ja erityisesti Suomen kansalliseen kontekstiin, on kuitenkin todennäköistä, että tutkimuksen lähestymistapa ja tulokset ovat sovellettavissa laajemminkin eurooppalaisessa kontekstissa. Tutkimus antaa myös viitteitä siitä, että yhteiskunnallisen diskurssin ja argumentaation yksipuolistumisen seurauksia esimerkiksi poliitikalle on syytä tutkia edelleen. Taloudellisen teknokratian ylivalta saattaa heijastua poliittisten ja yhteiskunnallisten voimien kanavointumiseen uusin tavoin.

Avainsanat: argumentaatio, budjetti, deliberaatioteoria, ideologiateoria, päätöksenteko, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, kriittinen mediatutkimus, Nokia, poliittinen talous, Suomi, talouskuri, yhteiskuntatutkimus, yritysten sosiaalinen vastuu
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1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the plurality of arguments present in public discourse. Discourse is action, and communication exercises ordering power. Agents present arguments in favour of their chosen courses of action, and objections to undesirable courses of action taken by others. Accordingly, Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips (2006: 17) state that “discourses shape structures and provide the means for ordering the political structure. Thus organizations and individuals use discourses purposefully to shape the political situations in and through which they can act and perform”. A plurality of arguments and opinions enable dialogue and deliberation, but is not necessarily conducive for the interests of an agent seeking to advance their goals – political or otherwise. As such, arguments are a site of a struggle over meaning and hegemonic influence. Hegemonic discourse and ideology in the public sphere – public discourse – speaks directly to the crafting of social, economic and political reality; who gets to speak publically and with what authority, who does not, and what does this hierarchy of discourse signify politically? Different social fields have at least superficially different logics according to which they communicate publically. However, no discursive field is truly isolated from others, meaning that the nature of public discourse is by definition intertwined. Argumentation based on ideology ranges across many, if not all, fields of society. A dominant logic of argumentation seeks to expand to strengthen its salience and applicability beyond its original field.

This research investigates how does economic speech in public discourse resonate in political discourse? Are similar meanings shared, and are similar logical constructions then used to act upon? Do the same discursive logics exist in an overall similar ideological context? A political agent would gain more legitimacy for their proposed policy agenda if the assumptions and arguments implicit in their agenda are familiar to audiences from other contexts. Similarly it is a company’s interests to see its discourse adopted elsewhere, especially when co-opting public power. The research shows how economic speech and logic, informed primarily by business interests, is replicated in public and political discourse through argumentation practices. The research setting assumes the existence of two archetypal ideologically guided frames that prioritize market and societal concerns.
respectively. The consequences to democratic discourse and practice from prioritizing economic discourse will also be explored.

To this end, an ambitious research agenda encompassing business, media and politics is necessary to uncover the interplay of discourse between these different contexts. Business-discourse can be expected to serve the interests of business, media-discourse should serve to inform the citizenry, and political discourse should foster and exemplify deliberation and measured responses to the issues facing the nation. Locating “discernible patterns” (Fairclough 1992: 236) of argumentation across different discursive fields exposes coherent and relatively consistent argumentation structures. It is possible – and for agents desirable – for logical and argumentative constructs to be passed along from one field to another.

The hypothesis of this thesis is that economic discursive agents seek to strengthen their case but also to promote their agenda overall by persuading wider adherence to the ideological logic they represent. It is a way of safeguarding successful actions even in a controversial context. For example, companies who wish to inform the public (and thus influence their image) of actions the company is taking (such as layoff events) seek legitimacy by drawing on accepted arguments of economic – even existential – necessity. Socially visible downsizing events will receive public and political scrutiny, which can approve or reject the presented logic of the argument. If the corporation is question is able to draw on hegemonic argumentation, its arguments will not only be successful in the sense of incurring less or weaker objections, but that the same argumentation structure may be adopted in other discursive fields when applicable.

To test these assumptions, empirical evidence from three discursive fields will be coded and analysed in depth to see if any such proliferation or indeed homogenization of argumentation exists. The research is situated in the Finnish context, where the Nokia Corporation is used as an example of communicating controversial actions based on economic logic. The actions of a company as significant in the Finnish context as Nokia allow the empirical analysis to canvas the intertwined nature of economic and political discursive structures. As an example, when a notable Finnish Nokia subcontractor, Perlos, decided to discontinue its operations in Finland in favour of lower production overheads elsewhere, the media coverage split into two predominant frames: one emphasizing the inevitability of restructured manufacturing as market necessity, and another stressing ethically oriented moralistic discourse over corporate responsibility (Hirsto and Moisander 2010). These frames guide a similar differentiation in this research.
Nokia’s positioning within the nation state of Finland provides a case study that can be used to test the hypothesis of argumentative similarity and discursive affinity between business and political spheres while also accounting for a mediation effect by mainstream newspapers. The research utilizes extensive empirical evidence to reflect a complex field of public discourse. Commercial media outlets may or may not share similar interests of discourse reproduction as other companies, but their position offers larger penetration and coverage for dominant argumentative logics.

The research shows that the power of economic logic to set the argument is indeed powerful: while it is not unexpected that corporations prioritize economic logic in stating their case, it is troubling from the perspective of societal plurality that the same logic is reproduced in mainstream Finnish media. In some cases it is not only reproduced, but amplified through quoted expert sources, leaving very little room for objections challenging economic logic. This is not to say societal concerns are not addressed, but they are clearly given lower priority. Objections from the point of view of e.g. employee interest are subservient to issues of competitiveness and efficiency. It becomes increasingly problematic when the same logic is applied, most notably after the 2007-2008 financial crisis, to political debates. While there may be a plurality of voices, the hegemony of economic prerogatives continues to loom large. As with employee interest, citizen interests are relegated to a secondary position compared to fiscal priorities (sustainability of public finances, debt). Citizen interest is reduced to the economic interests of the state.

This thesis constructs an expanded theoretical basis for dissecting corporate discourse in relation to media and political discourse through critical discourse analysis. The research discusses current questions on the relationship of business and politics in the socio-political context. The theoretical insights of this research contribute to the theoretical discussion between critical discourse analysis and ideology (van Dijk 2009; 2006a; 1995; 1993; Fairclough 2010). The development of specific discourses of argumentation is connected to broader themes which create self-legitimating and self-naturalizing discourses (Jørgensen, Jordan and Mitterhofer 2012: 111). A second contribution placed framing theory in an interactive position with the “Faircloughian” argumentative turn within CDA literature (Fairclough 2016; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011), offering one solution to the “fractured paradigm” of framing theory (Entman 1993). This positioning will also addresses the problem between macro and micro level discourse analysis methodology emphasized by organization scientists (Alvesson & Kärreman 2011; 2000;
Jørgensen, Jordan, and Mitterhofer 2012). Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) made a point of distinguishing between discursive action (small “d” discourse) and macro-level grand discourses (big “D” Discourses). However, this does not mean these two aspects could be separated in analytical terms; both are required to understand the other (Fairclough 2005).

Third, the research contributes further to the “Faircloughian” vein of critical discourse analysis to a critique of globalization discourse (Fairclough 2003; 2006; Fairclough & Thomas 2004) and political discourse (Fairclough 2000). Furthermore, this critique is developed specifically in the context of the argumentative turn within CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011); the argumentative turn has been utilized with politics and with the media, but not previously with the corporate world specifically.

In terms of empirical analysis, the research is placed between three significant fields of study: organization science, communication studies and political science. In terms of empirical contributions, the work proposes to contribute to critical discourse analysis as described previously, but also to the vein of organizational studies that has utilized CDA to analyse controversial industry actions, such as mergers, or downsizings that is particularly strong in Finnish academia: see e.g. Erkama (2010a/b), Joutsenvirta & Vaara (2009), Riad & Vaara (2010), Siltaoja & Vehkaperä (2010), Vaara & Monin (2010), and Vuontisjärvi (2013). Finnish organizational research has utilized discourse analysis to locate media frames and ideological preferences (Vaara & Tienari 2011; 2008; 2002; see also Vaara, Tienari & Laurila 2006). In their macro-theoretical framework, ideology forms the outermost layer of understanding and sensemaking.

This work proposes to contribute to this strain of literature and bring a political aspect into these organizational considerations which have previously mostly remained at the level of only either organizational or media analysis (but see: Motion & Leitch 2009). Thus the element of corporate social responsibility is discussed in a more critical context (Spicer & Fleming 2007), with an acknowledged political dimension (Teivainen 2013). Moreover, this thesis contributes to research done on the Nokia Corporation’s media image specifically (Ruotsalainen et al. 2014; Lindén 2012; Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007).

In terms of media analysis, this work contributes to discussions on who are given a voice in the media in general (Davis 2007, 2000; Goddard 2000; Bagdikian 2004) and in Finland specifically (Parviainen 2014; Nieminen and Pantti 2009; Wiio 2006; Pajari 2003). The formation of media discourse – the public forum for discourse – is particularly important in democratic governance to educate and
inform the citizenry on society, policy and politics. The media should ideally promote a variety of voices, which can all contribute to the deliberative democratic process. Recent concerns over commercialized media interests and the close alignment of economic interests and business experts risk narrowing down the spectrum of public discourse.

Nokia press releases are the closest indicator of how Nokia talks, though sometimes mediated through the managerial lens, while the press is an indicator of how Nokia is talked about. Similarly political discourse is taken to mean discussions in the body politic, and in terms of empirical evidence, the Finnish parliament. This is not claim, of course, that political discourse does not happen in newspapers in conjunction with public discourse. Judy Motion and Shirley Leitch (2009: 1057) discuss the transformational potential of public policy discourse to discuss how public policy has an exceptional position to frame new discourses as it can draw on the power/knowledge resources of the institutions of government. As governments are committed to democratic principles, public policy has to reflect this. This research bridges the corporate economic sphere and the deliberative political sphere in terms of empirical discursive analysis (Farrelly 2015; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). The discussion and findings will contribute to critical studies on political economy (Blyth 2013; Teivainen 2002), specifically in the Finnish context.

While discourse is typically linked to political communication, the treatment offered here goes beyond practical arguments to discuss what kind of political realities are being constructed. The link between ideology and discourse that favour the market as the ultimate arbitrator of successful policy is becoming more visible in economic policy in the West. This is the realization of liberal ideology (Losurdo 2014) in the context of globalization. Thus market values can become more dominant in public argumentation than social values. The competing frames of pro-market and societal interest are informed by the neoliberal ideology and the tradition of the Nordic welfare state respectively (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014). Neoliberalism and democracy are not necessarily at odds, but neoliberalism seeks to promote its own self-evident ideology into political institutions, separating the economy from the political.

At the same time economic policy is going through conceptual depoliticization (Rodrik 2011; Swanson 2008), where economic policy accepts market prerogatives as given. This work hypothesizes what assumptions are embedded and what consequences can be expected for the political system more broadly (Mair 2013) when legitimate and plausible political alternatives are narrowed down in discourse
and in practice. The risk here to politics, as in the media, is the narrowing down of legitimate alternatives, and the potential promotion of simplified arguments (TINA – There Is No Alternative). This is the expected outcome of homogenized discourse, not only in politics but also in the public sphere more broadly. Austerity politics serve as a typical example of this (Fairclough 2016; Blyth 2013; Stanley 2014; Seymour 2014).

The case study selected for this study, Nokia Corporation, can be seen as a particularly highlighted case and admittedly unique so in Finland. Nokia’s significance to the Finnish export sector, overall economy, and also national identity has been addressed previously in research (Lindén 2012). Nokia could be very well characterized as a celebrity company (Rindova, Pollock and Hayward 2006; Kjærgaard, Morsing and Ravasi 2011), but one with a considerable change of fortunes (Ruotsalainen et al. 2014). These changes of fortunes correlate with changes of fortunes of the Finnish state, as the global financial crisis impacted both. Nokia’s case provides a very interesting and high-profile case for study, and is not in its discursive construct too different not to function as a potential archetypal case, the dynamics of which could then be implemented in studies regarding companies less central to a specific nation.

Nokia is a special case for Finland, but not one so drastically different that the findings of this research would not be applicable elsewhere. As said, Nokia is not the true focus of research, but the discourse exemplified by Nokia. Similarly, while this research is, in part, research on Nokia, it is even more so research into what kind of larger themes a multinational company like Nokia represents. The case study acts as a point of entry into a broader discussion on societal and political discursive power, and the potential convergence of discursive elements. The research expands the timeline of previous research on Nokia (Lindén 2012) as well as adding a distinctly political dimension for analytical consideration.

To sum up, this research seeks to discuss whether or not the priorities accepted in economic discourse and arguments resonate broadly in public discourse. The structure of economic argumentation in three areas of discourse – business, media, and politics – will be discussed. The research shows that business discourse follows market priorities, but the co-option of the public forum (media discourse) through intertwined argumentation is a subject for more critical inquiry, relating to existing discussions on the nature of the public sphere (Habermas 1996; 1989) as a realm of argumentation, which allows for a plurality of voices (Held 1996). It is assumed, following the theoretical context, that a plurality of voices leads to a more participatory and inclusive democracy. The goal of this research is to discuss if
economic discourse and ideology is replicated in public and political discourse through argumentation practices. A comparative study of the argumentation structures in these fields can show possible points of convergence.

Unravelling the broad field of public discourse requires a clear definition of theoretical parameters. The research first presents a theoretical discussion of the intertwined ways that micro- and macro-level discourses are understood, and the role of ideology as the guiding force behind discursive practice. To this end, a theoretical nexus of discourse – framing – ideology is used to conceptualize each dimension. This discussion will take up the entirety of chapter 2. Chapter 3 will present the broader context of the research, by first outlining the state of critical research regarding market logic. Chapters 2 and 3 are aligned in their approach in the sense that both the theory – leaning heavily on Critical Discourse Analysis – and the literature evaluating the socio-political context – neoliberalism – in general and in Finland reflect a critical stance in research of the political economy (Blyth 2013; Sum 2009; Teivainen 2002), particularly in the post-Marxist tradition (Polanyi 2009 [1944]; Hall 1986; 1982; Gramsci 1971). This stance, and the potential inclusion and exclusion of discussion based thereon, is acknowledged (and discussed further in Chapter 5).

Chapter 3 will discuss a second nexus of this research: the empirical nexus. It is crucial to offer definitions for contextual elements in this work, especially relating to such contested terms as globalization and neoliberalism. The empirical nexus deals with the characteristics of each of the three areas of discourse under investigation: business, media and political discourse. The discussion of this nexus will also provide some assumptions of what the empirical research may be expected to find. Chapter 4 will discuss Nokia as a company and its significance in Finland to allow for additional context. Chapter 5 will outline the data and the method of the study, and lay the groundwork for the empirical section. The empirical section deals with each of the three fields of the empirical nexus in turn. The details of the corpus for business discourse (Nokia press releases), media discourse (newspaper articles relating to Nokia’s downsizing activities), and political discourse (Parliamentary documents relating to Nokia). Political discourse is further expanded into the national budgetary speeches and responses in part following the example set by Norman and Isabela Faireclough (2012; 2011), but also in part to offer real argumentative dimensions and broader themes into discussion.

Chapter 7 will discuss the findings, explore possible connections and sum up the answers offered by the findings to the research questions in each of the discursive fields. The chapter will also place theoretical and empirical contributions
in a rather transdisciplinary position in the academic field. The chapter concludes with three examples drawn from the corpus to illustrate the summarizing remarks before discussing possible weaknesses of the treatment and offering further directions for analysis. Lastly follows the bibliography (both primary and secondary sources) and expanded research materials in the Appendix.
The overall theoretical model expands on existing theories, seeking to incorporate a transdisciplinary approach by bringing several related concepts of content analysis together. An inclusive, rather than exclusive, approach is advocated to truly capture the way the complex dynamics between message creation, message delivery, and message receiving. Both framing and discourse analysis are often expected and accepted to include further theorizing beyond strictly frames or language, to tie the theory to larger socio-political wholes. Possible synergies between the different theoretical approaches should be mindfully observed without muddling the conceptualizations too much. The problem with overtly inclusive theories is that the theoretical terms start to lose their focus and become vague in character. A fragmented conception of theory lacks cohesion and reliability and explanatory power. The proposed triangulation in this thesis seeks to encompass three levels of theory in a manner that does justice to all three. Each approach, (critical) discourse analysis – framing analysis – ideology (theory) analysis, has something to contribute to the analysis.

Within this chapter the theoretical foundations will be introduced with each level building on the previous one through explicit links. Each piece of the theoretical triangulation will be conceptualized, and a mutually supportive framework provided. Discourse, frames and framing, and ideology are conceptualized separately in theory, but in practice exist intertwined in communication. The analytic structure is proposed to triangulate a framework to better capture to needs for analysing broad societal shifts in discourse and argumentation. The theoretical triangulation targets the empirical triangulation, a nexus of business, media and politics (Chapter 3). Given that the fields of study are in themselves considered somewhat separate, an integrative form of analysis is required that not only triangulates between the three fields but between three theoretical approaches. All three theoretical approaches target each of the empirical fields in turn in Chapter 6.
Figure 1 visualizes the research nexus (i.e. the targets of analysis) with business – media – politics forming a socio-political triangle of politics, business and media in relations with each other within the general field of society.

Figure 1. Research nexus of politics, business and media within society

The role of media here is limited to that of news media. All three research foci incorporate societal actors in prominent societal discursive fields within the amorphic entity labelled as “society”. The discourse and arguments presented by any of these areas affect one another. These three competing forces and complementing elements have considerable bearing on the societally dominant level of public discourse. This connection will be further explored in chapter 3.

In terms of the theoretical nexus, which is described through this chapter, the following crude differentiation of terms and theory is applied:

ideology ↔ frame ↔ discourse.

All of these levels of theory affect each other. In terms of constructing this theoretical structure there is no clear hierarchy of ideology over discourse, but rather a horizontal or a layered model of mutual influence. Ideology guides frames, and frames order discourse, but discursive practice and framing also signal back to ideology. The theoretical triangulation draws on previous works in each field, building on their existing frameworks to arrive at a larger transdisciplinary

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1 The model is inspired by John Galtung’s (1999) model, represented in Nordenstreng (2001: 60). That model, however, leaves media in the role of a mediator, whereas the media should be recognized as a mediator and social stakeholder.
conception on the interplay between ideology, frame, and discourse. The
expectation is that this will provide a more thorough understanding of the multiple
levels on which discourses and frames operate, and further how a shared social
reality is constructed.

Conceptually integrative approaches have also been suggested in critical
discourse analysis, recognizing the need to differentiate between different levels of
ideological and discourse analysis while maintaining an explicit connection between
them (van Dijk 1998; 1995; 1993). Discursive practices have ideological potency
(Fairclough 2010; 129-130). Ideological discursive control entails the active
manipulation of the ways of use of the current normative vocabulary, and can be
wielded as discursive tools in ideological (political) debates. Discourse becomes the
core element of critical discourse analysis in particular connects discursive practice
with social practice, both of which shape societal structures (Fairclough 1992).
Norman Fairclough (2010: 176-177) describes how social practices become
networked together, forming a new discursive mode of operation for particular
groups. Social practices are “networked together” (Fairclough 2003: 24). This
creates conventional – typical – ways of using discourse so that its implications
may become opaque to its users. As these networks of discourse and social practice
grow, they gather more adherents and cross into other fields, resulting in a shift of
discursive practice. Discourse, or aspects of it, can become conventionalized in
social practices, and in the operation of societal institutions (see Schmidt 2010).
The role of elite networks as disseminators of discursive and social practice will be
discussed in Chapter 3.

Discourses also operationalize divisions of groups into in-groups and out-
groups as a form of self-identification to facilitate identity-constructions between
those who share a certain frame and ideology. Often the identification of
ideological opposite is sufficient to disqualify its arguments. In so doing it rules in
certain ways of representing the issue as much as it rules other ways out. Stuart
Hall also uses this definition for the power in, and behind, discourse: discourse
“rules in’ certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and
intelligible way to talk, write or conduct oneself’” and also “rules out’, limits and
restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or
constructing knowledge about it” (Hall 2001: 72).

The position of frames is conceptualized here as direction of discourse; in a vast
discursive field that draws on relatively abstract ideology, discourse has to be
ordered to facilitate coherent and convincing message delivery and message
reception. As will be discussed further in chapter 2.2., the sensegiving, rather than
sensemaking (Jørgensen, Jordan and Mitterhofer 2012: 110) aspect of framing theory filters ideological understandings and orders discursive strategies. Framing makes certain aspects of an argument (its premises, presenting conclusions as foregone) more salient in both individual and collective memory. In terms of the theoretical structure presented here, framing analysis helps to outline and explain – but is not limited to – the role of the media in guiding political discourse. Framing, like discourse, exists in all three empirical targets.

As frames guide discourses, ideologies guide frames and the practice of framing: ideology informs how things within a worldview should be, how society should function, and what should be done to accomplish that. As an example, a neoliberal ideology would dictate an ever-decreasing role of the state as nothing more than the facilitator of free trade. To drive this ideology forward a focus is needed and a way to operationalize it in social practice. Ideology is not a product of discourse as such, but it is reflected and represented in discourse which determined the power relations between ideologies. At the same time ideology is also reshaped and reproduced by discourse, as discursive practice feeds back into the ideological strata.

In other words, on an ideological level the idea exists, but it needs to be expressed, vocalized, and actualized for it to have a more complex meaning and influence. An ideological belief is strengthened when a (discursive) frame based on this ideological context is created, which rules in specific ways in which the ideology is expressed. The frame will allow the ideology to be filtered, refined, and focused into something definable, which can also be defined against something else. While an abstract ideology would struggle to find a robust sense of meaning and purpose, an ideology suitably framed can gather a shared understanding of it to be acknowledged, spread and supported.

Framing actions, as opposed to frames, is the process through which frames are constructed, reproduced, and realigned when necessary (see chapter 2.2). The origin of the frame is based on the dominant ideological model most relevant to it. The frame derives its “facts” from its ideology, which are, to an extent, taken for granted within the frame. The frame allows the perceived worldview of the ideology to be mobilized in applicable situations. Framing enables an assembling of elements that are selected, and then focused on. As an example, the neoliberal ideology might posit that “globalization is unavoidable and inevitable”, which would then be framed in terms of corporate restructuring into “downsizing is not only unavoidable but necessary in globally operating companies” (Fiss & Hirsch 2005). This is how the event or situation is presented to improve its plausibility and
legitimacy (and by extension the credibility and legitimacy of the framers). Frames, like discourse, become more powerful the more audiences accept and adopt them.

An ideology is condensed in a frame, and then vocalized and actualized through discourse. Within this frame, acts of discourse are restricted so that only the discourses that fit inside the frame are promoted. This would entail legitimating strategies for corporate restructuring on part of the management, for example, based on “economic necessity”. It simultaneously seeks to rule out (but not necessarily completely: Erkama 2010a) discourse that emphasizes some other aspect, such as corporate social responsibility. From the point of view of analysis it also makes the message, its creation, and its reception consistent and somewhat predictable.

A shared ideology-frame-discourse construct facilitates identity-constructions against other (competing) structures. Identity-construction has crucial importance when ideological struggles take place, as they lend cohesiveness to both parties – be it between political parties or in cases of industrial downsizings between employee and employer. This act of discursive vocalization and actualization of ideology as practice is closest to the practical level, and so discursive successes and failures are communicated back to the frame for possible reorientations.

These ideological groupings ordered through frames and discourse should not be considered a coercive relation or one of domination. They have certain staying power but they are not fixed; they are not static, but dynamically changing to suit the overall contexts in which they operate. It also explains why certain ideological structures are as resistant to challenges: a cursory look would seek to overthrow the frame or the discourse (since ideology-in-thoughts is harder to effectively challenge), but most likely result in a failure due to the deeply intertwined and mutually supportive structures of ideology-frame-discourse constructs. In other words, it is not sufficient that parts of the discourse are shown to be false, or a deeply biased frame is revealed. The overall cohesive structure of the construct will keep its core intact 2.

As the final aspect to be discussed, but lodged firmly within the practical level of discourse, is argumentation 3. Argumentation theory as developed as a part of political discourse analysis, based on the foundations of critical discourse analysis.

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2 The American Dream is a suitable example of a frame informed by ideology that controls associated discursive acts that is supported and celebrated even though more and more of its material aspects for realization are decreasing (Harvey 2010).

3 Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) have explicitly combined political discourse analysis with practical argumentation.
(Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011) serves as a concrete method of evaluating how public argumentation is shaped. Many of the elements of argumentation are informed not only by evaluations of the current context, the feasibility of a course of action and its likely outcomes, but also by the values expressed. Argumentation analysis in the context of political discourse analysis allows the researcher to draw out contextual elements like ideological leanings and incorporate them in the analytical structure in a transparent way. Argumentation is the level at which policy proposals are deliberated on its merits. In this research argumentation is not a separate level from discourse analysis, but rather is incorporated within it to allow for a more systemic approach that goes through the ideology-frame-discourse constructs.

As discourses create meaning, they also produce theoretical options (Fairclough 1992), and arguments adhere to these options. The level of discourse and argumentation has been designated as the most practical level of the construct, the level where frames are defined and enacted, and ideology is made manifest through social practice. Attaining legitimacy for one’s arguments entails a power struggle to have one’s own priorities accepted and adopted. Discourse sustains and reproduces relations of social power. Chapters 2.1 and 2.1.1 discuss incorporating the Faircloughian argumentative turn into the framework of CDA. The argumentative turn in CDA offers insights into structuring the analysis and explaining the form of argumentation that can be applied to all three aspects of the research nexus (business-media-politics).

To summarize this chapter, ideology, frames and discourse – argumentation as its practical level – form a theoretical triangulation that explains the mutually supportive power of contested ideas: austerity in hard economic times becomes an idea that is informed by a certain kind of political ideology, guiding framing to gather discursive hegemony that is realized in incontestable arguments. The general socio-political permeation and acceptance of certain discursive tropes (i.e. acts of discourse typical to the frame and ideology they embody that are integrated into argumentative structures⁴ contribute to a dominant discourse as hegemonic (as understood by Antonio Gramsci, 1971). The relation between hegemony and ideology will be explored in chapter 2.3.

Following this the basic tenets of framing theory will be explored and their contribution to the ideology-frame-discourse construct made evident. Frames

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⁴ As a term “trope” is borrowed from literary criticism (Montgomery et al. 1992: 127-128); a trope is figurative language that entails both literal and implied meaning. A trope also refers to repetitive schemas or motifs that appear as familiar settings of plot lines.
operate as the organizing macro-level of discourse within this theoretical construct. Gamson & Mogliani (1987: 143) also locate frame as the ordering boundaries of a larger sphere of public discourse that can serve as a point of reference for policy positions. The review on framing analysis literature will define the “fractured paradigm” (Entman 1993) by drawing on recent framing theory (see e.g. Cacciatore, Scheufele and Iyengar 2016). The frames contain, and framing increases, the discursive salience of information. The focus in this research and its proposed theoretical structure will be on frame sending, as measuring frame reception is beyond the immediate scope of this investigation.

Chapter 2.3 will connect ideology with discourse and framing. Ideology needs a vehicle to influence social practice, which is where frames and discourse come in. The role of ideology has been emphasized especially in post-Marxist social research (Rehmman 2013). Following in that vein, critical discourse analysts do often incorporate ideology to their analyses and discuss the relation of ideology to discourse (and critical discourse analysis: see van Dijk 1993; 1995; 2005). The ideology-frame-discourse construct proposed here will build on existing theory to form a new way of looking at the linkages between discourse and ideology. Ideology is the most abstract level, but at the same time it serves as the highest, most informing level of all. Discourse without ideological consistency quickly loses its persuasive power, as arguments without their underlying values vocalized appear incomplete and unconvincing.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that once ideas and discourses become embedded in institutions, they become more durable (but not unchangeable) and guide future policies simply by feat of existing (Schmidt 2008: 309-3105). These “institutional facts” are in the operations of institutions (Searle 2010) to form a frame of reference for past actions that leads to coherent and consistent future policy. Schmidt (2010: 134) notes that “discourse offers both cognitive arguments about the logic and necessity of a particular policy programme and normative arguments about its appropriateness”. Furthermore, Schmidt’s (2008: 306) separation of space of political discourse include 1) specific policies; 2) general programs that underpin these policies (frames of reference); 3) philosophical ideas connected to a larger field of knowledge. This separation can with small alterations be reformulated intuitively into the discourse-frame-ideology construct proposed.  

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5 Schmidt’s comments pertain to discursive institutionalism and not CDA as such, but the insight of institutionalized power for discourse has to be acknowledged. A shortcoming of discursive institutionalism is the focus on welfare state adjustments (Schmidt 2010; 2002) as the primary field of interest with limited ideological moorings.
2.1 Critical discourse analysis

*Conceptualization* – Critical discourse analysis – CDA – cannot be considered a monolithic theoretical entity, given its interdisciplinary nature (Wodak 2005). Still well into the late 1990s, CDA was considered to be out of the mainstream of social and political analysis (Luke 2002: 99). The literature on critical discourse analysis reflects the interdisciplinary nature of this endeavour. The argument put forward by CDA is that analysing social phenomena is necessarily complex, and “thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approach” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 2). The critical aspect of the methodology is not inherently negative, but rather challenging social phenomenon and their common-sensical representation, asking why things are taken for granted.

The origins of CDA in applied linguistics were nonetheless geared towards bringing together “linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language (Fairclough, 1992: 92). As a specific form of discourse analysis, CDA could be characterized as a theory with a diverse set of methodological applications that seeks to evaluate acts of communication from the expectation that all communication serves an agenda. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 125) specifically criticize previous discourse theoretical approaches for being “unable to explain which social forces have greater capacity to effect articulatory changes and why”. Fairclough (1992) emphasizes the need for a dialectical perspective to avoid overemphasizing the social determination of discourse or the construction of the social in discourse. In other words, within CDA the analysis is not reducible to either discourse or social events alone, but rather their interplay. This is a noted difference with other post-Marxist discourse theories which constructive emphasis on discourse alone: while Foucault (1972) sees a difference between discursive and non-discursive realms, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) consider there to be only discursive representation. Incorporating Foucault’s emphasis on discursive power, CDA has departed from Foucault, however, to deliver more substantive normative critique of the discursive order.

CDA recognizes the Foucauldian tradition of designating power and resistance in discourse and society (Lamb 2013: 335): power is particularly effective when it can hide its own mechanisms and thus makes itself more acceptable (Foucault 1980). It would be more accurate to describe discourses as having the potential to

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6 In addition to impoverishing the dialectic nature of discourse analysis that would account for social practice, poststructuralists also deal with ideology as a neutral and thus uninteresting element (Rehmann 2013).
be equal, but in reality they are reinforced or constrained by their operational circumstances. Indeed, in several instances in society asymmetry of power in discourses is taken for granted: professionals such as doctors and professors are allowed to speak from a ceded position of authority. The assumption here is, however, that this granted power is not abused (e.g. by the doctor giving false diagnoses or the professor lecturing on theory known to be false).

Conventions of power and discourse have a dual relation: on the one hand discourse incorporates differences of power, but on the other hand discourse arises out of – and gives rise to – particular relations of power which are associated with ideological assumptions. Social power between groups in society is often manifest in discursive interaction. This interaction will reflect the abstracted ideological framework of what a society is, and how its hierarchy is constructed. The powerless in society, according to van Dijk (1989: 43), suffer from lack of credibility and lack of access to public discourse (see also: van Dijk 2005: 734).

In terms of discourse, power equals visibility and/or voice; the powerless have often, literally, nothing to say in social discourse. In other words, in public discourse the powerful often speak instead of the powerless. Discourse can be accepted as written text, speech acts, and pictures or symbols, but also extends beyond a single text. Discourse should be understood as a body of texts, or an amalgamation of texts to fully understand the discursive context and its constitutive power. A single text becomes most meaningful in its context and interplay with others. In essence, discourse does not only reflect reality, but also constructs it.

As a crucial point for CDA discourse is not separate from social action: discourse is not only words or discursive action (communication), it is also social practice. This social practice is constituted, enabled, and legitimated through discourse. Social practice should be understood here in a very material sense, such as the aforementioned access to discursive forums. In other words discourse should not be understood in a reductionist way but acting in a dialectic relationship with the material world. The material world creates limits to what discourse can describe, since audiences to be persuaded have to understand what is being talked about without necessarily having the same exact definition of the issue. Discourses merely appear subjective, but are in fact collectively created and maintained.

The acceptance of hierarchical social structures, and the implicit acceptance of domination as a natural or legitimate state of affairs in society is more relevant to the interests of discourse analysis (and critical discourse analysis in particular: van Dijk 1993). The application of direct (often violent) force as an extension of social
power is too distinctly noticeable (and, as such, can lead to direct confrontations), which is why discursive applications of power are preferred. Despite positions of power, however, all discourses are changeable and subject to change. When discussing gramscian hegemony in regards to ideology (chapter 2.3), there is no deterministic form of discourse that would inevitably lead to change. The structures that support discourse require and (re-)create a great deal of assumed background knowledge, that tends to become naturalized as ‘common sense’ in hegemonic discourses, which van Dijk (1993) sees as a central element of ideological structures. The concept of gramscian hegemony within CDA is understood as a form of political practice involving the conjunction of diverse identities into a collective identity trying to represent all. The hegemonic move lies in part to “naturalize” the acceptance of an ensemble of meaning weakening others into a marginal position. For example, once naturalized, “globalization” becomes something that no longer requires an explanation, but which explains other phenomena.

Some critical discourse analysts (Mulderrig 2011; Wodak 2011) use more syntactic forms of CDA, but this research adopts a more socially focused view – interested in social analysis first and linguistic analysis second. Indeed, the size of the empirical corpus alone makes it more prudent to look for discursive patterns of a more general level. CDA combines social elements (power, ideologies, etc.) with discourse to describe and explain structures of power, and assesses the presented arguments. Wodak and Fairclough (1997: 258) state that

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. [...] Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

To put it more briefly, discourse in CDA is used in various senses including

“(1) meaning making as an element of the social process, (2) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g., ‘political discourse’), and

van Dijk (2008) finds that that CDA represents, in fact, Gramsci's theory of hegemony, but with substance.
CDA is inherently problem-focused, i.e. the approach dictates a selection and subsequent dissection of a problem or problematizations. Problems are constructed in thought, but they are produced through discourse and realized through social relations, which distinguishes CDA from a purely realist and poststructuralist approach.

CDA as a critique clarifies the necessary internal connection between explanation, critique and normative evaluation (Howarth & Griggs 2012: 335). Critique should clarify political and ideological characteristics of problematizations, especially so with dominant ones (Fairclough 2013: 193). In terms of perceived manipulation, CDA takes special exception with illegitimate influence and abuse to unveil what social norms are violated in manipulation, e.g. violation of rights or reproduction of inequality (van Dijk 2008: 216; van Dijk 2006b). The structures of power behind discourse is the main focus of interest in CDA, since critical discourse analysts maintain, similarly to frame theorists, that discourse can be influenced by alignments with various vested interests. For example, the media can convey a particular image of events, actors, and motivations (Koller 2005) as an act of sensegiving.

van Dijk (2008: 33) suggests that the power of the media cannot be ideologically neutral due to its interdependence with commercial interests. Privileged, or alternatively co-opted, journalists become what Foucault (1972: 225) calls ‘fellowships of discourse’, i.e. close communities whose role is to preserve, reproduce and distribute discourse in a way as not to lose their own symbolic power. Discourse serves as an identifying element for group membership: groups that share discourse are referred to by Howarth (2010: 318) as discourse coalitions, which have discursive similarities over various fields. This is where ideology once more becomes a central organizing force, as discourse coalitions act as expressions of hegemony that allow for a perception of shared values. Critical analysis seeks to make these relations that easily disappear under organizational logics more visible exactly because they rule in and out ways of representation. As Foucault (1972) and Fairclough (1992) have commented, within any discourse, only a limited number of positions or opinions are understood as meaningful, legitimate, and powerful.

Many critical discourse theorists directly challenge the neutrality of the media in their analyses (see e.g. Wodak & Meyer 2009; van Dijk 1993) and their failure to follow through discursive analyses in and of their own reporting. An assumption of
societally equal discursive opportunities is considered erroneous under CDA; representing discursive opportunities as equal is considered concealment of dominance (van Dijk, 1993: 250). CDA gives analysts tools to criticize manipulative speech in order to guide the discourse to a direction more compatible with deliberative democratic discourse (see chapter 3.3). It should be noted that CDA is not motivated to present elites as “the villains in a simplistic story of social inequality, but rather to focus on the unique access of these elites to public discourse, and hence their role in the discursive management of the public mind” (van Dijk 1993: 280).

Doing so often puts CDA in a position to evaluate claims to legitimacy. Van Leeuwen (2008: 106-110) provides a simple list of categorizing elements to look for especially when legitimating a specific discourse-political agenda: 1) authorization, 2) rationalization, 3) moral values, and 4) mythopoesis (discourses as basis for legitimation). On the first point van Leeuwen problematizes authorization, i.e. the established authority of discourse (and, naturally, established by whom and how). Observations of who are usually considered experts can also indicate what kind of thinking is found to have at least some inherent legitimacy in society. Usually the authority status is attributed to experts, who have exclusive knowledge (which is often also presented as objective by default). The second point, rationalization, is often supported by authority and worked through theoretical rationality of naturalization. Naturalization, in turn, can easily subsume the moral values (third point), e.g. through obfuscating economic problems with neoliberalist dogma (as noted already previously), reducing it to a monopolistic interpretation of “the way things are” (van Leeuwen, 2008: 113). These three points are then submitted for legitimation through framed stories as the fourth point, mythopoesis (featuring heroes, villains and victims, cautionary tales and moral lessons8).

If discourses are seen as constructs that seek legitimacy and legitimation through their dissemination and popularity, it would be possible to see discourses as commodities. Indeed, in cases of communication professionals, discursive formats are often bought for a purpose (e.g. corporate communications). This consideration seems conducive to the theoretical structure at hand. Other similar

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8 These structures are also typical of narrative research. Barry and Elmes (1997: 437-438), for example, have located strategic narratives of a “hero’s journey” through corporate restructuring, where “if everyone in the company were to pull together, the company should emerge victorious with increased market share, profits, and job security”, expecting a happy ending. If the ending is unhappy, the logical conclusion is that not everyone pulled together (rather than failing due to bad management). As the analysis shows, this narrative structure is arguably also applicable to politics.
categorizations to aid operationalizing critical discourse analytical structures can be found in the works of various CDA theorists (e.g. van Dijk 2005: 734-739).

Discourse is often multimodal and interactive, since texts that originate from one field can be recontextualized in another; construed as colonization of one field (or institution) by another. Texts that originate from one field can be recontextualized in another; construed as colonization of one field (or institution) by another. This refers to inheriting the logic of the discourse, and adopting the discourse itself, at least in part. Reframing military action as surgical strikes to call upon associations with medicine would be but one example. The interdiscursivity of a text is a part of its intertextuality (ibid.), when different discursive fields draw upon and support one another – e.g. for purposes of legitimacy. This is another point of connection with the second level of the theoretical structure, framing theory; intertextuality strengthens discourse through repetition and salience. Commonality and stability of discourse creates established representations (Fairclough 2003: 124). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity can be understood as the convergence of discourse with specific social structures and social practices. The hegemonic discourse surrounding “competitiveness” is cited by Sum (2009) as an illustrative example of this process.

Fairclough (1992: 125) notes that discourse analysis can never be fully conclusive, meaning discourses evolve, and several discourse may be potentially available in a single text. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity reinforce singular elements of discourse by drawing them into larger units and feeding back into them, allowing discourses to be incorporated and embedded within each other (Fairclough 2003: 218). Since several discourses may exist in a single text, interdiscursivity can determine which become most salient and plausible in the broader context while devaluing and marginalizing the other, potentially contradictory discourses. Interdiscursivity can thus be understood as a vehicle of discursive coherence that promotes high discursive affinity. Discursive affinity builds on interdiscursivity, signalling a high level of interdiscursivity. In other words, discursive affinity marks areas of interdiscursivity in the discursive field that are utilizable appealing across actors and fields (e.g. from corporate discourse to political discourse).

Discourse may cross fields, bringing their operational logic with them: market logic has entered UK universities (Fairclough 1989) and the public sector through the discourse of new public management (Fairclough 2013: 182-183). Typical examples feature market logic (in the form of discourse-frame-ideology constructs) encroaching on public services. From this perspective it makes sense for CDA to
have joint interest with cultural political economical approaches (CPE: see e.g. Jessop 2009). As such, CDA’s critique often targets globalization and globalist discourse, which renders agents complicit in naturalizing the dominance – hegemony – of economic prerogatives. CDA provides an analysis of this naturalization process and the ideology embedded within (Fairclough, 2013: 190) through motivated critical inquiry, often exposing, criticizing and resisting uneven of abusive power structures (van Dijk 2008: 85). The issues associated with the more activist stance of CDA as a methodology will be discussed in chapter 5.

As described in chapter 2, this research conceptualizes of a social space that is populated by discursive tropes, which are defined as oft-repeated discursive elements and used to convey an ideological point within the frame that suits it, or, alternatively, to challenge another ideology and frame by seeking to break their links and salience. Discursive tropes are strategic elements of communication, but once established, they can also be freely – even accidentally – adopted. In other words, the social space is populated by discourse, which is often strategically formed especially in the environments of highly institutionalized discourse such as business or politics. People are free to draw on those discursive tropes as they become aware of them, picking up a discursive (or argumentative) expression of ideology without consciously subscribing to the dogma of that ideology (van Dijk 2005: 730). This is how a reader of a newspaper learns the meaning and usage of newly introduced discourse, possibly quite oblivious to the original strategic goal behind its introduction.

This is to say that conscious and strategic discursive crafting does of course exist, but when it is embedded in the ideology-frame-discourse construct, a great deal of the crafting becomes self-actualizing. Discourses make ideologies observable for empirical analysis in the sense that only through discourse can ideology be explicitly expressed and formulated. Ideologically guided discussions presuppose an established level of general knowledge, or common sense, which cognitively is indistinguishable from belief (van Dijk, 2006a: 131). These presuppositions take the role of knowledge, since that is the foundation the

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9 Bob Jessop’s critique is much starker than what CDA traditionally mounts: “executives in leading neoliberal capitalist regimes were given power to implement exceptional measures (financial stimulus, recapitalization of banks etc.) to solve the crisis and restore ‘business as usual,’ on an interpretation of the crisis as a crisis in finance-led accumulation (rather than of finance-led accumulation, or neoliberalism, or indeed capitalism itself), which entailed a concentration of political power in the hands of economic and political elites that limited the space for democratic debate and narrowed its scope to a narrow set of policy choices […], diverting attention from the basic social relations that produced the crisis and continue to reproduce crisis tendencies” (Jessop, 2009: 348-349).
discourse will be built upon. People are not necessarily actively aware and cognizant of the way they apply discursive tropes — especially if they are often repeated and socially visible and accepted — when they follow established (journalistic) norms, and often see little reason to break with these norms.

While one can separate and isolate these tropes from the social discursive space — i.e. the realm of public speech — these tropes can relate to one another. This is the recontextualized dimension of discourse, as one discursive element calls upon a second one to reinforce its argument and to provide mutual reinforcement to corroborating discourse. Thus a text that has become popular — if not dominant — in business can be adopted also in politics. Its adoption in politics will broaden the network of mutually corroborating discourse and increase the salience of the associated discourse. This is how discursive power is not (at least primarily) coercive, but rather co-opts sensegiving by becoming more credible, plausible, and available to decisionmakers. Discourse analysis thus needs to conceptualize several types of discourse to analyse, and not just a single one. Individual discursive elements are made meaningful through their links to other texts, as they draw on different discourses (Fairclough 1992; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004). To visualize the discursive space and discourses within, see Figure 2:

![AMORPHOUS SPACE OF SOCIAL DISCOURSE](image)

**Figure 2.** Space of social discourse and areas of discursive affinity

A special note is made on the area of interdiscursive affinity (or high interdiscursivity), where discourses have “natural” intertextual and interdiscursive
links (Fairclough 2003: 218; Fairclough 1992) with one another. These discourses are reciprocal, even dialogic in nature, and they increase discursive coherence by drawing on and reinforcing each other. These areas of interdiscursive affinity may also serve as discursive foundations for the later establishment of more strongly grounded frames. Obviously not all discourses in the discursive space are corroborating; the discursive space also contains – to a varying degree – contradictory and opposing discourses. The organizing power of discourse, however, causes corroborating and conflicting discourses tend to be reciprocally framed in and out, respectively, creating clusters of discourse elements that are mutually reinforcing. This creates a sense of discipline of and in discourse.

Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 72-73, 114) follow Searle (2010) to note institutional power relations rather as obligations, or binding responsibilities. These obligations need not be strictly contractual, but they often are, as in the case of employment contracts (not to disparage the employer). Arguably the use of institutional discourse is here more explicitly disciplinary than in cases where social practice is being constructed at a more informal level. As discourse relates to institutional or organizational, even societal identity-building, one uses the discourse of one's in-group to signal compliance. Nonconformity with established institutional discourse can be punished, especially in highly hierarchical institutions (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004: 637-638; 2000: 28). For example, a political party official or a company manager will find there is a preferred discourse, and that departing from that discourse is frowned upon as it breaks a coherent discursive front to outside stakeholders. Punishment in these instances for nonconformity can take the form of a stalled career path.

Discourse-discipline can also be internalized as agents discover using non-standard discourse can require more effort and has reduced explanatory power. Especially if younger members of the organization have seen a higher up removed from their position for breaking the discursive ranks, so to speak, they will learn of the cost associated with such activity. Pressure to adapt and conform to the reigning discourse has been confirmed in business (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004; Phillips and Hardy 2002) and can be expected to operate similarly in politics especially in strongly party-political contexts. These power relations have everything to do with organizations and discourse, and they are both the products of and reproducing logics of these relations: “A discourse that is consistent with and supported by other, broader discourses will produce more powerful institutions because their self-regulating mechanisms will reinforce each other” (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004: 645).
Though not central to CDA’s method, the cognitive aspect of discourse analysis should also be noted. Certain cognitive and discursive devices, such as metaphors, may have great relevance in the drafting of efficient and salient discourse:

“metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action [. . .] this will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies”. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156)

Metaphors act as familiar cultural tropes that increase the salience of the message. Metaphors facilitate understanding, though they may also fundamentally misrepresent a complex and conflicted issue. As an example, stating that Finland is “becoming the Greece of the north” entails a stark warning in favour of frugal public fiscal policy (i.e. austerity).

Koller (2005) notes that evolution is often used as a discursive trope in business discourse, explaining, naturalizing and legitimizing business-related events as following some sort of natural law that should not be interfered with (see also: Greckhamer 2010). This sort of discourse can entail an extension of interpreting economics as a logical extension of nature, which is ideologically compatible with the neoliberal worldview (White and Herrera, 2003: 292, 298; van Dijk, 2006a: 126). Interestingly enough discourses and discursive tropes themselves also engage in an evolutionary struggle in terms of message effectiveness. Old metaphors are replaced by more contemporary ones, and similar lexical or syntactic jostling takes place as the discourse within the frame changes and adapts to its contextual environment. The frame keeps the original message in focus, while discourse finds new ways of expressing that resonate with audiences. Some CDA scholars see social cognition as an interface between conceptual models for research into the cognitive phenomena within discourse (Koller 2005: 200; see also Van Dijk 1993). This suggests that cognitive devices are included in CDA, but they do not form the core of CDA methodology. The problem with cognition theory is that it delves into murky waters, and is focused more on individuals’ thought processes, rather than a social problem per se (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 15).

Finally, habermasian (Habermas 1996) theory of discourse is linked to deliberative democracy (see also Schmidt 2008: 315) that is facilitated by an open public sphere (typically the media: Habermas 1989). Indeed, for CDA, the parliament is a socially ratified way to use languages, or ritualized and institutionalized use of language (Wodak 2011). Habermasian deliberative discourse expects the detection of fallacies that distort discourse; an ideal speech situation serves “for exposing inequality and domination” (Chilton 2004: 45). In other
words, as institutions engage in deliberation, the outcome would be optimal for all related parties. CDA is, however, as its name suggests, much more critical of any such assumptions where discursive deliberation is assumed to have an intrinsic beneficial attribute. CDA theorists recognize discursive deliberation an ideal state, a worthwhile normative aspiration, rather than a fixed feature of discourse. Deliberative democratic governance may be praised in discourse but rarely practically enacted (Farrelly 2015).

Interface with framing – Some organization scientists (Alvesson and Kärreman 2000; 2011; Jørgensen, Jordan and Mitterhofer 2012) have noted a tendency to muddle together local levels of specific discourses and grand discourses. This causes problems with focus and meaning of terms and methodology. CDA scholars (van Dijk 1993; Fairclough 1989; 2010) have also expressed concern for the divergent and unclear uses of discourse. In this research micro-discourse is separated as lower case ‘discourse’, which is fundamentally bottom-up in its approach of reality-construction through linguistic interaction, and macro-discourse, with a capital ‘Discourse’, which is a broader, more societal context (Alvesson and Kärreman 2011: 1126-1127). The separation helps contextualize the difference, but both are required to understand the other (Fairclough 2005).

Both discourse and framing seek legitimacy through struggles over message dominance. Struggle over frames takes place through competing framing actions (i.e. competing interpretations: Fiss and Hirsch 2005: 30). The theoretical construct offered here placed critical discourse analysis and argumentation analysis as micro-discourse – even though CDA does explicitly also consider societal ‘big D’ Discourse – while framing covers broader structures of ‘Discourse’ as an ordering device. Since discourse needs to be anchored in, and supported by, social norms and institutions to have a clear, constitutive effect, frames make the intertextual connections of discourse easier.

Interface with ideology – For Teun van Dijk (1998), discourse is profoundly ideological. No critical analysis of discourse can ignore the existence and influence of ideology (Luke 2002). Ideology orders preferred models of discourse which emerge especially in lack of viable alternative discourses; these are widely shared (i.e. hegemonic) models that lend cohesion to group’s beliefs, and support (the existing) power relations (which are often asymmetric in nature). Discourses make ideologies observable for empirical analysis in the sense that only through
discourse can ideology be explicitly expressed and formulated. van Dijk’s work often makes an implicit link with ideology and discourse (2006a), or politics, ideology and discourse (2005).

Discourse is not necessarily ideological, but all ideology is discursively constructed. As ideology consists of several discursive elements, some of these can actually be contradictory. As an example, a strongly nationalist ideology, which would frame immigration as a negative phenomenon, could include one discourse that posits that immigrants are inherently lazy and live on social benefits, but also a second discourse that claims immigrants steal jobs from native workers. The context determines which discourse is mobilized in which circumstances, but both are co-existing options. Their contradictory co-existence can only be revealed in analysis of the arguments presented. Ideological discourse and debate presupposes understanding of (general) knowledge so the argument makes sense.

In CDA ideology is “a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities” (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002: 187). Van Dijk suggests that through ideologically motivated manipulations “preferred social cognitions tend to be developed, that is, social cognitions (attitudes, ideologies, norms and values) that are ultimately in the interest of the dominant group” (van Dijk 1993a: 280). Isabela and Forman Fairclough (2011: 263) note that a critique of ideology is necessarily embedded in the methods of the argumentative turn of critical discourse analysis: “critique of practical reasoning does not amount to critique of ideology, but it does show how particular beliefs and concerns shape practical reasoning and, contingently, decisions and actions on matters of social and political importance, and it does pose critical questions which can feed into critique of ideology and anchor it systematically in features of texts”. While ideological analysis no longer plays as big of a part in the argumentative turn, it is retained here from earlier works of Faircloughian CDA.

2.1.1 The argumentative turn within CDA: Fairclough & Fairclough (2012)

Argumentation theory within CDA has previously been attributed to the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2009), which presents a discursive analysis

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10 Mark Stoddart (2007: 193) notes that while ideology and discourse can be analytically separated, they strongly inform each other, though Purvis and Hunt (1993) argue that ideology informs discourse more than vice versa.
of argumentation strategies (Richardson and Wodak 2009; Boukala 2016). For DHA, argumentation is (primarily, though not exclusively) a strategy, a genre of discourse. (Wodak 2011: 42, 120; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 22-23). For the argumentative turn of “Faircloughian” CDA, however, argumentation is not merely a genre of discourse. The Faircloughs see non-argumentative genres embedded within argumentation, with practical argumentation as the de facto form of politics. This research follows the “Faircloughian” turn towards argumentation and political discourse.

Rhetorical aspects are integrated within a dialectical framework in the work by Isabela and Norman Fairclough (2012: 12). The argumentative turn has sought to strike a tentative balance between critical theory and deliberation theory. This is to say, the deliberative, rational theories exemplified Habermas (1996; 1989; 1984), in particular in terms of communicative ethics (van Dijk 2006b), are desirable normative directions for CDA. These theories serve as basis for decision and action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 111-112), given how rationality expects freedom from distortion and deception, within free and equal reasoning. In essence, the functionality of deliberation comes under scrutiny in argumentation analysis.

CDA remains favourable to deliberation and deliberative democracy as a worthwhile ideal to pursue but it is not exclusively committed to this position. Gramscian approaches do not exclude “deliberative democracy as a normative ideal and desirable objective […]. What is problematic is not a view of democratic politics that includes deliberative democracy as a normative ideal; it is an ideological view that reduces democratic politics to a search for consensus” (Fairclough 2013: 195). CDA is supportive of rational deliberation as basis for decision and action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; see also Wodak 2011).

The purpose of CDA’s argumentative turn is to provide a methodological contribution to argumentation in policy studies (Fischer & Gottweis 2012; Fischer 2007), drawing on Gramsci’s idea of hegemony to analyse forms of discursive domination through the inclusion and exclusion in political agendas. According to Fischer and Gottweis (2012: 2-3), all policy processes are “constituted by and mediated through communicative practices”. Policy analysis here takes “the practical argument as the unit of analysis”, rather than imposing pre-existing theoretical frameworks on the process” (ibid.). As policy is often constructed through contradicting or conflicting interests, policy is equally the site of a struggle.

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11 Boukala (2016: 250) claims that the Faircloughs have criticized DHA for re-appropriating topos in a way that misuses its original context, but without offering clarifications.
over policy and power. Furthermore, “policy making is fundamentally an ongoing discursive struggle over the definition and conceptual framing of problems, the public understanding of the issues, the shared meanings that motivate policy responses, and criteria for evaluation” (ibid.: 7).

Discourses provide material for argumentation and identify positions of authority in terms of discursive control. Analysing the dialogic exchange provides a better understanding of competing actors and the ways they construct contending policy narratives in their efforts to drive sensemaking and/or decisionmaking. The argumentative turn of public policy recognizes that public policy is the result of an argumentative process or processes. Thus “policy politics” are understood as a continued discursive struggle over the “problem definitions and the framing of policy problems, the public’s awareness and understanding of the issues, the shared meanings that undergird policy responses and criteria for policy evaluation” (Fischer & Gottweis 2013: 429; Fischer 2007). In other words, argumentation is a basic component of the political process: argumentative situations and spaces are what actors engage in. The political field is organized by an institutional order (Searle 2010) that conceptualizes political action through obligations, commitments, rights, prohibitions, and so on. It is within this order that argumentation is usually expected to happen – which is also why populist argumentation may differ strongly from the established order and its limitations.

The normative goal of the argumentative turn is to empower the public and allow them the knowledge to engage in argumentation – or follow the legitimacy of elite argumentation. The purpose of the argumentative turn within CDA is to provide a new framework for gauging the strength and form of arguing for courses of action. This approach seeks to map out processes of deliberation and turns at arguing for policy, both evaluating the argument but also subjecting it to critical analysis. Such an approach would not only describe the structure of the argument but also take a stance on the quality of practical political argumentation. However, CDA does not claim that the best argument would always win based on merit; arguments are based on discourse that expresses specific values and specific models of argumentation that may appear credible and plausible but wither under critical scrutiny.

It follows that argumentation can be found in various forums. Corporations argue for their chosen courses of action in their own communication, the media seeks to represent arguments of societal and political actors while occasionally also engaging in argumentation itself, and politicians argue both for their internal and external audiences (Walton 2007a). These audiences should be respectively
understood as other politicians, when deliberating policy, and as the citizenry or the electorate, when legitimizing policy.

Similarly to Morasso’s (2012) approach to argumentative frames, CDA also takes into account both contextual and material premises that are explicitly or implicitly present. Fairclough (2013: 190) outlines a practical argument approach as criticism as follows:

“(1) criticism of the conclusion of the argument which seeks to reject it by arguing that pursuing the line of action advocated will have consequences that will undermine the goals or values advanced in the argument, or other goals that cannot be compromised; (2) criticism of the validity of the argument on the grounds that there are other (better) means than those advocated for achieving the goals, or indeed other goals, and that if they are added to premises the argument will no longer hold; and (3) criticism of the rational acceptability (or truth) of premises, e.g., of the way in which the existing state of affairs is represented, interpreted and problematized.

For example, Fairclough suggests that in terms of arguing for austerity policy, governments tend to pursue a strategy of rationalizing the argument to camouflage its ideological predispositions; the government’s stated goals are not its real goals (Fairclough 2013: 191). This strategy tends to be chosen simply because austerity politics tend to be unpopular with the electorate, so extra effort has to be expended to represent the policy decisions as tough or fair, but necessary or unavoidable, as a way to deflect reflexive political accountability. Politicians seek to avoid blame over unfortunate or controversial decisions. Arguments designed for blame avoidance serve a strategy of positive self-presentation (Hansson 2015: 298). In similar vein, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 172) argue that UK governments exploit and reinforce public perceptions of past indiscretion and maleficence to deflect responsibility for hard policy in the present (e.g. spending cuts).

Argumentation entails politically defining the situation in a way that it becomes advantageous to the policy adopted. For the argumentative turn of Faircloughian CDA, argumentation is not merely a genre of discourse, as would the case for many other discourse analysts (Wodak 2011; Smith 2003). The Faircloughian model prioritizes the definition of political discourse more generally – within the context of a democracy – as a deliberative process of decision-making that grounds reasonable action (see also: Farrelly 2015). As such, Fairclough and Fairclough

rather see non-argumentative genres are often embedded within argumentation: narratives and explanations, for instance, are often a part of practical argumentation over what should be done.

The role of argumentation has been covered extensively in the media, since argumentative discourse happens within the context for the news event (van Dijk 2009; Walton 2007a). This is also a part of the journalist practice of news framing (van Eemeren 2010). Indeed, journalists rely on the reader’s knowledge to fill in the contextual gaps (Morasso 2012: 199). Building on this body of literature, the Faircloughian argumentative turn extensively studies practical argumentation in policy formation (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). The research structure proposed here also expands argumentation analysis and the argumentative turn by adding corporate communications as another area where argumentation takes place.

Chilton (2004) offers an explanation of political discourse analysis from a cognitive and evolutionary perspective, but this poorly captures politics in action beyond speech acts. Fairclough and Fairclough (2011: 245) raise a common shortcoming of superficial analyses of practical argumentation is to discount beliefs and emotions as premises in reasoning processes, favouring cold, detached reason. This is problematic because in fact primarily emotional dispositions with rational representation move individuals to act. This bears noting specifically given the discourse of “post-factual politics” or similarly formatted concerns over the perceived diluted value of fact-based argumentation in politics in 2016 (namely in the case of the Brexit referendum and the United States’ presidential campaign of Donald J. Trump). Thus it remains of interest to the argumentative turn in CDA why people are still persuaded by arguments that should not really persuade them (Fairclough & Fairclough 2011: 259-260). In its contribution to argumentation theory CDA wants to ensure maximum opportunity for the critical examination of presented arguments.

“Discourses (and orders of discourse) as structures” provide agents with reasons for action”: structures of political discourse thus interact with agency and create premises for practical argumentation that shape reality (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 237). The structure of argumentation is relatively clear, wherein the analysis defines the agent’s circumstances (C), his goal (G), and a course of action that serves as the means to the goal, or a means-goal (M-G). The course of action is informed by stated values (V). Generally speaking the argument is that if the agent in C does A, then G will be achieved. This will lead to a claim to action (CA) or simply claim. The means-goal in its simplicity claims that if the claim to action is adopted, then the goals will be achieved. There can be further premises
attached to the means-goal to strengthen the argumentative causality (Fairclough & Fairclough 2011: 248). In addition, possible consequences of the goal being completed through the action are included in the scheme: if the agent adopts A, then consequence (E) will follow. Consequences and negative consequences become a typical point of contestation. The example used by Fairclough and Fairclough (2011: 257-258) is a budgetary debate, which will be reconstructed in the empirical analysis of a corpus of Finnish budgetary speeches and debates.

This scheme has been adapted for this research by adding separate explanatory elements that inform the claim in the form of values, the action (means-goal), or circumstances. Even if included in separate “boxes” in the scheme, the additional elements are not considered additional premises but linked to others, such as values. The purpose is to distinguish particular argumentative elements in the comparative analysis (in Chapter 6). However, for the sake of analytical comparison the scheme is also deployed to fields that are not explicitly political (see also Hay 2013).

One concern in practical argumentation is the use of rationalization13 to sway public opinion through representing the argument insincerely, offering more

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13 It should be noted here that the way argumentation theory conceives of ‘rationalization’ differs from legitimizing sensemaking (van Leeuwen 2008) described previously.
socially acceptable premises over less acceptable ones. Fairclough and Fairclough (2011: 260-261) use a pre-budget report drawing on alleged commitment to fairness as an example of presenting a more publically acceptable and resonant argument for economic reform (see also: Audi 2006: 157-157). It cannot be stated for certain that rationalizations amount to dishonestly manipulated argumentation (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 95-97) as an argumentation scheme cannot challenge the “true” intentions of the agents. Nevertheless, the potential for rationalizations to be used to legitimate a controversial action should nonetheless be taken into account.

Given this negative potential influence, it is necessary to subject the argumentative structure to critical inquiry (Fairclough 2016; Fairclough & Fairclough 2011). This is where a more dialectical approach through the discourse-frame-ideology construct may help to socially contextualize the claims and/or premises. The legacy of the Faircloughian argumentative turn in CDA draws on Habermasia theory linked to deliberative democracy that is facilitated by an open public sphere (typically the media: Habermas 1996; 1989). Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 97-98) also refer to Habermas (1984) to set the boundaries of normative critique to evaluate arguments. Good argumentative and deliberative practice is the normative goal of interrogating public discourse.

The argumentative scheme provides good starting points for this interrogation in the form of consequences informing counterclaims. Counterclaims can target any part of the argument, but targeting the consequences (E) can be particularly effective. If the consequence of the proposal is not acceptable, a further description of that option would be necessary. Indeed, in the case of parliamentary debates opposing views and rebuttals are expected from the opposition and should be assumed into the argumentation structure. The original plan of action is placed on the right, while the countering argument is placed on the left. In other discursive fields a well-balanced counterclaim may be harder to come by – or indeed blocked by institutional constraints (e.g. corporate discourse).

Key discursive elements should be placed into this structure to make the practical argumentation structures explicit. Each point, V, G, C, M-G, E and claims to action or counterclaims should be written out based on the discourse observed. Equally the agent needs to be identified, though in political discourse regarding budgets this tends to be the government, seeking to co-opt broader political and popular support for its policy. It is also important to identify the parties promoting

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14 Manipulation in democratic societies can lead to incomplete deliberations and less than optimal policies, thus reproducing inequality (van Dijk 2006b: 363-364).
counterclaims, and their possible respective self-interests in thwarting the acceptance of the claim. For example, a move to increase the regulation of private business can predictably be seen to draw protests (i.e. counterclaims) from the business sector that will argue such regulation would stifle private innovation and pose an undue regulatory burden.

Additional counterarguments can also be included from beyond the chambers of politics; experts, political commentators and journalists will inevitably weigh in on the arguments presented, either supporting or challenging the structure's premises or conclusions. To find no counterclaims to a political plan of action would be most unexpected. Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) specifically include media debates in their evaluation of practical argumentation to juxtapose the power of political arguments in the public forum. In this research supporting and opposing views from Parliament to the analysis are also included, and corporate practical argumentation is investigated as a non-dialogic field which has no in-built arena of counterclaims.

In other words, the corporate actor (Nokia) can make its case publicly and only be interrogated in the news media regarding its claims. In politics there is an in-built system of deliberation that allows for the interrogation of public policy initiatives (such as budget proposals) even before they are placed into the public forum. In terms of audiences, the news media acts as a forum (place) and as a mediator (agent) when these contestations are made visible. In essence this means that corporate argumentation faces no immediate or internal counterclaims, while political argumentation does. Both, however, are subjected to counterclaims made visible (indirectly) or offered (directly) by the news media.

The Faircloughian model proposes several critical questions – originally drawn from Walton (2006) – to pose to the practical argumentation structure to gauge its validity. The critical questions are further developed and summarized concisely\(^\text{15}\) by Isabela Fairclough (2016: 60) as follows:

- **CQ1** Is it true that, in principle, doing A leads to G?
- **CQ2** Is it true that the Agent is in circumstances C?
- **CQ3** Is it true that the Agent actually has the stated goals and values (motives)?

*Challenging the reasonableness of the conclusion*

- **CQ4** Are the intended consequences of A (i.e. the goal) acceptable?

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\(^{15}\) The genesis of the critical questions can be found in full in Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 61-67).
CQ5 Are the foreseeable unintended consequences (e.g. risks) of A acceptable?

Challenging the inference

CQ6 [Among reasonable alternatives,] is A comparatively better in the context?

These are the questions a critical discourse analyst can pose to the argumentation structures drawn from the discourse of the speakers that allows for a critical examination of the premises, circumstances, goals and conclusions. Critical questioning seeks to combine deliberation over means and goals with the expectation that a successful challenge posed by critical questioning would force the line of argumentation back to an earlier point, or even refute it altogether (Fairclough 2016: 60). However, the possibility that stakeholders have invested considerable political (or other) capital into the process, and would be unwilling to pull out and admit to having inefficiently wasted time and effort would also have to be considered according to the principles outlined in CDA.

Finally, it should be noted that argumentation can also take place in exceptional circumstances, and that it might actually be preferable for some speakers to declare exceptional circumstances. A moment of crisis can be considered both socially and discursively constructed that creates special circumstances for argumentation (see Chapter 3). A crisis creates both a need for argumentation, but diminishes its capacity. As discussed previously, crisis discourse is problematic because while it enables a critique of the pre-crisis politics, it also can serve as a powerful framing effect that actually demands swift and decisive action, and not reflection or deliberation. Crisis thus also entails the perceived range of options in response to it, limiting the element of deliberation over choices that are the essence of the political (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 2-3). Indeed, quite often crisis is seen as a momentary exception, and the argumentative claim is getting back to normal, i.e. to the status quo. Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) note that the financial crisis of 2008 and its subsequent political debates have provided an exceptionally fruitful ground to reconstruct financial (budgetary) arguments which includes explicit and implicit references to crisis (such as necessity or even moral impetus to act), and this research follows their lead in this research with Finnish budgetary debates in Parliament.

Politics require choosing between alternatives; if there are no alternatives, there are no politics (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 25; Hay 2007). Similarly, politics assume agency, i.e. the capacity to make a difference. As such, argumentation focusing on impotence, claiming there are no choices in front of external powers, makes for very poor practical argumentation indeed. Politics tend to feature a great
multitude of problems without solutions in the sense that there are very few assessments of problems and solutions that most stakeholders would agree on without being subjected to persuasive rhetoric to achieve consensual policy (Finlayson 2007: 550). Fairclough and Fairclough (2011; 2012) deal with government argumentation, but this is only one aspect of comparing argumentative forms between business, media and political discourse. While argumentation happens in the moment, analysis has always the benefit of hindsight to evaluate the arguments. This can either legitimize or delegitimize earlier argumentation strategies, and illuminate patterns of argumentation across several societal actors.

2.2 Frames and framing

*Conceptualization* – Framing and the frame theory are multifaceted research methods in political and social sciences which have been notoriously difficult to define in a completely robust way. Accordingly, there have been calls by framing scholars to conceptualize the theory more strongly. Frame theory was developed in large part as response to the increasing power of the media to create attitudinal effects, the strength of which depended on the audience. While frames are generally understood to describe the power of a communicating act, too much of framing itself is left to “an assumed tacit understanding of reader and researcher” (Entman 1993: 52). Thus it is necessary to pin down what is meant here by frames and framing effects when conceptualizing the discourse-frame-ideology construct. A short explanation will be first offered and then expanded.

Shortly put, frames in this research are vehicles of organizing information. Frames serve as markers for salient information relating to a particular topic or theme. Frames are conceptualized here primarily as vehicles of presentation and communication (Druckman 2001; Iyengar 1991). New frames are created and new are reproduced by framing efforts. Frames are relatively stable snapshots of active framing processes, or relatively stable outcomes of framing processes. A political argument can be conceptualized as a clash of discourse and frames (Schön & Rein 1994). Frame contestations are similar to challenging hegemonic structures (Gamson et al. 1992: 384). Framing processes, in turn, consist of ongoing strategic moves to represent information. Framing practices in, for example, journalism leads to framing effects.

This research follows Reese (2010: 11) in defining frames as organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time. Framing practices (or
framing devices: Chong & Druckman 2007a: 110-111; Chong & Druckman, 2007b: 104) work through information selection and information repetition which promotes the salience of these specific perspectives. The conceptualization of framing relates here to sending discourse through organized frames, rather than measuring framing effects. This study favours Entman’s interpretation of frames as elements that affect and shape sensemaking, even though the emphasis here is on sensegiving. Entman (1993: 52) describes framing as follows: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. Entman’s (ibid.) take on frames further features four elements expected to be present:

1) defining the problems and their consequences
2) diagnosing causes to the problems
3) make a moral judgment of the actors and their actions
4) suggest remedies to the problems and their likely outcomes

For Entman (1993: 53), the implication of framing is an argument constructed about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution. It should be noted that a single piece of text can contain all of these elements.

If frames are persistent, their ordering power and salience of the discourse within can also be assumed to have become more established. The more long-established frames are, the more they resonate with salient and extant frames and beliefs (Slothuus 2007: 327). The opinions most accessible can also be manipulated through frequency of use, emphasis, and repetition (Druckman 2001: 235; Entman 1989a: 350-352). Many repetitions of a framed message will enhance the likelihood of success, especially with audiences lacking expert knowledge or strong opinions. Here framing links to concerns over ideological influence, given how audiences may start by identifying with their preferred readings, and then move deliberately to resist other interpretations. Similarly to frames, if a discourse is consciously or unconsciously available, it is automatically tapped because it speaks to the writer’s, and assumedly the audience’s salient, tacit knowledge and thus reproduces these elements (Hall 1982: 88).

Chong and Druckman (2007a/b) point out politicians favour communication frames that are already in use, as they are easy to adopt and resonate with other speakers and audiences. Druckman (2001: 230) notes that when “government
spending for the poor is framed as enhancing the chance that poor people can get ahead, individuals tend to support increased spending. However, when it is framed as resulting in higher taxes, individuals tend to oppose increased spending.”\textsuperscript{16} This gives framing a distinct importance when setting up policy arguments, and makes frames relevant for strategic practical argumentation\textsuperscript{17}. The effects of competing frames should understood as defining elements of political debates (Chong & Druckman 2007a: 101), though in the current construct framing is a co-determinant with ideology and discourse.

Party identity and party-based political parties can arrange themselves through conflict (Slothuus and de Vreese 2010: 633) which seems to emphasize in-group and out-group framing effects that facilitate converging sensemaking. In other words, people will follow the frames of their party more carefully, and tend to dismiss – or even argue actively against – frames from the opposing parties. Thus the approach here is linked with Soroka (2006) in acknowledging that competing frames are likely asymmetric in their strategic power, and their audience reception. Also Pan and Kosicki (2001: 45) point out that framing “resources are not distributed equally”, which is an assumption that is included also in critical discourse analysis, suggesting a good fit between the approaches. As frames compete through discourse, framing power is equitable with discourse dominance when one side can promote its frame more frequently and persistently, or enlist visible spokespersons to bolster its credibility in public discourse and in public deliberation.

Frame strength may be determined for example by the audience’s ideological proximity. The understanding here is that all acts of framing, even when subconscious, reflect the ideological preferences of the framer, and seek to co-opt the audience to share these preferences. The potential effectiveness of frames directly challenges the ideals of ideologically neutral communications, and, by extension, the ideal of an informed citizenry. The existing literature (Entman 1993: 56; Iyengar 1991) suggests that “on most matters of social or political interest, people are not generally so well-informed and cognitively active, and that framing therefore heavily influences their responses to communicators”.

\textsuperscript{16} This finding is also echoed by Tversky and Kahneman (1981: 458): “framing outcomes in terms of overall wealth or welfare rather than in terms of specific gains and losses may attenuate one’s emotional response to an occasional loss”.

\textsuperscript{17} Note that Chong & Druckman (2007b:120) offer a more neutral interpretation on frame use based on intent: “Framing can be construed in both positive and negative terms. It can be viewed as a strategy to manipulate and deceive individuals, or it can refer more neutrally to a learning process in which people acquire common beliefs, as in the coordination of people around a social norm”. 

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Here the complicity of the media is implicit, not explicit. Rein and Schön (1993) define the media as a public forum, a specific institutional setting for public discourse guided by its own characteristic perspectives and frames, role settings and norms for discussion and debate. Gitlin (1980: 6) takes a more neutral approach, arguing that news media frames are merely a form of efficiently packing news to audiences. This enables reporters to process great loads of information quickly and routinely. Frames could thus be construed as neutral vehicles used by journalists to make the reporting resonate with underlying audience expectations (which is often a necessary tool for journalists to render complex new understandable) (Schleufele & Tewksbury 2007: 12).

However, this would require the assumption that established journalistic frames would or could not contain implicitly biased elements. As discussed with conformity in terms of discourse, defections from the institutional order of the media can be costly. Scheufele (1999: 118) argues that there either are journalistic tropes that all journalists use independently, or that some forms of presentation become frames once they are introduced and quoted, reproduced through an institutional feedback loop. It should also be pointed out that journalists not only use frames, but are themselves susceptible to frames, media or otherwise (van Gorp 2007; Scheufele 1999). A more critical approach to media theory in Chapter 3.3 challenges assumption of neutrality.

To facilitate sensemaking, news media frames may include sensegiving frames to organize or be organized into a story or a narrative that provides meaning to unfolding events, i.e. create causality and a continuum (Gamson and Modigliani 1987; Graber 1988). This causality may, however, be false from a more objective point of view. Framing always involves an interpretation of reality that puts the facts or events referred to in a certain perspective” (van Eemeren 2010: 125-126). While it is possible journalistic frames often simplify the message to a more digestible form (Druckman 2001), which makes the message go across better, but questions are raised regarding the consequences of simplified messages, which in turn in terms of policy debates can translate into restricted range or realistic or plausible solutions. Scheufele (2006: 66-67) notes that if the news media strikes a particularly partisan position, its frames can also create “protagonists” and “antagonists” in relation to a particular newsworthy event.

Policy controversies become framed as conflicts in the media (de Vreese 2012: 369), “where two sides can be pitted against one another”. This has also been observed in prior literature on media’s treatment of Nokia (Lindén 2012). Conflicts seem to increase the news-worthiness of a topic, which makes this framing also
attractive for political news. The threat-frame, be it centred on a political or economic crisis, seems to be a fairly strong frame, because in terms of framing effects negative information is experienced as more meaningful and is better retained than positive information (de Vreese, Boomgarden & Semetko 2011). Since the two primary frames informed by ideology in this research are identified as a pro-market and societal interest frame, in light of the literature the expectation of these frames of being in conflict supports a bipolar approach for analysis.

Framing effects work also through representation. First, Soroka (2006: 375, 378) has determined that positive economic information does not translate into positive media coverage as consistently and persistently as negative metrics into negative media coverage. In other words, negative coverage is higher in volume and endures longer, even against improving economic trends. This creates incentives to constantly control for negativity, and seek a positive framing for negative events. Second, the framing effect applies to the sources the media uses, and whose opinions it mediates, determining the stakeholders and the respective viewpoints that enter the public discussion (Wiio 2006: 34; Entman 2007). Third, some ideological guidance in frame formation can be a considerable extent an expected thing; commercialized media serves its target audiences, and while they might not directly cater to their interests, they can select frames that are more familiar to them (Karvonen 2000: 4).

It stands to reason that especially in societies where media elites and political elites are closely aligned, convergence of argumentation (discourse) and policy framing is facilitated. Pluralistic democratic societies can thus entail a convergence of elite interests that is not coercive and usually not as blatant as in autocratic contexts, but a convergence nonetheless. Elite discursive influence, as it is understood here, does not have to rely on force. Discursive control is always less about coercion and more about co-opting disparate groups through ideology expressed in discourse that seems convincing and appealing. Political frames are essential for deliberate crafting, maintaining, and mobilizing of a political consensus.

Druckman (2001: 233) is particularly concerned about the effects of framing for citizen competence to form qualified and informed opinions: “If elite influence occurs automatically such that citizens subconsciously form preferences in accordance with elite discourse, then citizens will nearly always be vulnerable to manipulation”. This is especially concerning given the overall resources that elites can be expected to have in terms of access or even control over discursive and framing devices. Citizen competence assumptions expect full use of knowledge for
deliberative democratic processes, and not basing preferences on arbitrary information that can change depending on the angle that it is presented from.

Furthermore, Dewulf et al. (2009) and Van Herzele & Aarts (2013) highlight the interactive component of framing: frames are competing against other frames continuously, and are shaped by opposing frames. The interactional social process builds upon itself, as discourse is set into frames that serve “simultaneously as stimulus, response or reinforcement for previous messages” (Dewulf et al. 2009: 172). Frames organize perception but also provide points of resistance from alternate frames, including evidence or facts therein (Schön & Rein 1994). It is somewhat unclear “whether competing frames cancel one another and reinforce existing values, push people in conflicting directions, or motivate a more careful evaluation of the applicability of competing alternatives” (Chong & Druckman, 2007b: 113). Two opposing frames are unlikely to move the argument in the same direction, unless the other frame is judged so weak that it has the unintended consequence of being counter-effective (Chong & Druckman 2007a: 105). Whether or not, however, citizens can learn the structure and form, and motivation behind frames and become less vulnerable to framing effects remains somewhat unclear in the existing research. This research treats frames as sensegiving elements, which cannot answer questions regarding sensemaking directly.

To summarize, framing should be understood as a fluid way of argumentation rather than a fixed way of looking at things. Connecting framing theory with argumentation theory which similarly links with competing ideologies of neoliberalism and deliberative democratic practice seems intuitive. Since people are routinely exposed to more than just one frame, causality is difficult to infer. This is why within this theoretical model frame reception is ruled out in favour of focusing on frame sending, or framing as an organizing principle of discourse that increases its interdiscursive and intertextual appeal, and the overall salience of the argument presented. As with argumentation, strong frames, media or otherwise, “should not be confused with intellectually or morally superior arguments” (Chong & Druckman 2007b: 111), they are merely cognitively persuasive: “The frame is then exploited in more explicit argumentative passages (comments or editorials) to construct material starting points; such frame-dependent premises are used in arguments that support standpoints providing interpretations and judgments about the episode reconstructed in the news” (Morasso 2012: 212).

Furthermore, the news media is often at the focus of framing theory, but in fact all political actors – from companies to politicians – seek to frame their arguments in a favourable way and to find acceptance for their framing, and reproduction
thereof, in their audiences, including the media. The various components of frames across discursive fields flow into each other (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010; Scheufele 1999). As such, it is assumed that media frames may influence political frames and vice versa. Frames decide what it is that people notice, remember (of a problem), and how they then evaluate it and choose to act upon it (Entman 1993: 54). It is of considerable interest to frame analysis how directly journalistic frames are linked with the frames put forward by e.g. political actors, industry and business lobbyists, or other socio-political stakeholders (de Vreese 2012: 367). Framing theorist Claes de Vreese consider than on a societal level framing can affect decisionmaking by influencing public opinion (de Vreese 2005: 52). It is not the frame itself but rather the framing process, the capacity to influence the perception of the issue that is most interesting to the conversation at hand. Managing to win favour for one’s preferred frame entails winning favor for one’s own agenda, typically in political settings (Entman 1993: 55).

Finally, Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 29) discuss reference framing theory by Rein and Schön (1993) as a way of linking political discourse to argumentation. In her recent work Isabela Fairclough (2016: 67) seeks to directly integrate framing analysis “with the analysis and evaluation or argumentation”. Framing guides audiences towards certain premises or particular conclusions in a deliberative process; support for austerity can be better mustered if the underlying cause of economic woes is represented as overspending (ibid.: 68). In so doing, one argument can rely on salient understandings to argue for a specific outcome over others, effectively muting other aspects.

Refining Figure 2 visualizes the location of frames vis-à-vis discourse in the societal space. Again, the image can only cover a snapshot of frames, not the framing process itself which dynamically develops through interaction. The frames each represent a discursive field that may also fall under the purview of a specific societal institution:
Figure 4. Space of social discourse with frames

To better understand how the frames work within this theoretical construct, the proposed differentiation to pro-market and societal frames will be used. Frame 1 can be defined as a market-oriented frame of a large company. This frame would be the organizing principle for discourse that pulls in certain discourses but rules out others. The frame is porous, and it can expand or retract as new discourses become available and are tested for applicability. For a private enterprise the primacy of the markets is a given, and it dictates the operating logics of the enterprise as well as how it communicates regarding its actions and goals. The frame, in other words, makes up a discursive theme.

The second frame, or frame 2, would focus on corporate social responsibility, or CSR. It is connected to the first frame, given that in some cases proponents of CSR also argue that a responsible corporation can also be a more profitable one (see Chapter 3.1). In contestation with frame 1 the power of either frame is determined by how strongly market or societal goals are argued for. Sudden events, such as crises, may support either frame: a profiteering move by the company that causes human suffering would empower the societal frame, whereas an economic crisis recognizing the priority of competitiveness would empower the market frame. Framing efforts seek to control the premises and projected outcomes of corporate or political action. The content of the other frames is not important.
here, they merely act as placeholders to acknowledge several frames can exist in the space of social discourse.

**Connection with discourse** – To make the connection to discourse explicit, D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010: 2) contend that frames are, in effect, “powerful units of discourse”. Coupling framing analysis with (critical) discourse analysis enables observing the formation of frames with mutually supportive discourse and argumentation. Like discourse, framing efforts serve as sites of ideological struggles for a hegemonic position. Content analytical approaches should not treat all text as equally influential, but assume that due to framing effects the dominant frames are proportionally more influential. News discourse has in fact been the subject of many critical discourse analytical works (see e.g. van Dijk 2009; 1989). While the media is a major framing power, hegemonic frames are not exclusively media frames (Scheufele 1999: 113).

Pan and Kosicki argue (1993: 69) that “discourse is an integral part of the process of framing public policy issues and plays an important role in shaping public debate concerning these issues”. The theoretical model of the ideology-frame-discourse construct presented here assumes that the recipient to fall back on familiar discursive tropes and thus trace the information to its appropriate frame and ideological connection. Peer Fiss and Paul Hirsch (2005: 35) suggest that frames can be recognized through the appearance of keywords, which represent a vocabulary of motives. These are understood as macro-level identifiers, which come to represented typical discursive tropes. A frame constitutes a whole of several entities, enabling the audience to find for cues in the discourse that would link it to this whole, and thus would lend it the coherence and credibility of the whole. In this sense frames are linked to hermeneutics: understanding is always linked to a context, where a part is situated into a whole as a matter of sensemaking.

Some framing scholars (notably Koening 2006) have proposed that discourse analysis should be used as the first phase of framing analysis, to be conducted before a quantitative content analysis. In this first phase different texts would be carefully analysed to find those textual trends most visible, qualifying as actual frames, and thus most useful for framing analysis. On the whole, this approach is reasonable but perhaps less intuitive than seeing frame analysis as a suitable way of defining the discursive space where discourses are investigated in greater detail. Following the division into macro and micro level discourses, frames can be identified by certain cues in the text that guide the direction of discourse. Analysis
incorporating framing theory into discourse analysis may help to reveal broader thematic frames in the corpus, the general thrust that reveals interdiscursivity. This could perhaps be better understood as the identification of generic frames (de Vreese 2012: 368; see also: de Vreese 2009; Koening 2006) that would guide the analysis both inductively and deductively (see Chapter 5). The generic frames identified here relate to the political economy; a generic frame for the markets seeks to reorient discourse in a way that conceptualizes the markets as (the most) functional way of ordering society. The opposing generic frame is a societal frame that emphasizes for example worker rights over that of capital. This distinction will be shaped further in Chapter 3.

If the state is an active participant in the social field of discourse, as it usually always is when policy is being drafted, there are several frames that can be enacted. The frame of business and markets will seek to ensure the discursive elements under it are conducive to arguments that favour the frame and its underlying ideological assumptions and preferences. The state may be more or less willing to acquiesce this discursive struggle, but barring legislation that prevents the state from interfering in the markets, those discursive elements may come under struggle again at a later point, if, for example, the business sector proves itself incapable of conducting itself in a socially responsible manner by inflicting various forms of societal (i.e. human) suffering.

Connection with ideology – Framing theory literature traditionally rarely mentions ideological guidelines for frames, which is a unique consideration in this research. Only a neutral understanding of ideology would claim that ideology would not or could not play a part in framing efforts and effects. Instead, this research sees political framing is ideologically driven (Chong & Druckman 2007a; Slothuus & de Vreese 2010). Ideological power lends credibility to frames through making credible sources available: according to Chong and Druckman (2007c) frames have less influence when they are promoted by non-credible sources. Conversely this is the case also in opposite: Chong and Druckman (2007b/c, Slothuus & de Vreese 2010) have found that frames exert greater influence when the partisan source matches partisanship. In politics this is to be expected, as parties often publically and explicitly offer their ideological credentials, but the line becomes more muddled in areas of discourse within which ideological alignment is less obvious.

In other words, as long as framing effects are seen as being born out of social interaction, they are ideologically formed from the beginning. To construct frames, agents have to be aware of the discourse they use and of its potential resonance
with the frame. In the discourse-frame-ideology construct proposed here individuals become invested on a personal level to the ideology through socially produced discourse, as ideology is discursively reproduced (van Dijk 2005). In other words, frames order the discourse that expresses ideological assumptions and understandings.

In terms of operationalization of ideology “[t]exts may have a preferred meaning and point of view which the reader is invited to accept” (Gamson et al. 1992: 388; see also: Hall 1982). Accordingly, every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy (van Leeuwen 2008). Within an established frame most of the discourse that resonated within it is legitimized internally. van Dijk (2006a: 121) notes that ideology typically guides the framing in news reports and editorials, although this ideology is not necessarily blatantly transparent beyond forming a rallying point for like-minded opinions. The media frames issues that influence also political power: the media frame can be expected to move into a policy frame (Terkildsen et al. 1998: 47). Ideological control through frames, then, is strategic, not deterministic, in nature. The intertwined nature of discourse, frames and ideology (shared beliefs, social common sense) is adapted from an illustration by Pan and Kosicki (1993: 58):

![Figure 5. Patterns of public discourse](image)

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Figure 5 aims to bring a more nuanced understanding of Figure 1’s very simplistic societal model. In addition it account for the role of political argumentation – located in political audiences and discourse – feeding into institutions affected but also to public discourse through journalists, to be represented to general audiences. Here the broader significance of shared beliefs and social common sense take up the role of ideology: Pan and Kosicki (1993: 63) note explicitly that “ideology certainly plays an important role” in the understanding of the culture within which news discourse is constructed. Thus the use of frames “seems so normal and natural that the process of social construction remains invisible” (van Gorp 2007: 63; see also Gamson et al., 1992).

2.3 Ideology theory

Conceptualization – The conceptualization of ideology in this research relies on Michael Freeden’s (2008; 1996) works on ideology and ideological analysis. As “systems of ideas”, ideologies reveal the ideational content of politics that provide meaning for political phenomena and “hold together an assortment of related notions” (Freeden 1996: 52). Conceptual ideological analyses are traditionally less concerned – though not unconcerned – with discursive structures that express ideology (Maynard 2013: 302). Ideological actors will seek to emphasize their non-ideological or even apolitical nature. This is because ideology is often understood as inherent bias, or as being somehow in opposition to facts; Foucault (1980: 118) argues that ideology stands in “opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth”. The definition of ideology here is notably non-pejorative, i.e. ideology is a natural form of conceptualization that fulfils a social and political need to explain political worlds (Freeden 1996: 40-42).

Ideology theory has been considerably shaped by various Marxist and post-Marxist thinkers within the course of over 170 years (see Rehmann 2013 for a complete discussion). Stuart Hall states that ideological actors seek to secure consent “precisely because their claim to be independent of the direct play of political or economic interests, or of the state, is not wholly fictitious. The claim is ideological, not because it is false but because it does not adequately grasp all the conditions which make freedom and impartiality possible” (Hall 1982: 86, emphasis added). Ideology in itself is not a negative concept, but unawareness of ideologies is often viewed to have negative consequences: ideologies establish and maintain relations of power (and exploitation: Fairclough 2003). Within this
context Ricoeur (1975, quoted in Erkama 2010b: 153) identifies three functions of ideology: “integration (which helps cooperation and coordination), legitimation (legitimates the social order and gives reasons to accept its structures), and distortion (legitimacy gives ‘surplus power’ to the dominating, i.e. power to decide upon things other than first agreed”).

A key characteristic of the conceptualization of ideology adopted here is that ideologies cannot be inherently false consciousness or otherwise fake (Žižek 1994). In other words there is no inherently negative association with ideology as a natural vehicle of sensemaking. Nor is it exclusive to one group: both dominating and dominated social groups have access to ideology. Thus in this research all actors are understood as inherently ideological in nature, and as such ideology should not be treated as a term that sets the claim or argument in opposition to facts. However, it is possible for ideology to distort the facts and render an interpretation through framing and discourse that is partial to its worldview and purpose. Ideologies can organize attitudes and knowledge in a way that it misrepresents social phenomena.

Ideology is more like articulated belief that tries to mobilize a measure of public consent, or acceptance, or at least acquiescence, which is essential to the proper functioning of any system of political economy, including capitalism. Jan Rehmann’s (2013) treatment of ideology, largely shared in this work, goes further to note the activist nature of ideology which transcends relatively passively understood “systems of ideas”. Ideology includes volition; the will to become realized. Ideology gives meaning to political and social organizations (the latter including companies: Chiapello 2003), which seeks to be realized. Without material forces, without being enacted and operationalized, ideologies are more like mere preferences (Gramsci 1971: 377).

Ideology motivates agents to put in the effort to frame issues, to seek discursive coherence, and to argue powerfully for their preferences, especially on the level of public policy. Ideology brings structure to public political language, meaning that discourse alone would be unable to outline its own “particular structural position within a configuration of other political concepts” (Freeden 1996: 4). Discursive struggles are ideological struggles manifested, which can them enable and enact them in social practice. Discourse plays a central role in the transformation of ideology and ideological reproduction thereof. To relate to concrete social practices and discourses, ideology needs to be contextualized and specified in this way (van Dijk 2005: 730, 733). For Hall discourse is the key vehicle for ideological representation:
“Particular discursive formulations would, then, be ideological, not because of the manifest bias or distortions of their surface contents, but because they were generated out of, or were transformations based on, a limited ideological matrix or set” (Hall 1982: 72).

Hall very specifically separates between ideology and language; though they are closely linked, they are not the same thing (ibid.: 80). Foucault’s assessment that discourse is “the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized” (1981: 52-53) illustrates how ideology needs to considered in conjunction with discourse. While presented here as conceptually separate, ideology and discourse exist in a strongly reciprocal relationship. As such, there is no outside truth in opposition of the ideological in the discourse-frame-ideology construct, but merely ideologies that are more or less aligned with materiality. According to Jonathan Maynard (2013: 316), a singular and final understanding of ideology is “both unrealistic and unnecessary”.

Discourse expresses ideology, but also serves as a vehicle of persuasion for the values the ideology represents: ideology suggests directionality or purpose of discourse (Purvis & Hunt 1993: 478-479, 486). In the same vein it has to be acknowledged that all political agents are ideological: no actor can claim to be ideologically neutral. When an agenda is described as being ideologically driven, it means that agents are so committed to their agenda that they refuse to consider evidence to the contrary, or lack the capacity to self-critically reflect on their position. Alternatively political or social agents can claim ideologically neutrality as camouflage for driving their agenda (Greckhamer 2010). Thus all ideological positions are valid, but their claims of being the sole truth that best represents social reality can be legitimately called to question.

Critical conceptualizations of ideology that are present for example in critical discourse analysis claim that the ideology of a given time is usually the ideology of the ruling class of the time, which will shape the discourse and the narration of social reality. Van Dijk subscribes to the idea of ideology as group/class consciousness (2008: 33-34; 1995: 147-148), and that critical discourse analysis has to be supplemented by ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk 1995: 136). Ideology’s influence in socio-political discourse explicitly links social and discursive practice. Indeed, van Dijk (1995: 140, 147-149) notes how ideology is often used to explain who we are (identity), what we must do (activities and goals) and what our norms and values are, but always juxtaposing that with our social position with other acknowledged groups, possibly to the extent of describing how we are
threatened by them\textsuperscript{18}. van Dijk’s conceptualization here supports elements of the argumentative schemes described by Fairlough & Fairclough (2012).

Ideology is central to the formation of political identity not as a political creation, but as something that creates politics. Ideological understandings and representations enable people to make sense of their historical situations. The ideology cannot be considered objectively false, but rather have to be tackled through their discursive expression and their mobilization as social practice. Ideological coherence in discourse increases the salience of knowledge, reducing the need for continuous information processing. Information-intensive environments such as globalized business threaten to overload cognitive capacity, which is why ideological modes of acting are appealing and gratifying (McKinley, Mone & Barker 1998: 201-202).

Socio-political power is tied to ideological frameworks that reproduce discursive dominance (van Dijk 2008: 30). As it is an abstract-level concept, ideological speech can also be implemented contradictorily in discourse (e.g. by claiming that immigrants are lazy but that they also take our jobs (van Dijk 2006a/b), but its negative general direction (which orders the framing) persists. This is a trait that ideology shares with the gramscian concept of common sense, which necessary internal variance makes complete logical coherence practically impossible. Critical engagement of ideology requires critical engagement of its associated discourse. Discourse is not simply informed top-down by ideology, but discourse also feeds back into ideology. The positively reinforcing feedback loop exists throughout the discourse-frame-ideology structure. In other words, ideology serves as a point of departure; if the standing discourse that expresses the motivations and intent of the ideology is unsuccessful, the old line of discourse may be withdrawn and reapplied at a more favourable position.

As one illustrative example, political economist Mark Blyth (2013) describes how the financial crisis of 2008 allowed for the comeback of Keynesian economics (Keynes 1964) into the forefront of the debate on public policy after a long dominance of what is generally considered neoliberal public policy (see e.g. Harvey 2005). In the reporting of the Financial Times, for example, the financial crisis was

\textsuperscript{18} Situations of conflict are often presented as a zero-sum game; if “they” are empowered, “we lose”. This is used as a discursive weapon to aggravate the debate, often leading a self-legitimizing perception of victimhood. It is surprising how well the victims are doing in terms of societal power despite being depicted being under siege and beaten down. Especially in racist speech representing the white majority as the victim of a predominantly black criminal minority can be hailed (by the said majority) as “refreshingly honest” (van Dijk 1993: 273). This tactic is also often related to drawing on the wisdom “of the people” for common-sensical opinions (van Dijk 1993: 277).
not only an economic calamity, but also an intellectual shock that signalled “cognitive disorientation and loss of trust” in the central beliefs and principles (Ojala 2017: 292). However, the appeal of economic stimulus withered quickly and in 2009-2010, Europe, led by the European Central Bank, came to favour austerity politics instead. Austerity is understood here as economic policy targeting fiscal deficit and debt (Ostry, Loungani & Furceri 2016: 38-39), and as the opposite of Keynesian stimulus, which in a recession is by default state-led and debt-financed. Keynesian policy is informed by ideology that sees a role for the state in controlling the markets, and is thus in opposition to the pro-market frame supported by neoliberal ideology. The resurgence of Keynesian stimulus was temporary because as ideology it could not achieve hegemonic control over a neoliberal conception of the political economy.

From the perspective of ideological failure or success, struggles for ideological representation, i.e. whose representation is most commonly accepted, becomes crucially important. Too much specificity can be expected to decrease its duration, as well as universal applicability. This is why generic frames – such as a pro-market frame informed by neoliberal ideology – are more useful, and more enduring. Ideological control, as in the example above, is never completely fixed. It can be offset by extraordinary events that call the ideology and/or its discursive representations into serious question. As such, there will always be countering discourses giving voice to countering ideologies. The question becomes how equally these countering and competing viewpoints are allowed access and discursive space in e.g. policy deliberations.

Van Dijk draws on the concept of symbolic capital to point to “symbolic elites” (van Dijk 2006b: 362) that links elite social groups together even if their interests seem superficially disparate: politicians, journalists, scholars and so on form a de facto elite, and this should be acknowledged as both access to public discourse is at the same time an exercise of discursive power and an act of reproducing that power. In the Finnish case in particular this case for potential ideological proximity and possible convergence of interests is notable, given the relatively small scale of the Finnish elite and its tight connections (Ruostetsaari 2016: 270-272), which supports the idea that there is a relatively established Finnish political and power elite (Ruostetsaari 2014) which covers both business and media19. One could argue

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19 Institutional news making is the affair of a very small circle of people (Davis 2000: 285), explaining the tightly knit nature of a media elite. Ruostetsaari (2014) has commented that the Finnish media elite is notably in party politics aligned with the National Coalition (Kokoomus) which can be viewed in the Finnish party political landscape as the party of free market doctrine. Marko Ojala discusses the “revolving door” of economic and political elite, where people typically move back and forth
that while in terms of politics, the political and the economic are being set separate, in terms of elite individuals their private and public sector roles become increasingly merged (Ojala 2017: 24).

In closed and small circuits the adoption and diffusion of new ideas that permeate the top level of society is assumedly facilitated. In strategic discourse and framing ideology is the direction and motivation behind these strategic moves. More than simple systems of beliefs, ideologies seek realizations, inform actions and instil motivation. The propensity to accept ideology and its accompanying discourse autonomously as one’s own has been investigated by Thompson (1990) and Fairclough (2010). Thompson in particular sees this as the establishment and sustainment of ideological domination (Thompson 1990: 56).

To follow Figure 2 and Figure 4, ideological guidance and motivation is visualized in Figure 6. Visualizing ideology is challenging since it is surrounding force, not truly extraneous but intricately determined by discourse and framing as much as they are determined by ideology. Ideologies take the form a higher level of organizing and intuitive sensemaking based on shared briefs and social common sense that motivate and guide both framing and discourse. By expanding into new frames, ideology also co-opts discourse, creating new discursive affinities.

between positions of power in the public and private sector. Ojala notes that this is extremely problematic because “administrations and government agencies tend to be populated by individuals who either have previously worked for private companies or will move to the private sector after a stint as civil servants” (Ojala 2017: 24). Adding to this, given the overall nature of national elites in the globalized era, politicians and business elites tend to socialize on an unofficial level as well, creating natural pools of dissemination for ideology and discourse alike.
Figure 6. Space of social discourse with ideological movements

For example, the dominant ideology, seen here as statism, which seeks to expand the reach of the state more broadly into frames inhabited by different ideas and informed by different ideological preferences. Thus the both market and social responsibility frames become more controlled and regulated. The operational logics of the welfare state could perhaps be perceived in this fashion where the state assumes considerable power in all social functions. Of course, a similar example could be made out from the motivation and ideological guidance offered by free market ideology that would move into the frame of the political and the state to remove risk of state intervention to market. Blyth (2013) notes that conceptualizing private debt and public debt as similar is related to fiscal responsibility, again a pro-market idea in line with neoliberal ideology.

**Hegemony** – The idea of ideological struggles is directly related to the concept of gramscian hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Ideological hegemony means that the dominated can be affected so that they accept dominance and act in the interests of the powerful out of their own will (see also: Chiapello & Fairclough 2002). Hegemony creates a fluid kind of common sense which accumulates in institutions: as political thought is disseminated through society it typically fractures along ideological lines, which form currents that leave behind “a sedimentation of ‘common sense’” (Hall & O'Shea (2013). Common sense is thus transformed by
ideological flows (Gramsci 1971: 326-327), the most effective of which become hegemonic. Similarly Fairclough (1992: 87) finds that “ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of common sense”.

Hegemony can be conceptualized as 1) political practice that captures the making and breaking of political projects and discourse coalitions and 2) form of governance to maintain policies, practices and regimes formed (Howarth 2010: 310). Hegemony safeguards the status quo by pre-emptively defusing critique. Power and dominance is organized and institutionalized, and thus, legitimized (van Dijk, 1993: 255) through hegemonic practice. At the same time a favourable hegemony of logics in social and political contexts makes legitimizing efforts less strenuous. For example, neoliberal discursive hegemony will often present as “right” or “natural” that social resources are not evenly distributed, thus curtailing the appeal of redistributive economic policies.

Gramsci’s concept of hegemony politicizes economic practices as a countering move to the tendency of liberalism to depoliticize them. From the post-Marxist perspective, there is no reason to accept the division of the economy into specialized sphere, and the naturalization or neutralization of political economy: the hegemonic idea of economic “realities” is not external but socially and historically constructed. According to Terry Eagleton (1991: 5-6) “a dominant power may legitimate itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it; excluding rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and obscuring social reality in ways convenient to itself”.

Political discourse is an expected contested ground of ideological struggles mobilized through vigorous attempts to frame the debate and deploy various discursive tropes to achieve the upper hand in presenting, and representing social problems and what should be done about them. These contestations apply, in the presented construct, to ideology, frames, and discourse alike. While political discourse is the usually expected place for hegemonic struggles, this research also argues that one must look beyond politics to business and media discourse to understand the full socio-political breadth of hegemonic discourse-frame-ideology.
constructs. A primary motor for forming hegemony is converging interests, especially joint economic and political interests (and related incentives).\(^{20}\)

Schmidt (2008: 321) noted that there also differences in the formation of other structures that are often seen as potentially equal, but in practice hegemonic: “conservative think-tanks, which produce unabashedly political and value-laden research, have gotten a much bigger bang for their buck in Washington than more progressive think-tanks, which seek to be (or at least to appear to be) more value-neutral and objective”. Similarly the media mediates by design not as a neutral transmitter of information but as an active producer of ways of understanding phenomena that they seek to describe (Thompson 1990). Framing theory as presented by Schön & Rein (1994) supplements the necessity of considering frames and framing in the context of hegemonic salience. While it seems evident that “mass media help to establish and maintain the hegemony of specific political groups by producing and promulgating social myths and imaginaries”, it should also be noted that the media may also “provide the means and material for resistance and counter-hegemonic struggles” (Torfing 1999: 210-211).

Within Gramsci’s conception hegemonies can and will be challenged: a hegemony simply tends to hold the upper hand in the struggles. Hegemonic ideology is a vehicle of mobilization, defensively or offensively (Howarth 2010): hegemony is not merely dominance, but also resilience. Gamson et al. (1992) note that hegemonies are mobile and a terrain for struggle and compromise, rather than an ideological doctrine inflicted on the society by the ruling class, which is a good fit Gramsci’s (1971) conception of hegemony. Even hegemons may compromise to maintain favourable conditions. Having compromised, the hegemon is never idle but constantly looks for ways to restore or create a more beneficial state of affairs where compromise is no longer needed.

Accordingly, hegemonies seek to find support across a wide range of social fields to create resilience at the face of crises. The spread of ideology is reflected in colonizing discourse that uses the same familiar labels of the previous hegemonic understanding or worldview, but switches the content. Promoters of new hegemonic orders will use the language of the old hegemon against itself. A hegemonic shift consists of the old and new merging together; hybrid models of governance are typical contestation-points of hegemonic struggles. The old hegemonic order may survive in form only, having found new content from the

\(^{20}\) van Dijk (2008: 189-190, 196) discusses the lead-up to the Iraq War as political discourse, offering inferences (weapons of mass destruction) that were then interpreted by the media that enabled the argument to reach hegemonic status – however briefly.
new one. The move from welfare state to welfare society in the Nordic nations serves as one illustrating example (see Chapter 3).

To sum up, discursive hegemony is always ideologically founded. The absolute range of discourse remains much the same, but ideological hegemony fixes the relative range of plausible discourse options. In essence, a relative richness of discourse in the field may be observed, but upon further inspection find that they are all aligned in the interests of one ideology. It is the effective subversion of agency that can overturn empowering discourse under an ideology of submission (Rehmann 2013)\(^\text{21}\). The narrowing of plausible discourse options accordingly narrows also argumentative structures and policy outcomes.

\(^{21}\) McKinley, Mone and Barker (1998: 202-203) offer the discourse of "employee self-reliance" as an example, where the social contract between the company and employee, stability for loyalty, is revoked as old-fashioned in the new competitive environment. The company does not owe the employee anything. This insecurity, however, is framed dominantly as the liberalization of the employee from stifling codependence: downsizing is represented as empowerment of the employee to self-actualize, highlighting the benefits of the downsizing action to the employee.
3 THE MARKET AND THE STATE THROUGH NEXUS OF BUSINESS, MEDIA AND POLITICS

The empirical nexus of business, media and political discourse analyzed in this research is contextualized by the rise of globalization and corresponding structural and institutional shifts both in the global and Finnish political economy. The critical stance taken towards empirical nexus is informed by the critical stance assumed by the theoretical nexus; given that critical discourse analysis and ideology theory approach globalized (or neoliberal) political economy from a critical viewpoint, it makes sense to adopt the same critical viewpoint also in dealing with the empirical dimension. The literature in this chapter is drawn from the post-Marxist tradition (Rehmann 2013; Polanyi 2009 [1944]; Gramsci 1971) that informs CDA as a method (Fairclough 2006; Fairclough & Thomas 2004). Rather than seeking an objective or neutral viewpoint by some standards, this research acknowledges its critical stance, as it seeks to contribute to this particular strain of literature. This issue is discussed additionally in chapter 5 on data and method.

Globalization includes here the spread of supranational institutions, the most notable of which in the Finnish case would be the European Union, that create new authoritative actors. The national context of operating for business, media and political discourse has expanded, as has the range of stakeholders in societal change. In terms of social practice globalization has stood for changes in welfare state arrangements, labour relations and corporate practices which have required political adjustments. The discussion in this chapter is centred on the dichotomy of the markets and the state. To contextualize the competing agendas of neoliberalism and the institutions of the welfare state form the primary ideological and framing struggles in the Finnish context.

Welfare statism exists to protect citizens from the vagaries of the market, and one expression of this is protecting employees from capital. It should be pointed out that even though the neoliberal frame is described here as pro-market, the welfare state is not anti-market as such, but simply prioritizes societal stability over the markets (ordoliberalism: see, Blyth 2013; Ban 2016, Foucault 2008). Many of the assumptions grounding market supremacy over politics are based on the Chicago School’s (Friedman 2002) doctrine (which in turn was largely based on the
Austrian School of economics: Hayek 1976; 1979; see Blyth 2013: 146-147 for a discussion) that dictates government spending crowds out private spending and thus reduces any jobs that stimulus would provide. Hayek also distinguished between freedom and political freedom: overall in Hayek’s thinking the state exists only to restrict the freedom of the individual (Hayek 1960: 18-19). This also links neoliberalism to the long tradition of liberalist economic thought where the state is the target of aversion and fear (Blyth 2013: 118; Foucault 2008: 76).

In neoliberal ideology due to the restrictions and obligations imposed by the welfare state it is effectively no different from any oppressive regime that disallows complete individual economic freedom (Foucault 2008: 187). Social justice is equally an illusion to Hayek (1976: 101), as it may lead to the individual to brace to false emancipation of the welfare state (Rehmann 2013: 275). The preceding claims of neoliberal ideology creates two notable disjoints. The first disjoint between the individual and society severs individual obligations to the state/society and vice versa. When promoting absolute freedom of the individual, neoliberalism transfers all human action into the realm of market logic (Harvey 2005: 3).

The second disjoint happens between the individual and the markets. Since people do not and cannot understand how the markets work, their controlling activities risk distortions. All attempts to control the markets are detrimental, and market benefits can only be realized when human activity is essentially made subservient to it. Within neoliberal ideology politics has no role in the economy, as is implicitly or at times explicitly made clear in globalist discourse. The affinity of globalist discourse to draw on inevitability and evolutionary logics is drawn also from neoliberal ideology: Hayek argued (1979: 157) that free-market regimes are at the apex of cultural and social evolution. This amounts to reifying the economy as an uncontrollable force of its own right, or at least that the economy works best when it is not being controlled or even guided.

Both of these disjoints have the curious effect of promoting individual emancipation from the authority of state or politics but immediately placing that individual under the authority of the markets. Against the ideological conviction of neoliberal market supremacy the welfare state, in turn, can be understood as a protection and as a political compromise. At a time when a compromise is no longer necessary, this market logic re-emerges from the old institutions. In doing so, it can lay claim to the old discourse of preserving the welfare state even while dismantling it. In short, it is a struggle over the primacy of market prerogatives and

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22 What Hayek celebrates as the established detached norm of the free markets is what in Marxist tradition is described as alienation (Rehmann 2013: 284).
social responsibilities. The latter may legitimize state interventions in economic actions in order mitigate social cost. For example, a large multinational company divesting from its activities in a nation is a legitimate business action that nonetheless may have severe regional consequences especially in small municipalities with a relatively narrow base of economic activities in the form of increasing unemployment and decreasing tax revenue (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015: 12).

Neoliberal free-market ideology is the subtext of globalization discourse, where the market typically becomes “constituted as a reality rather than as the product of social construction” (Vuontisjärvi 2013: 305). In a liberal political economy it is understood as an ideological truism that the state should act as the enabler of the markets and limit its involvement and interference in the conduct of private enterprises. The state becomes co-opted as the patron of competition, reproducing market discipline in its own activities and supporting business with domestic policy (Thompson 2003: 369). From a historical perspective this is an undoubted shift from the more state-centred regimes, such as the Nordic welfare state (Schmidt 2010). While many characteristics of these regimes still exist, they are not taken for granted as they previously were. The hegemonic status of the welfare state as “common sense governance”, in other words, has been challenged by the globalist hegemony that favours free market capitalist logic (Sparks 2007: 152). Setting the dominance of free market economy and globalization in contrast with human and societal implications is also used in recent research (Vaara 2014).

The chapter proceeds first to discuss how globalization and its effects in the literature are linked with neoliberalism. Globalization is a process, but neoliberalism is a political economic ideology. Globalization favours fluidity and flexibility as virtues of responding to the expansive and complex global system where markets and politics are often intertwined. Second, the propensity to invoke crisis to drive change will also be explored. The introduction of endemic economic uncertainty serves as a specific contextual element following the 2008 financial crisis, its impact on the economy and politics, and subsequent responses. Third, the shift of the Finnish state from its welfare statist past to a more neoliberal alignment will be provide context for the operational context of the Nokia corporation.

Three subsequent subchapters will explore the characteristics of each three areas of the empirical nexus. Given the intricately intertwined nature of “public

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23 The original list contained four categories: 1) financial capitalism: dominance of free-market economy and globalization effects; 2) humanism: human and societal implications; 3) nationalism and 4) Europeanism (Vaara 2014: 505), out of which the two first ones are applied in this research.
discourse”, three specific areas were critically triangulated: business explored through corporate social responsibility (CSR), the media through the convergence of commercial media interests as defined in critical media theory, and through the political process staking out the boundaries of policy (Figure 7). Chapter 3.1 discusses the moderating role of corporate social responsibility between market logic and societal obligations. Chapter 3.2 takes a critical approach to media theory to contextualize the mediating role of news outlets in determining public discourse. Chapter 3.3 follows the bipolar framing of this research by setting austerity policy in contrast with deliberative democratic theory.

Argumentative models derived from economic liberalism promote the ideology of the survival of the fittest in the marketplace. Ideology and discourse are, however, never limited to a single field of public – economic – discourse. Instead, what happens is that a field of discourse judged central or powerful – hegemonic – will start to “bleed out” the ideology and its corresponding discourse more broadly in society not only as sensemaking but sensegiving mechanisms. The treatment in each chapter will show that though considered separate fields, they each also link together by creating similar ideological elements, framing effects and discourse – all informed by similar contextual understandings. The empirical nexus thus forms the material dimension of social practice that has to be considered equally in the process of conducting critical discourse analysis as a research method.

![Diagram of discursive areas within public discourse](image)

**Figure 7.** Empirical nexus of discursive areas within public discourse
Globalization and neoliberalism – Globalization is one of the terms that have become increasingly ubiquitous and thus also bereft of strictly defined meaning both in public and academic discourse. Globalization entails an increased level of autonomy for market relations in and between societies (Väyrynen 1998: 9). In his analysis of the use of the term “globalization” in the Financial Times, Marko Ojala (2017: 270) found that the term seems to be used as a placeholder for “global economic integration” or “the global integration of markets” but the same time treated as an objective fact. Similarly the leading Finnish national newspaper Helsingin Sanomat is considered to represent Finnish consensual culture, meaning the reporting often serves the interests of a national consensus within the neoliberal paradigm (Lounasmeri 2010: 5). This supports choosing Helsingin Sanomat as a subject of analysis in chapter 6.2.

Critical theory has noted the link between pro-globalization discourses and global capitalist (Fairclough and Thomas 2004) and neoliberal ideology and policy (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001). The state serves as the necessary enabler of market relations under globalization, upon which neoliberal doctrine builds its rationale. Ampuja (2012: 284) quotes Scholte (2000) to present four primary drivers: “1) the spread of rationalism as a dominant knowledge framework; 2) capitalist development (market expansion combined with decentralized production and consumption); 3) technological innovations (jets, computers, etc.); 4) changes in international regulatory frameworks such as governance mechanisms”, all of these being highly “interrelated”.

Discourse scholars critical of globalization note that globalization also maintains global inequalities and has an exploitative aspect “downplaying issues of power and subordination within globalization” (see e.g. Flowerdew 2002: 211-212; Fairclough & Thomas 2004, Fairclough 2006). Pro-globalization discourse typically masks negative consequences and omits certain concerns or speakers, which leads to the marginalization of (unwanted by unavoidable?) negative outcomes of globalization. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 80) put it, “commonalities of discourse practices increasingly transcend linguistic differences”, meaning that the discourse of globalization is social, not linguistic, and as such not restricted to any specific language. This interrelation and surpassing of linguistic boundaries creates a vast potential for interdiscursivity for globalist discourse that is relatively unprecedented and hegemonic (Erkama 2010a: 64).

When a phenomenon, a ”-zation” (e.g. globalization), becomes naturalized, it is often integrated into common sense. In such an instance the phenomenon to be explained morphs, in effect, into an element that explains: “the very discourse and
rhetoric of globalization may serve to summon precisely the effects that such a discourse attributes to globalization itself” Hay and Marsh (2000: 9; quoted in Spicer & Fleming 2007: 519). This decreases political and societal explanatory power in favour of obfuscated processes, actions and accountability.

No one appears responsible as agency is attributed to anthropomorphized powers, such as the markets or laws of economics. Fairclough (2000: 26) noted that the externalization of the threat and its assessment creates an absence of immediately responsible or accountable agents, which further contribute to the idea of change as inevitable. The markets have created (or are created as) an “impersonal authority” (van Leeuwen 2008: 108) that agents can draw on for legitimation purposes.24 The market thus becomes an end in itself. It bears noting that also in ideology theory the dominance of things – inanimate entities – represents a society that is “no longer perceptible as a human construct, and therefore as humanly alterable” (Eagleton 1991: 85).

As an example of the shift in conceptualization globalization discourse is seen to have entered constant corporate restructurings as a typical feature of globalized labour. Riad (2005) has noted globalization entails a “restructuring culture”. Here the downsizing of employees becomes a typical – not exceptional – outcome of restructuring, if not its main purpose. What this means is that employment becomes more precarious as the global economy demands flexibility for companies to survive in highly competed markets. Spicer & Fleming (2007) and Tienari, Vaara & Björkman (2003) have found that the discourse of globalization is an integral force in legitimizing restructuring especially through the media. While restructurings arguably aim for positive organizational outcomes – increased efficiency and cost savings – they have negative outcomes for employees. In the era of globalization restructuring has become a new norm – more than just a euphemism for staff reductions – and is only rarely publically contested (Hirsch & De Soucey 2006). Restructuring is no longer just an outcome – it is a process. Fiss and Hirsch (2005) note of the discourse for deregulation, part and parcel of the broader globalization discourse, that has not changed at all since the late 1980s, and countless cases of deregulations later, we are allegedly still in a situation where there is so much regulation it stifles the economy. More political restructuring is thus required. Starting from the 1990s onwards, restructuring and downsizing became a standard corporate practice that could take place even when the

24 Vaara, Tienari and Laurila (2006: 799) claim that “sentient, anthropomorphized markets are an essential part of the neoliberal world order” and that financial experts, typically assumed to be unbiased, tend to have the interests of this system in mind in their analyses.
companies were profitable (McKinley, Mone & Barker 1998: 199-200). This new norm has arguably created a more starkly divided workforce, where global managers (change protagonists) and local (Finnish) managers and employees (change antagonists) have conflicting interests (Erkama 2010b: 152).

Globalization discourse tends to adopt a particularly strong future-oriented discourse that is deterministic in nature: the increase of overall wealth is legitimizes potential problems along the way. Fairclough and Thomas (2004) note that these future “imaginaries” are crucial for organizational legitimacy (see also: Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 103; Fairclough 2006). Capitalism depends on a notion of fairness, i.e. its effects will in the long run contribute to the common good (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002: 188). The same, then, would also apply to globalization. Agency is required to realize this better future, and the discourse of globalization aims to secure consensus and co-operation to this end. In its extreme form it expects the workers that are laid off to understand and appreciate the simple logic of their redundancy. However, this creates a curious disconnect of agency, as the negative forces that lead to restructuring are often represented – just globalization itself (Väyrynen 1998: 12) – as external or unavoidable, even inevitable (Fiss & Hirsch 2005).

Building on this context, neoliberalism is arguably the dominant political-economic dogma of the globalized era (Harvey 2005). Neoliberalism can be conceptualized within the context of globalization discourse as “a new relationship between government and knowledge through which governing activities are recast as nonpolitical and nonideological problems that need technical solutions” (Ong 2006: 3, quoted in Skilling 2014: 63-64). Neoliberalism should be understood as an amalgamation of ideas that seek realization in policy. The typical policy considerations are: 1) the primacy of pleasing international markets, which are by default external to the state; 2) openness in trading and finances, especially outwardly; 3) internal and external competitiveness, e.g. improving exports through wage decreases (Ban 2016).

While neoliberal policy exists in the abstract in the sense that local (institutional) contexts neoliberalism is shaped and implemented always with local variance (Ban 2016; Peck 2010)25. For example, the levels of collective bargaining, public health, public education, progressive taxes and the consensus on the welfare state are all variables that influence the level and tangent of neoliberal policies at the time (Ban 2016). In other words, neoliberalism as an ideology is always implemented in its

25 A similar division is also made in discursive institutionalism in terms of varieties of capitalism (VOC: Schmidt 2010; 2009; 2002).
context as a hybrid. Thus neoliberal discourse is dependent on the existing institutional context and probably is not identical across the board. The fundamental ideology, however, is.

Under neoliberal ideology-frame-discourse constructs political regulation of the economy is also weakened by economist discourses (Teivainen 2002) that state that alleged fundamental economic imperatives alone should guide the economy. In these instances, noneconomic spheres must accommodate, or even become subordinated to economic imperatives. From the perspective of political economy this is troubling if free-market capitalism is inherently unstable and prone to crisis as a part of its natural cycle (Harvey 2010; 2005). In other words, when economy takes up priority from politics, and politics become more reactionary in its relation to the economy, politics becomes consumed by the potential and realization of crisis.

Economic imperatives such as competiveness and economic profit act as limitations to political debate and economic alternatives that naturalize the existing economic practices and hide their actual complexity (Swanson 2008: 62-63; Hoover 2003: 259). It is noteworthy, however, that attributing decisions to naturalized common sense is, in effect, an act of depoliticization, relevant for globalist and neoliberal discourse both. Depoliticization here is an act of removing agency; politics is declared impotent or illegitimate to handle the issues at hand (in globalist discourse, the state is declared unfit to handle the economy26). The assumption of self-regulating markets makes the role of the state redundant – even harmful – by default (Polanyi 2009 [1944]: 74, 133).

Seeking to cut public spending and services in favour of the private sector has created a powerful incentive for marketization of services and holdings previously in the control of the public sector (Birch & Siemiatycki 2016). Marketization should be understood as one aspect of neoliberalism, which is supported by discourse that frames the state as a market facilitator, rather than a service provider, which legitimizes the shift of service functions (Birch & Siemiatycki 2016: 182-183). The prevailing position of neoliberal ideology seen in the expansion of privatization is also largely dependent on neoliberal norms that have significantly helped business to gain more authority and a core position in today’s societal structure.

It is, in fact, free-market ideology as policy (Teivainen 2002; see also Hoover 2003). Given that the relation of power in society are skewed, rather than equal as neoliberalism suggests, it can be “understood as a political project to restore the

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power of economic elites” (Rehmann 2013: 273; Harvey 2005: 16, 19). While neoliberal policies rely on state power for implementation, that power is limited to a technocratic role. Jacintha Swanson (2008: 63) critiques that the alleged complexity of esoteric economic laws and market mechanics means that “political leaders, not to mention citizens, are deemed too inept or ignorant […] to make economic decisions” reliably or objectively.

Experts will in effect serve as consultants regarding the correct direction of state power being applied, or policy formulated, either through direct influence or in the public sphere.

Austerity politics, deregulation, re-evaluation of public service provisions, and other socio-political debates and decisions can easily fall under “economism” where economic force translates into political power through e.g. pro-business legislation (Teivainen, 2002: 157). Teivainen (2013: 74) calls this corporate protectionism, where the markets are shaped to favour companies from state interventions. Spread by intertwined globalist and neoliberal discourse, economism defines the limits and direction of the political process. Under neoliberal ideology state transformations focus on international competitiveness (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014:22). Competitiveness describes the means-goal, both the goal and the means of state reform, and rules of competition that apply to a firm now apply also to the state. For Ahlqvist and Moisio (2014: 22) neoliberalism does not “imply the displacement of the political by the economic”, but rather the “penetration of market rationalities to the practices of the state itself”.

To summarize, within pro-market frames and globalization discourse informed by neoliberal ideology the development or even evolution of the markets is perceived and represented as a historically inevitable natural progress, which benefits humanity as a whole (Greckhamer 2010: 843). Inevitability as evolution means that changes are being driven by forces beyond “the agency of immediate actors and audiences” (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005: 55). As such, this ideology-frame-discourse construct legitimizes business interventions into society while delegitimizing state interventions in business. The merger of public policy and corporate strategy are seen as a beneficial endeavour to ensure the efficacy of business influence on public policy. This is reflected in the predominant theme of globalization in business news from the 1980s to the 2000s discussing not only economic performance but also the regulative environment in a normative way (Kjer 2007: 168).

Inevitability embedded in globalist discourse also creates curious constructs of pre-given definitions: some businesses are understood as naturally weak, while
others are naturally strong. Given the sense of evolution of business in the context of a market economy, upholding the weak at the expense of the strong would be irrational, even immoral, especially in the context of the market economy. This logic, however, becomes highly problematic if it is allowed to spill over from market frames to represent e.g. issues of social inequality, creating an opposite socio-political frame to the one promoted by the welfare state. To illustrate the paradox of the shifting discursive practices of welfare states, Schumacher (2012: 1028) has found that voters can support both welfare state expansion and cutting government spending. This can – to an extent – be attributed to the salience of spending cuts, especially in economic downturns, as responsible economic policy. Debt and inflation have been crafted into economic calamities that must be avoided, and as such under these circumstances the median voter may accept budget cuts and welfare state retrenchment.

Crisis – One staple of globalization discourse appears to be the prevalence of crisis, and the readiness to invoke crisis to drive decisionmaking forward. Crises require interventions that are presented always as being necessary and without alternatives, requiring decisive and swift action (Stanley 2014: 898; Watson & Hay 2003). Skilling (2014: 61) argues that contemporary politics is marked by a “proliferation of crises and crisis narratives” to “describe existing reality and to implore action”. This sense of crisis is informed by an anxiety of a continuously, constantly and relentlessly changing, turbulent world, where inability to change may doom an organization or a nation into stagnation. Change is necessary, and remaining set in old ways is not only futile, it can be dangerous. This interpretation of crisis is diffuse and generic, but it can be realized in discourse every time there is an actual crisis – state or organizational.

The turbulence is endemic to the global economy: it will never stabilize, truly, which makes it a potential crisis without end, even if there is a discursive promise to reach stability (Skilling 2014: 67). Effective crisis discourse, however, creates flexible yet simple stories that create causality to events – and attribute fault/blame (Stanley 2014: 899-900, 911). Crisis discourse represents the issue between adapting and perishing to the extent that it is a natural force akin to evolution (Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003: 382). Resistance is labelled old-fashioned, out-of-touch, or simply impossible in the new global era, impending the transformation process that is crucial for the company to survive. In short, anything that slows down or impedes the process is deemed detrimental. Consensus-building is discarded if it does not solve the problem, because delays have an adverse effect on finances.
A crisis often, though not always, invokes the state of exception, which is extremely problematic for deliberative democratic processes. A crisis signals immediacy, which suggests delivering a decisive decision quickly as a response. This does not mean consultation in a democracy would be entirely bypassed, but there is pressing need to achieve consensus so action can be taken. A declaration of crisis simultaneously and severely restricts the possibilities to choose from, becoming argumentative shorthand. Crisis discourse connects with globalization discourse explicitly in how governmental policy is often externalized:

“Governments have become increasingly concerned to show not just that the crises they are responding to are outside of their direct control but also that the evaluation of their response also comes from an external source and (therefore) that they have no option but to pursue the goals that those external evaluators demand” (Skilling 2014: 71).

While politically feasible and tempting, this strategy also creates problems of political impotency as elected representatives routinely – when faced with crisis – implore voters to accept suggested policies as there are no alternatives.

The crisis is often identified by experts in that field, who also have the necessary authority to prescribe solutions. These discourses are represented as rational and reasonable, as one has to be in a crisis. This is, of course, an argumentation strategy. Notably these experts are often drawn from the economic field, and their neutrality and unbiased status is rather assumed than confirmed. In fact, many experts seem to advocate consistently for solution to the crises in their fields by conforming to the hegemonic logic of their own field (Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003: 388). This representation also becomes a bigger issue in media representation (chapter 3.2).

In turbulent times crisis is endemic, which overturns the state of exception, but retains crisis discourse to be invoked as necessary as a highly salient frame (the everyday emergency: Skilling 2014) that is pervasive in society. For example, if companies react to negative changes in the investment market by laying off masses of people, the crisis also becomes a political crisis as governments try to mitigate the resulting social crisis. Indeed, given the limited role ascribed to the state in globalization, national governments are by default relegated to the position of

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27 While beyond the scope of this work, the state of exception and crisis are typical related to security policy (Agamben 2005). Given how readily financial crises are also represented as rational, existential calamities, the state of exception may not be the text, but often the subtext of economic decisionmaking.
reacting after the effect. In these cases what may be best for the company (cut costs by downsizing) no longer is automatically good for the country.

Arguably for companies and states alike successful crisis management becomes the crucible that tests their societal legitimacy. The key difference is, however, that a company can push through a reform it believes it needs more legitimately than a democratic government can. For a government struggling with its national economy the consent of financial experts alone is insufficient. For this reason it is safe to assume governments would be more inclined to use crisis to legitimize its actions to the public through arguments.

Global and local: Finland – Neoliberalism arrived in Finland in the 1980s, which served to intensify globalization logics and discourse. For a long time, however, it remained in the realm of the financial elite (Kantola 2002). Ilkka Ruostetsaari (2016: 268-269) notes that the endorsement of neoliberal values has been high among Finnish business elites, but also that it has never been high (and is actually at the low end of the spectrum) among political elites. The discourse had started to change in the 1980s, but the social practice of neoliberal policy became more widespread only in the shock of the recession in the 1990s (Heiskala 2006: 14). Globalization discourse, which solidified market frames looking to liberalization of the regulations of the welfare state, entered the business realm in Finland unevenly, though the companies that had the most multinational reach, such as Nokia. Finnish society has been shaken by a recession and major social changes since the 1990s, but arguably before that as well, given the rapid succession in which Finnish society industrialized, modernized, and arguably has already post-industrialized.

The role that elites play in formulating and disseminating discourse should be considered here, given the broad range of power that is ascribed to elite discourse (Ruostetsaari 2016; 2014; van Dijk 2006b; Druckman 2001; Kantola 2002). In the era of globalization, national elites serve as a platform for moving into the international financial elites, reproducing the logics of globalization and creating a universal ideology of economic interests (Ojala 2017: 19-20, 22). In other words, economic elites also have converging interests when it comes to politics. It is crucial to understand in this context that while converging global economic interests under globalization exist, there are no countering international democratic or civil society movements that would be nearly as coordinated.

The entrance of neoliberal market discourse to Finnish society and politics also coincided with the rise of Nokia as a national corporate power. The reason why the 1980s did not allow for the wide dissemination of neoliberalism was the relative
implausibility of one of its key discursive tropes: scarcity of funds and resources that would enable, or even demand, extensive cuts into public services and the deregulation of labour rights for more competitive exports. Finland was quite wealthy, and as such Margaret Thatcher’s discourse of “we can no longer afford” a broad welfare system was not applicable. The 1990s recession in Finland, however, made scarcity an unescapable reality that became societally ingrained, despite the period of increasing wealth that followed it. In fact, it would be accurate to say that the resurgence of wealth in the 2000s was linked directly with globalization discourse, which already conceptualized public finances differently.

The change in taxation policy that decreased marginal and corporate tax rates in Finland at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s was a global phenomenon. The more competitive alignment of the Finnish state coincided with the economic boom, which also enhanced the sense of individualism among the Finnish elite. However, most of the Finnish citizenry was, despite the economic boom, still reeling from the social consequences of the recession, and thus were in favour of more collectivistic measures that supported societal (and social) security (Ruostetsaari 2012: 272). The societal shift in the early 2000s fragmented the Finnish elites with the notable exception of business and politics (Ruostetsaari 2012: 279). Arguably this was a point of divergence between the Finnish elites and citizenry, which is often experienced as the unequal distribution of the benefits of globalization.

The neoliberal shift led to a conceptualization of the public economy as being endemically unsustainable, and the ideal citizen was reframed as an entrepreneur: entrepreneurship entails both discourse and ideology that are also conducive for particular political agendas, which makes entrepreneur-discourse appealing to political actors (Heiskala and Luhtakallio 2006: 7). As consequence, both the discourse and social practice had moved away from envisioning a welfare state into envision a welfare society, which entailed a decreased role for the state in producing welfare, and an increased role for the private sector. The success of Finnish companies became equitable with Finnish success overall, and Nokia, in its unrivalled position as the leader of Finnish industry, came to epitomize this new rationale. As consequence, Kantola & Kananen (2013) have noted that the Finnish political economy has been persistently non-Keynesian and focused on consensus-seeking market reforms.

Before moving on, some empirical data illustrates the context of the Finnish political economy. After all, while argument on pure discourse is possible, discourse is most persuasive when it is accompanied by some degree of supporting
material evidence. While crisis discourse can represent a crisis, the characteristics of a crisis should also be locatable in generally approved and accepted economic metrics. To ground the coming discussion in this chapter and discursive representation of the empirical material in chapter 6, some indicators that describe the state of the Finnish economy should be considered. The first two graphs, Figure 8 and Figure 9, describe the typical indicators of national economies: quarterly economic growth (GDP) and the development of Finnish debt-to-GDP ratio and national deficit during the last two decades, limited to the timeline of the empirical evidence (1992-2013)²⁸:

**Figure 8.** The growth indicator of the Finnish GDP by quarter 1992-2013

![Figure 8: The growth of Finnish GDP (%)](image)

**Figure 9.** The ratio of deficit to GDP and debt to GDP by year 1991-2013

![Figure 9: The deficit-to-GDP(%) and debt-to-GDP(%) ratio](image)

The impact of the financial crisis in 2008 is clearly noticeable in Figures 8 and 9, as Finnish GDP growth and debt-to-GDP ratio have both been adversely affected.

²⁸ The statistical data has been fetched from Statistics Finland: Quarterly economic growth of GDP (http://findikaattori.fi/en/3) and General government deficit and debt ratios (http://findikaattori.fi/en/44), compiled by the Findikaattori / Findicator economic indicator service provided by the Finnish Prime Minister’s Office and Statistics Finland. This site has been considered suitably official for the purposes of showcasing general indicators.
with continuous budget deficits since 2009. Given that Nokia was one of the larger companies that restructured just as Finland was in a recession, the economic rise of the nation also coincided, and was partially fuelled by, the relatively exceptional rise of a single company, which can also be seen in the GDP graph (and is later discussed in chapter 4). Though the financial crisis sparked a comparatively mild recession in terms of industry, the reduction of GDP in Finland was greater than in the core EU nations. This would explain the appeal and applicability of crisis discourse in Finnish politics.

The problems of the Finnish political economy have coincided without claims of causality, with the decline of Nokia as a company (see chapter 4). Nokia’s decline both contributed to and is reflected in the level of Finnish exports and imports: while for the most of the 1990s and 2000s Finland was a net exporter, the financial crisis caused imports to increase over exports in relation to the GDP (Figure 10)\(^29\). Given Finland’s reliance on exports from the 1990s, the financial crisis in Figure 10 shows real reason for concern. From the perspective of a diverse economy, however, the fact that Nokia no longer guides, controls or constrains the Finnish ICT sector could be seen as a good thing for democratic political control over the nation’s political economy. These figures are used purely for contextual purposes, and they are not intended as references of causality.

![Figure 10: Finnish exports and imports in relation to the GDP](http://findikaattori.fi/en/80)

**Figure 10.** The ratio of Finnish exports and imports to the GDP

At the same time the development of societal equality in Finland should be observed, and the most typical way to measure this is the Gini coefficient for

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\(^29\) The statistical data has been fetched from Statistics Finland: Finnish exports and imports in relation to the GDP (http://findikaattori.fi/en/80), compiled by the Findikaattori / Findsay economic indicator service provided by the Finnish Prime Minister's Office and Statistics Finland.
disposable cash income, marking income inequality (Figure 11): the higher the coefficient, the greater the inequality in terms of income. It can be observed from Figure 11 that Finnish Gini coefficient is relatively low, but continuously increasing as the nation headed into the economic growth of the late 1990s and early-to-mid 2000s. The figure suggests that the fruits of economic growth did not distribute evenly by showing an increase of nearly ten points. Income inequality had neared the 30-point mark in 2007, just before the financial crisis hit. Ironically, assuming no other outside factors or significant policy changes, it seems that the financial crisis decreased income inequality in Finland back to earlier levels, though not quite as low as it was in the mid-1990s.

![Figure 11: Gini coefficient on disposable cash income](image)

**Figure 11.** Gini coefficient on disposable cash income in Finland, 1995-2013

Finally, the unemployment statistics should also be considered, given how historically recessions and financial crises have also led to considerable unemployment levels – this certainly was the case in the 1990s. However, while the level of employment and unemployment show a respective dip and increase after 2008 in Figure 12, the numbers are not nearly as dramatic as in the 1990s. Overall, the employment and unemployment indicators are extremely stable.

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30 The statistical data has been fetched from Statistics Finland: Income differentials - Gini coefficient (http://findikaattori.fi/en/58), compiled by the Findikaattori / Findicator economic indicator service provided by the Finnish Prime Minister's Office and Statistics Finland.

31 The statistical data has been fetched from Statistics Finland by combining employment (http://findikaattori.fi/en/41) and unemployment (http://findikaattori.fi/en/34) rates. The data was compiled by the Findikaattori / Findicator economic indicator service and adjusted by the author to a single graph.
Regardless of the crisis the unemployment rate in 2013, for example, was still under the level of the early 2000s. It seems like the financial crisis that led into a recession in Finland has not had all the hallmarks of a typical recession, but rather that of a period of persistently low growth. While many of these indicators do not capture how the financial crisis is experienced on an individual level, they do contextualize arguments for crisis in Finnish public finances. There is no doubt that the indicators show decline in Finland’s case, but that decline should perhaps be contextualized with other European countries before demanding exceptional measures to be taken in an exceptional crisis.

![Figure 12: Unemployed jobseekers and jobs reported vacant](image)

**Figure 12.** Finnish employment and unemployment rates for age group 15-64, 1992-2013

### 3.1 Corporate Social responsibility

*Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as discursive practice* – Corporate social responsibility is defined here as an additional discursive construct upon business practice and market logic that can offer societal discourse and argumentation, but can never truly detach from its market-based orientation. In its plainest form, CSR forms an aspect of business activities that takes social stakeholders more broadly into account. Originating from environmental concerns CSR can be seen to encapsulate more and more aspects of business today, though there is little consensus in the literature on the exact definition of CSR (see discussion in Erkama 2010a: 11; Scherer and Palazzo 2011: 904; see also Siltaoja 2009; Vuontisjärvi 2013). CSR as a process represents an organization’s social relationships and its commitment for the “common good” (Basu and Palazzo 2008: 124; see also: Chiapello & Fairclough 2002: 188). The perceived legitimacy of the company is vital for success and survival (Kostova & Zaheer 1999: 64) and needs to be retained throughout its operations.

Lange and Washburn offer a very critical reading of the social aspect of CSR, claiming that the practice is based primarily on corporate self-preservation and self-
interest, rather than any loftier goals (Lange & Washburn 2012: 301). This makes CSR a utilitarian practice; behaving in a socially responsible way is primarily guided by the potential benefits it grants a company (Vuontisjärvi 2013: 294). As such, CSR often is restricted by market logic: First, companies are accountable to their shareholders, which means CSR concerns typically have to be offset by financial prerogatives. In other words, companies have to be sufficiently profitable to divert funds into being socially responsible. Second, the utilitarian aspect of CSR expects that the company will gain some immaterial good in terms of reputation or desirability as an employer, or even a competitive advantage from behaving in a socially responsible way. This benefit would offset material investment and legitimize CSR in financial terms. Third, given that CSR has become largely a discursive trope in business, meaning that most companies are expected to have CSR initiatives and strategies in writing, a critical approach is warranted.

Companies can and will negotiate their surrounding norms rather than directly adapt, considering the large bargaining power potentially leveraged by big companies (Kostova & Zaheer 1999: 71). Legitimacy is a bargaining chip for the company in these circumstances. In other words, CSR has a distinct, even if often implicit, political purpose as well within in the context of globalization as a way of legitimizing the freedom from national regulations granted to private enterprise. Indeed, much of CSR is linked to globalization in the sense that especially multinational enterprises disseminate and adopt best CSR practices among peers.

When organizational action is denied legitimacy or found controversial, it has a negative impact for the organization (Elsbach & Sutton 1992). This can only be controlled through active discourse or framing actions. Legitimating discursive acts will be more or less self-rationalizing (Lange & Washburn 2012: 306): if the macro-economic trends are to blame, then the company is not. This creates a second paradox of the markets being the ultimate arbiters of economic success, but also at the same time the external position of responsibility, allowing to (ir-)responsibility to be attributed (ibid.: 308; Vaara & Tienari 2008: 989). CSR can, in fact, be claimed to engage in blame deflection (Hansson 2015) as a self-defence instinct of ideology: the inevitability of market logic is an inherent justification: without inevitability as an underlying premise, the negative consequences would create contradictions within globalist discourse (Erkama & Vaara 2010: 831-832; Spicer & Fleming 2007; Hirsch & De Soucey 2006; Fiss & Hirsch 2005; Fairclough & Thomas 2004).

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32 In his classic work on managing organizational legitimacy, Suchman (1995: 579) notes that “organizational altruism” in giving back to society never should be seen as interest-free.
CSR relates to a particular frame that promotes social values – fairness in social relations – in the otherwise relatively market-centred ideology of neoliberalism. Thompson (1990) argues that ideological modes of operation serve as means to strategic organizational ends and that these methods are employed to avoid accusations of unfairness or injustice. CSR activities represent the company as a member of society, whereby the social contract also applies to it. This yields legitimacy as a social actor, as it is expected to behave in a socially acceptable manner. Fairness is a very human expectation, and speakers cater to it (as emphasized also by Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) despite the fact that fairness contrasts with inevitability. Firms that downsize in good financial standing tend to suffer more reputation loss than those out of necessity (Love & Kraatz 2009: 320).

A good example of this was the controversial closure of Nokia’s plant in Bochum Germany while the company and the plant operated at a profit (the decision to close the plant was based on Nokia’s own future projections).

This may place CSR into an awkward position, from which it can only be rescued by an absolution by market powers: the markets’ reaction to corporate moves often serve as the final legitimating or delegitimating verdict in business. There is also a risk that being too ethical would be detrimental to profitability. The efficacy of CSR for firm performance and financial standing remains unclear, but the consensus is that on average social virtue is rewarded (Orlitzky, Schmidt & Rynes 2003; Doh et al. 2010). For the same reason disengagement from CSR commitments is usually omitted from press releases (Doh et al. 2010: 1478). CSR acts as an image-guard to protect the company against negative events in the future. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Managers with legitimate formal power set a clear position in legitimation hierarchy. Public legitimation is necessary to avoid flaunting the actual asymmetric power-structure and thus inviting inside interference or outside intervention. It stands to reason managers as people want to achieve positive public recognition; in situations of negative assessment they play down their responsibility (Vaara & Tienari 2002: 281).

Successful companies may find they owe some of their success to the societies they have sprung from and want to contribute back, but in general the markets in globalization discourse and neoliberal ideology serve as the key element that restructures and orders legitimation. In other words, other stakeholders will be consulted and taken into account as long as it is financially feasible to do so. The management can always fall back on their obligation to deliver shareholder value, rendering promises of CSR engagement tenuous by default. In this hierarchy,
employees are reminded that the company never promised, or pledged to provide, job security, and that this is simply the nature of the business.

The question merely then becomes which audience is more central for the legitimating efforts of the company. Communicating CSR by companies in public happens through advertising and press releases. In this way chapter also informs chapter 6.1. CSR is one element of the media reputation a company seeks to strategically create and leverage in its actions (Deephouse 2000). These actions are efficient in the sense that even though the tone of the companies’ communications might not filter through the media to the public, the content and lexicon of these communications initiated by companies often do (Carrol 2004: 151-152). This reflects in the content of the press releases and interviews given to the media by the company representatives: communication used as image protection, conflict control, and harmonization of strategy with stakeholders and potential allies.

Corporate PR (including press releases) is “aimed at influencing other, mostly corporate elites, rather than the general public” (Davis 2000: 283; see also White and Mazur 1995)\(^33\). Corporate communications have a double role of getting favourable press coverage mobilized, and blocking negative publicity. Mitchell (1997) argues specifically that the expansion of PR business coincided with the political shift towards free-market policies: political legislation favouring business interests also created a market for corporate PR, arguably and especially because business was expanding in new areas. This shift, placed usually in the 1980s, also coincides with the propagation of globalization discourse. In these instances it is typical to find implicit understandings of business elites excluding other elites from decisionmaking, arguing that the “market” knows best (Davis 2000: 295-296).

Coupling critical media theory with corporate communications is necessary to describe how new forms of corporate PR, such as CSR, have arguably contributed to the increased dominance of business sources in newsmaking.

However, the problem with public communication is, according to Suchman (1995), that a firm can suffer from a self-promoter’s paradox, in which attempts to rectify an organizational fault is met by derision and cynicism, resulting in the opposite desired results. This may apply to both internal and external audiences, given that the vested self-interest of corporate public communication is largely – for good reason – assumed. Furthermore, it should be noted that when it comes to

\(^{33}\) White and Mazur (1995) find that shareholders (48%) and employees (35%) are the most important audiences, while government officials being targeted 19% of the time, and the general public only 6%. This makes sense, though, as rather than targeting the general public directly, corporate PR’s purpose is to find dissemination through the media, especially via expert knowledge of the financial press (see also: Forssell & Laurila 2007).
policy there may be underlying deals or compromises between the actors in private (Schmidt, 2008: 313). In other words, a company may communicate to broader audiences of its CSR strategy while at the same time forming agreements with the relevant social and or political agents through lobbying channels. Thus public statements of intent can be analysed in their structure, but should not be assumed to be the only channel being used.

CSR as politics – There is an interesting point when CSR departs from strict market orthodoxy to assume social responsibilities to open a space between politics and business. Organization scientists Scherer and Palazzo (2011; 2007) refer to this as political CSR which would extend governance to global regulatory regimes, assuming that national operating contexts would be too susceptible to manipulation by powerful companies. While globalization increases economic opportunities through interdependence, it similarly does so with risks. Global standards of CSR could provide a political context for managing these risks, given the undeniable pressures that facilitate growing inequality, as corporations are under increased pressure to complete and deliver higher profitability.

Rather setting political restrictions, political CSR sees its role as a cooperative attempt to imagine new forms of political regulation that would establish political order and “circumscribe economic rationality by new means of democratic control” (Scherer and Palazzo 2011: 909; Scherer and Palazzo 2007). This arguably runs against the dominant paradigm of neoliberal ideology, in which businesses are placed beyond the political domain, and in so doing insulating business activities from political controls. Usually companies seek to demarcate the line between corporate and social responsibilities to the benefit of the prior, meaning that companies should be allowed to act as is in their own best interests without outside (i.e. state) interference.

CSR is emphatically voluntary social action that seeks to maintain this separation and give little or no cause for interventions by emphasizing how companies can act in social ways on their own without public coercion (Erkama 2010a). Teivainen (2013: 84-85) discusses Milton Friedman's concerns that if a

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34 Mark Blyth (2013) describes how the financial crisis of 2008 spread from the US housing markets to become the sovereign debt crises in Europe. Or, in other words, a private-sector financial crisis becomes realized as a political crisis of state debt. In these cases, one could argue, the banks acted as exceptionally poor corporate citizens.

35 There is a difference between voluntary CSR actions and legally mandated responsibilities, such as the employee co-operation negotiations in Finland. The latter is a necessary procedure set in law, and as such not an element of CSR. Kairinen, Uhmavaara & Finne (2005) note that even legally
company becomes socially responsible it steps into the political realm and thus makes itself a legitimate target of political interventions. In other words, CSR opens up a potentially democratic space in organizational governance as a company downsizing would be expected to hear from all stakeholders equally. However, without legal obligations, the space opened up by CSR voluntarily is notably one-way. As stakeholders workers are employees first and citizens second.

If employees engaging in the discussions only find that their counter-arguments have little impact and that the decision had clearly already been made (as often is the case: see Erkama & Vaara 2010: 826, 834), the democratic space opened up by CSR becomes an illusion, a false pretence. If employees are given the appearance of being able to influence the outcome without any actual recourse in doing so, this can breed organizational dissatisfaction, even alienation. This is where a crucial connection can be made later with the political process: if society is rife with promises of engagement and chances to get involved, then finding these opportunities to be completely lacking in efficacy may have a debilitating effect on citizens. What is the point of spending the effort in becoming engaged if the decision, corporate or political, has in effect already been made, and the engagement is merely lip-service in socially responsible camouflage?

Indeed, there is disagreement in the literature if employee rights are even considered a part of corporate social responsibilities – usually not (Vuontisjärvi 2013). Still, from the perspective of public governance, increasing unemployment has to be considered a part and parcel of CSR-like activities. As industry downsizing events have direct consequences for public finances (decreased taxes, increased social costs), this area is necessarily in the focus of public policy, which becomes problematic if public finances are already considered overburdened as it is. The public sector is still expected to provide support not only to employees (who are becoming unemployed) but also companies: the government’s line is that in a market economy, correcting market failures has traditionally been the state’s responsibility, e.g. through tax policy, subsidies or regulations to restore efficient markets (Valtionevoston kanslia 2015: 17).

Arguably CSR has followed from a more acute sense of having to maintain legitimacy as a social actor to safeguard business interests. Companies have become increasingly aware that at least on a discursive level, maintaining profitability is not the only value it should actively seek to express. CSR could be also conceptualized as social accountability; failure to act in ways that the society deems legitimate – in mandated actions like the collaboration negotiations have routinely been decided in advance, thus decreasing their both formal and substantive meaning.
other words causing collective harm in the pursuit of private profit – can prompt state interventions in the business that even pro-business audiences will find legitimate. It thus makes sense for businesses to behave in a way that reduces potential public interference in private enterprise. The risk in the current political climate is fairly low, however; in Finland the government released a study in 2015 that CSR activities should be publically encouraged, but that the regulatory and administrative burden and costs of companies should not be added, given the international competition (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015: 24).

3.2 Critical media theory

_Challenging media objectivity_ – In this chapter the ideological preferences in modern media will be discussed. Critical media theory explores the media as a commercial entity with commercial guiding logics, and not only as the deliberative democratic forum in society, which is often the mantle the media assumes. As before, the two dominating frames used to interrogate the media are based on the market logic of commercial media, and the societal mission of the media as a check against abuses of (political) power. The media field is formed by an institutional set of organizations that produce text (discourse) as their primary function. The implications of a more commercialized and consolidated media field would mean that media is not exempt from the current analysis, but rather drawn into it: “While newspaper companies emphasize their professional commitment to responsible communication, the fact remains that they are businesses as well” (Siltaoja 2009: 192). Schudson (2002: 263) comments that the role of the media in democratic societies is too readily accepted as an ahistorical fact, which ignores the possibility of changes in the nature of the news.

The media present – for the purpose of their operational logics – their version of events as a correct picture of things as they are, though critical media researchers openly acknowledge institutional bias imposed by the operational context, power structures and marketplace strategies (Lindén 2012: 21). The internationalization and professionalization of both journalistic and non-journalistic communication practices (e.g. corporation communications) suggests a possible formation of common communicative practices, which borders on homogenization. Professional communications companies have grown more influential, and given the propensity of commercial media to seek out new profits, consultants can tailor their material for easier publication (Kantola & Lounasmeri
Editors might be less willing to thoroughly vet appealing stories, and with increased workloads, there is less time for critical analysis (Juntunen 2011; Davies 2009).

The approach in this chapter is very critical of modern media, and quite dubious of a media theory that sees the media promoting unbiased deliberative democratic processes by default (van Dijk 2008). Instead the media’s powerful role is recognized with clear political effects attributed to its capacity to influence public opinion (Hall 1982: 57-58). Issues in media representation are not about conscious intentions or biases of the media, but rather about the systemic and structural pressures: “In the critical paradigm, ideology is a function of the discourse and of the logic of social processes, rather than an intention of the agent” (Hall 1982: 88).

As such, critical media studies have been conducted into the way organizations, institutions, and elites try to take advantage of publicity and politics (Davis 2007: 55-73) and exclude the non-elite from these networks (Davis 2000: 299). Most public actors, including ministries, unions, etc., are outsourcing communications to consultants to create communications and media strategies that could enter into elite networks. These professionals of communication have as their stated purpose to influence public and political decisionmaking. These professionals then compete through the media/journalism to see whose point of view is the dominant one. Kantola and Lounasmeri (2014) posit that market globalization, tightened competition and more complicated legislative environments have created a more public forum for business ethics, and as such an increased need for companies and government actors to monitor their operational surroundings and keep up a continuous social (or socio-political) dialog for their benefit.

It must also be recognized that the media is a crucial contemporary social and discursive arena where the journalists are complicit in persuasion (Kuronen, Tienari & Vaara 2005: 247, 267). Siltaoja finds (2009: 191) that the media serves as the arena where a “specific idea about the relationship between business and society become (re)constructed” (see also: Joutsenvirta & Vaara 2009). The media is not merely the public arena, but also an agent, an institutional actor within the context of economic and political activity. The hypothesis presented here is that as a part of the business-media-politics nexus the media has a vested interest in forming its own ideology-frame-discourse constructs, which it disseminates, and through which it can at times also filter information to audiences. The media can add its credibility to the original message: the more credible the source, the more influential the frame or discourse (Chong & Druckman 2007b).
Commercial media incentives informed by ideological preferences also affect the priorities of news organizations. The shifting occupational context and ideology of journalism is actively discussed in the literature (Davies 2009; Davis 2000; Hall 1982). Journalistic processes of professionalization exist, but there is much disagreement on actual norms and values to deny a de facto universal standard. It is therefore possible to speak of a dominant occupational ideology. Ideological perspectives can be seen as global influences on journalistic decisionmaking (Deuze 2005: 447). This can also be expected to influence the process of news creation and dissemination of commercialized and corporatized, typically to a detrimental degree (Davies 2009).

Additionally, in order to maximize journalistic efficiency journalists have routinized information gathering matching certain stories with certain visible expert sources. Goddard has found that most experts quoted in financial news are directly linked to market institutions. These experts typically are bank economists (Goddard 2000: 75; see Parviainen 2014 for the Finnish context). Authority, credibility, and acknowledged professionalism are typical prerequisites of (plausible) economic reporting. As reporters usually lack these personal qualities in the field of economy and/or finance, he has to turn to other sources. This practice creates a high degree of source-dependency, which reflects on the media representation of economic events (Kollmeyer 2004).

Thus economic commentators in business news bring very few new insights or opinions to the discussion, but rather reinforce the discourse and framing stating market primacy. Promoting an increase of investments or shutting down factories in business news are typical cases where the logic behind decisions was not questioned (Koistinen 1998: 58) and the mechanics of these decisions, drawn from market ideology, are presented as common sense without further elaboration. The stock market, for example, can become an indicator of not only the financial health of individual businesses but the financial performance of nations as a whole.

Ideally, and to ensure the functioning of the democracy the media should offer the citizens with adequate information about questions in the society and critically assess the actions of the decision makers (Nieminen and Pantti 2009: 28-30). In Finland specifically newspapers have been considered educators enjoying relatively high trust, not businesses seeking profits (Forssell & Laurila 2007: 65; Salokangas 1998). The generally held model in Nordic countries for media functions in democracy: 1) information – for citizens to form their opinions; 2) critique – to monitor and scrutinize those in power; 3) forum – publicity for different representatives (Nordenstreng 2001: 60). The ideal expectation is that
newsworthiness would be determined in an unbiased way. In reality, however, this ideal of an informed public is problematic at best. Consolidated Finnish media has arguably become increasingly business-oriented and has largely ejected the old discourse of social duty (Luostarinen & Uskali 2006). Discursively news organizations naturally have to appeal to their duty to the citizenry, but simultaneous economic and financial incentives influence the newsmaking process.

The press often responds to this critique of becoming biased by drawing on the existing discourse and framing of the media as a free and objective operator, while critical theorists note that this knee-jerk reaction could just as well be interpreted as an automatic response against the position of consolidated media houses in the hierarchy of social power (van Dijk 1989: 44). Ruostetsaari (2003) has noted that overall traditional media ownership in Finland (and Sweden) has become concentrated as a result of increased levels of mergers and acquisitions (Statistics Finland 2014: 7; Huovila 2003). According to the statistical data of Finnish newspaper circulation, the top three newspaper media publishers are Sanoma Oyj, Alma Media Oyj and Keskisumalainen Oyj in this order. Sanoma Oyj, for example, is a large media consortium which activities cover newspaper, magazine, books, radio and TV.

While the top 10 largest newspaper publishers routinely cover 68-78% of the total newspaper circulation in 2006-2013, only the top three publishers account for 49-52% of the total circulation (Statistics Finland 2016). Many media houses are also owned in part by other media houses (Statistics Finland 2014: 48). This means increased levels of marketing and editorial co-operation between newspapers, which can be expected to lead to convergence in terms of content. Several scholars have expressed their concerns regarding the prominence of a consolidated and commercialized media field in reporting the evolving relationship between democracy, media, and citizenry (McChesney 1999; Nordenstreng 2001; Gamson et al. 1992; Bagdikian 2004). With an increase of editorial columns and other more directly argumentative forms of reporting (for the Finnish context, see e.g. Väliverronen & Kunelius 2009) has also shaped the media’s voice. The more argumentative representations of news events are no longer limited to op-eds and columns (Morasso 2012), especially as newspapers seek to maintain the audience’s attention.

It stands to reason that the media also redirects its messages to its most appropriate audiences, applying framing and discursive means to do so. This feeds into the dominance of particular discourses and frames. This can at worst result in selective argumentation in public discussion (Nieminen and Pantti 2009: 27-29), i.e.
allow for a singular ideology-frame-discourse construct’s dominance. According to Reunanen (2003: 503), for example, the popular nature of the tabloid magazines is shown in their tendency to highlight contradictions, exaggeration and disbelief. This format favours dramatization over information in news production.

Instead of breaking with discursive dominance, the media is easily drawn in as a part of a system with its own feedback loops, encouraging the repetition of its accepted discursive tropes. Repetition of the core message is considered a key element of corporate communications (Forssell & Laurila 2007: 59-61) and formulaic expressions in economic news serve to render a degree of familiarity to financial news reporting. Richardson (2000: 47) makes a highly interdiscursive point by claiming that the use of economic idioms in the media in particular shows that this is not something the speakers use on their own, but rather in terms of quoting the discourse they have been exposed to.

Mass audiences have a hard time coming up “with an interpretation on their own, one for which the media do not make relevant information readily available,” (Entman 1989a: 367). Entman (1989b: 91) seems doubtful that market solutions regarding the media and the market of ideas required for a democracy, seeing as how the market itself has led to media consolidation: “success in the economic market seems to contradict service to the idea market”. The same market pressures driving consolidation can be expected to reflect the positions in the newsroom: editors are expected to manage the media business model. This is can be seen as an overall frame that affects the discourse of journalists within the organization as well as in their reporting.

Furthermore, media and political discourse have become increasingly porous due to mediatisation effects\(^\text{36}\) are not unique to Finland. Media publicity increasingly shaped popular perceptions and orders political activities (Herkman 2011: 18). The logic of the media increasingly dictates the necessities of political activities, and this logic, given the commercial interests that permeate modern, media, is largely dictated by the media market (ibid.: 22). The media has a sufficient degree of consolidated power over public discussion forums that politicians have to take this media gaze into account with increasing care (Nordenstreng 2001). As media has become institutionalized, it has come to share strong organizational affinity with politics. The media has no democratic controls even though it exists in

\(^{36}\) The increased commercialization of the Finnish media has changed the relationship between the media and politics (Herkman 2012). A more complete discussion of mediation effects is beyond the scope of this research, but the general grown relevance of media strategies for successful political actions should be noted.
– or rather lives out of – the democratic public space: the controls on media in liberal democracies are by and large organizational (or increasingly market-based), not democratic.

According to Gamson et al. (1992: 379), “media empires are not simply a result of the market system: they also serve as cheerleaders for it” (see also: Bagdikian 2004). Indeed, if “the media were to fulfill their democratic role, they would offer citizens a wide variety of opinions and perspectives, not just the narrow spectrum represented by those who have attained political power” (Schudson 2002: 258). The normative goal of informing the citizenry is a laudable one, but the media rather serves as a communication forum for the elites (ibid.: 263). Instead democratic media discourse that becomes depoliticized also relies heavily on declared facts and expert knowledge that is understood as neutral and unbiased (Karppinen 2005: 33).

While the ideal role of the media is to support a plurality of voices, the depoliticization of the economic through expert opinion and common sense instead risks narrowing down the actually width of the public forum. The media seems prepared to accept the market-centred conceptualization of society (Wiio 2006: 17) perhaps in part because commercial media outlets operate under market logic. In so doing, the globalist discourse has been rendered “factual” (Fairclough 2000). Framing the agency of markets as rational, lending credibility to projections and generally reproducing market logic becomes typical (“markets are confident”, or markets find something “odd”: Kuronen, Tienari & Vaara 2005: 258). Journalists are prone to internalize the market logic and inviting the reader to agree. As an example, Tienari, Vaara and Erkama (2007: 193-194) note that typical business journalism addresses both the inevitability of globalization and the benefits of international business while reiterating the benefits of a firm’s national character and its local commitment. It seems as if addressing local (or national) concerns but simultaneously dismissing them serves as necessary discursive legitimation for global businesses.

The media gaze – The media gaze reinforces the framing effect, by narrowing down possible frames to a selection of plausible options (Chong & Druckman 2007b). The nature of the events typically triggers gaze direction and intensity. Industry experts and consultants, who often have vested interests in promoting certain interpretations or ideas (Vaara & Monin 2010), refine the gaze further. The media gaze can gather momentum at the same time as the events unfold: a company in a financial downward spiral cannot escape the media’s gaze, as the spiral itself calls
the gaze to focus on it. Research has shown that discursive representations become more fixed over time as the media frame solidifies (Koller 2005: 214-215). Media gaze itself triggers questions of legitimacy.

Companies can and will try to influence the media gaze, and the discourse surrounding it: Actors tend to use the media as an arena for discursive strategizing and deliberate sensegiving over legitimacy or illegitimacy (Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003). In essence, it is a power struggle over the frame and subsequent discursive presentation of the message. The media can serve as a loudspeaker for the corporate message, effectively maximizing its reach and credibility beyond the constraints of its own organization (Vaara & Monin 2010: 15). The information is not, however, distributed evenly between a company and the media, let alone the general audience (Vaara, Tienari & Laurila 2006: 800).

Being a highly visible company in the media gaze can lead to polarizing effects: celebrity or infamy. It is possible to find companies veritably basking in the gaze of the media, enjoying a celebrity status. Corporate celebrity is “a property of the actor’s relationship with an audience, rather than a characteristic of the actor him/her/itsel” (Rindova, Pollock and Hayward 2006: 51). Celebrity status is usually personified through senior management or the CEO (Kjærgaard, Morsing, and Ravasi 2011; Hayward, Rindova and Pollock 2004), meaning these voices are granted prestige, visibility and authority in the media landscape (Vaara, Tienari and Laurila 2006: 804). The selection of spokespersons also reveals a circular logic: news coverage is increased and authority is ascribed based to the newsworthiness of the individual. Following this, CEOs are prime sources.

However, Lindén (2012: 95) notes that high charisma can also easily become a liability as the media gaze subjects them to constant and critical scrutiny. Celebrity status, however, is only rarely in the control of the company thus being set on display, leading to “an autonomous and powerful narrative, from which neither the media nor members seemed to be willing to publicly disengage” (Kjærgaard, Morsing, and Ravasi 2011: 535). Usually a change from corporate celebrity to villain (Ruotsalainen et al. 2014) does not take place without a firm action that is attributed (perceived) social stigmas. Nokia in Finland clearly fulfils the necessary requirements for a celebrity company thus exposed to the media gaze.

In the case of Nokia divesting from its plant in Bochum, Germany, the worsening economic performance of the company and increasing layoffs would explain this transformation from celebrity to villain also in the news narratives. Nokia’s (inaccurate) original explanation of poor profitability for discontinuing the site contested when the media handling of the downsizing event was botched
(Ruotsalainen et al. 2014: 22). Once the negative tone had been struck, most media sources built on that, and Nokia was recategorized as a villain in the context of the debate of state interests and the business interests of global capitalism. In effect in this context the media discourse reflected the ideological struggle of global capitalism (Nokia) and welfare capitalism (Germany). Nokia tried to highlight its contributions to the area (as offsetting income from granted public subsidies). When Nokia’s calculations were challenged, the company was forced to evade several times about what the numbers actually indicated (see Erkama & Vaara 2010 for a similar case).

The press has a tendency to fulfil a narrative imperative: this also suggests that the media is aware that their audiences, for the most part, enjoy and appreciate most stories consistent with their own beliefs (Graber 1988). Uniformity of frames reinforces the framing effect if the media appears to be presenting the case consistently across sources; a single voice represented to the audience (van Gorp 2007: 68). The media also downplays structural effects in order to find individual agency: “Journalists increase the coherence of their accounts of change by overattributing responsibility for its outcomes to select firms, while underattributing responsibility to broader environmental or situational factors” (Rindova, Pollock and Hayward 2006: 58; Hayward, Rindova and Pollock 2004). This is reflected by individual managers also finding in studies to attribute favourable outcomes to their own efforts, and unfavourable outcomes to external factors. Arguably the same mechanism applies to the representation of politics and politicians.

It would make sense for the negative press to follow from negative corporate events, such as layoffs, regardless of how well they are framed as operationalized in discourse as inevitable and necessary. These legitimation crises prove the most fruitful point of arresting the discourse of inevitability. Alternative discourses develop alongside the dominant discourse, creating discursive interplay. Discursive power and resistance are “mutually constitutive, implicative and coproductive” (Erkama 2010a: 27). In short, while the role of the media is seen in this research as primarily supportive of market logics, the force of the media narrative itself may cause divergent treatments being applied to different companies.

Business journalism – As a particular subset of the news media, the business press focusing on corporations has increased its presence and influence (Carroll 2010). The proportion of business news in relation to general news as increased, and more and more news sources specialize in economic news (Kjær & Slaatta 2007:
Within critical media studies it is often claimed that economic news can have constitutive power over popular perceptions of the political and the economy, such as what is considered real, or taken for granted (Gavin 2000). It seems that the press itself gives higher importance to economic issues than social attributes, which can lead the public “to evaluate the companies as eminently economic actors and not social actors” (Capriotti 2007: 239). As such, the media may create an understanding where the economic necessity is treated as a given, and social aspects are a plus. This would further marginalize CSR from standard news reporting, and leave it up to the companies to leverage for a positive image. It would make sense that firms often downsized to garner support from financial constituents. In effect firms present downsizing as symbolic of their cultural conformity to neoliberal ideology.

Specifically business journalists often see themselves as professionals in the business community, with the unintended consequence of setting the standards of journalistic criticism within the frame of activities (Doyle 2006; Davis 2000). The objective distance predicated by effective journalism has shrunk (Lindén 2012: 81). This has been reflected in the way business discourse is adopted in common usage as corporate restructurings are presented or viewed: they are often considered a positive sign of flexibility and competitive advantage (Hirsch and De Soucey 2006). There is a great potential of business journalism to make political and cultural statements and shape social understandings economic activities. In terms of a specialized financial expertise in Finland, a Finnish study has shown that financial analysts were non-existent in 1992, but in 2002 analysts were quoted 22 times in one month alone (Pajari 2003: 183). Financial analysts are a part of the investment economy, or rather professionals of it. Thus their expertise in market logics should be taken as one with vested interests.

Journalists, in turn, disavow any claims of reduced integrity: business journalists hold that many business leaders see business journalism as a threat. Claims of retained critical alignment would legitimize the financial press’s close proximity, if it were not for the fact that PR consultants certainly do not see the media as a threat (Forssell & Laurila 2007) – though poorly managed it can be. Well managed, in turn, it is a real asset, which is why media consultancy business is booming in the age of globalization (Kantola & Lounasmeri 2014). Ainamo, Tienari and Vaara (2007) note pointedly that business journalists were at the forefront of normalizing economic deregulation and introducing new public management, wherein journalists in general were converted to globalist discourse and market economy logics. As such, business journalism became a profession that evolved with the
deepening of market economy logics it covered, creating both ideological and discursive affinity.

In business journalism mediation by experts and journalists plays an increasingly greater part, giving justifications to corporate actions beyond journalistic neutrality: “They often reinforce existing ideas as interpretations in their capacity as gatekeepers and editors of information flows” (Vaara & Monin 2010: 6). Market concerns, or views held by (an anthropomorphic) market, as expressed by analysts and experts, has become dominant, and will neutrally judge who was right or wrong in conflict (and change events) (Kjør 2007: 173, 177). Kollmeyer (2004: 451) argues that journalists often use sources that support and illustrate on the chose frame, rather than offer new insight or opinions on financial news. Arguably this favours economist frames and focuses on events and problems from the corporate – or shareholder – perspective, rather than concerning itself with societal issues or workforce interests. The construction of business journalism as a “serious genre” of discourse, comparable with political news, makes business news discourse a crucial subject for analysis not only as single texts, but also as elements in a chain of texts defined by name or genre, which constitute and are constituted by social practice (Fairclough 2010).

One such interdiscursive idea is competition, which is intrinsic to businesses. As such, it forms a natural frame for business journalism. In other words, in competitive struggles over the markets there needs to be a winner and a loser (Lindén 2012: 33; see also Sum 2009; Kantola 2006). Offering corporate narratives is a functional way of controlling media reporting if they are catchy and memorable (Forssell & Laurila 2007: 62). The primary concern in business journalism is in the facilitating role of the state, or public power, in fostering free market activities. Peter Kjør (2007: 175, 177) notes that typically in business journalism in the 2000s the state would be construed either as a risk to the markets through interventions, or a facilitator by allowing for the markets to self-regulate. Business journalists accept that global market perspectives (i.e. shareholder value) are expected to supersede national stakeholders (Kantola 2006).

In business news Nokia became the favourite child of Finnish (business) journalists, analysts, experts, and politicians: “the company’s well-being and satisfaction had become a question of national interests” (Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007: 195), and as such influencing political decisionmaking in order to secure a favourable operating environment becomes a key policy item (Kjør 2007: 168; Lamberg et al. 2004: 337-338). As such, a positive operational environment (as opposed to constraining or restricting national viewpoints) becomes internalized.
While the press has a public responsibility and is seen as the “fourth estate”, the fact remains it is to a large extent an industry, the survival of which is predicated by attracting and sustaining readership, through credible reporting and access to expert sources. However, if the media has internalized the “neoliberal ethos” that accepts financial profitability as the legitimate goal of all corporate activity (Wiio 2006: 27), this not only affects the way it deals with the subjects it reports on, but on its capacity to self-reflect. Given the increasing vested interests in controlling public exposure and publicity in general, the media risks becoming less of a public forum, but a showcasing of private sector or market logic (Ojala 2017: 34). Media operating predominantly under a neoliberal market logic does not necessarily see social responsibility in the context of the common good, but rather in terms of economic and financial interests (Wiio 2006: 33).

3.3 The political process

Deliberative democratic principles – Deliberative principles can be considered worthy ideals for a democratic process. Rather than conducting an extensive discussion on the nature and conceptualization of deliberative democracy, a plurality of ideas, sources and viewpoints are accepted as beneficial for legitimate governance. It follows, then, to consider deliberative democracy a normative ideal that increases the potential for more inclusive decisionmaking and legitimizes the political process (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 30). From the perspective of deliberative democracy, exclusive decisionmaking (i.e. ruling out issues and topics from the realm of deliberation) has the potential of representing less people, and a narrow range of ideas. What is conceptualized as democratic activity here is the possibility of citizens to participate in the policy decisions that affect all facets of their life, social and economic. This participation may be either direct or through representatives. When the economy is depoliticized, it no longer is susceptible to citizen influence through the democratic political process. This is also at the core of economism (Teivainen 2002).

Here the nature of deliberative democracy in practice first relies on meritorious argumentation (following Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011). Critical reflection is recognized as the essence of politics and as a way to validate the political process (Baumann 1999: 2-3, quoted in Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 28). Second, deliberative democratic processes also assume the mutually reinforcing coexistence of democratic participatory discourse and participatory practice (Farrelly 2015).
Given the external pressures to political decisionmaking discussed so far, the foundations of democratic deliberation and argumentation have to be carefully considered due to their underlying elements of various discourse-framing-ideology constructs. Focus on deliberative democratic processes requires looking beyond simple mechanisms such as elections as political accountability to what every day democratic practices vis-à-vis the economy are or can be (Held 1996: 209).

Democracy is competitive in its political nature, but deliberative democracy seeks to harness this competition to a co-operative end (Williams and Young 2009: 2): the inclusivity of the process requires argumentation before decisionmaking. In this context the use of force is excluded, replaced theoretically by the power of practical argumentation. In its ideal form a deliberated decision is inherently not arbitrary but justifiable and legitimate. Genuine deliberative democracy should here also be understood as an extensive and continuous process (Ojala 2017: 16; Held 1996) where no party can assume a permanent position of power. Power cannot be vanished from the process completely, but sincere arguments – open to challenges through deliberation – can limit the effect of asymmetrical power structures (see chapter 2.1.1).

However, co-opting the discourse of deliberation is also highly inviting as a legitimating discursive strategy. The government will seek to convince audiences that it has weighed all alternatives equally to arrive at the means and goals most consistent with stated values, but also reasonable – or even realistic. Critics argue that the deliberative process can be simply a disguise for “instrumental rationality in the service of a taken-for-granted goal” (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 3238). It is also possible for politicians to set themselves as leaders above politics and political partisanship, expressing this as a good thing. Deliberation should not be about partisan bickering, after all. Peter Mair (2013: 3-4) draws on the example of Tony Blair as a politician of a new age that juxtaposed his own progressive vision with the “politicking” of the past. Rather than recognizing ideology as the fundamental force that moves politics, Blair subscribed to an understanding of ideology as false consciousness (i.e. being intractably biased and incapable of practical arguments or compromise). This is a typical strategy for those who seek to use ideology as a rhetorical weapon against “ideologues” (Rehmann 2013: 19), which is why it is interesting that Mair locates the propensity to do so in modern politics with the rise of the “third way” on the political Left (Mair 2013: 50-51; see also Fairclough 2000). In the Finnish context, this would hypothetically apply to the Social Democratic Party.
It is typical that politicians in western democracies stress how we “live in” a democracy, rather than enact democratic decisionmaking on multiple levels (Farrelly 2015: 125). This is often used to legitimize the reigning asymmetry of power as an outcome of the democratic process. Similarly large swaths of society can be declared apolitical (i.e. depoliticized, as in the case of the economy: Swanson 2008) legitimately if it is done by elected governments. A claim to democracy is a tempting way of naturalizing structural issues. Held (1996: 263) says it even more pointedly: all issues relating to the social distribution of wealth, such as welfare policies, are placed alongside “questions concerning economic, social and racial inequalities” beyond political examination. In essence, the restrictive character of democracy guided by neoliberal parameters defines economic as illegitimate political issues.

Thus the conceptualization of neoliberal democracy is basically limited to elections, leaving many other important aspects of society are depoliticized (Mair 2013; Swanson 2008). Depoliticized polities stress the importance of (technocratic) expert governance. Depoliticization entails legitimating decisionmaking that is conferred to institutions or other bodies from the realm of popular politics. The state’s role becomes regulatory (in terms of markets), rather than political or redistributive. Peter Mair crystallizes this choice between bad alternatives as accepting and legitimizing either the authority of populists or non-political experts (Mair 2013: 19-20). Knowing this may lead to unpopular decisions, politicians may seek to insulate themselves against political accountability by pleading “changed circumstances, constraints on decision making beyond their control or the unanticipated consequences of legislation or action when explaining why they failed to what they promised or when or what they promised turned out badly” (Hirst 1990: 25, quoted in Farrelly 2015: 11; see also Mair 2013). In other words, depoliticizing efforts seek to decrease democratic accountability by claiming unexpected externalities to distance political agency.

This logic is notably similar to the ways business representatives on the managerial level deal with financial problems in their companies. As mentioned previously, this attempt to reduce political accountability creates in effect a vacuum of accountability, in which it seems that no one is responsible, and very few people have agency at all. This contributes to what is seen as – and on the level of the citizenry perhaps even experienced as – democratic deficit that is born out of the cognitive distance between political discourse of democracy and lived experience of democracy.
In so doing governments hold out democracy as “an object of governance”, rather than as a “system of governance to which governments are subjects”, creating the fundamental paradox of democracy in terms of the discourse of democracy (Farrelly 2015: 133). In other words, politicians are eager to invoke democratic ideals and open new avenues of democratic influence, but at the same time the very real context of democratic action is reduced by e.g. cropping out economic policy, breeding disaffection with politics (Hay 2007).

According to Farrelly, in formulating economic policy the discourse of democracy is being used to subvert the democratic label as a tool for the powerful, the status quo. To this end, he proposes the term “democratism”, which he defines as “the ideological appropriation of discourses of democracy” that solidifies elite control by camouflaging contradictions or antagonisms (Farrelly 2015: 130). As an elite discourse this effectively means that through restricted or self-restricting parliamentary representation citizens are stripped of any considerable influence in politics that would include the economy.

Farrelly’s proposal is highly compatible with economism proposed by Teivainen (2002). The same logic that engenders democratism can be found in economism, where the discourse captures the shell of its object but hollows it out of actual substance as a realization of ideology. These things become reduced to the level of common sense, stating that of course in a democracy the citizens have the ultimate say in the direction of policy without noting the actual narrowed scope of policies considered feasible. The tendency to treat democracy as a utilitarian system rather than a meaningful process of representation was also addressed by Antonio Gramsci’s: “democracy, by definition, cannot mean merely that an unskilled worker can become skilled. It must mean that every ‘citizen’ can ‘govern’ and that society places him, even if only abstractly, in a general condition to achieve this” (Gramsci 1971: 40-41).

Democratism encapsulates de facto political (neo-)liberalism which seeks to do away with the conflict that is intrinsic, or even normal, between economic and democratic theory: historically speaking the democratic aspect of liberal democracy has often been realized through conflict and compromise, such as the welfare state (Held (1996: 254; see also Losurdo 2014). Politics is “by definition about conflict and its peaceful resolution” (Searle 2010: 162): the aim is to mitigate crisis and abnormal events and reduce them to consensual policy.

The consensual negotiated model allows for strong interest group influence, and allows for direct involvement in policy preparation. The presence of high-level bureaucrats as sources of accepted authority in the press is considered a Finnish
anomaly: despite being unelected civil servants, these officials are generally trusted to introduce central policy matters to the public, which would otherwise be the task of elected officials (government and parliament (Lindén 2012: 106). Regardless of consensus, however, “among the Finnish media elite there is strong support for a top-down model of democracy, and little sympathy for the bottom-up model” (Rahkonen 2007: 84, quoted in Lindén 2012: 106). Such structures would be also reflected in discursive practice, creating conflict between elite (economic) and popular framings. Neoliberalism seeks to contain or even resolve the conflict by default by offering a single answer to policy debates in the form of overriding economic principles. The result may be a decision to act, but one that bypasses any serious deliberative reflection. Those politicians who have internalized the principles of limited economic governance at worst actively participate in fostering political frames of democratism. There is no recognized choice, because there is no recognized conflict.

This is the locus of critique, where the ideal of deliberative democracy is accosted by external pressures of neoliberal ideology. Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 242) emphasize that political debate can be deliberative in nature even if it does not lead to a consensus: the outcome is a decision to act, not a universally shared belief. Interestingly it must be noted, however, that in Finnish politics the “consensus culture” is traditionally lauded as the cornerstone of successful politics: given the corporatist system of negotiating economic policy, Finnish companies (business interests) and trade unions have been very involved in political processes, endowing them with decisionmaking power (Ruostetsaari 2012: 280; Lamberg et al. 2004: 353). Finland is often characterized as a Nordic Keynesian welfare state that is transitioning from cartel polity to a corporate polity (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014: 25). The fracturing of this power at the face of market-centred elite logics is debatable.

Normatively speaking democracy should be understood as a social relation, not just a mechanic process or discourse, to broaden the set of those who govern against the set of those who do not govern (Farrelly 2015: 32). Doing so will increase the scope of requirements for democratic processes, deliberative and otherwise, and critically consider all strategic efforts of depoliticization. Simply revealing ideological leanings in discourse or pointing out contradictions does not in itself solve the problem, but it will enable explanatory and normative critique of these problems, which serve as resources for rectifying attempts, as proposed by critical discourse analysis as a method.
Furthermore, Rodrik (2011) describes the fluid world of globalized economies as a highly unpredictable one. National sovereignty and democracy are by default subjected to supranational economic forces. No government can at the same time serve the national interest and remain obedient to the demands of the global economy, especially in the case of imposed policy such as austerity. Rodrik suggests that in a triangulation of national states, democracy and economic globalization a state can only select two of the three. Democracy and free markets do not fit well together in the sense that people and society must be protected, rather than allowing for markets to regulate itself at any cost. In neoliberal ideology the role of the state is relegated to one of reaction, not action, when it comes to socio-political or economic changes. This entails ceding initiative to forces outside of the state, specifically in the form of international markets.

As the economy has become more global, market-oriented ideology and practice has reduced the role of national governments. Instead of recognizing economic and political competition, globalization theory sees that the interlinked world has made territorial interests redundant (Ampuja 2012: 282-283). This has caused a disconnect with citizens’ expectations and demands, especially in situation in which the state has refused to intervene or move against market logics even in (partially or wholly) state-owned companies. The space where democratic deliberation has potential to actually decide economic policy has shrunk.

Economic policy formation – The formation of economic policy in the political process creates a natural interface between business and politics. In this interface the potential discursive convergence of political and economic discourse can be expected to become visible as economic priorities are balanced with the ideals of a deliberative democratic process. The assumption here is that in the realm of political economy both politics and economy are intertwined, regardless of the pressing interest of some actors to represent them as distinctly separate. Indeed, one way of looking at this interface is to map out the representation of discursive power; what are the dynamics of power and which way do they predominantly flow. In the context of globalist discourse and neoliberal ideology the interface is markedly one-way in its public discursive nature, given the desire of the economy (i.e. business sector) to be free from state interference.

The laissez-faire principle of allowing the economy to flourish in the absence of state dominance is, however, problematic as discussed previously. The markets require the state to organize and maintain the operating conditions for free markets. Especially in political economies which have a large public sector – such
as Finland (Savela 2015) – the role of the state is active in limiting itself from the economy and thus rendering the economic space apolitical. Economy as a field and as a way of thinking has gained ground in the sphere of politics, effectively limiting the extent that democratic governmental controls should apply in the economy (Teivainen 2013: 19, 23). Public policy shapes discourse transformations, legitimates identities, and addresses social concerns.

Globalization's economic interests are much more fluent than national ones, including those of the welfare state. The welfare state is by definition local, whereas globalization as a phenomenon is not. Since the logics of globalization and neoliberalism enact a horizontal transfer of power through reconceptualizing international markets as an authority, challenging which may be very costly to an individual state (Väyrynen 1998: 148; see also Teivainen 2002). Here another connection is made to the costliness of discursive nonconformity made before on an individual or organizational level (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004). The focus of political arguments no longer lies in whether or not globalization has happened, but rather what its effects are, and what the consequences of those effects can be to the political system.

Economic liberalism serves as the core of neoliberalism; economic liberty defines political liberty, and not the other way around. Dominic Losurdo (2014) argues in his treatment of the history of liberalism that this in line with some of past conceptualizations: discussing changes in the character of late 18th century and early 19th century liberalism, Losurdo states that

“The dominant elite now developed a very different discourse: participation in political life was not an essential element of liberty; and, in the second place, labor relations and material living conditions pertained to an eminently private sphere, so that it was absurd and illegitimate to seek to change them though political action” (Losurdo 2014: 188).

In other words, it would be a mistake to characterize neoliberalism as fundamentally exceptional, but rather place it in a longer continuum of conflicting and competing ideologies that define socio-political relations. And, according to Losurdo (ibid.: 341) within the classical liberal tradition the role of representative democracy has been viewed with certain disdain or even hostility.

Thus the democratic space narrows, and some political alternatives become delegitimized as unfeasible in the new context. While before the state was seen as a controlling force in the markets, the markets now seek to free themselves of this control, to the point of promoting economic priorities also in public finances. However, there is a paradox here, as Rodrik (2011) suggests, between the markets and citizens. The freedom of the markets from state control means less control for
the state over its economic affairs. Reducing the role of the state in the markets still may require an increased role for the state in society: sudden unemployment due to mass redundancy creates increased demand for compensating public sector actions (Väyrynen 1998: 151). The readiness of the public sector to respond effectively to these demands naturally requires resourcing, which in turn implies a larger public sector, which further is the subject of criticism of political argumentation based on market-centred ideology.

Debates relating to public policy typically constitute a power struggle between political and economic discourses. Motion and Leitch (2009: 1054-1055) note that public policy as it is usually promoted by governments seeks to combine an emphasis on economic growth with promises of social and societal harmony to increase the perceived legitimacy of its actions, whereas businesses seek to stress self-regulation through institutional compliance rather than popular approval. In addition to these two goals being contradictory the government’s balancing act is clearly problematic. The feedback loop of business discourse adopted by governments empowers business interests, at least in so far as governments see themselves as facilitators of business. Political bargaining power has shifted in favour of multinational businesses which can influence national economic policy. For example, the threat of Nokia leaving Finland has been used as a bargaining tool for better operational environments. The readiness with which Nokia’s potential to leave Finland relies on the implicit understanding that companies can, to an extent, “shop around” for the most optimal operating environments in globalized markets – indeed it makes business-sense for them to do so (Doh 2005).

It follows, then that legitimate representatives of the ideological hegemon can, with assumed authority, relate their worldview in public debates e.g. through the mass media and be heard by politicians as experts. It has remained somewhat unclear how business actors influence important policies (Kautto 200837), partially because lobbying is fairly opaque and tracking policy participation only from the media undoubtedly results in an incomplete understanding. A study conducted by the largest Finnish national daily newspaper Helsingin Sanomat determined that business sector advocacy groups enjoy the highest access to Finnish legislators and policymakers (Peltonäki 2013a; 2013b). These results were reflected by a recent study of government stakeholder evaluations by Vesa and Kantola (2016): NGOs

37 Kautto discusses the dichotomy of the homogenous effect of regulating and the restrictions on business placed by outside stakeholders, combining political science and organization studies in a case study of Nokia which shows high interdependency of political institutions and multinational companies.
and other organizations in Finland are dissatisfied with the level of access and influence they have in drafting public policy, whereas the largest and most established institutions representing business and employee interests (the prior outstripping the latter especially when preparing legislation) were most consulted and as such quite satisfied with their levels of influence.

This is what makes politics and the formulation of economic policy such an important subject for qualitative analysis: van Dijk sees politics as the one social domain which practices are virtually exclusively discursive, and political ideologies are largely reproduced by discourse. The discursive logic of globalization discourse, for example, is to constrain the options for action of political leaders in terms of determining economic policy; the market forces have sufficient control and incentive to punish defectors through economic policy to suitably dominate them and also make the case that they (and other political parties) are ignorant and incompetent when it comes to economy (Swanson 2008: 64; Teivainen 2002). Authoritative public policy texts are a significant resource of discursive durable meaning and extended power/knowledge resources of a governmental institution (Motion and Leitch 2009: 1049, 1051, 1057).

**Austerity as economic policy** – The definition of neoliberalism is a relatively close match with the characterization of austerity politics (Seymour 2014; Stanley 2014; Blyth 2013): austerity policy is considered a specific kind of neoliberalism. Instead of managers, politicians become the drivers of change that will impact citizens negatively at least in the short term as public services are being cut. The politicians are forced to act in this way due to external constraints relating to the sustainability of state finances or the competitiveness of industry; these pressures are unquestioned in their existence and authority. However, the claim for austerity is softened by the promise of a better tomorrow, which is more prosperous and financially stable. As above, this discourse asks citizens to accept the pain of contracting short-term financial policy. However, it should be noted this pain is not equally spread: low income earners stand to suffer considerably more from austerity, as they tend to be more dependent on public services that will be cut (Blyth 2013: 7-8, 13-14). Income inequalities may further make austerity more painful for some than others.

Austerity is usually associated with crisis, but not exclusively so: while countries experiencing a crisis of public debt typically implement (or get imposed) austerity politics, a financial crisis might require countries even without serious debt issues to take austerity measures to retain fiscal legitimacy. The question of debt in a
globalized economy is crucial, given the wide range of debtors and creditors. In austerity politics cuts in public services in turn reduce public expenditures, often particularly aimed at reducing and eventually overturning the accumulation of national debt. This is a key insight into the role of austerity in the global political economy: the purpose of austerity is to service external debts and be recognized through what is considered as legitimately responsible fiscal policy.

Austerity politics may be a favourable operating environment for a company, as the goal of austerity is to boost productivity, increase national competitiveness, and restore external international investor confidence in the public finances of a nation in terms of its capacity to cope with its financial obligations – debts (Streeck 2014:73-75). Opponents to these policies are often deemed “emotional, that is to say, not rational” (Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007: 201). This showcases the constitutive discursive power to define both political and economic facts and/or reason. The introduction of austerity politics as the principal guideline of the national economy is nothing new, but the financial crisis of 2007-2008 saw the subsequent implementation of austerity on a broad consensus, which has only later shown visible cracks. For example, according to a 2016 IMF report, austerity can be associated with increasing income inequality and undercutting budding financial growth. Given the logical proximity of fiscal policy between neoliberalism and austerity, it is ironic that austerity politics may end up undercutting the very economic growth neoliberalism is seeking to realize (Ostry, Loungani & Furceri 2016: 41).

In argumentation, however, the time before the financial crisis is seen as a qualitatively different time, where credit was used carelessly to incur debt (Stanley 2014: 902, 908). In cases of overspending austerity becomes a logical solution. If the understanding of state indebtedness and overspending is attributed to inefficiency and profligacy, then it stands to reason to cut, and it also gives the ideas that these cuts will be relatively harmless, as they would only apply to incurred wastefulness. Overconsumption and living beyond one’s means is another moral and causal story, especially if it is connected with past indiscretions that have to be settled in the present (Stanley 2014: 908). A moral obligation is a limitation on discursive action. Austerity calls for (voluntary) sacrifice for the greater good of the economy, reducing citizenship to a provision of economic growth. An austerity argument can thus call for shared sacrifice as a matter of fairness (Brown 2016: 9, 11), which can further used as an argumentative value premise. Austerity functions as punitive, disciplinary fiscal policy is a curious combination of both rational and
moral arguments, the latter including shared sacrifice and collective obligation to secure consent.

Blyth (2013) criticizes austerity politics mostly as ineffectual and based on false premises and conclusions, often cementing the authority of economic prerogatives over democratic ones. Democratically elected governments were under pressure from either domestic or external technocrats (and technocratic discourse) to keep reforms in the political economy going. To soften this loss of democratic agency politicians would use even further loss of agency to stress the lack of plausible alternatives: to resist would put a country on the road of “becoming Greece”, which directly referenced loss of sovereignty (Blyth 2013: 72; see also Seymour 2014; Fairclough 2016) to supranational European entities. The lack of agency translates into a highly passive and technical-mechanical representation of economic events also in economic news (Koistinen 1998: 57). The debt as an economic obligation overrides democratic impulses imposed by technocratic imperatives (Streeck 2014: 79).

Moreover, in seeking to promote economic growth, austerity should be understood as voluntary domestic deflation, where the economy is adjusted by decreasing wages and prices (and public spending) to restore competitiveness, supposedly best reached by scaling back state budget and debt (Blyth 2013: 2). Lamberg et al. (2004: 352) note that in the past Finnish industry has regularly demanded for a devaluation of the Finnish currency to boost competitiveness (14 devaluations between 1949 and 1995, at which point Finland joined the EU). As part of the Eurozone Finland lost its chance to devalue its currency, so the pressures to search for new possibilities to increase competitiveness have grown. These actions are seen to create “business confidence” domestically and internationally, as reducing the size of the public sector enables the private sector to access new or growing markets. Austerity accepts external demands for market-legitimacy as a greater priority than democratic governance. In essence, this means that democratic decisionmaking in a financial crisis has more stakeholders than merely the electorate. In other words, the voters must be brought in line with austerity’s interpretation of fiscal legitimacy to implement austerity and prioritize the servicing of the national debt (Streeck 2014: 73-75).

The reason for this is the inherent distrust that neoliberal ideology and austerity politics place on the electorate – and by extension the state – and its capacity to handle the markets responsibly. The economic obligations relating to debt create

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38 For example, Hayek advocates that public servants and all recipients of public charity should be excluded from the vote (Hayek 1960: 105). This same argument of disenfranchising those on
both external and internal moralistic discourses. The pro-austerity argument also very easily becomes an argument over morals, with the welfare state identified as the main culprit of lost social morals (e.g. excessive individual consumption which was enabled by the irresponsibility of the welfare state). The previous administration is represented as profoundly profligate and enabling this loss of morals. It is somewhat interesting how strongly moralistic discourses work into austerity.

The common-sensical representations of welfare abusers and honest hard-working people at odds in society underpin typical legitimizing discourses of austerity. Seymour (2014: 158) argues that these representations feed into logics of resentment and societal antagonisms between these groups, usually placing “us” in the more favourable representation. Even if austerity politics are discontinued, there is no reason to assume these antagonisms would abate. Instead they function as a reservoir of salient discursive practice to legitimize fiscal consolidation without explicit reference to austerity. Creating social cleavages reduce de facto solidarity, which is crucial e.g. for soliciting sufficient support for financing public services. These logics, when applied to politics, support the austerity agenda as its harsh societal consequences are understood as (morally) deserved by some (Slothuus 2007). However, if the hard-working poor end up paying more than the rest, then austerity loses its claim to fairness and becomes unjust; to counter this politicians have to remind people of the “legacy of waste” left behind by previous administrations that made this budget “unavoidable” (Fairclough 2016: 66; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 142-143).

In a democracy neoliberal thinking is extremely undemocratic as it is not truly interested in the people, the demos, but economic structures. Similarly there is no role of politics or the state, and democratic initiatives are by default stymied or limited to very narrow areas (e.g. moral politics) as all actions risk interference or distortions in the market. The high social costs of austerity are often defended by claiming that cuts in the short term would guarantee long-term growth (Fairclough 2016: 61, 65). From the political perspective it is extremely problematic if state-led growth is openly disparaged (in and through free-market ideology), as when states do pull back from market stimulus in a financial downturn, there is less public spending. With less public spending social costs increase and private spending decreases. Thus private markets, left without stimulus, crash.

benefits – as they would only vote to continue and expand these expenditures – was also put forth by Milton Friedman (2002: 194).
Austerity in particular, according to Blyth, is highly toxic as it only works in individual cases. Voluntary domestic deflation only works if the cut wages can aggregate into increased exports. If all nations in the relevant market-area implement austerity – domestic deflation – at the same time, then all that is accomplished is a spiral of slashed wages and services in a desperate attempt to find growth at the expense of other states. Once again, the antidemocratic implications of the fiscal race to the bottom are clear – and problematic. Thus the ideology and the practice of the markets do not match, causing what could be described as the schizophrenic market, stressing the need of cuts into spending and wages even though it can be relatively confidently assumed that the economy continues to tank with them by cutting spending power (Blyth 2013: 3).

Instead of really limiting the role of politics in the economy, austerity politics rely on active policy in the form of politics of permanent austerity with a relatively low chance of accomplishing the claimed goals. To the contrary, strict adherence to austerity’s economic primacy and limited conceptualization of democracy can have a detrimental effect on the political establishment. If a Member of Parliament in a representative democracy routinely excuses public cuts or the closures of businesses as a matter of course, as an effect of external market forces that cannot be interfered with, then what role can politics meaningfully play for the citizens? The claimed impotence of one’s democratic elected representative can be with good cause assumed to reflect on their constituency, increasing their political frustrations. Members of Parliament who have internalized the hamstrung role of politics and of the political establishment might find themselves at the receiving end of growing populist anger, as frustrated citizens are willing to consider any or all political options.

The massive saving effort directed at European banks after the financial crisis effectively sacrificed the political project of European integration in favour of preserving a relatively stable operating environment for the economic union (Blyth 2013: 156-157). Both the low likelihood of reaching the desired goals by the proposed claims to action and the asymmetry of socio-political power involved and its consequences make austerity politics in particular an interesting topic for argumentative analysis.
History – It is necessary to limit the inquiry to a more manageable part of the history of a company that has – in one form another – operated within Finland for a century and a half\textsuperscript{39}. Nokia is first and foremost framed and discursively presented as a modern company, and its most well-known history is from the 1990s and 2000s. Nokia’s corporate activities under its official name began in 1967 as a fused corporate concern that engaged in a wide range product manufacturing, including tyres, cabling, and electronics (Häikiö 2001b: 110-111; Häikiö 2001a). For consumer electronics, specifically computers, Nokia was the largest Nordic manufacturer already in 1984 (Häikiö 2001c: 33). At this point Nokia had fallen victim to overexpansion, and was in serious financial trouble if the company could not refocus its activities.

The official history of the company has been extensively mapped out by professor Martti Häikiö, outlining how Nokia was a significant operator in the Finnish industry sector (and export sector in particular: Häikiö 2001b) well before becoming involved with telecommunications. In the late 1980s and early 1990s Nokia streamlined its activities and divested from forest industry and rubber manufacturing industries. Subsidiaries were either sold or allowed to go on independently. All in all, in the early 1990s traditional manufacturing operations were no longer considered to be the core of the renewing company. In 1992 Nokia sold its rubber, cable, and consumer electronics businesses in order to focus on producing mobile phones and telecommunications systems.

Listing at an international stock exchange (NYSE) had a positive impact on Nokia’s access to capital, which helped the finances of a company that was in near bankruptcy in the early 1990s. The new core competence idea streamlined the sprawling industrial giant into smaller units focusing on a single industry with a more limited business rationale. This was the reflection of a shift toward international business on the national level. In the remodelling of the company

\textsuperscript{39} Häikiö notes that the historical origins of Nokia (Nokia Ab) in Finland can be traced back to 1865 (Häikiö 2001a: 24).
Häikiö (2001a) refers to the concept of ‘creative destruction’ as a driving force. Thus massive overhauls of the corporate structure took place in just before Nokia’s realignment into telecommunications.

The renewed Nokia had broken with its past in terms of manufacturing focus, and became more clearly defined as the company that would rise into global prominence by the late 1990s (Häikiö 2001d). Given the opening market opportunities in telecommunications, Nokia moved swiftly to focus its activities in this recently deregulated area. In part Nokia’s success can be clearly attributed to its successful entry into the opening markets born by privatization and deregulation of the telecommunications industry (Häikiö 2013). The further establishment of the European GSM standard in 1991 provided space for technological advancements and services that could attract new customers: the first GSM phone on the market was Nokia’s. It should be noted, then, that Nokia’s growth and success was greatly facilitated by governmental measures (deregulation, support for digitization, and setting telecoms standards), and less by, perhaps more appealing, narratives of uncanny individual business acumen.

Though highly demanding on the corporate structure and taxing on the personnel (Palmu-Joronen 2012; Pumila 2013), the strategic choice to refocus was very successful for Nokia. It also emphasized Nokia’s coming role as a leader of exported Finnish high tech products and technology, given that local Nordic markets could not sustain Nokia’s activities. Nokia’s change in strategy also – inadvertently – made it the flagship of the Finnish exporting industry still struggling in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet trade. The technology and industry that Nokia represented veered away from the traditional industry that had to an extent defined the old trade relations, and stepped into truly global commerce (Häikiö 2001c). Finland’s willingness to pay into the growth of the tech sector in terms of investments was also seen in public subsidies for Nokia research and development. In turn, Nokia’s growth brought a considerable flow of corporate taxes to the Finnish state, as well as strengthened the demand for highly

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40 Häikiö referred directly to interpretation of the term by the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter, who had derived the term from Karl Marx. Simply put “creative destruction” happens when (capitalist) business structures incessantly are destroyed and new ones are created in their stead (Schumpeter 1994 [1942]: 82-83). While leftist political economists by and large see this as a humanely destructive force (as it treats workers are resources that are used or discarded at whim, in free-market economics creative destruction is used more as means of naturalizing corporate actions, such as downsizings, in order to increase the efficiency and dynamism of a company. From the perspective of discursive legitimation of downsizing, the latter reworking of the concept has considerable utility.
skilled IT workers, both domestically and globally. Nokia’s momentum drew Finland to more strongly reorient itself as an exporter of high-end products.

The techno-industrial cluster played a pivotal role in Finland in promoting technocratic globalization. The result is a fiscal-managerial configuration, which suppress the political space. Fiscal management is no longer conceptualized as political, but as rational reactions to economic necessities (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014: 23, 33). Nokia’s success incentivized reimagining the state as a facilitator of technological development and productivity (Patomäki 2007). This reorientation was also fuelled by the slow decline older “smokestack” industries of (exemplified by the previous largest exporting industry, forestry: Häikiö 2001c). Niina Erkama (2010a: 189-190) argues that Nokia’s success globally would not have been possible without the enabling effect of globalization; Nokia’s success internationally served as a precursor for societal acceptance of the benefits of globalization in Finland. As such, Nokia was often quoted as an example of a national-gone-global corporate success. Already in the latter half of the 1990s, the majority of the stock of Nokia Corp. moved to foreign investors (Tainio 2003). Nokia’s Finnish roots were often emphasized regardless, while in truth the company had taken significant steps to move it beyond any single national context to become a truly multinational enterprise that had shareholders globally.

Nokia rose to the position of leading global manufacturer of mobile phones in 1998, and at its height its significance in the Finnish economy could be seen in the fact that the second largest company in the country had only half of Nokia’s staff on its payroll (Hakkarainen 2010: 16). In 1999 Nokia accounted for 4% of Finnish GDP and 23% of total Finnish exports (Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2000: 10-11). Similarly it is estimated that some 60% of Nokia R&D at this time was done in Finland, meaning that Nokia’s contribution to national R&D is also significant, approximated at 20% (without accounting for direct Nokia subcontractor contributions: ibid.: 12-13)\(^41\). Nokia also accounted for 60% of the total capitalization of the Helsinki stock exchange – HEX (ibid.: 15). However, having a single company take up such a large portion of national exports would also mean its fortunes would be tied with the social reality of many Finns.

Following Kjør's (2007) findings, it seems that in the 2000s Finnish companies have moved from production-driven to finance-driven outlooks, where firms are managed primarily as investment targets rather than production units (Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007: 188). With increasing market saturation, Nokia was forced

\(^{41}\) Ali-Yrkkö et al. (2000: 28) estimate Nokia’s first-tier subcontractors in Finland estimated at 300, with 14,000 employees in 1998.
to start minimizing its cost-structures already in the early 2000s when the global technology markets had declined and several companies reported considerable drops in profits. The availability of global manufacturing chains through subcontracting increased the desirability of outsourcing to meet growing demand especially in the developing world. The shift in global manufacturing chains was also noted on the level of the Finnish politics (Finnish Ministry of Employment 2007). It also made manufacturing mobile phones in Finland increasingly untenable from the perspective of cost-effectiveness.

Nokia’s redistribution of wealth via manufacturing has naturally been well received by poorer recipient nations and areas, while those more developed areas where Nokia left fully functional but empty industrial spaced behind have been less grateful (Hakkarainen 2010: 13). Those Nokia subsidiaries and subcontractors that could internationalize quickly could grow with the company, but for the most part Finnish suppliers lost their positions to Asian competitors. Nokia’s position of power as a dominating IT company has been criticized for its “seduce and squeeze” production model, where Nokia could seduce subcontractors to become dependent on Nokia business through investing in production capacity with promises of continued lucrative orders, and then proceeding in effect to squeeze the profit margins of its subcontractors through competition (Seppälä 2010: 45).

Finnish businesses could not anticipate such seismic shifts in global production markets, nor did they have the necessary capital to go abroad. They were also unable to find an equally sustainable business in Europe or elsewhere, given that Nokia’s move to Asia was a part of an industry-wide movement (ibid.: 63). This in turn expanded the gravity and scope of Finnish technology companies’ survival dependency on Nokia’s capacity to navigate the markets. In this context Nokia’s capacity as national market leader to disseminate its discursive and operational logics down its value-chain to subcontractors must be considered: Nokia’s power can be expected to have hastened the globalization of local Finnish tech companies and the divestment of local labour.

While Nokia’s relevance to the Finnish GDP and exports decreased towards the end of the 2000s, Nokia’s collapse in conjunction with the financial crisis can be expected to have adversely affected the numbers of the Finnish economy (Figures 8-9). The proportion of Finnish employees in Nokia’s businesses started to drop noticeably in mid-2000s (Ali-Yrkkö 2010: 3), which reflected the production shift of many western countries (see Figure 1342):

42 Nokia employees by area derived from Nokia’s official yearly reports (20-F documents 2001-2014).
Nokia’s European staff growth, shown in Figure 13, which seems to turn negative much sooner actually depicts the absorption of Siemens staff (Germany) in Nokia Siemens Networks and subsequent dismissals. Between December 2006 and July 2013 Nokia and NSN conducted legally required 36 co-operation negotiations – once every 2,2 months – for staff reductions according to the statistics of The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK). The atmosphere of precarious labour in the globalized market had undoubtedly been felt in the organization at that stage, not to mention the continuous negative trend it suggested for Finnish industry nationally and local governments in terms of absorbing laid off workers.
Figure 14. Nokia stock price indicator in EUR (left)
The lower the profit margins, the more likely they were outsourced to Asian subcontractors, or new Nokia plants built in the region. This was a part of increasingly fierce cost competition, which has resulted in “massive offshoring of manufacturing functions to low-cost countries” (Ali-Yrkkö 2010: 6). In this activity Nokia followed the global trend of relocating manufacture based on the economic incentives local polities were willing to offer in exchange for jobs in the electronics industry. Some of these trends are visible in the dataset in chapter 6.1.

Despite the shift in production, in terms of the Finnish economy, Nokia’s share of GDP was 2.6% in 2008, share of manufacturing employment was 5.5%, and share of corporate taxes of 9% with Nokia accounting for roughly a third of total Finnish research and development expenditures (Ali-Yrkkö 2010: 4). Nokia’s increasing struggles to maintain its market leadership across all mobile phones after the mid-2000s, however, became more pronounced as competitors did not have to compete in physical manufacture, and could outdo Nokia in terms of offering competitive and appealing operating systems and services. The rather infamous “Burning platforms” memo/blogpost issued by then CEO Stephen Elop in 2011 was a clear, and arguably rare, indication of corporate crisis (Arthur 2011). The typical yardstick for corporate success is the company stock price, depicted here in Figure 14 to illustrate Nokia’s changing fortunes43.

In other words, the industry shifted once more after the original deregulation of the 1990s to demand a new kind of consumer good, for which Nokia was not successful in meeting. The continued inability to adjust to new market demands has been scrutinized by former employees and industry analysts alike, but no definite answer has been given so far. Most commentators argue that Nokia’s own organizational structure had become too bloated and lacked directing vision. It would not be difficult to envision similar critique being levied at the company before its realignment in the late 1980s. That restructuring could be considered successful since Nokia grew between 1995-1999 approx. 30% annually (Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2000: 40). Within that context, Nokia’s massive restructurings, which included a notable number of laid off workers and discontinued corporate activities, are not completely unprecedented.

One could argue, however, that the historical or macro-economic context compared to that of the 1980s and 1990s is different this time around. The

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43 Nokia stock price monthly in EUR from NASDAQ OMX Helsinki: prices fetched using Nokia’s own stock tools for historical price look-up (http://company.nokia.com/en/investors/stock-information/stock-tools). Given that within the market logics and market discourse of the business press stock price (expectations) reveal all the necessary truth and reality of the state of a company, this is also the metric I decided to use to show Nokia’s fortunes in the market.
previous restructuring of Nokia gave birth to new companies, some of which actively engaged in manufacture. In the 2000s Nokia’s restructuring was followed by a wave of technology start-up companies, but as of 2015, their capacity to mitigate Nokia’s downsizing has been limited at best. The difference is scale is notable; Nokia’s share of Finland’s foreign trade at its height at slightly over 3% of all national exports in 2000-2003 and Nokia’s business accounted for roughly 4% of GDP at 2000 (Ali-Yrkkö 2000: 10-11). The firm’s Finnish employees topped 24 700 in 2007. Despite Nokia’s engagement and commitment to transforming the company in a socially sustainable manner, the effect in terms of increased unemployment was simply too great to mitigate through corporate actions.

It is clear, then, that given Nokia’s prominence, its restructuring that culminated in the sale of Nokia’s mobile phone activities to Microsoft in 2014, would have profound social and economic consequences for Finland. Nokia’s leadership would try to communicate these changes and their necessity in order to achieve some legitimacy for these actions. At the same time they would be called to question in the public forum of the media for failing to react in time and save the flagship of Finnish exports, and thus by proxy thousands of Finnish jobs. The Finnish government would have to respect Nokia’s commercial independence, and limit itself to reacting to the fallout of corporate restructuring.

Looking at the past transformative moments of Nokia history, it should be noted that in the scale of a large concern or a multinational, these events unfold over years. While the company lives – to an extent – from one financial quarter to another, its discursive construction does not, and cannot. There are some discourses of Nokia that follow the company, but its represented rise and fall is one of the more interesting ones, because it had clear repercussions beyond the company. The frame within which Nokia discursively existed was one of success, which then morphed into one of failure.

Understandably there is considerable desire to see this transformative era as one spearheaded by visionary leaders, but a macro-economic reading will also reveal

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44 While notable in its scale, Nokia’s proportional employment rates in other countries never matched that of Finland: in China the company employed a considerable number of people, but in the context of a much larger pool of general population. In the annual report for 2013, Nokia staff in China numbered 8146, whereas Finnish staff amounted to 6521 (Nokia Corporation 2013). Nokia’s overall staff, according to Nokia’s official yearly reports (20-F documents 2001-2014), topped over 134 000 employees in 2011. The projected numbers for 2014 (the earliest available at the time of writing) projected less than 60 000 employees; a decrease of over half of Nokia’s global workforce in three years. As of December 31st, 2013, Nokia employed 86 462 employees, which included 55 244 employees employed by Nokia’s continuing businesses as well as 31 218 people employed by discontinuing businesses (ibid., Section 6D: 146).
that Nokia benefitted immensely from being in the right place at the right time. In other words, Nokia could successfully leverage the structural change of globalization to grow its business. Conversely one might argue that a new structural change, for which the company was less prepared for, brought Nokia to its end. Corporate accounts have a propensity to highlight the activities of some individuals, thereby downplaying the effects and consequences of larger movements. This should be taken into account when drawing on historical precedent to explain contemporary (or projected future) activities.

Arguably Nokia is a particularly highlighted case and admittedly uniquely so especially in the Finnish context. Nokia’s significance to the Finnish export sector, overall economy, and also national identity has been addressed previously in research as well (Lindén 2012). Moreover, several commentators in the international press have often equated the Finnish state’s economic success with that of Nokia’s. For example, a simple Google search reveals several headlines following this interpretation from financial and economic newspapers or websites. When looking at the discursive formation of Nokia, it is crucial, then, to understand the extent to which Nokia has been in global public discourse equated with Finland (e.g. “the company that built a country”: Kelly 2013). Finland is, after all, a sovereign state, and being seen as a “one firm economy” (The Economist 2012) ties Finnish fortunes directly to those of Nokia. The dataset will show that these discursive equations were rather common place, especially in economic commentaries.

For this reason alone, investigating how closely, in truth, Nokia’s discursively constructed reality corresponds with that of Finland’s is important. For Finland the survival and success of Nokia is reflected on its national image in terms of economic dynamism and innovative potential. This would suggest that there would be immense pressure for the Finnish government to work out a favourable operational environment for Nokia, especially when the fortunes of the company started to decline.

While being a highly prolific case of a single company being dominant in the overall finances of a single nation, Nokia’s case provides a very interesting and high-profile case for study partially for this very reason: signals within discourse and framing effects can be expected to be more pronounced and strongly visible in the Finnish case. The mechanisms of being pressured to offer a favourable operating environment for companies in general is hardly uniquely attributable to any nation. Nokia’s case is not in its discursive construct too different not to function as a potential archetypical case, the dynamics of which could then be
implemented in studies regarding companies less central to a specific nation. Further research will be required to confirm if a case of this magnitude can serve as an archetypal case for subsequent analysis in political science regarding the interplay of states, publics, and companies, or in organizational science assessing possible managerial strategies available for increasingly publically visible (and vulnerable) MNEs.

**Previous research** – This list is by no means definitive, since new research and books on Nokia are published nearly at a yearly pace. Aside from historical accounts (Häikiö 2001a; 2001b; 2001c) and more analytical reviews on Nokia’s history (Häikiö 2001d; Hakkarainen 2010, Ali-Yrkkö 2010), the social construction of Nokia as an actor is also guided by journalists’ (Wallén & Bruun 1999) or employees’ personal accounts (Palmu-Joronen 2012) as popular retellings of the corporate culture. Given the national context, most popular representations, including the autobiographical work of the emblematic CEO Jorma Ollila (Ollila & Saukkomaa 2013) and an evaluation of its most controversial CEO Stephen Elop (Nykänen & Salminen 2014) are in Finnish. The prevalence of technology discourse in the Finnish media has also been tracked through Nokia (Jauhiainen 2007). Ainamo (1997) explored Nokia as the centrepiece of the Finnish system of (technological and business) innovation.

It is hardly surprising that Nokia has also been the focus of Finnish scholarly analysis. Janne Tienari, Eero Vaara, and Niina Erkama (2007) have studied Nokia specifically in the context of renegotiating corporate discourse in the media. They found that media coverage of Nokia between 1998 and 2004 could be classified under periods when specific frames of interpretation would notably affect the way Nokia was reported on, but also that there was general support of discourses that promoted the company’s dynamic position within global capitalism, within which increase in foreign ownership in the perceived flagship enterprise of the Finnish state was seen as natural and inevitable. Others have discussed Nokia’ rise to prominence in the context of major technological changes and the worldwide deregulation of telecoms (Aunesluoma 2003). Lindén (2012: 32) characterized Nokia as a “national champion” in and of Finland, a flagship company that symbolize nations on the world economic arena”. Becoming equated with the national identity is the unintended consequence of market dominance, which in turn reflects socio-political significance in the national context. Tainio (2003: 71) finds that the support of global investors fuelled Nokia’s capital so that aspiring
global visions of stepping beyond the national context, advocated by CEO Ollila at the time, could be realized.

Nokia became the realization of Finnish pride in high-quality technological export goods, where Nokia's success reflects positively on the technological savvy of the Finnish society as a whole (Jauhiainen 2007: 80, 85). The Finnish state supported Nokia's growth when the big company in a small country had created a chronic lack of skilled labour by tapping out the IT sector workforce (Ali-Yrkkö 2000: 22). Ainamo (1997: 433) argues that Nokia managed to leverage the Finnish economy to help boost its success in establishing its industry dominance. Lindén (2012: 125) argues that Nokia has a long tradition of shaping society through multiple strategies of legitimizing corporate needs and actions by appealing to the common good. Nokia’s beneficial influence in Finland has been often and extensively pointed out in company discourse – for example through the CEO – and corporate reports. Nokia has demanded commitment to competitive markets from the Finnish government (Malmelin 2011: 152), which makes Nokia’s – quite understandable – political agenda more visible, but also, within the European context, somewhat exceptional (Kautto 2008).

Hirsto and Moisander (2010) also investigated how media publicity represents a Nokia divestment. When Perlos, a notable Finnish Nokia subcontractor decided to discontinue its operation in Finland in favour of lower production overheads elsewhere, the media coverage split – perhaps predictably – into two predominant frames: one emphasizing the inevitability of restructured manufacturing as market necessity, and another stressing ethically oriented moralistic discourse over corporate responsibility (see also: Vaara & Monin 2010). These two frames are markedly similar to the two taken up in this research. The economic primacy of shareholder interests is offered as a key legitimizing element to downsizings. In this discourse downsizings tend to be considered a meaningful and important instrument of shareholder value creation (Hirsto & Moisander 2010: 112).

Connecting Nokia more explicitly to the Finnish state, Lindén (2012) compared and contrasted Nokia and competing Swedish mobile phone manufacturer Ericsson as national champions of business whose fortunes clearly reflected on those of their respective states. Lindén’s research suggests that even if Nokia was not perceived by the general populace as a national icon per se, the narrative discourse of business journalism would ensure it would be seen as such. The ramification of this interpretation could link Nokia’s fate more explicitly with that of Finland as a nation state – at least in economic terms. Heikki Patomäki (2007) points to the presence of Nokia representatives in legislative preparation.
committees as an indication of the company’s political dominance, or at least substantive influence. Nokia has also been analysed in the reports of Finnish research institute, which is understandable given its socio-economic significance. ETLA, the research institute of the Finnish economy, has published three reports on Nokia (Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2013; Ali-Yrkkö 2010; Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2000), detailing Nokia’s impact on the Finnish economy. The reports concluded that even if Nokia manages to weather the new stormy markets, its role in the Finnish economy (e.g. as employer) can never return to the level before 2000 (Ali-Yrkkö 2010: 8, 10-11). Nokia’s share of Finnish GDP is decreasing after its high-point in 2008, already going down towards 2009. The decline in Nokia’s fame and reputation has also been studied (see e.g. Ruotsalainen et al. 2014).

In terms of key actors, Tienari, Vaara and Erkama (2007: 189) found that CEO Jorma Ollila was represented as the transformative, even historical manager for Nokia. This supports the standing assumption in organizational literature of the CEO becoming the personified locus of the company image. A claim could further be made that the exceptional business success of Ollila also validated him as a commentator in social and political issues. In Ollila’s case, professor Martti Häikiö has noted that as CEO he was well-connected politically, and was “in constant dialogue with domestic and international economic elites” (translated by the author: Häikiö 2001: 231). Later CEOs would unavoidably pale in comparison, but one can expect the close ties with elites could still be leveraged from his position as the Chairman of the Board of the Nokia Corporation.

Mainstream media in Finland has tended to use the company as a radiant example of the virtues of deregulation and the free market, which had escaped the restricting hold of the national Finnish context (Tienari, Vaara and Erkama 2007: 202). Again, this frame sidesteps all the investments, human and monetary, made by the Finnish state and society in Nokia’s development in favour of corporate acumen (Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2000: 51). The focus on the market and the individuals often downplayed the significance of public assistance, such as R&D investments from the Finnish state (Ali-Yrkkö et al. 2000).

Nokia has also been involved with recruiting political talent into their managerial team (most notably former Prime Minister Esko Aho). The close-knit Finnish elite is also revealed in Nokia’s case, given how many from the senior leadership have been drawn from or have transferred to high positions in Finnish business and society. This serves an indication of the dissemination of Nokia’s market logic and managerial practices through personal elite networks, and the
accumulation of both political and business power, discursive and otherwise, in the hands of corporate actors.

Hakkarainen (2010: 16-18) claims that the company’s position alone entitled it to the attention of political elites and decisionmakers. As such, Nokia managers did not have to overtly advertise their desires for a corporate-friendly political economic environment. This too, could backfire, as discussed in the celebrity-infamy dichotomy, as Nokia’s name was attached to new data privacy legislation due to strong support by the company, hence earning the moniker, “Lex Nokia”, which was passed by the Finnish Parliament in 2009. Being attached to legislation that was framed as “spying on employees” was a negative blow to Nokia’s corporate image in Finland. The support for the legislation was further seen as the company’s willingness to use its political clout, especially as rumours circulated the company would leave Finland if the legislation was not adopted.\(^45\)

The Nokia Bridge Program (2011-2013) – The Bridge Program was a key CSR activity launched by the Nokia corporation during the period of its most intense downsizings and eventual divestment from mobile phone business, and as such is relevant to this study. The Bridge Program can be best understood in the context of how it worked to mitigate the negative social consequences of the downsizings. The Finnish government considers the Bridge Program as a successful example of supporting re-employment, retraining, or entrepreneurship after a downsizing event (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015: 9). In a nutshell the program started in started in 2011 to handle the divestment from Symbian operating system, to 1) support

\(^45\) The legislation was seen to be heavily lobbied by Nokia in Finland due to the company’s experiences with corporate espionage and data leaks that it had been unable to pursue due to employee communication privacy protections. The law was proposed (government proposal for legislative change HE 48/2008 vp) to be amended for the benefit of employers to identify data traffic participants. This was widely seen an infringement of employee privacy, the usual line becoming “the employer will read your emails”. Nokia’s name was not mentioned anywhere in the proposed legislation, but Nokia did serve in an advisory role regarding different aspects of the legislation four times in 2008 as the legislation was being prepared. The law was also backed by other business interest groups (most notably by EK – the Confederation of Finnish Industries). Though Nokia was not the only company included in the debate, it became certainly the most emblematic, with the legislation being explicitly linked to the company in popular (and media) discourse. Helsingin Sanomat in particular was vocal about Nokia’s involvement in driving the legislation forward allegedly to the point of levying pressure on Finnish public servants and politicians to the point that failure to implement the legislation would force Nokia to consider leaving Finland, jeopardizing at the time 16,000 jobs. Overall those involved in the legislation felt that corporate interests were to be given primacy. At the end the legislation did pass, becoming effective in June 2009 despite being loudly opposed. The passing of the reformed law was seen by many commentators as the emphasized power of Nokia wielded over the Finnish society and politics. Nokia’s satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the legislation has largely been left undiscussed. However, at the end the legislation proved to be largely ineffective and barely utilized, and it was overturned in 2015.
those who become unemployed; 2) support those areas where the local economy is highly dependent on Nokia; 3) support Nokia’s new strategy and ecosystem. Bridge was implemented on the same terms globally, on 20 sites in 13 countries: globally Bridge processed 18 000 people, of which 5000 were Finns (ibid.: 22).

There are two Finnish studies on the Bridge program: Kiuru, Handelberg & Rannikko (2014) estimate that while Bridge was instituted by a large company, its lessons could be implemented also in a smaller scale and Rönqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen (2015) found that the benefits of the Bridge program were clear for those employees affected: 67% of respondents described Nokia as a fair and responsible employer as a result of the program. Two international studies estimated the costs of poorly handled downsizings (case Bochum and the subsequent damage to corporate reputation was estimated at hundreds of millions in lost revenue: Sucher & Winterberg 2015a) against the costs of with Bridge Program (50 million euros: Sucher & Winterberg 2015b).

Kiuru, Handelberg & Rannikko (2014: 19, 22) admit that any analysis on the success of Bridge is based on hypothetical economic projections, as there is not enough long-term data accumulated. The program enjoyed relatively high popularity, and 70% of Nokians found the company as a fair and responsible employer as a result (Rönqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen 2015: 3), although senior employees saw the Bridge program actually as wasteful, as employees had no legitimate claim to company resources. They also would see employees themselves primarily responsible for overcoming the related challenges and looking for a corporate handout was morally questionable (ibid.: 21, 52). These findings are in line with McKinley, Mone and Barker (1998: 202-203) speaking of employee self-reliance as a dominant interpretative frame of downsizing. Similarly, this would offer some tacit support to the theory of internalized ideology both in corporate operating logics and the moralistic discourses of austerity (Blyth 2013: 12-13).

Nokia’s divestment from Salo in particular, however, was perceived highly negatively locally, possibly due to the narrow industry-base in Salo meaning a lack of alternative employment in the same field and same income-level. Many felt that the psychological contract at work had been violated (see Cappelli 1999). According to Ali-Yrkkö (2010:16), “in 2008, approximately 90 percent of corporate tax revenues received by Salo came from Nokia”. It is then no small wonder that

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46 The study by Rönqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen (2015) was one of the more significant reports to come out of the SUSTRA program. Quoting internal documentation, the stated purpose of the Bridge Program was to “make the best of the restructuring: create meaningful opportunities for individuals and local economies impacted by work-force reductions” and to “assist individuals in re-employment” (Rönqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen 2015: 3, 8-9).
Nokia’s extensive downsizings and cutbacks had a devastating effect on local public finances, and needed active state participation in offsetting the damage. In other words, even the Bridge could not support those most vulnerable (i.e. lowest level of education; least transferrable skills: Rönnqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen 2015: 58). Personal circumstances effect re-employability and thus create a very different experience of a downsizing event (and how much corporate help or public help is available to them).

Nokia was in many ways an exceptional company: the impact of downsizing was exceptional, but Nokia also had exceptional resources to devote to Bridge. This means that also Bridge was exceptional, but the Kiuru, Handelberg & Rannikko (2014: 22-23) argue that its general mechanics should be applicable more broadly. For this public support (i.e. funds) will be needed. In other words, the role of the state in handling the aftermath of industrial downsizing – albeit in cooperation with the business involved – is still seen as the correct way forward.
5 DATA AND METHOD

Data gathering – Part of the original data was gathered in part in cooperation with the Sustainable Transformation research group (SUSTRA) organized between Nokia and Aalto University 2011-2013. The SUSTRA research group data gathering and preliminary analysis only applies – in part – to chapters 6.1 and 6.2 of the empirical data. The data gathered from the research group has been checked and supplemented by individual research. For the sake of full disclosure, it should be noted here that the author was employed by the Nokia Corporation (from 2006 onward, periodically) until May 2012 and acted in concert with the SUSTRA research group. However, no funding has been made available for the author for this research either individually or through the research group.

The data has been gathered on three different levels to create a clearer understanding of the full range of corporate communications and its political reach. The first level of data and analysis – chapter 6.1 in the empirical part of the research – encompasses the press releases from the Nokia Corporation between 1992 and 2013, spanning over twenty years of the transformative years of the company’s history. This level of analysis will give an idea of how Nokia presents its public face discursively via press releases, the official channel of corporate communication. The themes most often discussed, and how they are discussed give the analysis some quantitative depth while the main focus remains on qualitative analysis. The analysis will show how various eras of corporate history – times of success and times of trouble – are reflected in this official discourse.

The official discourse also serves as cues to public, political and economic discourse in the Finnish society. Given Nokia’s considerable position of power within Finnish society as an emblematic company and an employer without match in the private sector in terms of volume, whatever changes Nokia as a company went through can be expected to have repercussions in Finnish society at large. The second level of analysis seeks to outline this level of discourse, found in national Finnish newspapers. While social media would be a relevant point for analysis, the technology and platforms developed during the study period to the extent that traditional media analysis was considered a more comparatively valid subject for study over a long timeline.
Additionally, Nokia’s news coverage was such that audience exposure in Finland has been assured. The newspapers and their profiles will be introduced more fully in the outline for chapter 6.2. Selection of news sections that are deemed non-argumentative; this signifies the exclusion of op-eds and columns and letters to the editor in favour of the “hard” economic news, i.e. the economics – section of the newspaper in terms of empirical evidence. Arguably Nokia’s status would afford it with exceptional media exposure for better and for worse in other news sections as well, but the limitation to economic news was determined by 1) restricting the scope of the articles to a more manageable group, focused on 2) what can be considered “hard” but mostly “non-opinionated” news, that 3) shape economic discourse specifically.

While corporate success can be lauded and the dynamic power of a company heightened by positive coverage, the opposite would also seem to apply: when Nokia started what could be seen as its downward spiral from the position of market leader, this too received constant – even merciless – media scrutiny. Nokia could be very well characterized as a celebrity company (Kjærgaard, Morsing and Ravasi 2011; Rindova, Pollock and Hayward 2006), but one with a considerable change of fortunes. Through interviews and news reports covering its press releases Nokia sought to present itself – as companies and individuals alike tend to – in the most positive light possible. The media discussion gives an idea of some underlying structures of public discussion, but it cannot be expected to be comprehensive and certainly not culturally universal, even if there may be convergence in terms of respective ideology-frame-discourse constructs.

Corporate communications are above all strategic vehicles of communication, and public discourse in newspapers is the first, and often the only place where these discourses can be effectively contested. At the same time by dealing with the presented corporate discourse in its news pieces, the media represent the discourse anew. Interpretations of the information are often a full reproduction of previous arguments. It seems that corporate success is much more helpful in terms of trying to achieve some control over public discourse; negative coverage is difficult for the company to dispel, if it fits within the media’s current narrative of the situation. The media, then, should be seen as having a discursive agenda of its own. Although discourses are more or less constantly re-evaluated, establishing a dominant discourse can also establish a dominance of frame, which promotes a particular interpretation of socio-political reality at the expense of alternative explanations. This perceived reality is the foundation upon which forthcoming political, social, and economic decisions are made.
The third level of discursive analysis is the most political, relating to parliamentary debates and documents. This will be dealt with in chapter 6.3. The Finnish body politic had considerable interest in Nokia’s fortunes insofar as it reflected the overall dynamism of the highly technological Finnish export industry. When Nokia decided to cut production and in essence lay off employees, this could have profound consequences in municipalities where Nokia was the primary employer (perhaps most notably Salo). This meant Nokia was in such a significant – even dominant – societal position that the body politic had to react, in speech, action, or both, to its corporate manoeuvrings.

Regarding the political efficacy of discourse, the main thrust of the analysis will be directed at the two frames of pro-market and pro-societal logic expressed on these three levels of discourse: 1) strategic corporate communication and discourse; 2) public discourse as it is represented by the newspapers selected as a fair representation – in turn – of the Finnish media field; 3) political debate that is publicly available in the Finnish Parliament. While being fully aware that corporations engage in extensive and intensive one-on-one lobbying with the political realm, the research relates to the pervasiveness of business speech into public and political discourse. Additionally, though lobbying is an influential part of corporate communications, it is difficult to track and research effectively (Lindén 2012: 86). The area of lobbying is relevant to the general interests of this study, but it is not defining since one-on-one lobbying is more specific, and arguably less driven to directly shape public discussion.

Extensive examples are drawn from the data to allow for greater transparency of analysis; examples are representative of the entire corpus (and if not, this will be explicitly noted). In each chapter data analysis will described through thematic categorizations that serve as generic frames. All three fields of analysis are also defined by their ease of access: Nokia press releases are (mostly) available online47, newspaper articles are equally available from the archives of their respective publishers, and the Finnish Parliament makes its transcripts also publically available (in Finnish and in Swedish). All of the data gathered, used, and analysed is thus available for competing analyses and is not restricted by clauses of confidentiality. All Finnish material is translated into English by the author and duly noted48.

The first field of strategic corporate communication and discourse focused on Nokia press releases was also gathered first to establish the level of social and political discourse linkages in Nokia press releases in general, and then create a

48 The author holds an M.A. in English, which can be considered a merit for translation.
separate set of press releases relating specifically to downsizing news to create a more carefully restricted business corpus. This included searching for codewords that framed the overall tone of the press release on the first level of analysis. On the second level the corpus restricted to downsizing events was read more carefully, and the categories were supplemented by close readings that provided some descriptive discursive tropes. Particular value premises or counterarguments were marked separately but connected to their corresponding elements in the argumentative scheme. This enabled a more cohesive restructuring of the typical argumentative structures, including the values and circumstances most commonly expressed.

In the second field public discourse, as it was represented by the newspapers, three major newspapers were selected as a fair representation of the Finnish media field to canvas different genres of public discourse and possible differences in framing were selected. The goal was, after all, to trace how differently the events are framed in different newspapers that can be assumed to cater to very different audiences. Here the immediate approach was to single out articles that related to downsizings and were of sufficient length for a later close reading. The categories from the analysis of the first area were used for guidance to cut down the need to create too expansive framings into a more manageable and specific set. Thomas Koening (2006: 64) has cautioned that with frame analysis that too much creativeness will all too easily become analytical arbitrariness, which creates a lack of transparency in the process.

In the third field the data gathering at first followed Patomäki (2007) to locate all documents that pertained to committee work or other places where Nokia’s discourse and discourse about Nokia might be expected to intertwine. When this field was found, after analysis, to contain surprisingly little content in terms of political discourse or debates relating to Nokia that could be subjected to discourse and argumentation analysis, the dataset was expanded to a specific kind of political document that deals specifically with economic discourse: the budgetary speeches given by the government (usually the Minister of Finance) to the Parliament. Nokia did not have to be explicitly present or mentioned in the document, given that the purpose was to track similarities in framing and argumentation. It would be sufficient to compare and contrast business argumentation, media argumentation and political argumentation by using Nokia as a guiding case, but not being limited to only explicit references. Several budgetary speeches were selected and the immediate responses given by parties to the speech included to cover a timeline where Finnish economy was ostensibly doing well (early-to-mid-2000s), the
financial crisis had just broken out, and then several years into the recession sparked by the crisis. This would give three comparable timelines between the three empirical areas, all with their own modes of argumentation.

It should also be noted that much of the cited research in Chapter 3 deals with Anglo-American companies and their downsizing events, wherein globalization discourse is arguably more intuitively present. A more nuanced sense over local applications of neoliberalism was also acknowledged – following Ban (2016) – throughout the analysis. Thus while globalization discourse can be expected to be a universal feature, its contextual universality should not be overstated. The same applies to CDA as a method, which has been criticized of its Eurocentric focus (Blommaert 2005); full universality of the experiences and reactions to globalization discourse should not be completely assumed. This is why local case studies – in this case Finland – are necessary to track the similarities in ideologies, frames and discourse, including argumentation across cultural boundaries.

Method – The method for this research has been broadly described in chapters 2 and 3 through the theoretical approach. In terms of method, the triangulation of theory through ideology-frame-discourse offers one potential workable solution to concerns differentiation of micro-discourse and macro-Discourse (Alvesson and Kärreman 2011). Studies that combine both Discourse and discourse describe the kind of discursive practices and what effects they entail, but also why certain discursive strategies are more successful, powerful or persistent than others (Jørgensen, Jordan and Mitterhofer 2012: 108). It also allows the tracking of broader thematic frames in the dataset before focusing on particular discourse. The interplay of the thematic frames and discourse helps analysing a large corpus and correctly locating the key argumentative elements across several fields on a relatively long timeline.

While not necessarily as concise as theories focused on a single theoretical framework, this research follows Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1132) that, scientific “rigour should sometimes be downplayed for the benefit of social relevance”. The social relevance of this study hopefully has been already established. Other studies that have sought to perform combinatory analyses of Discourse and discourse include also the particular strain of Finnish critical organization studies that this work seeks to contribute to (Riad & Vaara 2010; Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003; Vaara & Monin 2010; Vaara & Tienari 2011; Vaara, Tienari & Laurila 2006). All these analyses have related local sensemaking to wider societal contexts.
The discourse-frame-ideology construct emphasizes the discursive and argumentative level of analysis. Ideological analysis, as explained in chapter 2.3, is an integral dimension of discourse analysis, but will not be implemented as a separate method or explicit level of analysis. Framing analysis is conducted as the first level of analysis in order to create categories and order the empirical analysis. The process here utilized the same approach as in a recent work by Vaara (2014: 505), though given the overall difference in material, the categories for identified discourse-types differ. Following previous research, framing analysis was conducted through defining inclusive categories to themes or codewords in the articles. One article can have several hits, as many categories (of frames) can exist in the material simultaneously (Jauhiainen 2007: 84). In this way the framing analysis operates as macro-discourse analysis, creating categories of representation that will contain most of the micro-discourses and related discursive tropes found in closer readings.

Critical discourse analysis includes both “a theoretical element (ways of thinking about discourse) and methodological element (ways of treating discourse as data) (Wood & Kroger 2000, quoted in Erkama 2010a: 29). Discourse analysis in general is a loosely formalized and institutionalized methodology, which some scholars, especially in organization science, have seen as allowing for more creativity and thus for more insights (Erkama 2010a: 48). Rather, a loose framework allows for a more abductive approach where the theoretical ideas are refined through the empirical analysis. This applies also to CDA which does not entail a formally defined empirical method (before the argumentative turn by Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) but allows for an interdisciplinary approach to similar research questions with similar theoretical models.

Norman Fairclough did not originally consider CDA as an immediate, rigorous methodology, but rather advice and guidelines (Fairclough 1989: 110). CDA does not equal mere linguistic analysis, unlike previous attempts at discourse studies, but an amalgamation of linguistic and social theory. In terms of levels of analysis the material has been approached from three different levels simultaneously, given the interdependence of the method and the subject of analysis. The first level of analysis centres on textual analysis (description). The second level is more interpretative of the arguments presented. Thirdly explanatory social analysis is offered. This approach draws from Fairclough (1989) ideas of descriptive, explanatory and normative critique. Images are not included in the analysis – text only – because archived news articles retained no visual content.
Extreme situations and social dramas in organizations are suitable targets for longitudinal analysis of key events (Pettigrew 1990). This meant examining not only discourse, but also the social conditions they were linked to, featuring e.g. content analysis of media coverage. The timeline allows for both relatively stable discursive examples as well as examples of crisis discourse. Applying CDA as a method demands the inclusion of a material framework on social constructivist discourse analytical perspectives (Oswick, Keenoy & Grant 2000): the material world – represented in this research by the discussion of the empirical nexus, the triangulation of CSR, critical media analysis and political analysis – mediates discourse. It bears repeating that as a method CDA considers that people who claim to be non-political or non-ideological can do so either sincerely but erroneously, or intentionally as a discursive strategy. Here CDA links with the Gramscian tradition which states that dominant (hegemonic) ideologies often appear as neutral, and their assumptions largely unchallenged. This is crucial because hegemonic ideology curtails the range of options and alternatives, while politics is all about seeking out and weighing these alternatives.

According to Wodak and Meyer (2009: 22-24) CDA attests that in terms of analysis one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, which in turn is accessible only from these (individual) component parts. The method does not always make clear or explicit where it is starting from, which can be visualized here as a “hermeneutic circle” (Figure 15: adapted from Wodak and Meyer 2009: 24).

![Figure 15. Hermeneutic circle of analysis, adapted from Wodak and Meyer (2009: 24)](image-url)
In short for CDA starting either from the text or theory is equally acceptable, as long as the process is made transparent. The triangulation of discourse-framing-ideology served as the rough context of analysis, which was immediately tested through the empirical evidence. The encoding process was ongoing, as rough coding of the empirical material identified categories and strategies, which was then used to further refine the coding. The data gathering was not considered a specific phase that must be completed before the analysis begins, but a phase among others that continues with the analysis: new data is collected and old data and findings are re-examined.

The approach is compatible with an “abductive” method of dealing with the empirical evidence, as “categories of analysis being developed in accordance with the research questions, and a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 30; see Vaara & Monin 2010 for a similar approach). The study results will be complete when no new data changes the findings. CDA is not usually utilized for analysing a large number of texts. However, the analysis is structured to move from a large set of texts into close analysis of individual texts to uncover “more general patterns and characteristic features in the media discussion” (Vaara 2014: 504).

The argumentative structures will describe the circumstances, values, goals and claims to action, with possible counterarguments included if present, in each three of the empirical chapters. Rather than using previous modes of CDA, the argumentative turn (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011) is utilized in this work specifically to provide for an easier way of comparing and contrasting the argumentative structures in the three empirical chapters. Hay (2013) has argued that instead of taking the Fairclough method as a replacement for earlier methods of more loosely formulated discursive categorizations (e.g. van Leeuwen (2008: 106-110), it should be viewed as an opening for a debate on the methods of discourse analysis and thus inspire other scholars to continue to develop different methods. Hay (2013: 321) states that “political discourse analysis needs a proliferation, not a narrowing, of methods and acknowledgement that there is more than one way to analyse political discourse”, which is to say that one should not forget all the other possible approaches to political discourse even when using the Fairclough model.

Hay’s point of avoiding exclusivity is well taken, but the argumentative schemes proposed by the Faircloughs allow clearer categorizations for comparative analysis. Predefined argumentation structures also allow for a more robust framework for comparing and contrasting different these different structures in a more robust
way. The analysis will also include examples – extracts – of close readings to support interpretations of the studied texts, both for framing categories and the argumentative categories. Argumentation structures are best illustrated by positioning examples of interview data, i.e. quotations in the text, following the guidelines set by Potter & Wetherell (1987) more generally, and Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) more specifically. The textual extracts will be contextualized by including full texts – when feasible – in the Appendix.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that researchers are by default a part of the analysis, as media material analysis cannot hope to accurately capture actual, original narration, as it is usually second-hand reporting as it is. The media discussion gives an idea of some underlying structures of public discussion, but it cannot be expected to be comprehensive and certainly not culturally universal, even if there may be convergence in terms of respective ideology-frame-discourse constructs. Similarly it must be acknowledged that through this process, CDA is co-involved with the participants of discourse (Slembrouck 2001). However, following Slembrouck’s critique would rob CDA of its necessary explaining power.

Widdowson (1998) argues that the beliefs of the critical discourse analysts are ideologically biased, which means CDA practitioners read meaning into, rather than out of, texts, and that the selection of texts (corpus) often reflects this bias (i.e. select texts that confirm pre-existing beliefs). While this is a valid concern, the author also notes that examining alternative readings is an oversight or breach of scientific norms that is quite common to most applied linguistics, not notably or only in CDA. Fairclough has been aware of this potentially compromising effect to CDA’s scientific method, commenting that: “it is only really self-consciousness that distinguishes the analyst from the participants she is analysing. The analyst is doing the same as the participant interpreter, but unlike the participant interpreter the analyst is concerned to explicate what she is doing” (Fairclough 1989: 167). CDA has also been criticized by Widdowson (1998: 137) for creating an ad hoc collection of concepts, utilizing whatever concepts and theories are at hand, without robust methodological mechanisms. Norman Fairclough has always been open about the inherent stance of emancipatory critique: CDA can never be objective, always has particular interests, always comes from a particular perspective, and proffers insights that are always partial and provisional (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002).

As a method CDA also needs rigorous self-critique and reflection; researchers are not “outside the societal hierarchy of power and status” they look at, but are (increasingly) “subject to this structure” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 7). The cultural
background of the researcher plays a factor: when analyzing Nokia’s downsizing actions it is impossible for a former employee to completely “disappear” from the interpretative work. Rather than seeing this as a handicap, with full disclosure of author background this additional “insider insight” may also lend some unexpected value or validity to the analysis.

Admittedly discourse analysis has some issues with 1) reliability (repeatability) and 2) validity. Both can be improved through transparent explanations of the analysis, showing of “interpretations of individual excerpts are grounded in the text (Wood & Kroger 2000, quoted in Erkama 2010a: 57-59), and favouring publically available data. In an expansive corpus, some sampling is necessary to manage the workload required for analysing both text and context on a long timeline. In terms of reliability and validity, in interpretative qualitative analysis different analysts will inevitably bring different viewpoints to the analysis: some level of subjectivity is unavoidable. Indeed, given the range of the corpus in case Nokia, it can be expected that interpretative differences may occur when testing for repeatability. The research provides a well-grounded and explained reading of the texts and the argumentation structures. Any potential issues revealed by the analysis in terms of “hidden logics”, especially subjecting ones masquerading as empowering ones, should be put forth for an open debate, both in the scientific and public forums.
This chapter will detail the empirical analysis in four subchapters. Each of the first three represents subchapters one of the key areas of public discourse under study. The first subchapter deals with corporate discourse with emphasis on CSR considerations through the publically available press releases of the Nokia Corporation. The second subchapter deals with media discourse through articles from three Finnish newspapers pertaining to the downsizing events initiated by the Nokia corporation. The third subchapter deals with political discourse first through Nokia’s footprint in Finnish parliamentary documentation, and then through four selected national budgetary speeches delivered to Finnish Parliament. Each subchapter will also include an argumentation structure based on the model put forth in chapter 2.1.1. The argumentation structure serves as the key point of comparison between the three areas. By way of summarizing the intertwined nature of business, media and political discourse the fourth subchapter provides three examples of discursive tropes that reach across all three previous subchapters and discursive fields.

To allow for full transparency of the data, some notes are in place. For chapter 6.1, public Nokia press releases were delivered to the SUSTRA research group form the Nokia communications department. This level of analysis was done first; all in all the chapters are in the order in which the analysis was originally performed. The simple reason for following this order was the order of communication: a corporate actor (Nokia) communicates, through its press releases, to the public, wherein the communication is represented by the media. Once the media discussion is underway, or simultaneously with it, the public political debate in the Parliament can take place. However, individual research went far beyond the scope of the original research group in three ways: first, the corporate material was double-checked against Nokia’s web-based press release server, second the introduction of media material (chapter 6.2) and political material (6.3), and third, the original timeline from the SUSTRA project was extended from 1992-2011 to 1992-2013. The reason for the extension was two-fold: 1) the early years’ material yielded very little data for the purposes of this research, and 2) the situation with Nokia developed as the work progressed.
2011-2013 were added to the timeline allow for a fuller analysis of the corporate lifespan of Nokia. This also served, in hindsight, to create a more natural ending point for the analysis as Nokia’s mobile phone business, after years of struggling and downsizings, was finally sold off to Microsoft in 2013. The deal was completed in 2014, but the sale of the mobile phone business was approved in 2013. Given how the mobile phone business in particular was considered symbolic of rising Finnish fortunes in the era of globalization, this provided the analysis with a more natural ending point – as far as corporate narratives go – that was also relevant in terms of the data.

The third level of analysis, public documents and transcripts of discussions from the Finnish Parliament, were independently gathered in 2015 by performing an internet search based on simple parameters to the webpages of the Finnish Parliament. Both discussions and decisions relating to Nokia were deemed of interest for study. The chosen search parameter was simply “Nokia Oy*” to distinguish between decisions that related to Nokia, the Finnish city where the company historically originated from. The problem with the electronic material regarding Finnish Parliament (“Valtiopäiväasiakirjat”) is its limited electronic conversion before 2001. However, given that the overall focus of the study is on the problems Nokia encountered and had to negotiate publically as the rounds of downsizing intensified after 2007, this lack of electronic material is not an issue.

In the course of the analysis it was found that political discourse analysis of Finnish Parliament records is fairly problematic due to the limited amount of actual argumentative structures presented – most documents consist of committee minutes and reports only. As such, the political empirics were supplemented with Finnish national budgetary speeches 2001-2013 (chapters 6.3.1). This allowed for a more fruitful analysis of the political discourse employed by the various Finnish governments, represented by the Minister of Finance at the time. Budgetary speeches are key pieces of discourse relating directly to the state of the national political economy, and as such have a relatively high probability of including argumentative structures based on political and economic viewpoints (see also: Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). Budgets are also projections into the future, and a tallying of necessary measures to be undertaken. Especially in cases of shrinking budgets that cut benefits – austerity – the budgetary speech is also used as a platform to explain and legitimize these actions. As such, the potential interdiscursivity and discursive affinity between business discourse and political discourse is quite high in this particular genre of political discourse.
The framing categories that exist in all three areas should be mutually inclusive and supportive, making it easier to locate the corresponding elements of discourse. The categories were created intuitively from the empirical evidence through research notes: the material was given certain codewords based on intent or content, and thus categorized. Following the hermeneutic cycle of analysis (Figure 15), the very first categorizations were open-ended, because the codewords were not predetermined. Once the analysis was underway, however, the categorizations, with some adjustments, proved to be sufficient for at least the first rounds of analyses. The categorization, once established, was then followed throughout and strengthened through revisions.

As an example, one of the predicted categories in chapter 6.1 (Nokia press releases) was “divestment”; it was certain that the press releases would have to talk about the reductions in workforce across the company. However, the category was left open in the sense that different forms of divestment were considered possible. Thus the category “consolidation” was established in cases where Nokia was de facto diverting from certain activities, but in a manner that spoke about focusing core corporate competencies or performing minor layoffs. Divestment practically meant the termination of business activities in a particular site or line of technology, whereas consolidation meant that business activities could continue but with less staff. Outsourcing was interpreted as divestment (see Table 1 for details on the categorization). This gave room for more nuanced interpretations, which could also be deployed with other data (in chapters 6.2 and 6.3).

The idea was to allow for a dialogue between the theory and the empirical data to take place, and allow the empirical data to determine the original categorizations where the theoretical would be employed. Given that there are three distinct spheres of empirical data, the analysis has to be left open enough to allow theoretical ideas to be developed alongside the empirical analysis. The inherent multidisciplinary nature of this dissertation also required a less fixed approach. Regardless, the process of analysis has been as consciously robustly constructed as possible, with research notes mapping out the materials and the case as the empirical analysis progressed.

6.1 Nokia Press Releases

Press releases reflect ongoing discursive representation of the company and its discursive practice. Official press releases serve as the official channel through
which a company communicates to outside audiences. These audiences can include direct stakeholders or average citizens without any significant ties to the company or its actions. For the most part, press releases are quite routine and offer very little interesting information to anyone not directly interested in the activities of the company. This is perhaps understandable, as news of product releases or new deals in distant markets might not be very interesting to the average consumer. Still, the press release is an official way for the company to communicate, and contains certain legal requirements for example in the case of quarterly result reports. Press releases serve as the discursive operationalization of the organization's goals and activities. The most important – or perhaps the only – objective of corporate communications is to support business activities (Forssell & Laurila 2007: 57).

Corporate communication is highly strategic and the press release acts as publicizing actions of the company’s positive image, which is crucial for its legitimacy on the markets (but also in a societal sense: Deephouse 2000). Press releases are often made accessible by the company on its designated platform or communications channels (e.g. on its website) but they are also sent to relevant audiences directly. Released through official corporate channels, press releases are rarely followed by complete industry outsiders, though arguably the Internet may have changed the general accessibility to this data (for example, on the Nokia webpage it is possible to order email alerts of new press releases). Still, this would entail investing some effort in following corporate reporting. Reporting on press releases, however, can be visible in national newspapers.

As their name implies, press releases are intended for the press, to serve as a foundation for an article. Indeed, they often go unnoticed by citizens, unless picked up by the media as a basis for a news report or article on the performance of the company. This arrangement also serves the newspapers well; companies in many cases want media (positive) attention, and a press release gives a summarized story ready for editing and publishing. Rindova, Pollock and Hayward (2006: 62) claim that firms use press releases, or similar information packages, that can save reporters and their employers the investment of time and money necessary to collect the information and produce the story themselves. The companies offer this as an implicit service catering to the heightened need of efficient and cost-effective news production.

In other words, companies serve the news media with content with their press releases. The news media, of course, is by no means limited to reporting simply the content of the press release, and would actually be expected to report further and more in depth on the situation, rather than simply reproduce the official line
offered by the company. In some countries this is also outlined in the official journalistic code (e.g. JSN in Finland), which dictates that journalists should take care not to become uncritical native advertisers for the company’s presented profile. The context is important for establishing the relevance of a press release; if the company is not acting in controversial ways and its press releases contain very little else than technical product information, it can very likely fail to capture the interest of the media, its intended audience.

Press releases are crafted by communications specialists, whose primary job in the company is to formulate the frames and arguments in press releases in the way most suitable to the company’s image and intentions. Once the press release is sent out, the company’s control over the message diminishes as it becomes open for journalistic frames, representation and reinterpretation. While message control diminishes, it does not altogether disappear, however: as a part of the mediation process, journalists can also ask for further comments based on the information given in the press release. In these instances the media frame can still be – to an extent – adjusted by the company sources quoted to contextualize the contents of the press release.

6.1.1 Press releases: Overall analysis

The press releases were gathered into a folder structure based on an easily accessible chronological order for longitudinal analysis. The press releases were opened one by one, scanned for content, and summarized and categorized in Excel. This work was quite intensive, as it required a systemic working through the press releases month by month, year by year, one by one. As the categorization was underway, it was possible to use personal knowledge as a former Nokia employee to realize some data was missing from the provided package to the SUSTRA project. This is not to imply that the data was purposefully incomplete. Nevertheless, independent data gathering from the Nokia press release website supplemented the Nokia-originated material and double-checked the research data. This led to a more reliably comprehensive list of all the press releases that would be (publically) available for analysis, and thus a more reliably comprehensive picture of Nokia’s corporate image. The material received from Nokia and the material found

49 Access to specialist qualitative analytical software was not available at the time when the analysis was started, so Excel categorizations were used for full consistency of treatments.

50 The author worked at Nokia 2006-2012.
online were marked accordingly, as were the press releases that were found both online and in Nokia’s data package. The material delivered by Nokia was in some cases bilingual (Finnish and English), where only one instance of the press release was included after some comparisons to ensure the content did not differ. The same also applied for identical press releases found in the data package and online to discount inflating the data set with duplicated data.

However, for future references and robustness checks, it should be noted that as a private company Nokia has the right to reorganize its press releases freely. For example, the website has later separated “press releases” and “stock exchange releases” into different categories, while at the time of the analysis no such differentiation had been made. This may affect attempts to recreate the corpus later. Consequently, the analysis of Nokia press releases in this chapter includes both “press releases” and “stock exchange releases”, but with “press releases” used throughout the text. It should also be noted that the press releases were derived from the entire Nokia cluster: the mobile phone business (Nokia) and the telecommunications network infrastructure business (Nokia-Siemens Network: NSN) were not differentiated as separate businesses by Nokia itself, and as such the press releases could relate to just one or both of the companies during their formal organizational separation and later reintegration. Furthermore, in this research press releases are read as the official voice of Nokia. This means that Nokia’s press releases are not attributed to any particular communicative actor at Nokia, but represented as Nokia’s collective voice, which draws on specific Nokia managers. The press releases follow the same format across the timeline without significant variance. Thus the issue of who writes the actual press release was not found to be a significant variable in the dataset.

Nokia’s press releases discuss numerous aspects of corporate activities, which was hardly surprising given the scope of Nokia’s involvement in technological research, product promotion, and social and charity causes. A smaller, more local company might feature a narrower range of categories relevant for analysing its activities. A large number of categories also meant that several press releases were given multiple categories. As the categorization took shape when going through the material, no real contradictions occurred. The overall analysis and categorization was not limited to simple notes on content or style, but included a more carefully selected set of references in order to track what was discussed in each press release throughout the analysis. All press releases were subjected to full analysis and categorized accordingly for content and relevance. The Excel table for full categorization listed the following columns of preliminary analysis:
The date of the press release: This made it straightforward to locate the press release in question again from the data folders.

The subject header of the press release: This was used as the identifier for the subject.

The style of the press release: Some press releases were style as reports of corporate activities, often supplemented with comments from relevant managers, while others were simpler statements of “corporate facts”. A hybrid classification was used for a combination of the two, where a simple statement was supplemented by a brief comment.

The key phrases: In terms of content analysis, this was a summary of the press release’s close reading, detailing what was talked about and how. Direct quotes were also copied to this column when found relevant or particularly illuminating of corporate speech.

Categorization (by hematic framing codewords): A the simple thematic framing category for the press release (e.g. “divestment”, “technologism) was determined to group the press releases for analysis. Codewords marking a press release as pro-market or raising societal concerns (e.g. “responsibility”) allowed the ordering of the two ideologically aligned frames in this research. More than one codeword could be used, but less than four. The purpose of this categorization was central to the analysis, and it was used to reveal repeating elements, or discursive tropes.

After compiling all press releases the dataset totalled 2152 unique documents. Uniqueness here means that some press releases related practically the same information in only a slightly different form (usually shortened); these press releases were merged into the original release, and the one with more content was subjected to analysis. A total of 4401 framing codewords were assigned in the categorization process, meaning most press releases averaged two categorizations. A single word did not necessarily determine the classification, but the press release was evaluated in its context. For example, a press release of the CEO talking about a new technological commodity (e.g. mobile phone application) that was specifically aimed to help poor people in developing nations would trigger at least the categorization “technologism, “CEO”, and “society”, depending on the full context. The combinations of framing codewords were typically positively patterned, meaning the frames were cast in a positive tone. Even when there were negative categories (typically “consolidation” or “divestment”) present, others were used to mitigate them – “futurism” was typically used to legitimize cuts now in favour of profitability in the future. These patterns become clearer in close analysis.

The categorizations were double-checked. Different categories were capped at 23, with some reclassification merging previously separate categories on the second round of analysis. Categories with less than 10 hits were deleted. Full listing of the selected codewords in the press releases by frequency is shown in Table 1:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codeword</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of all press releases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>technologism</td>
<td>New product release or new technological advancement</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>49.91 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td>References to local, but more often global markets, developments, and market activities</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>25.79 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
<td>Nokia expands into new markets, secures new contracts, opens new facilities</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>23.23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-op</td>
<td>Nokia co-operation with other business and/or 3rd parties, often in terms of joint technology development</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>16.82 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frontrunner</td>
<td>Frontrunner refers to Nokia as the industry leader; Nokia uses press releases often to emphasize its significance in the market and among competitors.</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>13.06 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarterly results</td>
<td>The quarterly results of Nokia and direct references to the quarterly results in other press releases</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>12.96 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>futurism</td>
<td>Press release refers strongly to future potential, future market situations, etc.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>10.55 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Press releases where the CEO is central figure (e.g.) publicizing quarterly results</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>8.09 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promotion</td>
<td>Nokia promotes itself via various activities, such as being a sponsor in notable sporting events</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>7.62 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>Nokia's management is highlighted in the press release, such as changes in senior management personnel, or bonus plans</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>7.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>society</td>
<td>Societal impact of Nokia, and Nokia's interest to be a part of the local societies in which it operates is discussed</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>6.13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divestment</td>
<td>Nokia divests entirely from location, business unit, etc.: in some cases employees are laid off, in others they move into the service of potential buyer of divested business</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3.30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acquisition</td>
<td>Nokia acquires new businesses (e.g. buys an existing company and incorporates it into business functions)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consolidation</td>
<td>Nokia consolidates activities, and cuts staff</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>3.21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recognition</td>
<td>Recognition from social or other actors of Nokia's significance as a tech developer or charity involvement</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2.97 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility &amp; sustainability</td>
<td>Nokia emphasizes its actions in the context of social and/or environmental responsibilities and sustainability.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd party</td>
<td>Nokia involvement with third parties in technology, but also Nokia subcontractors or outsourcing references</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2.65 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employees</td>
<td>Actions directed at employees or employee interests (e.g. together with consolidation)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2.37 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litigation</td>
<td>Nokia involved in (as instigator or respondent) in litigation procedures</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.91 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regulation</td>
<td>Nokia specifically addressing regulation (e.g. notifications of business deals pending regulatory approval)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.53 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td>References to politics, local or global, and its significance to Nokia activities, or Nokia's interest in politics</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.84 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>research</td>
<td>Nokia research efforts (e.g. the founding of NRC - Nokia Research Center in Finland and later expanded to China)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.74 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSP &amp; Bridge</td>
<td>Notes relating to Voluntary Severance Package and Nokia Bridge Social Responsibility Program</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.60 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>4477</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Distribution of thematic framing codewords in all Nokia press releases
While a full analysis of all categorizations present in the corpus was performed, a second analysis was required to locate the central frames under observation in terms of Nokia downsizings. As such, two categories for downsizing events, “divestment” and “consolidation” were created. These codewords were expected to have, and indeed did have the most relevance for analysing and observing discussions of legitimacy. As the target of this work is to evaluate the dissemination and effects of corporate downsizing events and its related discourse, this is where the crux of this work lies. However, this was not merely assumed: the following analysis revealed that the categorizations effectively rule out legitimacy discussions in all other framing categories – if not simultaneously present with “consolidation” and “divestment”. As such, all the other frames will be discussed below in order, but “divestment” and consolidation” are separated for a second, deeper analysis.

The table shows that by far the most commonly encountered frame in the press releases, was “technologism” (~50%), which is to be expected in the press releases of a company that specializes in high technology products ranging from mobile phones to telecommunications infrastructure. Nearly half of all press releases dealt with technology to significant degree; even the publication of quarterly results often included a summary of the most recent or upcoming devices Nokia was releasing. For a company dealing in high technology consumer products this is to be expected. Technologism is less interesting in terms of this analysis, as it very rarely – as itself – related to societal issues or explicit market arguments.

Nokia Life Tools, the service which gives consumers in small towns and rural areas the ability to get a range of livelihood and life-improvement services on their mobile phones, will launch in Indonesia in early December 2009. Nokia also announced five new affordable and easy-to-use phones which will support Nokia Life Tools, and these phones will also be available globally. [...] With affordability and ease of use as the cornerstones of solutions for emerging markets, the five new Nokia phones - Nokia 1280, Nokia 1616, Nokia 1800, Nokia 2220 slide and Nokia 2690 - support Nokia Life Tools, and bring with them all the features that consumers around the world have come to expect. (“Nokia launches five new affordable mobile phones and Nokia Life Tools in Indonesia”: 04.11.2009) 

Today at Mobile World Congress, Nokia announced plans to extend high-end innovations to more people in more markets. Four new devices bring innovation to new price points, while Nokia's HERE location suite becomes available for non-Nokia phones in the Windows Phone ecosystem. Nokia also announced new developer partnerships that use Nokia expertise in imaging, location and entertainment to deliver exclusive application experiences. Finally, Nokia and Microsoft are combining their strength in the enterprise sector to bring more business customers to Windows Phone. (“Nokia takes high-end innovation to new audiences at Mobile World Congress”: 25.2.2013)

The second most common framing codeword, “markets” (25,8%), on the other hand, is more interesting, given that in the close readings related to the centrality of satisfying market demand. Once again, this is not at all surprising for a
company dealing simultaneously in several markets with several products. At the same time, however, this framing codeword was also used to signify the determining role of the markets in Nokia’s business and indeed most of the activities that Nokia reported itself engaging in. The overall broadness of this category enabled the analysis to better account for the various nuances in which markets are referred to in corporate press releases.

“This market provides a unique opportunity to any company wanting to establish itself in this increasingly competitive and dynamic continent”, says Timo Toikkanen, Senior Vice President for Nokia’s Customer and Market Operations in Middle East and Africa. “Globally, the company recognises the incredible growth potential in Africa, and having people on the ground is essential if we are to continue to localize our activities to meet the individual markets’ needs.” [...] Nokia's Vice President for Networks in the region, Henry Ferreira, commented, “Bridging the digital divide is part of Nokia's everyday business and Africa is a market where we can truly exemplify this ethos. We are continuing a major focus on new growth markets, with innovations in both mobile phones and network technologies, specifically developed for the continent.” (“Nokia's Nairobi office opening marks further expansion into Africa”: 14.03.2006)

Nokia, the world leader in mobile communications, today announced that India has become the second largest market for Nokia in terms of sales, going past the United States in the quarter ended June 2007. [...] “India is playing an increasingly important role in the global economy buoyed by impressive economic growth, skilled manpower and tremendous business opportunity. As the market leader in devices and infrastructure, Nokia is committed to build the telecom ecosystem in the country and foster the creation of a favorable environment for collaboration and economic development,” said Mr. Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo, President and CEO of Nokia Corporation. (“India emerges as the second largest market for Nokia”: 23.08.2007)

Timo Ihamuotila, Nokia's Executive Vice President and CFO, comments on today's rating decision from Moody's: “We are pleased that the strong cash position we have maintained throughout our transition has enabled us to take advantage of an opportunity to acquire full ownership of NSN, whose financial performance has strengthened markedly in recent quarters. In Devices & Services, we are pleased with the Lumia volume growth we delivered in the first half of this year and are looking forward to driving further share gains for the ecosystem. With these efforts our target is to return our Devices & Services business to sustainable cash generation as soon as possible.” (“Nokia comments on Moody's credit rating announcement”: 22.08.2013)

The prevalence of the market frame strengthens the assumption that the markets occupy a central focus in Nokia’s communication. Trying to predict and serve the markets (with its products) was often seen as an activity in which Nokia excelled, and hence was rewarded by increased profitability and market share. When Nokia’s fortunes started to decline, the capricious and volatile nature of the markets was often discussed in conjunction with adaptive measures, such as consolidation or divestment. The behaviour or the demands of the markets, then, cannot be taken for granted, but the necessity to adapt to that behaviour and/or demands is. It should also be noted that in terms of analysis categories naturally overlap, as the CEO discusses the market-situation of the company in a distinctly future-oriented sense.
The third largest category was “expansion” (23%), which again was somewhat predictable, given that expansion often entails successful business practices, which companies would naturally wish to highlight. Nokia’s rise into prominence is reflected in the press releases in the form of expansion. Expansion should not be confused with “acquisition” (ranking much lower at 3%) which refers to acquiring new businesses or service to complement Nokia’s existing portfolio. The simultaneous appearance of “expansion” (and “acquisition”) with contradictory framing codewords (“divestment”, “consolidation” will be discussed in Table 3. Expansion, in Nokia’s case, is also very illustrative of the movement of the value chain and corporate presence from the developed world to the developing world: expansions usually deal with opening new markets (by becoming physically present, or by expanding current presence) and increasing manufacturing potential.

Nokia, the global leader in mobile communications, today re-enforced its commitment to the Middle East and Africa area by announcing the opening of a new office in Beirut, which will cater to Nokia's business in the Levant. The office is the first for Beirut and Lebanon and will also be critical in Nokia's ongoing efforts to build presence in the area and in strengthening relationships with governments and key industry players. [...] Nokia recognises the area's ever-changing telecommunication environment, driven by increased technological complexity, rapid subscriber growth, convergence, and the consequent need by both network operators and consumers for greater levels of solution customisation and local support as reasons for the creation of an additional hub and corporate office. (“Nokia opens a new office in Beirut”: 22.05.2006)

Nokia, the world leader in mobile telecommunications, today announced its selection of the Beijing Economic-Technological Development Area (BDA) as the location for its Nokia China Campus. The campus will consist of their China headquarters, R&D centers, and mobile phone manufacturing base. Attendees of the ground breaking ceremony included Jorma Ollila, Chairman and CEO of Nokia, as well as officials from the Central government, the Beijing government, Beijing's Economic-Technological Development Area and other Nokia partners. “We are proud to be the first multinational company to build their China headquarters in the BDA area.” Mr. Ollila said during his speech, “For us it will integrate all parts of our operations in one location, providing unique opportunities for exchange of information and ideas, as well as for very effective operations across all of Nokia and with our partners. [...]” (“Nokia in China for the future”: 23.05.2006)

Nokia today announced that it will set up a manufacturing facility for mobile devices in the county of Cluj in Romania. Nokia anticipates investing an estimated EUR 60 million in the Cluj plant, which will be the company's 11th mobile device production facility globally. The decision to establish a new factory in Romania is a reflection of Nokia's strong volume growth globally, as well as the increasing demand for mobile devices in Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Nokia selected Cluj as the location for the plant because of the county's availability of skilled labour, its good inbound and outbound logistics connections, its overall efficiency, and the long industrial tradition in the area. [...] Nokia continuously develops its global manufacturing network to increase competitiveness and provide excellent logistics services for its customers. (“Nokia to set up a new mobile device factory in Romania”: 26.03.2007)

Nokia’s ambition is to connect the next billion people to the Internet. As a major step towards achieving this goal, Nokia today announced plans to establish a new manufacturing site near Hanoi in northern Vietnam. Nokia plans an initial investment of approximately EUR 200 million, with further sizeable investments thereafter.[...] The opportunity is huge: Almost 90% of the
world's population lives within range of a mobile signal, yet there are 3.2 billion people who do not own a mobile device. And of the estimated 3.7 billion people who do own a mobile device, fewer than half use it to access the Internet. Said Esko Aho, Executive Vice President, Nokia: “Only about 30 percent of the world’s population is currently online, and we believe we can play a major role in connecting the next billion not just to their first phone but to their first internet and application experience.” (“Nokia to establish a new manufacturing site in Vietnam”: 02.03.2011)

The fourth largest category, “co-op” (17%), illustrates how large companies like Nokia engage in cooperation with other business actors. Mostly these allegiances are complementing Nokia’s own product or service portfolio as well as serve as brand reinforcing, when Nokia’s brand is associated with other leading brands. Thus “co-op” often links with technologism in these instances, but also futurism especially in the case of the developing co-operation and partnership with Microsoft. This would support an interpretation that businesses, even rivalling ones, can have common interests.

The worldwide leader in software and the world's largest smartphone manufacturer have entered into an alliance that is set to deliver a groundbreaking, enterprise-grade solution for mobile productivity. Today, Microsoft Business Division President Stephen Elop and Nokia's Executive Vice President for Devices Kai Oistamo announced the agreement, outlining a shared vision for the future of mobile productivity. This is the first time that either company has embarked on an alliance of this scope and nature. [...] “With more than 200 million smartphone customers globally, Nokia is the world's largest smartphone manufacturer and a natural partner for us,” said Elop. [...] “If you are going to provide a seamless and integrated productivity experience on a mobile device, Microsoft is an ideal partner,” said Oistamo. (“Microsoft and Nokia form global alliance to design, develop and market mobile productivity solutions”: 12.08.2009)

In a significant development in the convergence of communications and computing, Intel Corporation and Nokia are merging their popular Moblin and Maemo software platforms. This will create a unified Linux-based platform that will run on multiple hardware platforms across a wide range of computing devices, including pocketable mobile computers, netbooks, tablets, mediaphones, connected TVs and in-vehicle infotainment systems. Called MeeGo, the open software platform will accelerate industry innovation and time-to-market for a wealth of new Internet-based applications and services and exciting user experiences. MeeGo-based devices from Nokia and other manufacturers are expected to be launched later this year. (“Intel and Nokia merge software platforms for future computing devices”: 15.02.2010)

The fifth most common framing codeword was “frontrunner” (13%), which was often linked with technology and expansion; when Nokia was considered the industry leader in terms of volume of business and market share, it was in Nokia’s own interest to emphasize this point. Pioneering technology or leading the market in a tightly competed market could also be seen to imply some meritocratic virtue in the company that manages to achieve this position. The codeword practically dropped from the material after 2005 as only 9 were attributed to 2006-2013 out of 281 in total. This coincides with Nokia’s decline; at the face of such an evident decline, this frame was then subsequently dropped.
Nokia is ready for the digital age: “Full-scale GSM services in most European countries will start in mid-1993 at the earliest,” states Nokia Mobile Phones' Vice President of Sales and Marketing, Kari-Pekka Wilska. “It will be many years before the number of digital network subscribers reaches the current number of analogous network subscribers. [...] Nokia, however, is ready for the digital age today,” comments Wilska. “Nokia has more solid experience with digital technology than any other cellular phone manufacturer in the world [...]”. (“Production of Nokia's GSM phones started”: 22.01.1992)

Nokia today introduced a new imaging product category to its mobile phone product portfolio with the launch of the Nokia 7650. Combining a digital camera and multimedia messaging (MMS) functionality, the phone is ideally suited for people who want to capture and share moments spontaneously. [...] “Today's launch signifies a remarkable breakthrough in this industry,” said Jorma Ollila, Chairman & CEO, Nokia. “History has proven that advances in the way we communicate can give rise to entirely new communication cultures. [...]”. (“Nokia's first imaging phone marks start of Multimedia Messaging era”: 19.11.2001)

Nokia and UC Berkeley researchers today tested technology that could soon transform the way drivers navigate through congested highways and obtain information about road conditions. One hundred cars equipped with the GPS-enabled Nokia N95, and driven by students from the University of California, travelled a 10-mile stretch of highway near San Francisco to show how real-time traffic information can be collected from the GPS feed, while preserving the privacy of the devices' owners. [...] “Nokia is very excited at the potential for this system to revolutionize travel planning, carrying on from the Nokia Maps navigation service available today on certain Nokia devices,” continued Quinn Jacobson [Research Leader at Nokia Research Center, Palo Alto]. [...] The project is supported by a USD 186,000 grant from Caltrans. Additional support comes from the National Science Foundation, Nokia, Tekes, Rutgers University's WINLAB, the University of California Transportation Center and the Volvo Center of Excellence for Future Urban Transport at UC Berkeley's Institute of Transportation Studies. (“Nokia and UC Berkeley capture real-time traffic information using GPS enabled mobile devices”: 08.02.2008)

The sixth most common codeword was “quarterly results” (~13%), which high ranking was again somewhat predictable, given that quarterly results are published four times a year. That said, these expected and legally required official press releases of quarterly results only account for 86 of the 279 found instances (30% of all), meaning that quarterly results were in fact discussed also in other press releases. A typical press release on quarterly results included the highlighted points of the quarter, then a comment from senior management – typically the CEO – and then a rundown of corporate numbers. When Nokia’s began to experience problems in the market, divestment and consolidation decisions could be explained through a shared understanding of the company’s troubles promoted through quarterly results.

Numbers lend credibility to claims on legitimate actions: if the numbers show clear decay in Nokia’s profitability, subsequent actions are understood within this context. Similar discursive strategies have been found in similar studies into legitimacy claims for potentially controversial corporate actions (Ruotsalainen et al. 2014: 20-22; Kuronen, Tienari & Vaara 2005: 260-263). Nokia’s numbers are difficult if not impossible for layman outsiders to dispute. The ways of reporting
sales and profitability can include a lot of accounting jargon, which means the general public is likely dependent on the media to explain the data to them.

“I am encouraged by the progress we made during Q3, while noting that there are still many important steps ahead in our journey of transformation. With each step, you will see us methodically implement our strategy, pursuing steady improvement through a period that has known transition risks, while also dealing with the various unexpected ups and downs that typify the dynamic nature of our industry. During the third quarter, we continued to take the action necessary to drive the structural changes required for Nokia’s long-term success,” stated Nokia CEO Stephen Elop. [...] “In summary, in Q3 we started to see signs of early improvement in many areas, but we must continue to focus on consistent progress so that we can move Nokia through the transformation and deliver superior results to our shareholders.” [...] The sequential decline in Nokia Siemens Networks' net sales in the third quarter 2011 was driven primarily by typical industry seasonality as well as some impact from the current macroeconomic uncertainty, offset to a certain degree by the contribution from the acquired Motorola Solutions networks assets. (“Nokia Q3 2011 net sales EUR 9.0 billion, non-IFRS EPS EUR 0.03 (reported EPS EUR -0.02)”: 20.10.2011)

Commenting on the third quarter results, Timo Ihamuotila, Nokia CFO and interim President, said: “The third quarter was among the most transformative in our company’s history. We became the full owner of NSN and we agreed on the sale of our handset operations to Microsoft, transactions which we believe will radically reshape the future of Nokia for the better. Subject to the completion of the Microsoft transaction, Nokia will have significantly improved earnings profile, strong financial position and a solid foundation from which to invest. We are pleased that NSN and HERE both generated solid profitability in what was a seasonally weak third quarter and at a time when we continue to make significant R&D investments into future growth opportunities.” (“Nokia Corporation Interim Report for Q3 2013 and January-September 2013”: 29.10.2013)

The seventh most common framing codeword was “futurism” (10,5%), which was used most typically to describe the future of the company or the markets. The future was the repository of the successful results of current decisions. During Nokia’s time as a technological frontrunner, this frame was naturally emphasized. Given the style of the press releases, it was understandable that this future was very rarely presented in extremely uncertain or negative terms. Corporate logics demanding investor confidence lead to fairly standardized futuristic statements. In high times the future could look bright, and Nokia well positioned to seize its bounty. In poorer times the future was something to prepare for; if Nokia made the necessary changes (explained e.g. through the poor performance of the quarterly results), it could reverse the current downward trend.

The future was in these instances thus harnessed as another argumentative premise: the future success of the company requires taking decisive steps. Future success would legitimate any action taken, which is why especially in the post-2006 timeline many consolidation and divestment decisions were embedded in futurist visions and speculation (see Table 3). While this could imply that failure would make these actions illegitimate, in the world of press releases the timeline consists
usually of only now and the future, retrospect being quite rare. When the actions taken had turned out to be wrong or insufficient, evidenced by the failure to meet the stated goals, the discussion was continuously projected again into the future. In other words, on the timeline of Nokia’s press releases, the past was poorly discussed whereas the future was constantly invoked, and the previously stated milestones of the future moved and changed based on convenience.

Nokia often presented disclaimers in press releases to note that all estimates presented were simply estimates and should not be considered binding declarations. Including the disclaimer would allow the company a way out if the claimed future failed to manifest. A convincing vision of the future is crucial for the company to retain the trust of its stakeholders, but is it also possible that it glosses over very real and acute problems?

Nokia has announced it projects continued growth of 25-35% of company turnover to extend beyond 2002 to 2003 with continued strong profitability. Nokia estimates the first half of 2001 will see growth rates closer to 35 than to 25%. [...] “In the world of wireless communication, the best is yet to come,” said Nokia CEO Jorma Ollila. “The potential of the future is enormous, as we step into a new age where mobility, the Internet, digitalized media and other content can be combined and made available to practically anyone, anytime and anywhere. (“Nokia ulottaa 25-35 %:n liikevaihdon kasvutavoitteen vuoteen 2003”: 05.12.2000 [Finnish-only press release])

Nokia Networks, the infrastructure division of Nokia Corporation, will put into place a plan to further improve operational efficiency in order to ensure overall competitiveness. The target is to align the organization to the current business environment and to meet the challenges of the future. This will involve rightsizing the current organization while ensuring a strong basis for future businesses, including the 3G mobile infrastructure and mobile-services middleware businesses. Nokia will start employment discussions with the relevant labor representatives in those areas expected to be impacted by this business refocusing. The changes are estimated to decrease the number of personnel by 900-1000 people globally. [...] The key target of this restructuring is to bolster operational excellence and competitiveness by further developing the Nokia Networks' organization in order to always meet changing market requirements. (“Nokia Networks to further develop operational efficiency and optimize its structures and processes to meet current business needs”: 28.06.2001)

The communications sector is constantly undergoing change, driven by increased technological complexity, rapid subscriber growth in emerging markets, convergence, and the consequent need by network operators for greater levels of solution customization and local support. Recognizing the opportunities these developments bring, and given Nokia's longstanding commitment to constant organizational renewal, Nokia is taking proactive steps to hone its business activities and bring them closer to key markets and customers. The Networks business group plans to strengthen activities in a number of key markets to improve its ability to support customers locally with tailored solutions that address future business needs. As a consequence, Networks' R&D will increase somewhat in emerging markets, where infrastructure demand is anticipated to grow

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51 The typical disclaimer begins with “It should be noted that Nokia and its business is exposed to various risks and uncertainties and certain statements herein that are not historical facts are forward-looking statements [...] ”, leading into a wall of text that is approximately 1600 words (“Nokia commits further $250 million in venture funding for mobile ecosystem”; 29.01.2013).
quickly, and the business group's R&D investments are expected to decrease slightly in Finland. ("Nokia balances workforce in Finland with an eye on future business dynamics": 31.01.2006)

“It is a bold step into the future - a win-win for employees, shareholders and consumers of both companies. Bringing these great teams together will accelerate Microsoft's share and profits in phones, and strengthen the overall opportunities for both Microsoft and our partners across our entire family of devices and services,” said Steve Ballmer, Microsoft chief executive officer. [..]

“For Nokia, this is an important moment of reinvention and from a position of financial strength, we can build our next chapter,” said Risto Siilasmaa, Chairman of the Nokia Board of Directors and, following today's announcement, Nokia Interim CEO. "After a thorough assessment of how to maximize shareholder value, including consideration of a variety of alternatives, we believe this transaction is the best path forward for Nokia and its shareholders. Additionally, the deal offers future opportunities for many Nokia employees as part of a company with the strategy, financial resources and determination to succeed in the mobile space.” ("Microsoft to acquire Nokia's Devices & Services business, license Nokia's patents and mapping services": 03.09.2013)

The eighth most common codeword was “CEO” (8%), which was used to map out who speaks primarily for the company. The CEO’s prominence as the spokesperson of the company, the primary actors on the discursive stage, has been discussed in existing literature of organizational research (Sharma & Grant 2011; Hayward, Rindova & Pollock 2004). Although the data also shows in Nokia’s case, that other managers or managerial involvement was present quite often (7,5%) in communicating Nokia’s actions.

Nokia's recent successes can be traced back to 1992 when newly appointed president and chief executive officer Jorma Ollila began reengineering the company by implementing new policies divesting Nokia from its non-core operations. With only 15% of its business devoted to telecommunications in 1986, the sector now commands over 90% of Nokia’s energies. Refocusing efforts came about as Nokia’s management saw the opportunities in the liberalization of the telecommunications sector and the fast growth brought by it. By investing heavily in R&D (tripled since he took office) and focusing on global marketing, Mr. Ollila has led Nokia to the position it holds today. ("Chief Executives of the Year Announced": 22.09.1997)

Nokia will change its organizational structure to strengthen its focus on convergence, new mobility markets and growth. The change is a natural next step following the reorganization of Nokia Mobile Phones into nine business units in the spring of 2002. [...] “Mobility is one of the world’s megatrends with a great opportunity”, says Jorma Ollila, Chairman and CEO of Nokia. “It will change how businesses are run and it is our ongoing ambition to help consumers and corporations in this transition. The industry and corporate structures that were established a decade ago at the dawn of mobile communications were very different from what is needed going ahead. With our flexibility and the new structure we are truly in the best position to bring the benefits of mobility to everyone and to take the opportunity of the next growth wave in this industry”, says Ollila. ("Nokia takes the next step in structuring its organization for convergence and growth": 26.09.2001)

“The convergence of the mobile communications and internet industries is opening up new growth opportunities for us, both in the devices business as well as in consumer internet services and enterprise solutions. Growing consumer demand for rich, mobile experiences creates an opportunity for change. Nokia will bring these capabilities to the broadest range of devices and price points. This unleashes the power of Nokia's device volumes, now coupled with new services and business solutions. This distinctive approach sets Nokia apart from point solutions vendors,” said Nokia CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo. "We believe this new organization can capitalize on these
opportunities while allowing us to increase the effectiveness of our investments and the efficiency of our operations.” (“Nokia organizes for the converging marketplace”: 20.06.2007)

Stephen Elop, Nokia's incoming CEO, closes Nokia World 2010, where the world's leading mobile phone company introduced a new family of Symbian smartphones and improved developer tools. Over the two days, more than 5,000 people including operators, developers, business partners and media from around the world visited Nokia World 2010. (“Media alert: Newly appointed Nokia CEO Stephen Elop closes Nokia World 2010”: 15.09.2010)

Employees, meaning here the rank and file, were not very visible in the press releases. Their framing codeword “employee” was found in only 2% of the material, most often relating to the consequences of corporate actions (i.e. downsizing) to employees, employee benefits and so on. The employees below the managerial level do not speak even through their representatives in the press releases. The relevance of these employees as speakers with access to the discursive platforms will also be measured in the media treatment of the company, where the hypothesis is that the media frame will require a discursive leader to represent the company. Managers with a presumably better position in the organization are given more legitimacy as speakers.

“India is playing an increasingly important role in the global economy buoyed by impressive economic growth, skilled manpower and tremendous business opportunity. [...]” said Mr. Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo, President and CEO of Nokia Corporation. The factory currently employs 4700 people, 70 percent of which are women. The Nokia Telecom Park has received an investment of USD 500 million with seven global component manufacturers likely to generate in excess of 30,000 jobs when fully functional. (“India emerges as the second largest market for Nokia”: 23.08.2007)

Nokia announced in February [2011] that it will renew its organizational structure on April 1st, 2011. Accordingly, Nokia begins co-operation negotiations with employee representatives in Finland. The negotiations will be limited to the announced changes in business structure, building the new organizational structure, and related arrangements. Staff reductions are not included in the negotiations, as the new strategy's impact on staff is not yet known. (“Nokia aloittaa uutta organisaatiota koskevat yhteistoimintaneuvottelut Suomessa”: 08.03.2011 [Finnish-only press release])

[...] Approximately 2,800 Nokia employees located in China, Finland, India, United Kingdom and the United States, are expected to transfer to Accenture at closing, which is expected to take place in the early part of October, 2011. [...] Accenture will seek opportunities to leverage transferring employee skills and capabilities to provide mobility software, business and operational services around the Windows Phone platform to Nokia and other ecosystem participants. Accenture will also seek to retrain and redeploy transferred employees. (“Nokia and Accenture finalize Symbian software development and support services outsourcing agreement”: 22.06.2011)

The press releases referred to “society” and “politics” more or less explicitly (6.2% and less than 1% respectively) only occasionally. Societal references were often framed to explain what Nokia gives to the societies it is a part of, such as education efforts, research boosts in local universities, and so on. The socio-
political axis of society and politics only amounts to less than 8% of Nokia press release content. Though in many cases societal initiatives detailed in “society” were also often linked to corporate PR or promoting Nokia as a company, these should not be considered automatically discrediting aspects. It is true, however, that some promotional campaigns that benefit the society would predictably also seek create new markets for Nokia products.

Further to Nokia's immediate initial response in the aftermath of the Asian tsunami disaster, the company has developed a longer-term recovery proposal for affected areas in India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand, with its EUR 2.5 million education fund. [...] Jorma Ollila, Nokia Chairman and CEO said: “During the first crucial days, we channelled our relief efforts into direct cash contributions, product and service donations and extensive employee volunteering. However, with the early-phase response now largely underway, we wanted to set out plans for a more sustainable assistance program in helping people rebuild their lives. Education has long been core to Nokia's values and community involvement work. [...]” (“Nokia humanitarian aid to tsunami relief work”: 21.01.2005)

The collaboration between Nokia and GFUSA [Grameen Foundation USA] is designed to accelerate efforts to make universal access, particularly in rural areas of Africa a reality. As part of this effort, Nokia and GFUSA have jointly developed a solution based on Nokia's most affordable phones and an external antenna to serve rural communities in Uganda and Rwanda, the two countries where GFUSA's Village Phone currently operates. “Last September, the important milestone of two billion mobile subscriptions was achieved. Rural connectivity will play a major role in reaching the next billion subscribers and ultimately connecting half the world. Nokia is proud to collaborate with GFUSA on this significant initiative,” said Antonio Torres, Director of Business Development & Industry Marketing for Nokia's Entry Business Unit. (“Nokia and Grameen Foundation USA join forces to bring affordable telecommunications to rural villages in Africa”: 15.11.2005)

Nokia and international children's organisation, Plan, have joined forces to use modern communications technologies in Africa to raise children's awareness of their rights and opportunities. Nokia has provided an initial donation of 1 million Euros for 2006. The first stage of this new joint effort will see Nokia focus on supporting Plan's existing media and communications technology projects for Africa's children and youth. “We believe that we can have a positive impact through mobile technology as it is used to enable young people to realise their full potential. The aim of our cooperation with Plan is to fight poverty by empowering African youth and giving them a voice through the use of technology”. Plan has a good existing network, positive track record and extensive experience in using technology for youth development in Africa and was therefore, a very good value fit for Nokia,” said Veli Sundbäck, Executive Vice President, Corporate Relations and Responsibility, Nokia. (“Nokia and Plan give a voice to Africa's youth”: 10.10.2006)

Nokia CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo told attendees at the International Consumer Electronics Show that the world's developing economies are places of increasing opportunity and upward mobility, where wealth is being created at an incredible rate and business opportunities abound - in part due to the spread of mobile communications. “Mobile communications have played a big role in bringing hope and higher living standards to literally billions of people,” Kallasvuo said during a keynote speech Friday. [...] Kallasvuo discussed how innovators, particularly software developers, can join Nokia in its efforts to be a force for good by helping to accelerate development in these growth markets. He announced the USD 1 million Nokia Growth Economy Venture Challenge – a USD 1 million investment from Nokia to encourage innovators and developers to come up with innovate ways to help people and promote upward mobility around the world. (“Nokia CEO: Mobility brings hope and higher living standards to billions of people”: 08.01.2010)
“Politics”, however, as a category was more interesting in its more clear-cut discussion of the interplay between a large multinational company and political operatives.

“Finland has managed to make consistent and sustained investments into research and education. At the same time, the prerequisites for cooperation have been strengthened. This has created a good climate in which to cultivate the knowledge-intensive industry and services. Through goal-oriented measures in Finland, the structure of industry has been changed and new competence resources have been created through education,” Mr. Ollila stated during the opening ceremonies. (“Mr. Jorma Ollila at the inauguration of Nokia Research Center: Continuous investments in research and education are needed to ensure success”: 01.06.1999)

[CEO Jorma Ollila] went on to stress that technology must be backed by affordable solutions, supportive governmental policies and regulations, and competitive markets. In the telecommunications industry, these supporting pillars have been put in place through standardization, privatization and liberalization. […] The decision of adopting policies that stimulate growth in the information and communications technologies sector at the national level is not easy. But experience has shown that the longer-term societal benefits clearly outweigh any short-term objections. “Affecting such policies is an investment by society into its future,” Ollila stated. (“Nokia Chairman and CEO Jorma Ollila: Communications technologies are a catalyst for economic and social development”: 09.12.2003)

A new regulatory framework is needed to encourage financial transactions by mobile phones and transform access to financial services in developing countries, claims a new policy report 'The Transformational Potential of M-Transactions', published today [4 July 2007] by Vodafone in partnership with Nokia and Nokia Siemens Network. Lack of access to banking services is currently forcing people to rely on a cash-based economy with little security, a more casual informal labour market and a lower tax base for governments. The report concludes that financial services are critical for economic development and inclusive financial services for the unbanked are essential for poverty reduction. [...] However, existing banking regulation is currently inappropriate for the growth of m-transaction schemes. Vodafone, Nokia and Nokia Siemens Networks are calling for regulators to ensure they do not restrict commercial experimentation or limit the schemes to sub-economical scale. (“Call for new regulatory framework to allow greater access to financial services via mobile phones in developing countries”: 04.07.2007)

Nokia has received information from the North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) Bank that it and the NRW government plan to attempt to recall subsidies given to the company back in 1999. Nokia is astonished by this. Based on the facts available to the company and Deutsche Bank, its adviser throughout the entire period, both parties strongly feel that such an attempt is without merit. [...] Nokia not only fulfilled the conditions of the agreement, it exceeded them. Since 1999 Nokia has invested more than 350 million euros in the Bochum site, well above the amount stipulated in the agreement. Since 1999, Nokia received subsidies via NRW Bank totaling 41.3 million euros. Thus, Nokia's investments in the factory clearly exceeded the sum it received from the state. In the course of these investments, a substantial number of jobs were created in Bochum. [...] Additionally, Nokia states that the annual increase in personnel-related taxes and social payments paid by Nokia exceeded the total amount of subsidies received during the 1990s. The increase in average annually paid local taxes to the city of Bochum as well as state and federal taxes was also close to the total amount of subsidies received during the whole period. (“Nokia astonished by intention of NRW to attempt to recall subsidies from 1999”: 06.02.2008)

Today Nokia shares that Esko Aho has been appointed to the role of Senior Fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government at Harvard Kennedy School, the school at Harvard University dedicated to study and engagement in public policy and public administration. As a Senior Fellow, Aho will pursue research on the changing role of the state in maintaining welfare and global competitiveness. Aho will continue to represent Nokia and drive
the company’s governmental affairs as a consultative partner, although he will step down from the Nokia Leadership team. (“Esko Aho to join Harvard University as Senior Fellow”: 30.05.2012)

It was somewhat challenging to distinguish between promotion and societal activities. Judging from the analysis, Nokia engaged in PR through these societal activities, but much less comment was made on the state of politics or the desirability of any political actions. This is not to say there are none; the press release framing codeword for “regulation” did come up more often than “politics”, to the combined effect of 2,3%. The difference was that “regulation” often meant that Nokia was following regulatory rules, whereas “politics” meant engaging with politics (or politicians). However, there were also instances, described below, where regulations were seen as a problem for global markets and favourable market conditions, with more implicit rather than explicit references to politics. In these cases Nokia’s discourse was directly following the predictable lines of globalization discourse. In terms of categorizations, the line became fairly muddled here, but the separate categories were retained to give a more nuanced difference between business regulations and trying to influence these regulations politically (in these cases both categorizations were used).

Regulations could also be closely linked to risks of “litigation”, which is included alongside regulation in the following examples of close readings. Cases of “litigation” also showcase how often a large multinational company by be engaged in legal disputes in various locations either as the plaintiff or as the defendant.

“Digital convergence can bring new revenues and productivity gains for all parties of the value chain, with opportunities not only for industry but for individuals and governments alike,” said Ollila. “It can enable easy access to services that people want and need. Importantly, it can also be a major tool for social inclusion and wealth creation.” However, Ollila was clear that there were still a lot of regulatory problems to be solved along the way. “We need to eliminate the regulatory barriers to multi-platform service delivery. Where such regulations still exist, they prohibit, for example, Internet services over terrestrial TV networks.[...] Firstly, we should never make the same mistakes again. Secondly, to restore the confidence in these exceptional market conditions, governments should allow secondary trading of licenses and smooth consolidation of market players.” (“Nokia CEO Jorma Ollila sees unique opportunities in digital convergence”: 29.10.2002)

On March 31, 2006, Judge Kenneth M. Karas of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York granted Nokia Corporation’s Motion to Dismiss all claims made in the class action securities litigation filed against Nokia Corporation and several of its executives in April 2004. [...] By dismissing the claims with prejudice, Judge Karas has denied the plaintiffs the opportunity to raise them again. In addition, he has denied the plaintiffs the right to file an amended complaint, finding that continued pursuit of the case would be futile. (“Class action against Nokia dismissed in its entirety”: 01.04.2006)

Nokia announced it has filed claims in the UK High Court, Dusseldorf and Mannheim District Courts in Germany and the District Court of the Hague, Netherlands, alleging that Apple infringes Nokia patents in many of its products sold in these countries, including iPhone, iPad and
iPod Touch.[...] During the last two decades, Nokia has invested approximately EUR 40 billion in research and development and built one of the wireless industry's strongest and broadest IPR portfolios, with around 11,000 patent families. Nokia is a world leader in the development of handheld device and mobile communications technologies, which is also demonstrated by Nokia's strong patent position. (“Nokia files patent infringement complaints against Apple in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands”: 16.12.2010)

A company actively taking part in politics publically would perhaps make itself a more legitimate target for political interventions; it would seem to be in Nokia’s interest to keep politics – even in Finland – at a distance from its commercial activities. This is not to say that Nokia was not mindful of possible socio-political contexts of its operations: the framing codewords “responsibility” and “sustainability” marked Nokia emphasizing its social or environmental responsibility and development of sustainable business (again both environmental and social). These codewords were nonetheless surprisingly rare at a combined 2.7%. As categorizations, “responsibility” appeared in 31 out of 38 instances, and “sustainability” appeared in 16 out of 22 instances, from 2006 onwards. Considering that this also coincides with the increase of downsizing news (see Figure 16), it seems Nokia was aware of the need to carefully frame its actions through relatively positively understood sustainability and responsibility frames.

This category in particular allowed Nokia to argue for its values. By introducing Nokia’s corporate values and keeping them visible in the press releases, the company could expect to gain goodwill that could facilitate favourable processing of potentially negative information. Proactive emphasis on social responsibility especially in cases of notifications of downsizing could serve as a mitigating element. In other words, when reporting staff reductions, for instance, Nokia could rely on its established record of acting in a sustainable and responsible way, and thus gain societal trust to act legitimately as a corporate citizen, rather than inviting political or labour market interventions.

Nokia and the International Youth Foundation (IYF) signed a US$6.3 million agreement today to continue their global Make A Connection program over the next three years, and to expand this youth-development initiative to Poland. “Helping young people create their own place in the world is a natural outgrowth of Nokia's vision and values,” says Nokia's chairman and CEO, Jorma Ollila. “Extending the Make a Connection program into Poland is one new way to give young people an opportunity to make a difference in their own lives and their communities.” (“Nokia Expands Make a Connection Program with USD6.3 Million”: 01.07.2001)

At the seminar today in Helsinki, hosted by World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the Finnish Commission for Sustainable Development and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [Nokia CEO Jorma] Ollila further reinforced the mobile communications industry’s responsibility towards the ecology, stimulation of economies, building social networks and making access to information easier. [...] Ollila encouraged companies to behave in a responsible manner by taking care of the environmental impact of their products and their production processes: “By conducting business in a responsible way, socially responsible companies can make a significant contribution towards
Nokia has published its latest annual sustainability document, Nokia People & Planet Report 2012. It covers the ethical, socio-economic and environmental areas most relevant to Nokia's business and its stakeholders. The report is split into two broad themes: Nokia's efforts for people and the planet. This is premised on our sustainability vision of making great mobile products that help people improve their lives, and that are made with the best environmental and social practices. (“Nokia People & Planet Report 2012 published”: 05.10.2013)

Nokia’s social responsibility was highlighted in particular by voluntary severance packages52 or later after 2011 in the Nokia Bridge program. These two cases barely made it to the encoding matrix as “VSP” and “Bridge”. These two framing codewords coincided with “responsibility” and “sustainability”. This suggests Nokia was aware of the necessarily intertwined nature of being socially responsible extended to cover its employees through various programs or services that went beyond what was strictly demanded by labour laws. All instances of Bridge and VSP found after 2007 (understandably so, with the Bridge Program limited to 2011-2013), which also confirms, alongside similar findings relating to “responsibility” and “sustainability”, the choice made to focus on the post-2006 section of the timeline for the most diverse selection of argumentation structures.

“In some cases, employees may prefer to choose voluntary arrangements that we are planning to introduce. These are Nokia's response to discussions held with employee representatives” [said vice president, Global Operational Human Resources for Nokia, Juha Äkräs]. The Enterprise Solutions Business Group plans to reduce resources in Finland to streamline and better harmonize its business with global demand. Approximately 90 people will be affected, with Nokia introducing voluntary severance packages and the possibility for redeployment within the company where possible. (“Nokia balances workforce in Finland with an eye on future business dynamics”: 31.01.2006)

[…] Nokia today announced a targeted Voluntary Resignation Package for employees at its mobile device manufacturing facility in Salo, Finland. “The earlier Voluntary Resignation Package we offered to 1 000 Nokia employees in February raised a lot of interest among production employees, who were excluded from this particular global program,” said Ville Valtosen, head of Human Resources of Nokia in Finland. “We now want to offer this opportunity to our production employees in Salo, as we continue to adjust capacity according to market demand.” (“Nokia streamlines production support and administrative activities in its Demand Supply Network Management operations”: 19.05.2009)

In People we also cover challenges we faced in 2012, and how this impacted our employees and some of the communities in which we operate in terms of redundancies and site closures. Although 2012 was a challenging year, we continued our commitment to support affected employees through our Bridge program, helping them re-employ, re-train, or become entrepreneurs. In fact, by the end of last year, nearly 1,000 new businesses had been set up as a result of Nokia's Bridge program. (“Nokia People & Planet Report 2012 published”: 05.10.2013)

52 The employee resigns rather than is fired, and in exchange gets monetary compensation for freeing Nokia from re-employment obligations.
The discursive structure of the press release seemed to evolve over time, with the earliest simple statements morphing into more narrativized forms that described what Nokia was, rather than what it did. This was necessary especially when relaying unfortunate news; while Nokia was downsizing workers, it was committed to its remaining workforce and to reforming its business model so that these unfortunate but necessary adjustments would be legitimized by improved performance. This corresponds with the expected indications of improved and more professionalized message control by communication specialists increasing in the press release format.

Interestingly Nokia’s “Finnishness” did not come across often in the press releases. Nokia successfully inhabits the role of a multinational enterprise in that its official communications do not stress its country of origin. Location categories contain no nationalistic frames or discourse beyond extolling the manufacturing or market potential of that location. Nokia cannot represent the values of just one country, but has to adapt to a multicultural operating environment.

6.1.2 Press releases: Analysis of downsizing

The two codewords that are expected to have the most relevance for analysing and observing discussions of legitimacy, “divestment” and “consolidation”, were present in a relatively tiny portion of the press releases (3.3% and 3.25% respectively). Even if counted together they would make up only 6.5% and be the eleventh most common category. This shows that Nokia either was lucky enough to have relatively few downsizing events to communicate, or that it communicates them less enthusiastically. Considering the history of Nokia (see Figure 16 below), there seems to be a mixture of both. In some cases the consolidation and divestment news also required a more trained eye, given that the “bad news” was often cushioned around inspiring quotes for future prosperity and discursive tropes emphasizing the strategic alignment of the company’s key resources and/or core competencies.

In nine instances both of the codewords were present in the same press release. “Consolidation” and “divestment” represent events where social or political commentary regarding the company’s actions can be expected to surface beyond corporate press releases. While the commentary might not be visible in the press releases, they arguably serve as the foundation for subsequent discussion in the
Nokia will refocus its mobile phone production processes in Bochum, Germany to further increase customer orientation and efficiency. The Bochum unit will increasingly focus on the final assembly of mobile phones while part of the current board assembly will be shifted to other Nokia facilities and to contract manufacturers. The change will further increase the efficiency of Nokia’s demand-supply network and the competitiveness of its mobile phone unit. As a consequence of the shift, Nokia will start employment negotiations with labour representatives regarding approximately 300 full-time employees in Bochum. “In today's business environment, we continuously need to strive to increase our overall competitiveness with all possible means, while at the same time improving our responsiveness to our customers. Significant process improvements sometimes result in the need to take difficult actions with respect to employees,” [said Anssi Vanjoki, Executive Vice President, Nokia Mobile Phones, Europe & Africa]. (“Nokia to shift focus of its mobile phone manufacturing in Germany”: 08.06.2001)

The Networks business group plans to strengthen activities in a number of key markets to improve its ability to support customers locally with tailored solutions that address future business needs. As a consequence, Networks' R&D will increase somewhat in emerging markets, where infrastructure demand is anticipated to grow quickly, and the business group's R&D investments are expected to decrease slightly in Finland. [...] “Over the course of 2006, our expectation is that some 200 people in Networks will need to be redeployed due to workforce balancing. Based on Nokia's overall recruitment activity, our track record of redeployment, and our estimates for this year, we are optimistic that new positions will be found for most of these people. During this process, we will be working closely with employees and their representatives to find the best solutions,” [vice president, Global Operational Human Resources for Nokia, Juha] Äkräs said. In 2005, Nokia recruited approximately 1 500 new employees in Finland, with over 8 000 people rotating into new positions across the group. (“Nokia balances workforce in Finland with an eye on future business dynamics”: 31.01.2006)

Nokia today announced plans to discontinue the production of mobile devices in Germany and close its Bochum site by mid-2008. The company plans to move manufacturing to its other, more cost-competitive sites in Europe. [...] The planned closure of the site in Bochum is estimated to affect approximately 2,300 Nokia employees. Nokia's decision to discontinue manufacturing in Bochum is based on the lack of competitiveness of the location. Renewing the site would require additional investments but even this would not result in manufacturing in Bochum being globally competitive. “Due to market changes and increasing requirements for cost-effectiveness, production of mobile devices in Germany is no longer feasible for Nokia. It cannot be operated in a way that meets the requirements for global cost efficiency and for flexible capacity growth. Therefore we have to make this tough decision,” [said Veli Sundbäck, Executive Vice President of Nokia and Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Nokia GmbH]. Nokia will start the consultations with the employee representatives as soon as possible in order to reach a satisfactory solution for all parties concerned. (“Nokia plans closure of its Bochum site in Germany”: 15.01.2008)

As part of its previously announced plans to increase cost-efficiency and adapt to the market situation, Nokia today announced plans to adjust activities in its Demand Supply Network Management organization, which is responsible for production and logistics for Nokia mobile devices. The plans affect globally approximately 170 employees working in logistics, production management and production support. [...]These measures are part of Nokia's previously announced plans to adjust its business operations and cost base in accordance with market demand and safeguard future competitiveness. Nokia continues to seek savings in operational expenses, looking at all areas and activities across the company. (“Nokia streamlines production support and administrative activities in its Demand Supply Network Management operations”: 19.05.2009)
As a result of the planned changes announced today, Nokia plans to reduce up to 10,000 positions globally by the end of 2013. Nokia is beginning the process of engaging with employee representatives in accordance with country-specific legal requirements. “These planned reductions are a difficult consequence of the intended actions we believe we must take to ensure Nokia’s long-term competitive strength,” added Elop. “We do not make plans that may impact our employees lightly, and as a company we will work tirelessly to ensure that those at risk are offered the support, options and advice necessary to find new opportunities.” [...] These cost reduction measures are designed to return Nokia’s Devices & Services business to sustainable non-IFRS operating profitability as soon as possible. During the second quarter 2012, competitive industry dynamics are negatively affecting the Smart Devices business unit to a somewhat greater extent than previously expected. Furthermore, while visibility remains limited, Nokia expects competitive industry dynamics to continue to negatively impact Devices & Services in the third quarter 2012. (“Nokia sharpens strategy and provides updates to its targets and outlook”: 14.06.2012)

Consolidation and divestment was typically presented as a natural part of corporate strategic continuum. They are not unexpected or otherwise irregular activities: adjusting the workforce is attributed to Nokia being constantly mindful of market demand, and securing future profitability. The latter especially is a strong argument, given that competitiveness is constantly demanded (by the markets). The implication is that by acting now, more serious actions in the future could be avoided. Thus employee concerns are rationally placed under corporate profitability, with the present sacrificed for the potential of the future.

For the most part acquisitions mentioned in the press releases had been meant straightforward as Nokia acquisitions, an expansion of business. However, “acquisitions” could be combined with “consolidation” to reframe Nokia’s divestment as a profitable outside acquisition that glosses over Nokia’s loss. The material shows that Nokia reporting procedure occasionally in 2009-2013 rephrased divestment activities in the forms of acquisitions: company X would acquire Nokia’s business activity Y. Similarly the same press release could, in limited cases, include some superficially contradictory information to reduce personnel in one part of the organization, and increase the number of personnel in another to maintain an appearance of overall negligible impact.

Nokia and Renesas Electronics Corporation today announced the completion of Renesas Electronics’ acquisition of Nokia’s Wireless Modem business, which was initially announced on July 6, 2010. [...] As a result of the transaction, approximately 1100 employees transfer from Nokia to Renesas Electronics (“Renesas Electronics’ acquisition of Nokia’s Wireless Modem business completed”: 30.11.2010)

It should also be stressed that consolidation and divestment are not only restricted to times when the company was in trouble; posting high profits could still be coupled with consolidation decisions as future competitiveness was invoked.
“During the first quarter 2003, we were pleased to see mobile phone market volumes growing year on year for the fourth consecutive quarter, rising by 10% to approximately 98 million units. Nokia's own volumes grew by 13% to around 38 million units, marking faster-than-market growth. Again, profits in our mobile phone business exceeded our expectations, rising 9% on very healthy margins of 24%. […] While the network market remains very difficult, we have announced strong abative measures in our network infrastructure business to bring down costs and improve operational efficiency and profitability. Reducing personnel is always difficult for our whole organization and particularly for the people directly involved. However, the actions we are taking are necessary in order to build a healthy and viable networks business going forward,” [said Nokia chairman and CEO Jorma Ollila]. (“Nokia achieves excellent profitability in the first quarter and mobile phone volumes grow faster than market”: 17.04.2003)

The 140 cases where either “consolidation” or “divestment” – or both – were present were cut down to 127 individual press releases. A longitudinal analysis revealed the distribution of these press releases, and thus the frequency of Nokia’s downsizings as they were communicated beyond the company. As predicted, the frequency of consolidation and divestment news from the company increased in 2007-2013. More than half (71 out of 125) consolidation or divestment news were given out during this time (see Figure 16 below). The only exception was 2001, the year when the global tech bubble (also known as dot-com bubble) burst.

**Figure 16.** Press releases of downsizing news (“divestment” and/or “consolidation”)

In the smaller dataset for consolidation and divestment press releases (127 instances) the allocation of framing codewords changed compared to the overall analysis (Table 1). Table 3 shows how the frequency of framing codewords within press releases that contained “consolidation” and/or “divestment”.

![Instances in press releases](chart.png)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codeword</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of all press releases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35.43 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>futurism</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23.62 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18.90 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarterly results</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge &amp; VSP</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.81 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-op</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.66 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.51 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility and/or sustainability</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.51 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employees</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.51 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technologism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>society</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
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<td>2.36 %</td>
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<td>0.79 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sustainability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Framing codewords in press releases with “divestment” and/or “consolidation”

It is hard for a company to maintain the image of a frontrunner, or to engage in detailed talk about technology, when the overall tone of the press release speaks of more or less cutting changes to the business structure, organizations and workforce. As previously discussed, markets and futurism were present very often, engaged in a discursive legitimation of the news by a) quoting unexpected and/or unavoidable change in the business environment and b) making claims of future success based on the decisive actions taken. The CEO was often the person who would describe these corporate actions with sufficient authority. This also speaks to the necessity of having a clear figurehead for the company stand out during a time of both financial and legitimacy crisis. Other managers were also called upon to comment on the current activities to lend additional legitimacy. Nokia’s Board of Directors would also comment and lend its support to the CEO’s discourse.

Co-operation in consolidation/divestment press releases increasingly meant strategic partnerships that entailed an element of outsourcing activities or staff to another company. The most notable cases in the material were Nokia’s divestment of Symbian operating system development to Accenture, and later Nokia IT
outsourcing to two Indian data consultancy companies. In the media analysis (in the following chapter) these outsourcing decisions were also found controversial, but not decidedly so.

The three categories of “Bridge & VSP”, “responsibility and/or sustainability”, “society” and politics form an important, albeit group of “socio-political concerns” of roughly 21% of the analysed divestment-consolidation press releases. These four can be considered integral to Nokia’s actions in terms of corporate social responsibility, although for clarity’s sake the voluntary severance package clearly also serves Nokia’s own interests. As anticipated earlier, when informing of downsizings, Nokia understandably places higher emphasis on its role as a socially responsible corporate citizen. However, their frequency is weighed toward the end of the timeline, with almost all instances found after 2007, which reflects the need to balance divestment and consolidation news with more responsible and sustainable frames. This can also reflect an increased trend in general to rely on these frames in corporate communications.

The Bridge program was a specifically crafted initiative together with Nokia and local authorities to offer educational and entrepreneurial support and financing and re-employment opportunities to those being downsized from Nokia (see the end of chapter 4). It is actually surprising that the Bridge program does not feature more visibly in the data, considering its cost to the company as an image-saving effort. One could hypothesize that the program’s high cost was one of the reasons why it was not emphasized to shareholders, who were arguably more concerned with the plummeting price of their Nokia stock.

Other categories show less promise of analysis. While the release of quarterly results would be a logical place to discuss such changes with numerical data of diminishing profits and/or market share supporting the argumentation, the high frequency of consolidation/divestment news expanded beyond standard reporting. Employee concerns and social responsibility emerge in this limited material, but not to a considerable degree. Explicit links to politics, although the Nokia Bridge program obviously had political tie-ins at least on the local level, are not discussed.

When performing a close reading of these particular press releases, it seemed that professional communicators at Nokia’s end understood the necessity of trying to seek legitimacy for divestment and consolidation decisions. Actions needed to be taken, with the implication being that actions seem to have more legitimating momentum than inaction. Explaining the problem was often minimized in favour of explaining what the corrective actions (to be) taken were, and how they would correct the company’s course. Certain repetitive framing elements and discursive
tropes seemed highly common in the press releases relating to divestment or consolidation decisions. Most notable among them were:

*Market or competitive pressure:* this was often presented as an outside force, which Nokia had no claim or control over. The macroeconomic operating environment of the company had changed, and Nokia would have to change with it. The permanent state of change in business is often referenced, e.g. in terms of global competition, linking this trope also to efficiency claims (see next). Furthermore, Nokia also was very dependent on external market authority – credit ratings – to uphold its financial position (“Nokia comments on Moody’s credit rating announcement”; 22.08.2013).

The Enterprise Solutions Business Group plans to reduce resources in Finland to streamline and better harmonize its business with global demand. Approximately 90 people will be affected, with Nokia introducing voluntary severance packages and the possibility for redeployment within the company where possible. (“Nokia balances workforce in Finland with an eye on future business dynamics”; 31.01.2006)

Nokia today announced plans to discontinue the production of mobile devices in Germany and close its Bochum site by mid-2008. **The company plans to move manufacturing to its other, more cost-competitive sites in Europe.** […] Nokia’s decision to discontinue manufacturing in Bochum is based on the lack of competitiveness of the location. Renewing the site would require additional investments but even this would not result in manufacturing in Bochum being globally competitive. “Due to market changes and increasing requirements for cost-effectiveness, production of mobile devices in Germany is no longer feasible for Nokia. It cannot be operated in a way that meets the requirements for global cost efficiency and for flexible capacity growth. Therefore we have to make this tough decision,” [said Veli Sundbäck, Executive Vice President of Nokia and Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Nokia GmbH]. (“Nokia plans closure of its Bochum site in Germany”; 15.01.2008)

[...] “In recent weeks, the macroeconomic environment has deteriorated rapidly, with even weaker consumer confidence, unprecedented currency volatility and credit tightness continuing to impact the mobile communications industry. […] We believe Nokia has a tremendous opportunity to capture value as the Internet services market evolves and grows. Being a catalyst for change has been our heritage and it will be our future,” said Nokia CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo. (“Nokia Q4 2008 net sales EUR 12.7 billion, non-IFRS EPS EUR 0.26 (reported EPS EUR 0.15)”; 22.01.2009)

The sequential decline in Nokia Siemens Networks’ net sales in the third quarter 2011 was driven primarily by typical industry seasonality as well as some impact from the current macroeconomic uncertainty, offset to a certain degree by the contribution from the acquired Motorola Solutions networks assets. (“Nokia Q3 2011 net sales EUR 9.0 billion, non-IFRS EPS EUR 0.03 (reported EPS EUR -0.02)”; 20.10.2011)

During the second quarter 2012, **competitive industry dynamics are negatively affecting** the Smart Devices business unit to a somewhat greater extent than previously expected. (“Nokia sharpens strategy and provides updates to its targets and outlook”; 14.06.2012)
**Efficiency claims:** Reorganizations or consolidations were often explained through the need to leverage more efficiency, or more specifically competitiveness, out of the corporate structure, sidestepping the question of how efficiency can be improved by reducing the workforce. Efficiency claims are also typical of futurism. Certain amount of compatibility can be noted between corporate efficiency claims and austerity policy.

Nokia has decided to implement a cost saving's goal of over a billion euros by 2003. This goal will be met as Nokia transforms into an efficient company, which business activities will consist of electronic business. [...] Nokia aims to take advantage of its position as the market leader to consolidate its position as a mobile phone manufacturer and reap the benefits of large-scale production. ("Nokia ulottaa 25-35%:n liikevaihdon kasvutavoitteen vuoteen 2003": 05.12.2000 [Finnish-only press release])

Nokia will refocus its mobile phone production processes in Bochum, Germany to further increase customer orientation and efficiency. [...] The change will further increase the efficiency of Nokia's demand-supply network and the competitiveness of its mobile phone unit. [...] "In today's business environment, we continuously need to strive to increase our overall competitiveness with all possible means, while at the same time improving our responsiveness to our customers," [said Anssi Vanjoki, Executive Vice President, Nokia Mobile Phones, Europe & Africa]. ("Nokia to shift focus of its mobile phone manufacturing in Germany": 08.06.2001)

Nokia Networks, the infrastructure division of Nokia Corporation, will put into place a plan to further improve operational efficiency in order to ensure overall competitiveness. The target is to align the organization to the current business environment and to meet the challenges of the future. This will involve rightsizing the current organization while ensuring a strong basis for future businesses [...] The key target of this restructuring is to bolster operational excellence and competitiveness by further developing the Nokia Networks' organization in order to always meet changing market requirements. ("Nokia Networks to further develop operational efficiency and optimize its structures and processes to meet current business needs": 28.06.2001)

("While the network market remains very difficult, we have announced strong abative measures in our network infrastructure business to bring down costs and improve operational efficiency and profitability. [...] However, the actions we are taking are necessary in order to build a healthy and viable networks business going forward," [said Nokia chairman and CEO Jorma Ollila]. ("Nokia achieves excellent profitability in the first quarter and mobile phone volumes grow faster than market": 17.04.2003)

Nokia today announced plans to take additional actions to align its workforce and operations. The measures support both the execution of the company’s strategy and the savings target the company announced earlier this year, and also target to bring efficiencies and speed to the organization. [...] ("Nokia continues to align its workforce and operations": 29.09.2011)

The measures follow a review of smartphone manufacturing operations that Nokia announced last September and aim to increase the company's competitiveness in the diverse global mobile device market. [...] ("Nokia plans changes to its manufacturing operations to increase efficiency in smartphone production": 08.02.2012)
Core business protection: companies redefine their core competencies where they seek to remain successful, meaning that everything that is not included in these competencies is considered redundant, and thus divesting from it is a natural, common-sensical thing to do. The company needs to vigilantly assess and reassess the centrality of its functions, arguably creating a lot of uncertainty among the workforce.

“[...] During 2008, we have taken many steps to ensure we maintain our strong leading position in the device business, while increasing our focus on solutions-centric business models. We have focused our services investments on five primary categories: maps, music, messaging, media and games. These are the areas where the biggest opportunities lie.” (“Nokia CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo at the Nokia Annual General Meeting 2009: ‘Irresistible’ solutions combining devices and services will be a key to future success”: 23.04.2009)

Nokia plans to pursue a range of planned measures including: [...] Reductions related to non-core assets, including possible divestments. [...] “These planned reductions are a difficult consequence of the intended actions we believe we must take to ensure Nokia’s long-term competitive strength,” added Elop. “We do not make plans that may impact our employees lightly, and as a company we will work tirelessly to ensure that those at risk are offered the support, options and advice necessary to find new opportunities.” [...] (“Nokia sharpens strategy and provides updates to its targets and outlook”: 14.06.2012)

Unavoidable and tough decisions: inevitability is a core discursive trope to most corporate reorganizations because it emphasizes the humanity of the management through the unwillingness to make tough decisions (i.e. lay off workers), but at the same time drawing on the rationale that it is inevitable, and thus really out of the management’s hands.

Significant process improvements sometimes result in the need to take difficult actions with respect to employees,” [said Anssi Vanjoki, Executive Vice President, Nokia Mobile Phones, Europe & Africa]. (“Nokia to shift focus of its mobile phone manufacturing in Germany”: 08.06.2001)

“[...] Reducing personnel is always difficult for our whole organization and particularly for the people directly involved. However, the actions we are taking are necessary in order to build a healthy and viable networks business going forward,” [said Nokia chairman and CEO Jorma Ollila]. (“Nokia achieves excellent profitability in the first quarter and mobile phone volumes grow faster than market”: 17.04.2003)

“We must take painful, yet necessary, steps to align our workforce and operations with our path forward.” [...] In line with the company values, Nokia will offer employees affected by the planned reductions a comprehensive support program. Nokia remains committed to supporting its employees and the local communities through this difficult change. (“Nokia continues to align its workforce and operations”: 29.09.2011)

“We recognize the planned changes are difficult for our employees and we are committed to supporting our personnel and their local communities during the transition” [said Niklas Savander, Nokia executive vice president, Markets]. [...] Nokia will offer a comprehensive locally-tailored support program, including financial support and assistance with local re-employment.
Evolutionary transformation: Companies must change and transform constantly to maintain their position and profitability. The macroeconomic climate can also be described as transformative, in which case the necessity to transform is attributed to external forces. The motivating focus remains on profitability and investor confidence. By going through structural changes Nokia can evolve further.

" [...] The industry and corporate structures that were established a decade ago at the dawn of mobile communications were very different from what is needed going ahead. With our flexibility and the new structure we are truly in the best position to bring the benefits of mobility to everyone and to take the opportunity of the next growth wave in this industry", says Ollila. (“Nokia takes the next step in structuring its organization for convergence and growth”: 26.09.2001)

The communications sector is constantly undergoing change [...]. Recognizing the opportunities these developments bring, and given Nokia’s longstanding commitment to constant organizational renewal, Nokia is taking proactive steps to hone its business activities and bring them closer to key markets and customers. (“Nokia balances workforce in Finland with an eye on future business dynamics”: 31.01.2006)

“I am encouraged by the progress we made during Q3, while noting that there are still many important steps ahead in our journey of transformation. With each step, you will see us methodically implement our strategy, pursuing steady improvement through a period that has known transition risks, while also dealing with the various unexpected ups and downs that typify the dynamic nature of our industry. During the third quarter, we continued to take the action necessary to drive the structural changes required for Nokia’s long-term success,” stated Nokia CEO Stephen Elop. [...] “In summary, in Q3 we started to see signs of early improvement in many areas, but we must continue to focus on consistent progress so that we can move Nokia through the transformation and deliver superior results to our shareholders.” [...] (“Nokia Q3 2011 net sales EUR 9.0 billion, non-IIFRS EPS EUR 0.03 (reported EPS EUR -0.02)”: 20.10.2011)

“For Nokia, this is an important moment of reinvention and from a position of financial strength, we can build our next chapter,” said Risto Siilasmaa, Chairman of the Nokia Board of Directors and, following today’s announcement, Nokia Interim CEO. “After a thorough assessment of how to maximize shareholder value, including consideration of a variety of alternatives, we believe this transaction is the best path forward for Nokia and its shareholders. Additionally, the deal offers future opportunities for many Nokia employees as part of a company with the strategy, financial resources and determination to succeed in the mobile space.” (“Microsoft to acquire Nokia’s Devices & Services business, license Nokia’s patents and mapping services”: 03.09.2013)
6.1.3 Press releases: Argumentation analysis

The rather matter-of-fact arguments in press releases from the 1990s were replaced in the 2000s by more socially aware argumentative structures that stress Nokia’s social responsibility as a corporate citizen, and emphasize the unfortunate – but unavoidable – nature of reductions. As hypothesized earlier, this may also be due to a general trend in corporate communications that started to emphasize values as a part of the general corporate message, informed by “best communicative practices” advocated by public relations literature (Forssell & Laurila 2007). These argumentation structures may not be limited just to Nokia, but are available to all companies. Their societal salience can be expected to be quite high.

The close reading of the discursive patterns supplied above would suit the requirements of discourse analysis, but is poorly structured to account for a more comparative argumentation analysis. As such, following the argumentative scheme (Figure 3) needs to be drawn based on close readings of corporate discourse – with special focus on the quotes highlighted above. This is the key point of comparing and contrasting the argumentation between these three conceptually different areas of public discourse. Restructuring the discourse into an argumentative scheme requires separating the different discursive elements into their argumentative roles. For example, the argumentative claim that is made in most of the press releases pertains to securing Nokia’s future through increasing the company’s competitive strength, which is a prerequisite for profitability.

The scheme serves as an aggregate approximation, given the exceptionally broad corpus and timeline. An aggregate argumentation scheme over a large corpus cannot be completely balanced: some elements may not be as predominant across the dataset. The argumentation structure consists of laying out the elements and placing them into the scheme to show their interaction. By adapting the Faircloughian argumentation model (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 128, 142; Fairclough & Fairclough 2011: 256-258; see also Fairclough 2005: 3-6), the key argumentative elements that form Nokia’s official voice are summarized in Figure 17. The scheme outlines the bare structure of the argument: Claim, the Circumstances, the Goals, the Values, and the Means-Goal. The scheme proposed here departs from the Faircloughian model to locate additional argumentation elements. The premises are expanded (as in Figure 3) to emphasize particular elements in the press releases. Efficiency and competitiveness, for example, are included as significant circumstantial elements. This is to highlight some premises
for comparison between chapters 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3. The same outline that informed the argumentative scheme here is used also in the subsequent chapters.

Claim It is necessary to realize “the best path forward for Nokia and its shareholders” and offer “future opportunities for many Nokia employees” by “ensuring Nokia's long-term competitive strength and returning the company to profitable growth”.

Circumstances The “current macroeconomic uncertainty” combined with “weaker consumer confidence, unprecedented currency volatility and credit tightness” have exacerbated the “various unexpected ups and downs that typify the dynamic nature of our industry”. As such, “the industry and corporate structures that were established a decade ago at the dawn of mobile communications were very different from what is needed going ahead”.

Goals Nokia aims to “further increase the efficiency of Nokia’s demand-supply network” and “competitiveness”: “the target is to align the organization to the current business environment and to meet the challenges of the future”. Nokia “must take painful, yet necessary, steps to align our workforce and operations with our path forward” so that Nokia can build its next chapter”.

Values Nokia needs to continuously “strive to increase our overall competitiveness with all possible means”. However, Nokia does not “make plans that may impact our employees lightly, and as a company we will work tirelessly to ensure that those at risk are offered the support, options and advice necessary to find new opportunities”, and that Nokia recognizes “the planned changes are difficult for our employees and we are committed to supporting our personnel and their local communities during the transition”.

Means–Goal Adopting the plan of action will achieve the goals.

Competitiveness The claim to action will “bring down costs and improve operational efficiency and profitability”. The action is ”necessary in order to build a healthy and viable networks business going forward”.

Efficiency The claim to action is necessary “to bring efficiencies and speed to the organization”.

Consequences The consequences of the action support the claim: Nokia's competitiveness is increased and its future is secured.

Claim to authority People granted a position of power in the media discourse add their prestige to the argument: Nokia management supports downsizings in order to control for Nokia's cost-structure.

Addressing counter-claim Nokia admits that people losing their jobs has painful consequences, and these decisions are not taken lightly. However, the decision is forced on by economic necessity.

Counter-claim The proposed action is not the right thing to do, as the effects of the (negative) consequences are largely unacceptable.
Objection      Effects of consequences are unacceptable: Nokia has a social responsibility to its employees

Negative consequences Downsizings will cause considerable human suffering in terms of lost jobs

Addressing counter-claim       Nokia admits that people losing their jobs has painful consequences, and these decisions are not taken lightly. However, the decision is forced on by economic necessity.

**Figure 17. Aggregate argumentation scheme for Nokia press releases**

The Faircloughs noted in their treatment of political discourse that “considerations of the ‘cost–benefit’ or ‘efficiency’ of action might constitute further premises” (2011:248). This most certainly is the case with corporate discourse and argumentation, which is chiefly comprised of these two elements. In Figure 17 cost-benefit considerations were replaced by competitiveness. To assume this argumentative structure is open for challenges (objections) is, however, somewhat incorrect: with asymmetrical access to organizational information,
outsiders have only limited capacity to draw on numerical data and challenge the authority and truth-claims of the CEO of a multinational company. No such challenge would take place on the corporate forum, given the one-directional nature of press releases (as opposed to dialogue). The challenge would have to take place in the public forum, i.e. the media (see following chapter).

Even though Nokia’s own argumentative structures do not contain objections or counterclaims – the company prioritizes its own discursive logic and promotes a single argumentative structure – possible objections should still be considered in the argumentative analysis already in this chapter. After all, a great deal of formulating an argument may also be used to pre-empt objections from other parties. In their model Fairclough & Fairclough (2011: 258) suggest dealing with anticipated objections and counter-arguments (counter-claims) as a part of the argumentative structure. This is, however, hypothetical and as such it is marked accordingly into the scheme. One predicted counter-argument is the unacceptable nature of the human suffering caused, but by highlighting how tough and painful downsizing decisions were (to the management), Nokia could argue pre-emptively against that objection, returning the focus back on necessity. This addressed counter-argument would express both Nokia’s values that state their commitment to employees, but supersedes them with (economic) necessity. This reflects to the “truer” nature of CSR as discussed in chapter 3.1.

The analysis also differentiated between primary and secondary values, interpreting based on the press releases that for a private enterprise the first priority when it comes to values is one of organizational survival, i.e. profitability. Thus while employee commitment is a stated Nokia value, it is one that is secondary – subservient – to the value of creating shareholder value. Through this argumentative structure Nokia’s preferred frame that is brought forward seeks both to naturalize and legitimize potentially controversial corporate actions. If this argumentation structure has been successful, it should be visible in Nokia’s press coverage in the next chapter.

Drawing on critical discourse analysis, the argumentative structure presented should not be understood merely as an object, but also as a subject with direction; when Nokia argues, the argument also seeks to become the de facto description of the situation. The business frame gathers in mutually supportive argumentative elements to leave very little discursive space for legitimate objections. The rationality of the argument’s Means-Goal is focused on economic survival: “downsizing is a socially legitimate practice and the managers become constructed as those who saved the business from a possible catastrophe” (Siltaoja 2009: 198).
Similarly the CEO takes the position of the central authorizing agency. The overall argument is naturalized through the circumstances which proscribe inevitability and necessity in a volatile market environment.

Emphasis on future-oriented discourse also affected the argumentation structure. The idea conveyed through the discursive trope is one of a long-term goal of success; sacrifice is needed and necessary now, to have more success in the future. As a legitimating claim it also has a moral dimension; good things come to those who are willing to sacrifice for them. Such existential necessities are rarely further explored, but taken as given – it is only natural for a company in dire straits has to achieve savings through layoffs. Thus the future is left as the vessel of all hopes and dreams, where all is possible, and a company in consistent financial problems can still lay claim to. It often is also prudent to talk of a prudent economic tomorrow; cuts in jobs, wages or benefits are to a degree acceptable if they are followed by a promise of a better tomorrow, where these losses can be overturned. In this, future-oriented corporate discourse is not unlike austerity discourse.

It is also notable that the press releases made very few references to public support/political intervention relating to these decisions. It seems that Nokia – at least to an extent – respects the boundary between private business and public power, understanding that opening that dialogue publically (i.e. asking or demanding public help) would on one hand allow states to call for more regulatory control over the business they decide to help (or generally interfering more with the private business sphere of the economy), and on the other serve as a powerful signal of corporate ineptitude, one that could devastate investor confidence. Furthermore, given Nokia’s international profile, it would be hard for it to leverage any particular nation state for direct assistance.

In a large multinational company like Nokia divestments and consolidation moves are a part of what could be described as regular corporate activities. As such, the “creative destruction” of business activities seems a fairly standard “background noise” of an active company. On the other hand continued news of several consolidation and divestment tend to be signs of a company in trouble – or at least they can more easily be interpreted as such. Creative destruction assumes that something new is created from the old, but as news of further consolidation increase, the creative aspect is left unfulfilled. Consolidation even when focusing business activities is in absolute terms a retraction, as opposed to growth.

From 2007 on Nokia employees were subjected to bad news from their employer at minimum every second month. With more and more workers being
laid off, Nokia’s previously stable business must have started to appear increasingly volatile and uncertain, which, given Nokia’s size, would also affect the Finnish economy as a whole. The downsizing news of 2007-2013 are a clear departure from business as usual for Nokia, and assumedly noted accordingly more broadly in Finnish media and political discourse.

6.2 Nokia-related Finnish newspaper articles

The second level of empirical analysis was gathered from Finnish newspapers. Following the example set up by previous research on the discursive (and recursive) legitimation strategies of companies taking place in the media (see: Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003; Vaara & Tienari 2002; Kuronen, Tienari & Vaara 2005; Vaara & Tienari 2006; Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007; Vaara & Tienari 2008; Siltaoja 2009; Erkama & Vaara 2010; Vaara & Monin 2010; Vaara & Tienari 2011) the public debate was located in print media. The representations of (business) journalists form a more visible stage for negotiating the success or failure of corporate legitimation strategies than the company’s own press releases. Thus the question becomes how much does journalistic reframing affect the representation of the corporate message.

The strategic purpose of business discourse is to promote competition (and competitiveness) overall in society as both discourse and social practice. When dealing with business discourse the media is expected to steer away from uncritical message reproduction and allow for a plurality of voices. However, corporate communicative actions are efficient in the sense that even though the tone of the companies’ communications might not filter through the media to the public, the content and lexicon of these communications initiated by companies often do (Carrol 2004: 151-152). In other words, the media article may utilize a journalistic frame, but it does not necessarily mean reframing the arguments entirely.

The importance of the press release to the formation of media frames should be stressed: the press release yields information with a ready point of view. If the original information (i.e. Nokia press release) shares similar discursive practices with media reporting, the media can add its credibility to the original message, and the more credible the source, the more influential the frame or discourse (Vaara & Monin 2010: 15; Chong & Druckman 2007a/b). With an increase of editorial columns and other more directly argumentative forms of reporting (these are often expected to mirror the overall bias of the news source: Väliverronen & Kunelius
2009), the assumption of plurality and critical objectivity should be carefully evaluated. It stands to reason that the media also redirects its messages to its most appropriate audiences, applying framing and discursive means to recast the events, for example in a more compelling light (Lindén 2012).

It would make sense for negative frames to follow from negative corporate events regardless of how well they are operationalized in discourse as inevitable and necessary. Nokia’s high profile and apparent celebrity status can be seen to grant Nokia-related reporting more visibility (i.e. dominating headlines, leading articles business news sections), especially in the Finnish media. This celebrity status is also hypothesized to intensify the media’s attention on Nokia when the frame of the market leader starts to become untenable and has to be replaced with the frame of the struggling corporation unable to meet the demands of the changed market. The media argument can also be expected to echo claims of pressing necessity to change, to reverse the downward trend and return Nokia to its past prominence. As with success, failure demands explanations and rationalizations, which the media can be expected to be ready to offer, either directly or through expert opinions.

6.2.1 Newspaper articles: Overall Analysis

The newspaper articles were gathered online from the selected newspapers’ online archives53 by using “Nokia oy*”54 as a search term by itself and in conjunction with words relating to restructuring55. As with Nokia press releases, a secondary search was conducted to ensure all relevant material had been located. Articles were at first primarily judged by their titles and ingress (if visible), and logged in for later close readings to determine their relevance. Articles which mentioned Nokia’s downsizing were included, even if the job cuts were not the main topic of the article, provided that they were still addressed in the body of the article. All articles were in Finnish, and their content has been translated but the original article title has kept in Finnish to allow more effortless tracking of reference, albeit at the

53 Sanoma-arkisto for Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta-Sanomat, and Suomen Media-arkisto for Kauppalehti.
54 To capture coverage of ”Nokia” the company and avoid hits that refer to the Finnish municipality of the same name.
55 Restructuring search terms included different combinations of expressing personnel reductions in Finnish: Nokia irtisanoo; Nokia lomauttaa; Nokia erottaa; Nokia lopettaa; Nokia vähentää; Nokia ulkoistaa

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expense of leaving the titles and their potentially informative content untranslated and thus outside explicit analysis in the following close readings.

When compiling the data, many articles were also picked out from the archives to “read around” the event, even if they did not deal with downsizing specifically. These articles are not included in the final dataset, but provided important context for the analysis. When creating the corpus of downsizing news the selection favoured traditional news articles, which were deemed to represent professional journalism and as such the argumentative structure embedded in the media’s reporting. Given that news relating to Nokia usually belonged to the “hard” financial news section of the newspaper, this is a specific genre to consider.

However, straightforwardly argumentative content, such as editorials, columns, letters from readers and other commentaries were also noted and categorized in the first phase of the analysis. For the most part these were separated from the final analysis for their own treatment. Of course, this is not to say that the journalists’ own viewpoints would not influence the way even regular news articles are framed; the process of news production and event representation are connected to both conscious and subconscious social dimensions (Wiio 2006) that are within the context of this dissertation informed by ideological preferences.

Again a simple quantitative analysis was performed to first give an idea of the scope of the material before moving into a qualitative analysis through close readings of the articles. While the frequency of certain discursive elements, tropes or framing codewords might be interesting in itself, it is necessary to understand the context of the articles and the discourse within fully. Unlike press releases, news article can have informative visual cues (pictures, format) that also guide interpretation. However, online articles, while easy to access, contain only textual data, so the full impact of the articles at the time of publication is difficult to assess. This is an acknowledged weakness of the analysis when the empirical material is this extensive and cannot reasonably be fetched from physical archives.

In terms of general content, some of the articles were very short, like notifications of further information to come. These short articles included very little information or reflection, and indeed seemed more or less like a reproduction of the original press release. Short articles comprised only of a short description of the units and the amount of the people affected by corporate actions. While they were deemed valid for the overall analysis on the first round, articles that contained less than 500 characters were dropped from the analysis on the second round to keep the corpus somewhat comparable. Thus the analytical focus was on those articles with the most material to offer for argumentation analysis.
The data was ordered according to its relevance to Nokia’s corporate actions, in particular downsizing events. The material was encoded as the press releases were into relevant categories, using codewords to encapsulate the frame and the discourse present in the articles. Some thematic frames found in press releases no longer appeared in media material, and new ones were adopted to describe the news media’s own frames. The possibility of finding these signals were taken into account based on the findings of previous research (see e.g. Tienari, Vaara & Björkman 2003). Articles were limited to news about downsizings publicized between 1992 and 2013, thus covering the same timespan as the press releases. The material was collected from three newspapers, namely, *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Kauppalehti*, and *Ilta–Sanomat*. The newspaper selection sought to capture different styles of reporting and intended audiences with suitably similar publication cycles. The selected three newspapers reflect different perspectives to the same phenomenon: business newspapers with their pro-business angle, general newspapers with more societal concerns, and a tabloid to offer more dramatized renderings. The selection provides a cohesive analysis of the fractured and varied field of public discourse.

All the newspapers selected are national in scope. Even the financial newspaper in the dataset, *Kauppalehti*, is national and published primarily in Finnish. Of course, the influence of international financial news should not be discounted, but incorporating said influence into the analysis is beyond the scope of this study. *Helsingin Sanomat* represents the national daily newspaper with the widest circulation of any newspaper in Finland, which can be assumed to have the highest quality. Wiio (2006: 22) notes that *Helsingin Sanomat* is often seen as an important arena for public discussion, a discursive space for leading opinions, “an official voice in the public sphere” (Jauhiainen 2007: 82), if not the dominant newspaper in the Finnish media field (Ainamo 2003). *Helsingin Sanomat* is often quoted by other news sources and referenced by academic studies of the Finnish media landscape (Lindén 2012: 41; see also Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007; Lounasmeri 2010). *Helsingin Sanomat* will henceforth be abbreviated as HS.

In previous research Tienari, Vaara and Erkama (2007: 202) found that the journalists of HS follow the globalization discourse, “the gospel of the free markets”. Lindén (2012: 263) provides an example of Nokia’s influence in HS by giving an example of a journalist offering commentary on behalf of Nokia, to curtail “misunderstandings” in the public forum. The officially pro-market newspaper *Kauppalehti* was founded by businessmen for the specific purpose of promoting business news (Lindén 2012: 42), and as such is a proponent of liberal
market economy in Finland (Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007). It is worthwhile to ask if Finland shows similar signs as Denmark, where the “market” has replaced “society” as the primary national community of the business media (Kjær 2007: 177). Kauppalehti’s readership is often associated with the business elite (e.g. managers, CEOs) and other financial operatives in Finland. Kauppalehti is also the only business newspaper in Finland in paper form; it is only real competitor, Taloussanomat, has been published only on the web since 2008. Kauppalehti will henceforth be abbreviated as KL.

Ilta-Sanomat, published on weekdays and with a single weekend edition, is included in the list as a tabloid with populist tendencies (Reunanen 2003). Goddard (2000: 88) hypothesizes that reporting economic news tend to be a problem for tabloids, given their style of reporting, which is a poor fit for technical explanations. For example Tienari, Vaara and Björkman (2003: 382) equate Iltalehti and Ilta-Sanomat, rival tabloids, in their discursive style and affinity for nationalistic frames of reporting. Given its alignment, Ilta-Sanomat, henceforth abbreviated IS, should be expected to provide provocative reporting. Some differences between the newspapers should be visible in the distribution of frames between them.

Taking the critique of HS’s claimed pro-market media frame into account, however, some convergence of the market and societal frame can also be expected. For example, previous research has shown managers and investors are both more present and appear as active subjects in HS and KL, whereas employees have been reduced to the position of relatively passive subjectivity as laid off workers (Lindén 2012: 80). Furthermore, IS and HS are both published by the largest media conglomerate in Finland, Sanoma (under Sanoma Media Oy), while KL belongs to the Almamedia media conglomerate. In terms of ownership the dataset is not particularly diverse – a result of commercialization which is very much the same in many western countries (Kjær & Slaatta 2007).

The circulation and coverage levels of the three newspapers in 2013 are summarized in Table 3, with the newspaper readership and circulation development depicted in Figure 18:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Reader average</th>
<th>Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helsingin Sanomat</td>
<td>354 737</td>
<td>742 000</td>
<td>Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilta-Sanomat</td>
<td>118 358</td>
<td>548 000</td>
<td>Weekdays + weekend edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauppalehti</td>
<td>57 367</td>
<td>151 000</td>
<td>Weekdays</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Circulation, readership and publication cycle of the selected newspapers (Media Audit Finland 2013)
Although the decline of print media in favour of web-content is visible in the statistics, the relatively high levels of readers for the print media (88% in 2014: Media Audit Finland 2014) have persisted in Finland. Within the time period of the analysis, print media readership has remained tolerably high. In addition, many people who get the digital newspaper will also have access to the print one (as in the case of Helsingin Sanomat Digilehti: Media Audit Finland 2013). Focusing on the levels of print media will give a reliable “low-point” in the news audiences. Furthermore, regardless of print or web-based orientation, most business news are arguably less malleable to the reframing often associated with web-content (“click-bating”) and are not as readily convertible into dramatized headlines. As such, the difference in content between web-based and print-based news can be expected to be minor within the scope of this analysis\(^{56}\).

The article count for the first round of analysis between the selected newspapers within the selected timeframe totalled some 1100 newspaper articles. A second round of analysis narrowed the corpus to a total of 760 unique articles, as some articles in the online databases were listed twice if there was an update on the article content. In these instances the analysis always favoured the latest version of the article, as it usually contained corrections or comments from a party that had been unavailable for comment at the time of the first article draft. Upon further analysis on the second round the total media articles dealing with divestment or consolidation news specifically in sufficient length was cut down to final of 557

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\(^{56}\) Differences between print and web-based media was not considered in this research. Coinciding with mergers and acquisitions, however, the move towards web-based news may actually contribute to the narrowing down of media discourse as a cost-controlling measure. Alma Media and Sanoma Oy dominate the internet newspaper market with 6 of the most popular newspapers in terms of visits (Statistics Finland 2014: 61).
unique articles that were coded for divestment, consolidation, or both. The articles were divided between the newspapers as per Table 4 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Articles on consolidation divestment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helsingin Sanomat</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauppalehti</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilta-Sanomat</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>557</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Consolidation or divestment articles per newspaper

News relating to a big economic entity, a multinational enterprise like Nokia, is well covered. HS had the most articles, assumedly because the newspaper could approach divestment or consolidation events from several viewpoints (see Table 5 below). Both HS and KL gave considerable coverage of Nokia’s downsizing events – at least in terms of volume. The comparatively poor showing of IS articles was somewhat surprising, given the inviting room for commentary that the downsizings would make. It should be noted, however, that an extensive storyline in KL dealt with a tax dispute with Nokia and the state officials of India relating to Nokia’s sale of a manufacturing plant to Microsoft, which heightened a pre-existing accusations of tax avoidance. 14 articles were removed from KL’s 2013 dataset as they related to this ongoing dispute only, and not the divestment of Nokia’s mobile phones business as such, which was the defining criteria for admittance to the analysis.

When set on a timeline, the coverage varied considerably (Figure 19). One would have intuitively expected more coinciding trends of downsizing coverage, given that the corporate event of reporting of downsizings would be expected to be the same for all newspapers. Instead there seems to a considerable variance in reporting intensity between the newspapers and indeed by a single newspaper over time – media coverage does not seem to be consistent in its intensity unless there are visible corporate events that can feed into it.
The development of news coverage shows that in the 1990s Nokia news profile in the business sections of the selected newspapers was relatively low (see Figure 20 for a longitudinal analysis of relevant article distribution across all newspapers selected for analysis). The data showed that Nokia seemed more or less like just another Finnish company going through some restructuring in the financial slump of the 1990s, but in the 2000s the coverage began to show with more consistency.

The data in Figure 20 does not mean increased coverage overall, but simply of a specific kind of a news story. The burst of the dot-com bubble in 2001 is visible in the data, but only modestly so. The increase in downsizing news started to increase...
in the mid-2000s, hitting a sudden spike of nearly 70 in 2007 and 90 in 2008. After this the coverage settled until rising sharply once more in 2011, and continuing thereon. Downsizing coverage of Nokia produced at least 20+ articles in the press from 2006 to 2013. This finding also supports placing more analytic focus on those years. If one could not discern that the company was facing a crisis in the press releases, there was no hope of avoiding that understanding when one read through the press articles. Especially starting from mid-2011, the tone was profoundly negative, as the media's gaze was fixated on the downward spiral of Nokia's stock value and staff size. It should be also noted, however, that the high frequency of press releases and press articles detailing Nokia’s downsizing events came after continuous corporate growth: the large scale of the downsizings reflects Nokia's own size at the time. Increase in media attention also corresponds to Nokia’s significance to the Finnish GDP, and the implications of Nokia’s fortunes turning to the Finnish state and the employees of Nokia in Finland.

Some corporate events explain the spike in 2007-2008: in 2007 the merger of Nokia networks business and Siemens networks business into Nokia-Siemens Networks (NSN) accounted for two thirds of the downsizing news. In 2006 and 2007 the merger of Nokia Networks and Siemens was extensively covered by 27 articles, signifying how media focus is drawn – understandably so – the large corporate events. In this, of course, the event also had repercussions in Finland and so was of interest to the Finnish media. The merger was seen as largely beneficial to Nokia, which had acquired market share through Siemens and could hope to compete again with its main rival, Ericsson57. It was also deemed obvious by a majority of the news coverage that the new organization would have extensive overlap, and that Siemens itself was relatively bloated in terms of staff. Staff reductions would have to follow. This was also Nokia’s first brush with German displeasure, as the cuts in staff were weighed toward Siemens, i.e. German workers ("Saksassa ‘raivoa ja järkytystä’": HS 05.05.2007). This was also the beginning of a long legitimizing battle of the Nokia concern in the years to come.

In 2008 Nokia encountered – or alternatively created – a crucial news event by closing down the Bochem plant in Germany. As Figure 20 illustrates, this decision sparked a lot of news coverage because the closing of the plant and laying off its 3000 workers created strong opposition in Germany. The local German workers’ unions organized multiple demonstrations and pleaded politicians for support. Nokia CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo was made to apologize publicly for the poor

57 Nokia and Ericsson were locked in a contest greater than market shares, as they also stood for success stories of national industry in Finland and Sweden respectively (Lindén 2012).
The closure was announced in January, but the debate it incurred lasted well into the following fall. This also corresponds to the high number of Nokia press releases in 2008 (17: seen in Figure 16 in the previous chapter), half of which dealt with Bochum specifically. One of the crucial discursive points was the fact that Nokia had received state subsidies in Germany: Nokia was demanded to return all public subsidies, if the closure went ahead as planned, for breach of contract. Discontinuing a profitable plant and moving production to Romania for cheaper labour costs made Nokia look like an opportunistic corporation that utilized local economic incentives, and left once those incentives had been tapped out. The news reports pointed out that Nokia was – at the time – the second largest employer in the area after Opel.

This reflected poorly on Nokia’s desired image as a socially responsible actor. Eventually the German state (Nordrhein-Westphalen) reached an agreement on how to deal with compensation to cut staff and other supporting actions. Nokia faced protests and boycotts, both of which made for appealing topics for reporting. It was the first clear legitimacy crisis in a downsizing situation that Nokia faced also in terms of media attention. The stakeholders, both the German employees and their workers’ unions, and their representatives, including high ranking politicians, felt that the implicit social contract between business and society, exemplified by the financial support provided, had broken down. It should be noted that Nokia’s actions themselves were arguably as not controversial as was the scope of the implications. Nokia was lifted by the media attention into an exemplifying corporate actor (Ruotsalainen et al., 2014). This event is also notable in the sense that it also set the tone for forthcoming Nokia job cuts that were to be completed in a socially responsible manner.

In 2009 the downsizing news temporarily waned, despite Nokia discontinuing its offices and operations in Jyväskylä, Finland. This divestment limited Nokia’s Finnish footprint – still extensive – to Oulu, Tampere, Espoo, Helsinki and Salo. Nokia’s increasingly worsening market situation made the company offer voluntary

58 There was also considerable debate especially in the German press that Nokia was abusing EU’s structural funds for moving high tech jobs to poorer EU member states to make the move from Germany to Bochum more financially appealing. Nokia denied this claim strongly (“EU selvittää Nokian mahdolliset tuet Romaniassa”; HS/IS 29.3.2008) and no hard evidence was found to suggest Nokia would have benefitted from EU subsidies in this case.
severance packages to workers around the world, effectively offering monetary compensation to workers who resigned – following Bochum’s example. The rationale behind the packages was two-fold: first it allowed Nokia to streamline its organization by reducing personnel, and second it was able to reframe job cuts (which most likely would have taken place less than voluntarily in their entirety had not the quotas been reached) as voluntary, with the employees choosing to leave the company\textsuperscript{59}. This also would become a typical strategy for Nokia to handle staff reductions in the future.

In 2010 Nokia fired CEO Kallasvuo, the chosen predecessor of the legendary CEO Jorma Ollila, and made the move from Symbian to Windows Phone OS in the smartphones market. 2010 was a quiet year in Nokia’s downsizing news, as if in anticipation of the new corporate strategy to be headed by the new CEO. The new CEO, Stephen Elop, moved to lead Nokia from the upper management of Microsoft, since an outsider’s view was hoped to change the company. Elop’s infamous “Burning platforms memo” described a company in exceptionally dire straits, and accordingly remarkable organization changes were initiated in 2010-2013, including a sizable reduction of global workforce to restore competitiveness in a challenging market that was also in the grips of the global financial crisis.

In terms of Nokia’s strategy, Elop also created a second off-year by announcing the end of Nokia’s own operating system Symbian and the move to Windows Phone, which software was owned by Microsoft. This made a considerable amount of Symbian engineers redundant, later to be outsourced to IT consultancy company Accenture. Symbian’s collapse during the switch the new operating system was much more rapid, however, than anticipated, and many former Nokians who transferred to Accenture were very quickly downsized. Indeed, for many Nokia seemed to simply outsource its downsizing actions as an attempt to mitigate damage to its corporate face.

The main antagonist of this process in the eyes of the press was typically the CEO Stephen Elop. Elop presided as CEO over half (39 out of 70) of the consolidation or divestment news analysed categorized for CEO presence. This is to be somewhat expected: as controversial actions increase, negative focus on the CEO can also be expected to increase. Especially the compensation CEO Elop received during his term as CEO draw a lot criticism in the press, given that CEO compensation amounted to several million while the company value plummeted.

\textsuperscript{59}Whether or not this strategy was successful in retaining the needed expertise within the company, or incentivized the departure of many skilled employees who could trust to find employment elsewhere in the sector is a matter for a different debate and research.
During Elop’s tenure as CEO, Nokia shareholder value has been destroyed to the tune of 2000 euros per every euro Elop himself has earned as compensation. Nokia's CEO Stephen Elop has earned over 7 million euros during the time of his stormy leadership. (“Nokia: Elopin aikana yhtiön osakeennostajien omaisuutta on tuhoutunut lähes 2000 euroa jokaista Elopin ansaitsemaa euroa kohden”: IS 21.04.2012)

All goes according to the script. There are, of course, no surprises in a press briefing. Elop does not get confused, misspeak, or in general say anything that the reporters present didn't already know. [...] This is followed by a few required comments by Elop on Nokia's "Finnishness" and the importance of Finland to Nokia. There is very little detectable empathy in Elop's speech and appearance, and even that seems forced. (“Me olemme Nokia”: HS 26.06.2012)

It took Stephen Elop three years to escort the pride of Finnish industry into the care of his former employer, Microsoft. [...] If the success of the company's figurehead, the CEO, is measured in his capacity to assure the markets of the future of the company, Elop has been very unsuccessful. In three years under his leadership Nokia’s share value was halved. In true Northern American [management] style Elop was very visible on road shows and stages, but was found unconvincing. (“Sammon ryöstäjä 60”: IS 04.09.2013)

However, as the media coverage shows, in addition to other statistical data of Nokia’s corporate fortunes, the strategy failed to stabilize Nokia’s situation. Quite the opposite, the company continued to decline, and the media gaze was fixed on the collapse of the Finnish (despite its actual multinational nature) giant. All promises of a better next year were met by more news of necessary cuts in operations and personnel. This was felt particularly strongly by employees in Finland when the long-standing Salo factory – the last manufacturing site in Finland – was shut down. This, too, was seen as mainly Stephen Elop’s doing.

In February [of 2012] Nokia had sacked 1000 people in Salo. After that many locals had thought that the factory, the largest employer in the municipality, would be left alone. [...] [CEO Stephen] Elop had assured in in March 2011 that the factory would continue its operations. In September 2011 Nokia notified, that phone manufacture in Salo will be discontinued. [...] “Someone said that they cannot shut us down, there is too much work to be done. I replied that Elop is the beginning of our end,” said [Vuokko] Tuunanen [former Nokia employee and Salo resident], “I immediately got the sense that he was going to shut down the Salo factory. No Finn would’ve wanted to do it. But Elop has no ties to Finland.” (“Hylätty Salo”: HS 04.06.2012)

While Nokia speaks of macro-economic environments in its press releases, the employees and residents of the areas affected by Nokia’s corporate actions quoted in newspaper articles feel the need to identify someone with agency. Several articles described Nokia’s actions as irresponsible through the CEO, signalling the need to attribute some accountability. While some reports were understanding, especially when experts or the reporters themselves commented on the event, quotes from

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60 The title of this article deserves a special mention, as it references the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala. More specifically, it references the theft of the Sampo, a magical device that churned wealth to its owner.
“the man on the street” were highly critical, stressing breach of trust or even betrayal. In other words, citizens want, and expect, accountability for controversial actions, corporate or otherwise.

The emphasis on different frames, i.e. the diffusion of framing codewords in media articles dealing only with Nokia’s consolidation/divestment news was expectedly different from the corporate frame, as seen in Table 5. Again the frames were selected from the content, and those categorizations that did not emerge in more than 1% of the material were excluded from analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codeword</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of all press articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>36.27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>society</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>21.54 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employees</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>20.83 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd party</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>14.00 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12.93 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unions</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>9.34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>globalization</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8.62 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSP</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8.08 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.00 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>futurism</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6.82 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6.28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public [sector]</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6.28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>backlash</td>
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<td>6.10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compensation</td>
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<td>5.57 %</td>
</tr>
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<td>regulations</td>
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<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
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<td>quarterly results</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge</td>
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<td>1.62 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.26 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1153</strong></td>
<td><strong>in 557 articles</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Framing codeword distribution in press articles
The data shows that the primacy of the markets remains an overwhelming discursive element also in news reporting – “markets” is present in over a third of downsizing news related to Nokia. The difference between “markets” and “globalization” – a similar frame but categorized separately – in this analytical phase is that “markets” are considered by and large a positive or common-sensical entity, whereas “globalization” relates more to the phenomenon, and is more often seen with more ambivalence or outright negativity in the context of Finnish manufacturing industry relocating to countries with cheaper labour resources.

It is interesting to note that globalization as a phenomenon may be framed ambivalently or negatively, but the “markets” are framed as a more neutral external force, even though they are quite evidently related. Arguably “markets” embody the logic of globalization just the same, but in this frame the effects are less debated. Still, even if “globalization” was protested, it was only rarely contested or actively resisted. The behaviour of globalized markets, however, is marked by volatility and a degree of unpredictability. These representations make it easier for Nokia to argue for surprising changes. The markets, in fact, are not impervious to (positive) surprises (“Nokian uudet työpaikat yllättivät markkinat”: KL 06.06.2007), but more typically it is the company that is (negatively) surprised by the markets (e.g. due to poor macroeconomic prospects).

Nokia attributes the problems to the slowdown in markets. Even though Nokia itself is in top condition, the situation in the markets is increasingly difficult. Nokia estimates that the slowdown in US markets will spread wider. According to Nokia, especially European economic growth has also become sluggish during the few last weeks. ("Nokian tulosvaroitus tuli sokkina markkinoille": HS 13.6.2001)

When Nokia Networks hinted at staff reductions to the tune of a thousand employees in April 2003, the news was not bad only for Finns. Hundreds of people in overseas offices would also lose their jobs, but their fate was of little interest in Finland. Nokia’s exceptionally extensive co-operation negotiations exemplify policy that Finnish enterprises follow around the world. Following Nokia other companies may feel more confident announcing reductions, as the toughest measures can be enacted far away from home. ("Globalisaatiota suomalaisiittain": KL 05.01.2004)

Nokia’s announcement of hiring 300 new employees at the Salo factory was considered a positive surprise by the markets. According to Nokia’s press release, the reason for hiring more staff was due to the continued growth of the smartphone markets. ("Nokian uudet työpaikat yllättivät markkinat": KL 06.06.2007)

Nokia’s decision to close down the factory it opened less than four years ago was received with shock in Romania. [...] Nokia opened the factory in Jucu, near the city of Cluj-Napoca in 2008. The same year the company announced the closure of the Bochum plant in Germany. [...] Nokia is currently ramping up its new factory in Vietnam, where labour is relatively cheap. ("Tällaista globalisaatiota ei voi hyväksyä": HS 30.09.2011)

Societal concerns or social impact (“society”) of Nokia’s downsizing comes up second in the categorizations in a little over a fifth of the articles (21%). Societal
actors also include local municipalities when they discuss Nokia’s social significance and role as a corporate citizen. The societal frame had close affinity with the political frame in these cases. In terms of consolidation or divestment news, this often meant reacting to Nokia’s local staff redundancies. While in the earlier part of the timeline these redundancies were lamented, they were not deemed critical. The watershed moment on the timeline was the closure of the Bochum plant in Germany, and later the disappointment in Romania. In addition to these locations, particularly Salo in Finland was often mentioned due to its rather large economic dependency on Nokia’s presence. It was also noted – with some nostalgia – that Salo had played an integral part in Nokia’s origin story ("Nokian menestys alkoi Salosta": HS 9.2.2012), which made the site closure even more societally dramatic.

The city most dependent on Nokia in Finland, Salo, believes its public budget will hold the following year despite Nokia’s announcement on Monday of co-operation negotiations for staff reductions. Salo’s mayor Matti Rasila considers the possible reduction of 260 jobs as unfortunate, but still small considering the scale of the city. "Overall Nokia employs 5 500 people in Salo. Small reductions give no cause to seriously revamp the city’s budget," Rasila says. [...] Salo’s strategy to deal with its Nokia-dependency is to maintain the municipality’s competitive appeal for mobile phone design and R&D. ("Salo tulkitsee Nokian vaikeudet väliaikaisiksi": KL 03.10.2001)

Those employees being sacked from Nokia Siemens Networks are expected to find new employment reasonably easily in their hometowns. All cities affected by staff reductions are considered growth centres [in Finland], where employability prospects are good. NSN notified of reductions of 1500-1700 employees in the Helsinki, Espoo, Tampere and Oulu offices last Friday. The employment officials of these cities don’t consider the situation to be catastrophic. [...] "The labour market has remained active, despite the Oulu region shedding hundreds of jobs. So far high tech designers have been absorbed into other companies due to high demand. Of course, if there is to be mass redundancy, the situation can turn more difficult,” according to Erkki Holma, the Oulu region employment office director. ("Nokia Siemensin irtisanotut työllistynevät hyvin": HS 08.05.2007)

No one is Salo wants to even entertain the idea that Nokia would leave. Buying another mobile device than a Nokia phone easily gets one branded a heretic. If Nokia's influence is big in Finland, in Salo it is absolutely colossal. Nokia currently has 4700 employees in Salo, with seasonal workers ranging from a few dozen to a thousand. At the beginning of June, Nokia announced it would hire 300 new permanent employees. In addition Nokia's subcontractors employ hundreds of people in the area. While it looks like Nokia is staying the in Salo, at least for the moment, the same cannot be said of its subcontractors. ("Salosa eletään Nokian rytmissä": HS 29.06.2007)

Protests in Germany against the mobile phone company Nokia showed no signs of abating on Friday. Chancellor Angela Merkel issued a stern statement through her press secretary, and the anti-Nokia sentiment was visible at a mobile phone store in the industrial city of Bochum. "I don't want to buy a Nokia, that company destroys jobs,” said Petra Michelus with her daughter Cosima Mohr. [...] While Nokia's reputation has been thoroughly tarnished in Germany, the city of Bochum is also concerned over negative publicity. Bochum and the entire industrial area in the Ruhr valley has been badly hit by "structural changes" relating to the gradual shutdown of mining and steel industry in the 1990s. Nokia's departure is a bad hit for the city of 400000 people. Nokia has been the city's most important tax payer, and the second largest employer. In addition to a lot of bitterness, Nokia also leaves behind a lot evidence of the public subsidies it has enjoyed over
the years. One of the more visible ones is the Nokia Bahn railroad from Bochum to Gelsenkirchen, built in part with tax revenue to make the commute of Nokia's factory workers more convenient. ("Nokia jättää jälkeensä katkeruutta ja nimikkorautatien Saksassa": HS 19.01.2008)

"The arrival of Nokia is extremely important not only to the Cluj region but to the entire Romania," said Marius-Petre Nicoara, the highest government official of the Cluj province. [...] According to Nicoara Nokia is significant in two ways. While the influx of tax income from Nokia's factory is definitely a boon, Nokia's brand is considered even better. "Nokia will improve Romania's visibility, and will attract more companies to relocate here," Nicoara says. [...] Nicoara is not afraid of Nokia leaving Jucu at some point. The technology park [surrounding the factory] will have enough space for all of Nokia's subcontractors, unlike in Bochum. "I think they will find it harder to leave here. I believe Nokia has come to stay for 20-30 years." ("Romanian Transilvaniassa iloitaan Nokia-ihmeen saapumisesta": HS 26.01.2008)

While “employees” are naturally a part of society and societal concerns, employee agency and commentary was separated as a societal frame. Given that the focus is on news piece dealing with staff reductions, it was practically impossible to find instances that were positive. Some employees could express that they understood Nokia’s necessity to reduce staff, however. Typically employee concerns or impact on employees, most often voiced by employee representatives (e.g. shop stewards) – only rarely by individual employees and even then under anonymity ("Insinöörien epätempaus": HS 13.03.2007). These speakers created the objections and counter-arguments through the media to the company's established line of argumentation, so notably absent in the press releases. Union commentaries were coded separately, though often overlapping with the employee frame. Employee and union representatives’ turns at speech are tallied in Table 6.

It also seems clear from the reporting, that factory workers in the Salo region could not expect the same level of re-employability as R&D engineers (in line with the findings in Rönnqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen 2015: 58). It was hoped at the corporate, municipal and governmental level in Finland that Salo factory workers could find “employment for example in the field of social or heath care, where there are many available jobs” (“Nokialta irtisanotut synnyttäneet sata yritystä”: KL 02.09.2012). This statement is quite typical in discourse of “structural changes” to the economy and job profiles in the sense that alternatives are offered with little concern to the aspirations of the employees themselves. In other words, employees with transferrable skills and high education could expect the labour markets to absorb them, but employees with relatively low education would have to be retrained to a completely new field.

"Everything feels so unreal, since the downturn of the IT-industry came so suddenly. People feel very uncertain about what comes next," pondered Tuija Alalauri, [a member of the co-operation negotiations team] who has worked for Nokia for almost twenty years. [...] "Admittedly my first reaction was to wonder if this was for real or not. I would never have believed we would follow one set of [co-operation] negotiations immediately with another. ("Epätodellinen tunnelma valtasi työntekijät": HS 29.06.2001)

The office of Nokia Siemens Networks in Karakallio, Espoo, is emptying fast. The walkout that started at 2pm on a Friday momentarily clogs up the road between the buildings as employees just notified of new co-operation negotiations speed away in their cars. Between a thousand and two thousand employees participated in the walkout in Espoo and Helsinki. "They're sacking awfully many people," comments one woman rushing to her car. "The notification said very little else."

The woman, who works for research and development, does not want to give her name, in case that "helps her to hold on to her job". She claimed that making one's face and name public certainly wouldn't help in that regard. ("Hurjan paljon irtisanotaan": HS 05.05.2007)

"Nokia has been a good employer. Now it has lost all credibility," chief shop steward Kalle Kiili summed up. According to Kiili, Nokia staff [in Jyväskylä] cannot understand the company's cost savings, and especially not the divestment of the Jyväskylä site. The notification of co-operation negotiations forced all employees to focus on their own economic future. People have bought houses and taken up mortgages. How can they cope with the repayments? ("Nokian uskottavuus hyvänä työnantajana loppui": HS 12.02.2009)

"This sort of globalization cannot be accepted," [says the vice-president of the central Romanian labour union Cartel Alfa, Petru Danadea]. Danadea claims that Nokia's decision [to shut down the Jucu factory] is a good example of how multinational enterprises exploit states for various subsidies for their business. “This was the companies can grow their profit margins without any benefit to the employees”, adds Danadea. ("Tällaista globalisaatiota ei voi hyväksyä": HS 30.09.2011)

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly references to companies cooperating with Nokia, Nokia’s subcontractors and other operators in addition to Nokia (“3rd party”), take the fourth most commonly attributed framing codeword at 13,7%. In downsizing reporting 3rd parties often were Nokia partners or subcontractors bearing the brunt of Nokia's increased demands for competitiveness. In the latter case this category also illustrates the scope of the collapse of Nokia-related manufacturing in Finland overall. In the case of outsourced labour to 3rd parties being later downsized, the media made the link by referring to these employees as “ex-Nokians”.

Those following the ongoing discussion on the effects of globalization were hardly surprised by the notification by [Nokia's subcontractor] Perlos [to move their mobile phone manufacture away from Finland]. It has been repeated time and again over the last few years that simple manufacture will move from expensive Finland to China and other cheap labour countries [...] Helsingin Sanomat published a report last spring how the personnel of 11 Finnish subcontractors has changed from 2001 to 2005. The number of employees in Finland decreased by 11% while the overall number of employees more than doubled. ("Kännykänosien valmistus katoaa Suomesta": HS 16.01.2007)

After Nokia announced it would change its smartphone operating system from Symbian to Microsoft's Windows Phone, Digia released a stock value alert, shutdown a site, and downsized its
staff. [Digia CEO Juha] Varelius reminds readily that change is a part of business. Nokia's change in strategy is, however, exception in the speed and scope of the implementation. [...] Nokia plans to reduce 4000 jobs and outsource 3000 employees involved with Symbian to the consultancy company Accenture. According to Nokia, Accenture will become a "significant partner" in smartphone development. This spells trouble to companies that have previously acted as software development subcontractors for Nokia, according to Pekka Ylä-Anttila, a researcher at The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy [Etilä]. ("Nokian kumppanit muuttuvat - Alihankkijoilla suurin myllerrys vasta edessäpäin": HS 29.04.2011)

Elcoteq's long descent ended in a total collapse. Wealth is fleeting in the technology sector. A chapter in Finnish industrial history draws to a close, as electronics manufacturer Elcoteq went into corporate reorganization procedures brought on by financial difficulties. [...] Manufacturing different electronics components Elcoteq rose into prominence in the upsurge of Nokia and Ericsson at the turn of the millennium. In top form the company's factory at Lohja employed over 600 people. The production levels at the factory in Estonia amounted to a quarter of all Estonian exports in the early 2000s. [...] Elcoteq ran into difficulties four years ago when Nokia ended co-operation with the company almost completely. Simultaneously the main office of Elcoteq was moved abroad. ("Hyvästi miljoonat": IS 20.07.2011)

Mobile manufacturer Nokia denies the claim by trade unions that the company had outsourced downsizing actions to its partners. Nokia's subcontractor Tata Consultancy Services notified on Tuesday that it will sack up to 290 employees that transferred to the company from Nokia at the end of March. 460 employees transferred from Nokia to Tata. ("Nokia torjuu väitteet irtisanomisten ulkoistamisesta": HS 25.04.2013)

Political framings ("politics": 12.8%) were present in the data. The typical political statement was to express displeasure in Nokia’s downsizing activities and strongly call for – but never demand or suggest specific policy to enforce – corporate social responsibility. Politicians in Finland only became active after their German counterparts did in relation to the closure of Bochum; the downsizings during Elop’s tenure became so notable that politicians had to comment on them. The division of political commentary was notably weighed towards the end of the timeline, with 68 out of 71 instances taking place in 2007-2013.

Politicians would have to comment on such controversial events, even if their comments often were to the effect that there was nothing they could do in terms of intervening in lawful corporate actions. In one case from 2012 the lack of political measures available was even the headline of the article ("Hallitukseilla vähän konsteja": HS 15.6.2012). Political arguments had to rely on moralistic stances, as rationality arguments were held firmly by corporate profitability claims. Instead politicians would demand that the state or public sector would provide assistance to those being let go by Nokia and the larger local social impact of job loss. The role of politics, in short, was that of (economic and social) crisis management. Public policy had to react to Nokia’s actions, but when it did so, it was within the realm accepted, hegemonic economic policy that prioritized the
markets (e.g. tax cuts: "Pekkarinen: Nokian vähennysten varalle verohelpotuksia"; HS 26.02.2011).

2300 factory workers in Bochum are threatened with unemployment, complemented by a couple of thousand more workers dependent on Nokia's factory presence. The wave of protests [following the closure announcement] has been exceptional even in German terms, as several top politicians have openly advocated for a boycott of Nokia products. ("Nokia jättää jälkeensä katkeruutta ja nimikkorautatietä Saksassa": HS 19.01.2008)

In Finland Nokia does not have to fear riots when it shuts down activities, relocates corporate functions without warning, pressures its subcontractors, or sacks employees. In Germany, for instance, the closure of the Bochum plant became a huge scandal. German top politicians publically canned their Nokia phones and participated in mass-demonstrations. Nokia and the Nokia Siemens Networks have cut hundreds of jobs in Finland, too, but there have been no protests.[...] Here corporate restructurings are considered everyday risks, which politicians comment even more carefully than what goes on in Russia. Even the Minister of Economic Affairs Mauri Pekkarinen (kesk) stated he understood Nokia's need to close down its factory in Germany as it moves manufacture to Romania, which is cheaper. ("Mellakoita Saksassa, työntät Suomessa": IS 14.09.2010)

President [of Finland] Sauli Niinistö finds that news of Nokia's downsizings speak volumes of contemporary times. Born and raised in Salo, president Niinistö commented on the news yesterday morning. [...] Niinistö noted that great success is often quickly followed by a great loss. The current economic laws have taken us to a very demanding economic model. According to president Niinistö, society has to bear its share of responsibility over the downsizings [in terms of supporting downsized personnel]. ("Niinistö järkytti": IS 15.6.2012)

The [Finnish] government is to investigate if the Oulu region can be designated an area affected by sudden structural changes due to staff reductions by Nokia. The Salo region already has this designation due to Nokia's earlier cutbacks. The designation qualifies for public funds to be diverted to employment and business subsidies above the general level. In the spring the Salo area received almost five million euros in subsidies to cope with the structural change. [...] Finance Minister Jutta Urpilainen (SDP) spoke to HS after the Parliament question time and told that the funds in the budget reserved for sudden structural changes will be all spent after this latest round of downsizing. "It is clear that will need to draft an additional budget in the Autumn, but I cannot say yet how large it will need to be.” The director of the Bank of Finland Erkki Liikanen stated that Nokia's reductions didn't really come as a surprise, given the decrease share of the electronics industry of overall Finnish production. According to Liikanen, the crucial factor for the future is the competitiveness of Finnish industry altogether. Finnish competitiveness has weakened in the last years, as unit labour costs have increased in Finland faster than in many competing nations. "Competitiveness has to be improved in order to attract investments. Through that we can keep and create jobs,” Liikanen said. ("Hallituksesta vähän konsteja”: HS 15.6.2012)

While visiting in to promote Finnish exports, Minister of Housing and Communications Krista Kiuru (SDP) had strong words for Nokia regarding the company's latest round of redundancies. The mobile manufacturer announced on Thursday that it was cutting a thousand jobs in Finland. Kiuru reminds that she is in India to help Finnish companies - including Nokia - with the problems they may have with local authorities. The minister objects to Nokia announcing downsizings and outsourcings at the same time. [...] At the same time the minister admitted, that the government has very limited means to intervene. "We cannot do more than state that a private company has to acknowledge its social responsibility also at home [...]”. ("Kiukkuinen Kiuru paheksuu Nokiaa": HS 19.01.2013)
The chairman for the Center party Juha Sipilä objects to former Nokia CEO Stephen Elop's severance pay. Corporate leaders have an obligation to show responsibility, Sipilä said relating to the payment. According to Sipilä, Elop's payment in the millions does not send a good message in the current economic situation. Appearing on [the Finnish public broadcaster] YLE on Saturday morning, selling Nokia's mobile phone business amounted to the sale of 'national property'. ("Sipilä paheksuu Elopin palkkiota": HS 29.09.2013)

A large part of Finland's success from the mid-point of the 1990s to the mid-point of the 2000s was not success on a national level, as we thought, but the success of a single company - Nokia. We have now returned to a state of normalcy, Minister of Economic Affairs Vapaavuori begins [the interview]. I don't think that in the modern history of western countries there has been another case where a single company has so positively impacted the economy of a single nation to the extent that Nokia did in Finland. Nokia, in a way, warped the numbers of the Finnish economy, Vapaavuori adds. A Nokia-hangover is a lamentable state because it is not brought on only by lost jobs and euros. Spending billions from Nokia, politicians could create automatic spending-dispensers in the public sector, which Finland can no longer afford. These dispensers are, however, extremely hard to dismantle. Proof of this can be seen in the constant difficulties of the government led by [prime minister] Jyrki Katainen to implement a structural reform, which consists mostly of different public sector savings, finalized in the Autumn. We didn't realize, that Nokia's success could be only temporary in nature. The permanent spending dispensers were built on temporary success. ("Nyt iski Nokia-krapula": IS 19.11.2013)

The framing codeword for “public sector” refers to the public sector in terms of officials or public finances. Though far less frequent (35 instances meant the frame was present in slightly over 6% of the press articles), was directly linked to the interface between “society” and “politics”: public stood for public officials or the public sector being involved in Nokia. Typically the frame signalled the use of public subsidies involved in Nokia’s activities. However, given that the dataset covered only articles that focused on consolidation or downsizing news, the role of the public sector was often very similar to that of politics: reactive. In some cases, however, Nokia’s decline had prompted local public officials to be more proactive to find new economic growth for areas already impacted by Nokia’s downsizings. ("Oulu ei halua kuolla Nokian mukana": KL 18.06.2012)

The sixth most common category dealt with the highest corporate authority (“CEO”), which is referred to or cited in an eighth of all media material (12,5%). Management trailed considerably behind with only 7%, meaning Nokia representatives altogether could be seen as managing still less visibility than their employees and employee representatives (see Table 6). There is less overlap between “CEO” and “management”, as usually only one or the other was cited. The CEO would act as an authority to interpret the direction of the markets, arguing that Nokia’s actions are always dependent on market behaviour. The CEO predictably takes the centre stage as an identifiable figure: the employees are typically interviewed as a group, rather than individuals, whereas the CEO is individualized and personalized through his many appearances. Though the CEO
could appear somewhat antagonistic to the other frames, in many cases reporting that focused on the CEO alone was quite humanizing.

According to CEO Ollila, the reasons for the slowdown in growth can be found both in mobile phones and networks. “Both markets have experienced a slowdown to an equal degree.” [...] According to CEO Ollila, future actions will be determined by market development. “The development of the markets determines how our activities will be adjusted.” (”Nokian tulosvaroitus tuli sokkina markkinoille”: HS 13.6.2001)

The CEO of the networks company Nokia Siemens Networks (NSN) Simon Beresford-Wylie assures that despite the difficult situation in the markets, no more job cuts will impact Finland. [...] The profitability goal for the following year has been set to a single digit, which is less than Ericsson’s respective number, 12 percent, in July-September. "I am not satisfied with it, but one has to deal with the facts,” says Beresford-Wylie. [...] The uncertainty that plagued NSN for almost three years has also taken its toll on the CEO. Some of the messages he has received have been very aggressive. "I have received a lot of hurtful feedback. We managers are not monsters. We have at least managed to keep 7000 jobs in Finland.” (”Nokia Siemensin toimitusjohtaja: Ei enää lisää työpaikkojen vähennyksiä”: HS 06.12.2008)

The value of Nokia shares as gone down more than 40% within a year due to wavering investor confidence in the company. [...] Rather than blaming Elop alone, the fault lies in problems that have accumulated for years. (”Nokia murros – Elopin Nokia käy kohti tuntemattomata”: HS 21.09.2011)

Before 8 AM on a Friday, Elop enters the empty cafeteria of the Nokia corporate headquarters. He is as serious as he was in Thursday’s grim press conference. [...] He [Elop] does not want to discuss his emotions further. One gets the feeling that under no circumstances is he looking for pity. "In this situation I would rather not think about myself but all our employees affected by this pain,” Elop says. He describes the past Thursday as difficult for the entire company. (“Elop teki uuvuttavan työviikon - Nakian johtokunnan kokouksessa tapahtui keskiviikkona jotain odottamatonta, kertoo toimitusjohtaja Stephen Elop”: HS 16.06.2012)

Union representatives or “unions” are referred to or cited in 9,3% of the articles, which indicates the limited role trade unions have played in Finland among high-tech white-collar workers. Trade union shop stewards were also included in this category. In Finland, trade unions have been considered a legitimate participant in socio-political struggles regarding wages and terms of work. In the early 2000s, more than 70% of working Finns still belonged to a trade union/employee organization62. The existence of strong unions and centralized bargaining between employee and employer representatives have been an integral part of the Finnish welfare state. The globalization of labour has increased the pressure of decentralizing the bargaining power of the unions, but it was expected to find trade unions well represented in media discourse.

Some trade unions (SAK, Pro) were more vocal and ready to be quoted. Union leaders would be expected to comment on behalf of employee interests and the

62 These statistics are openly available at the Findikaattori website. The statistics of the membership in employee organizations is available only in Finnish, however, at http://www.findikaattori.fi/fi/36
various political protections of labour, especially in Finland (and in Germany in the Bochum case). Unions would seek to highlight the responsibility a company bears of its employees, especially when reducing staff. Altogether union representatives and employee concerns form a formidable countering frame against the market supremacy or the discourse controlled by Nokia representatives (approximately 30% of articles with some overlap: see Table 6).

The unions, however, were often quoted as a matter of course in downsizing events, whereas union action was described as ineffectual ("Insinöörien epätempaus": HS 13.03.2007). In other words, the unions are expected to protest, but they are granted very low expectations of efficacy. The reporting suggests that workers look to the unions, but simultaneously are unwilling to commit to any labour actions (or even react with hostility to trade union activism: "Toimihenkilöt: Nokia Siemensa täyttettävä ensin avoimet työpaikat": HS 08.05.2007). It is hard to say to what extent union pressure relating to corporate social responsibility (e.g. "Hurjan paljon irtisanotaan": HS 05.05.2007) motivated Nokia to implement the Bridge program. One could argue that at least in terms of media representation, the weak showing of efficacy by the unions and the weak attachment that highly skilled labour has for the unions in turn depicts how labour union identity and related societal power relations have changed in the era of globalization.

[According to the vice president Matti Viialainen of The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) "Global economic growth has only benefitted the basic metal industries. UPM [Finnish forestry company] just went through the largest corporate restructuring in Finnish economic history, and Nokia has cut down its number of Finnish subcontractors." While downsizings continue, the number of employed people in Finland has grown by 50000. "Even though the economy is on a roll, the growth is not distributed equally. Instead, societal structures are changing." [...] Viialainen thinks it is important to finalize a new law regarding the co-operation negotiation under the current Parliament, rather than postponing it to after the elections. "A reform of the co-operation legislation is sorely needed. It is obvious, that the old legislation is merely a law about downsizings," Viialainen says. ("Suurten yritysten irtisanomiset lisääntyivät talouskasvusta huolimatta": HS 06.01.2007)

The peculiarities [regarding union protests of Nokia's downsizing] speak volumes of the dilemma facing Nokians and other highly educated workers. Pressured by continuous co-operation negotiations and tightening terms of work, many look to the unions to guard their interests. On the other hand, very few workers want seem like militant union activists, and even less so when their jobs are on the line. ("Insinöörien epätempaus": HS 13.03.2007)

Information of the new round of downsizings at Nokia Siemens Networksin (NSN) sparked anger among the company's German employees. "We've received the information with rage and shock," commented the Georg Nassauer, the chairman of NSN's German shop stewards by

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63. From the perspective of politics it is noteworthy that Antti Rinne acted as the union leader of the Union of Salaried Employees from 2005 to 2010 and of Ammattiliitto Pro from 2010 to 2014, after which he was elected the party chairman for the Social Democratic Party of Finland in May 2014. He also served briefly as the Minister of Finance for less than a year between 2014 and 2015.
Most of NSN’s German employees, including the engineers, belong to the German metal workers’ union IG Metal. [...] In their statement the council of shop stewards demands that NSN’s leadership offers alternatives to downsizings. ("Saksassa "raivoa ja järkyttystä": HS 05.05.2007)

[The chairperson of the Union of Professional Engineers in Finland Pertti] Porokari believes, that yet another round of co-operation negotiations will increase feelings of uncertainty among the workforce. "Employees have to constantly fear for another round of co-operation negotiations. This hardly is in the best interests of the employer either, seeing how an employee working under constant fear is not motivated or productive.” Porokari also demands that Nokia honours its social responsibility commitments by participating in the retraining efforts of sacked engineers. "In the 1990s Nokia demanded society to increase engineer training to meet its demand. It received, for free, highly educated and well-trained workforce, that it now proceeds to callously cut. The employees trusted in Nokia, and now in return Nokia cuts their jobs.” ("Insinööriliitto vaatii Nokiaa kantamaan vastuunsa": HS 18.03.2009)

Jari Ruokalainen, the shop steward for Federation of Professional and Managerial Staff (YTN) at Nokia is concerned that the company has ended up in a spiral of co-operation negotiations. “It is really tough going. Just as we finish one round of negotiations, a new round starts,” Ruokolainen says. ("Nokia Siemens aikoo irtisanoa 120 työntekijää": HS 28.04.2010)

The voluntary severance package (“VSP”) referred to a deal Nokia offered to employees in units facing reductions (see discussion in previous chapter). While the voluntary severance package could be generous, and companies are under no obligation to provide them, they also effectively buy the company out of more substantial or cohesive social responsibility obligations. These packages were quite commonly mentioned as something that was made accessible to leaving Nokians in 8% of the articles, whereas the Nokia Bridge Program (“Bridge”) was only referred to by 9 articles (1.6%) of the data. It is possible that the low visibility of Bridge is off-set here by additional articles written specifically about the Bridge program by these newspapers that focused more on the program itself, and not in the downsizings.

General news of employee “compensations” also appeared in several (31) articles in the dataset. Combined, the different frames of corporate social responsibility through voluntary severance packages, the Bridge program, or other forms of employee compensations – as self-serving for Nokia’s corporate image as they may have been – appeared in one form or another in over 15% of all press articles. This gives Nokia’s claims to being a responsible corporate actor more public visibility and plausibility. The positive boost of the Bridge program was noted as media visibility apparently brought customers to the start-ups (“Nokian raunioista kasvaa uusia ituja”: KL 28.11.2013), and according to the news articles the exceptional re-employment program also garnered broader interest ("Harvard ja EU kiinnostuivat Nokia Bridgesta”: KL 27.11.2013). On the other in some cases the level of compensation was deemed excessive in the press (as it was by some
employees: Rönnqvist, Hakonen & Vartiainen 2015), though still less by comparison than in Bochum ("Tuhdit potkurahat": IS 03.06.2011).

According to German newspapers employees at Nokia Siemens Networks (NSN) are even too eager to leave the world’s second largest tele-network company behind, especially in Berlin. The reason for this dearth of employees is the sizeable compensation package that the company offers to those willing to resign voluntarily. On the other hand, the merger of Nokia and Siemens into NSN has been received with some bitterness by the Germans, which is why many have sought alternative employment. [...] Those NSN employees who resign voluntarily will receive, according to unconfirmed reports, up to 200,000 euros in compensation. Many will move first into the re-employment program offered by Nokia, and from there to new tasks. Due to a good overall economic situation, capable high tech professionals are in demand in Germany. ("Nokia Siemensiltä lähtee liikaa väkeä": KL 28.11.2007)

Nokia’s top management met with the representatives of the employees of the Bochum plant in Helsinki on Monday. The informal meeting was attended by Nokia’s CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo and the chief shop steward of the Bochum plant, Gisela Achenbach. [...] The purpose of the informal meeting was to lay groundwork for the employee compensations for the downsizing action. Sources say the Germans have been satisfied with discussions they’ve had, feeling that Nokia’s management gave thorough answers to all questions posed. ("Nokian ylin johto taipui keskusteluihin Bochumin työntekijöiden kanssa": HS 22.01.2008)

Nokia paid fired Bochum workers with families between 70,000 and 80,000 euros in compensation. In Finland the offered severance packages have been smaller by tens of thousands of euros. ("Mellakoita Saksassa, tyyntä Suomessa": IS 14.09.2010)

"We’re going to begin talks with the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the cities affected regarding how we can support the retraining efforts of those let go, and for example entrepreneurial activity. We will look to Nokia’s Bridge program for an example, but we will create our own employee support program. The discussion regarding severance packages will also start next week,” says [NSN’s director of Finnish operations Pekka] Soini. ("NSN:stä irtisanottavielle on paljon ottajia": KL 02.01.2012)

There was also open-ended speculation about the future in the articles, but far less so than in the press releases (compare “futurism” in over 23% of divestment/consolidation-related Nokia press releases, but only 6.2% in media articles). This is assumedly because the press is less prone to create a positive impression or provide an optimistic outlook of Nokia’s downsizing actions unless an outside analyst or specialist expresses confidence that Nokia is on the right track.

"Nokia has previously estimated that the unit sales for mobile phones will grow by 10% at most in 2007, but now the estimate is revised to more than 10%,” the CEO of Nokia Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo told Helsingin Sanomat. “I see no reason to lock down Nokia’s market share growth goal to even 40%,” Kallasvuo enthused in a conference call with investors on Thursday afternoon. According to Kallasvuo, the goal could be set higher. ("Nokia tavoittelee nyt jo yli 40 prosentin markkinasuutta": HS 03.08.2007)

Small and medium sized companies carried their weight last year in employing former Nokians. [...] It is clear, however, that the recruiting capacity of these companies is limited compared to the massive change taking place at Nokia. The number of open positions in the sector has dropped from 300 to 200 in the last year. [...] Next autumn will be a watershed moment for former
Nokians, as the financial support offered by Nokia draws to an end. Nokia has supported new companies started by downsized staff, studies, or re-employment efforts through the Bridge program. The over 400 companies founded under the auspices of the program will have to prove their worth now. ("Entisten nokialaisten syksy voi olla synkkä": KL 11.06.2013)

On Tuesday the media was full of debates whether or not Nokia made the right call in selling the mobile phone business to Microsoft in light of the 3rd quarter results [of 2013]. Based on the numbers it seems like it had been the right call to make. [...] What is left is smaller, but healthier, business. ("Terve bisnes jää jäljelle": KL 30.10.2013)

The last quote above could also be understood as a statement of core competency (see 6.1.1), which showcases the logic that activities can be cut as long as “core competency”, the central functions (of profit-making) remain. This paring of the organization to its core competency is implicitly a way to boost the organization’s competency by shedding “excess weight” and becoming a leaner and thus more efficient operator. In tone this “cutting of excess fat” is comparable to the references of cutting overconsumption in austerity discourse.

The so called socio-political axis of framing codewords (“society”, “politics”, “responsibility”; “sustainability was mentioned in less than 10 articles and was as such dropped from the second round of close readings) do altogether form a countering frame to the supremacy of market-centred representation and thought. The frame for responsibility was practically completely subsumed by other speakers, meaning that either unions or politicians called for corporate responsibility specifically, although Nokia was also willing to acknowledge its responsibility. One could argue that Nokia’s implementation of the Bridge program serves as evidence of the social practice of corporate responsibility, even if in terms of frames visible in the press articles it fared poorly. It would perhaps be more accurate to consider “responsibility” together with “VSP”, “compensation” and “Bridge”, although aside from “Bridge”, the scope of corporate social responsibility is reduced to money ("Nokia lopetti arvostelun rahalla": HS 12.04.2008).

Altogether the socio-political axis is visible in up to 40% of the articles, overtaking “markets”. However, there is considerable overlap between these categories, and they were not treated as being mutually exclusive, but indeed more like mutually reinforcing. In essence, the volume of the socio-political axis may not be notable in terms of its qualitative strength to influence the argumentation. Similarly, reactive responses from the society, politicians, employees and unions was often also seen in the frame of “backlash”, which was visible, but only in 6% of the press articles. As was to be expected, the backlash also mounted as controversial corporate actions started to increase, with 31 of the 34 instances
Backlash events included employee walkouts and union protests, but in the dataset the Bochum case by far became the centrepiece of public backlash against Nokia. Bochum included employee, local and political protests, and notably consumer protests, accounting for a little less than a half of the backlash framed news, and in so doing highlighting how badly the handling of the event went from Nokia’s perspective. Though discussed already in previous close readings, the reputation loss for Nokia seemed obvious (as was the drop in sales: Sucher & Winterberg 2015a).

In some cases the backlash took a more serious form when courts were involved. To depict this, the framing codeword “litigation” was used in the categorizations of Nokia press releases. Problems leading to litigation were noted most visibly in the Bochum case during 2008 (9 instances), but also in a tax-dispute between Nokia and the state of India in late 2013, as Nokia was divesting from its Chennai plant (11 instances). It is interesting, however, that litigation news are between states (the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen in Germany, and India) and Nokia regarding potential subsidies or tax breaks received by the company. The events in Bochum have already been discussed, but India deserves a note here, given that it was primarily covered by KL, which in one article stated outright this is politically motivated, and decries such craven motives that utilizes populist anti-corruption sentiments India is turning into a problematic investment for business (“Verojahti on poliittista pelää: Nokian veropiina Intiassa jatkunee vielä pitkään”: KL 13.12.2013). This frame, mitigating corporate wrongdoing in favour of vilifying populist political motives, was rather expected from business news favouring globalization and free investment.

Finally, litigation also links potentially with the framing codeword “regulation”, which speaks of the regulatory requirements Nokia had to fulfil to complete the acquisition of new holdings. The merger of Nokia Networks and Siemens was a major subject of regulatory discussion, given that the new merged company would be the second largest operator in the market and would thus need to be confirmed by the authorities (“Nokia pyrkii Siemens-fuusiolla verkkomarkkinoiden hallitsijaksi”: HS 20.06.2008). As with “litigation”, “regulations” were often cited in the discussions relating to the closure of the factory in Bochum and later in the tax debate in India. Finnish regulatory environment was not discussed in the media (nor was it specifically mentioned in the press releases either): aside from acquisitions, regulations only became an issue when Nokia sought to divest from its holdings. In this sense one might suggest the regulatory structure functions largely as it has been intended. Other frames were considered too overlapping and
added very little to current analytical framework, so they will not be discussed further at this stage.

6.2.2 Newspaper articles: Anatomy of Discursive Power

Following the work on business news in particular (see e.g. Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007), some of the close readings suggest that pro-market frames are easily adopted in the mainstream press. An overview is offered here on how the different newspapers represented thematic frames as points of view overall and individually per newspaper on the timeline. Each of the articles was set against the backdrop of divestment or consolidation news. The previous categories from the previous chapter (Table 5) were combined into specific points of emphasis that form the journalistic frames (Druckman 2001; Scheufele 1999). The figures created illustrate which aspects were most emphasized thematically in journalistic reporting on Nokia downsizing events over the timeline.

Eight broad thematic frames serving as specific points of view in the press were selected in the end, which were considered to include all the main themes present in the articles. For example, “analysts & experts” describes the degree to which industry experts or financial analysts were given authority to comment on Nokia-related news. Future-oriented statements, in turn, stand for “futurism”, or future-oriented discourse. The legend in the figures describes which codewords were included under which theme. As before, the themes were present in the text in an inclusive manner: many articles could have one or several frames attached to it (maximum of four codewords per article), but never competing ones. In effect, an article did not (or could not) make a pro-market and a pro-societal argument at the same time. This lends support to the conception of frames – particularly journalistic ones (Druckman 2001) – as ordering the discourse of the article.

Most articles could be classified as “hard” economic news in the sense that they emphasized the represented facts and figures rather than bringing out any wider implications of downsizings for the various stakeholders (e.g. employees). Thus a typical news item especially between 2007 and 2013 only featured information relating to the amount Nokia organizations affected and the number of people being laid off. The protests (“backlash”) over downsizings seemed to peak in 2007-2009 (in relation to Bochum), but when Nokia’s troubles continued, the downsizings were less and less protested. This could be seen as some level of hegemony over the inevitability of restructuring; the focus was moved from
employee protests to employee concerns. There seemed little point in fighting against the inevitable in the persistently worsening economic situation of the company judging from the media content in 2010-2013.

Figure 21. All thematic frames in all newspapers

Figure 22. Thematic frames in Helsingin Sanomat
Meeting expectations, Figure 22 shows HS having the largest distribution of points of view. Though HS had the largest amount of articles, the distribution also shows the relative focus of KL in its core news content and audiences (Figure 23). It should be noted, though, that with the lowest number of articles attributed, the frame distribution in IS (Figure 24) is less informative than the ones on HS and KL, as there were years where Nokia downsizing news did not feature at all in the newspaper.

The tone set by IS was noticeably grim; all references to Nokia’s future after 2010 were rather bleak, cynical or sceptical in nature. This finding would seem to confirm Reunanen's (2003: 503) claim that Nokia's economic priorities received
less coverage than the economic priorities of the employees in tabloid coverage. This, in turn would seem to confirm Goddard's (2000: 88) hypothesis that tabloids are poorly prepared, or even disinterested in, complicated or technical economic argumentation. As such, the experience of “the Finn in the street” is prioritized to increase the appeal of the articles. While this is a different approach than the market-oriented framings present in both of the other newspapers, it is also possible this approach sells the audience short, i.e. focuses on experience and emotion without discussing any actual alternative to the economic frames beyond representation. As such, there are very few alternative frames that would challenge the natural primacy of markets in a constructive way.

Although KL features the social and political aspect more strongly in 2011-2013 than would fit the profile of the business newspaper, this was in part driven by the positive reporting on the outcomes of Nokia’s Bridge program to Finnish society and economy (“Ex-nokiaiset perustaneet satoja yrityksiä”: KL 27.11.2013). These instances of increased societal arguments coincide with the increase of references to the Bridge program. KL’s brand of futurism was also positively geared, and as such closest to the way Nokia perceived of its future: each round of downsizing would allow the company to start anew with a more competitive configuration (“Uusi Nokia aloittaa puhtaalta pöydältä”: KL 30.10.2013), only to fall short again. The increase in litigation and regulation frames is explained by Nokia’s tax issues in India, which were covered almost solely by KL.

These were the frames found in the material, but agency in the press remains unclear. Following the precepts of both critical discourse analysis and framing theory, discursive power and framing power, respectively, can be located in the frequency of being used as a source for a news story. Not everyone gets quoted in an article, and those who do get a chance to present their argument to the journalist. The journalist will, as is the nature of the media, engage in mediating that argument to the wider public. As such, it is worthwhile to consider who gets a voice – in relation to other voices – in the press material regarding Nokia’s consolidation or divestment news.

Close readings revealed the positioning of the various speakers, audiences, and stakeholders represented in the news coverage. It seems the quality of the source (i.e. high status) related to the attention is focused on the speaker, and the direct representation of their message. In so doing, the media gives additional credence, authority and visibility in the matter to an individual speaker (or a strictly limited group of speakers). Quotations in the news stories were tallied in Table 6 to give an idea who held the discursive platform the most consistently in the reporting.
Table 6. Distribution of turns at speech between various stakeholders in Nokia downsizing events in press articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turns at speech</th>
<th>Quotes (N)</th>
<th>% of all articles</th>
<th>% of all quotes (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12,48 %</td>
<td>9,21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9,09 %</td>
<td>6,71 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nokia representatives</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,60 %</td>
<td>1,18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokia total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>23,17 %</td>
<td>17,11 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee representatives</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>9,98 %</td>
<td>7,37 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union representative</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>9,27 %</td>
<td>6,84 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers total</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>19,25 %</td>
<td>14,21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysts and experts</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7,66 %</td>
<td>5,66 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4,99 %</td>
<td>3,68 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>12,66 %</td>
<td>9,34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other groups total</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>25,31 %</td>
<td>18,68 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>760</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To understand better how these groups were categorized, “CEO” and “management” were separated with the latter including both Nokia managers and the Nokia Board of Directors. Given how aligned the operational management and the Board were at Nokia, no further separation was made. Other Nokia representatives were people speaking on the behalf of the company but more difficult to classify. Often Nokia representatives acted as calming, considerate voices in the discussion, drawing on their granted expert inside knowledge of the business environment and the company. Nokia representatives could share important information of current and future developments with the media, and the larger societal audiences by proxy. These explanations could be quite abstract in nature with underlying optimism, interestingly similar to the tone of the press releases (and “futurism”, in particular), but they were presented from a position of at least some implicit authority granted to the upper echelons (of power) also made them desirable targets to be cited.

According to the Nokia CEO Jorma Ollila there is no need for further staff redundancies, unless there are significant changes in the market outlook. At the end of June Nokia notified of reductions affecting 1000 employees in its Networks division. (“Ollila: Uusia irtisanomiaia ei ole tulossa”: HS 20.07.2001)

Nokia defends its decisions to increase outsourcing by wanting to expand the network of its suppliers, benefit from the innovations offered by outside manufacturers, and increase the
Nokia's HR director Juha Äkräs admitted last night in Düsseldorf that the closure decision is a "disaster to employees and their families". "But when the company's competitiveness is at stake, tough decision are best done well in time." Employees willing to be interviewed at the gate to the Bochum plant opined that if German employees are too expensive for Nokia, shortly the same will apply to Finnish ones, too. ("Yllätyspotkut järkyttivät ja itkettivät Saksassa": HS 18.01.2008)

The communications director for Nokia Arja Suominen told the AP news agency that the company is open to discussions, but the decision itself will not change. "Our decision is based on facts and has been done after a through consideration." ("Nokia-vastaäsuus kasvamassa joukkoliikkeeksi Saksassa": HS 18.01.2008)

"Securing in Nokia’s competitiveness and ensuring our profitability will safeguard our future investments. We are going to be investing in new fields of business. We act to respond to tough competition, and prepare for even tougher competition to come," [says CEO Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo]. [...] "I have in all discussions on company values emphasized, that in open globalized competition no company can guarantee life-long jobs." Nokia intends to show its responsibility in the aftercare of the [Bochum] factory shutdown. ("Nokian toimitusjohtaja: Avoimessa kilpailussa ei ole elinikäisiä työpaikkoja": HS 24.01.2008)

"The need for staff reductions is primarily due to the necessity of adapting our business to the current economic conditions in the markets to ensure our long-term competitiveness," said Pekka Soini, the head of operations of Nokia Siemens in Finland. ("Nokia Siemens aikoo irtisanoa 120 työntekijää": HS 28.04.2010)

"Competition in the markets has become even tighter, and we have to increase the company's competitiveness", says Niklas Savander, director for the markets unit at Nokia. [...] "All our planned actions will ensure Nokia’s future competitiveness. What has happened between February and September has increased our faith that we have made the right decisions," Savander says. ("Nokia varautuu ankaraan kilpailun": HS 30.09.2011)

Even without Nokia’s own framing of the event, and beyond the company's own argumentative structures put forward by its various spokespersons, the media itself actively created a pro-market frame that benefitted Nokia's line of argumentation. Shareholder interests are represented as a key legitimizing element to downsizings. In this discourse downsizings tend to be considered a meaningful and important instrument of shareholder value creation (Hirsto & Moisander 2010: 112). Indeed, a reporter for KL commented that reductions WILL increase shareholder value, and as such organizations cutting staff also signal the markets that they are solid investment targets (“Globalisaatiota suomalaisittain”: KL 05.01.2004).

“Employees” and “employee representatives” were merged into one category; most typically the commenter was the employee representative given his (or her) representative status. Employees rarely spoke in the press without anonymity. Nokia’s official communications strategy actively discouraged personnel from commenting to the media. Similarly, “union representatives”
meant representatives of workers’ unions, often offering an official countering frame much more so than the employee representatives. While employee representatives tended to focus on their local particularities within Nokia, union representatives viewed the situation more broadly: union representatives would serve as the official platform for socio-political concerns. For example, employee representatives might be more optimistic about the future than union representatives. Both of these groups, though, were quoted less in the press than Nokia’s representatives.

The outrage surrounding Bochum may radicalize the European trade unions and labour movement according to Mikko Mäenpää, the chairman of the Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees. The labour movement, angry at Nokia's behaviour, wants that European politicians make companies respect their responsibility over their workers even by force. [...] Mäenpää notes that for the Finnish labour unions it is not a simple thing to challenge Nokia, which is extremely important to Finland overall. "Nokia's mission is to create a profit for its owners," Mäenpää noted. This is one of the fundamental differences between Finnish and more European labour unions: In Finland the competitiveness and productivity of companies are considered as given goals to pursue. "According to the more European conception the company's mission should be to offer jobs," [Mäkelä adds]. "Bochum innoittaa Euroopan ay-väkeä uusiin vaatimuksiin": HS 08.02.2008

The network company Nokia Siemens Networks has lost over thousand employees in the last 18 months to other employers. Including people that have taken the voluntary severance package more than 1500 employees have left the company of their own will. Pertti Arpalahti, the chief shop steward for the Federation of Professional and Managerial Staff (YTN) says it is a sign of lost belief in the future of the company as well as poor job satisfaction. "The company's personnel policy has been brutal: the layoffs have been large and the terms of work have been weakened," says Arpalahti. ("Yli tuhat työntekijää päättänyt lähteä Nokian verkkoyhtiöstä": HS 19.11.2008)

"Nokia has been a good employer. Now it has lost all credibility," chief shop steward Kalle Kiili summed up. According to Kiili, Nokia staff [in Jyväskylä] cannot understand the company's cost savings, and especially not the divestment of the Jyväskylä site. The notification of co-operation negotiations forced all employees to focus on their own economic future. People have bought houses and taken up mortgages. How can they cope with the repayments? ("Nokian uskottavuus hyvänä työnantajana loppui": HS 19.11.2008)

"Employees have to constantly fear for another round of co-operation negotiations. This hardly is in the best interests of the employer either, seeing how an employee working under constant fear is not motivated or productive.” Porokari also demands that Nokia honours its social responsibility commitments by participating in the retraining efforts of sacked engineers. "In the 1990s Nokia demanded society to increase engineer training to meet its demand. It received, for free, highly educated and well-trained workforce, that it now proceeds to callously cut. The employees trusted in Nokia, and now in return Nokia cuts their jobs.” "Insinöörlitto vaatii Nokiaa kantamaan vastuunsa": HS 18.03.2009

"This sort of globalization cannot be accepted,” [says the vice-president of the central Romanian labour union Cartel Alfa, Petru Danadea]. Danadea claims that Nokia’s decision [to shutdown the Jucu factory] is a good example of how multinational enterprises exploit states for various subsidies for their business. “This was the companies can grow their profit margins without any benefit to the employees”, adds Danadea. (“Tällaista globalisaatiota ei voi hyväksyä”: HS 30.09.2011)
Employee discourse lacked substantive information and was markedly reactive and emotional, focusing on how the employees experience the news. The asymmetry of information was a typical feature of the employee and union representative discourse. In the articles the employees and union representatives failed to seize any sort of discursive initiative, signalling an asymmetry of discursive power. The case of Bochum showed, however, that larger support could be mobilized in exceptional circumstances that could overthrow this asymmetry.

Instances of “analysts” and “experts”, predominantly industry or financial analysts commenting on Nokia changing fortunes, were also tallied. Some commenters were communications experts or researchers who had studied Nokia for a long time. Analysts and experts tended to support Nokia’s goals, as was somewhat expected. While there was no real dominance of expert opinion over other discursive voices, the findings here seem to confirm the claims of relatively homogenous expert opinion by Junkkari (2014), Pajari (2003) and Parviainen (2014). Industry experts and financial analysts are, after all, engaged in the ideology and discourse of their profession, which tends to prioritize competitiveness and profitability. The pro-market economic frame received more support than challenges from these commentators.

The world's most famous expert of business leadership Tom Peters believes that even Nokia employees can look forward to tough times. Peters, a successful bestseller-strategist, expects massive downsizings. [...] "When the markets grew fiercely, Nokia tended to hire useless staff in marginal roles. Extra fat had accumulated everywhere, and now is a good chance to get rid of it," claims Peters. ("Nokian johto ei ole pitänyt kuluja kurissa": KL 27.01.2009)

According to experts Nokia will continue with staff reduction in the spring. The former Nokia manager turned Nokia-critic Juhani Risku welcomes Stephen Elop's start as CEO, which has been marked by notification of further staff reductions. Risku believes a new wave of reductions will hit Nokia next Spring. According to Risku, this won't be the last time Elop will cut jobs. The new round of downsizings in the spring are expected to influence 500 people, 250 of which from Finland. [...] There have been larger staff reduction rounds at Nokia every few years. An investor expert interviewed by IS supports Risku's prediction. The expert considers further reductions not only as likely, but as a given. The expert notes that Nokia has still to seriously cut expenditures, even though its smartphone business has been struggling over several years. There is room to cut, and now there's also a need to cut. The expert says it would be odd to see the end of staff reductions with the announcement given today. According to him restructuring is Elop's main task. [...] It seems clear that the company is bloated. ("Vasta alkusoitto": IS 22.10.2010)

Outsourcing employees [...] is a good thing for the company's cost structure, assessed the chief strategist of the investment company Front capital’s Jussi Hyöty. "Accenture was a bit of a surprise. I hadn’t expected this kind of a decision,” commented Hyöty. [...] "In my estimate Nokia is still reducing less staff than it should,” Hyöty says. ("Hyöty: Ulkoistaminen järkevä ratkaisu Nokialta": KL 28.04.2011)
In addition, while comments made by journalists were not categorized separately, the frames and the discourse offered by financial journalists (i.e. journalists writing for the financial news section of newspapers, or for a business newspaper) should be addressed here. When the journalists took it upon themselves to comment on the events, their comments often followed the overall frame of the article. However, if the article had no human-interest frame, the reporting tended to favour the pro-market discourse as if it were a default frame. From this perspective journalists not only acknowledge Nokia’s needs to restructure, but their choice in discourse explicitly legitimizes it.

The changes at Nokia pose a difficult challenge to Finnish society, but a challenge that must be met. [...] The new majority government, hopefully starting their work soon, has to evaluate the feasibility of our innovation mechanisms through public subsidies, look for new tax incentives for corporate R&D activities, and seek new ways to encourage risk capital investments. All these are sorely needed. ("Nokia on iso haaste Suomelle": KL 28.04.2011)

In terms of a potential societal or political response, the separation between “Local government” (local officials from municipalities or regional governmental bodies) and “Politicians” (of the national level) was made. These groups had a surprisingly strong showing in the data, superseding Nokia’s turns at speech. Local government officials tended to express hope and resilience of the local communities at the face of adversity ("Nokian lähtö synnytti useita yrityksiä": KL 22.12.2009). This is perhaps understandable, given that the municipalities hurt by Nokia’s departure also need to hold on their appeal as a business and industry centre which has great promise to its citizens.

The employment officials of these cities don’t consider the situation to be catastrophic. [...] "The labour market has remained active, despite the Oulu region shedding hundreds of jobs. So far high tech designers have been absorbed into other companies due to high demand. Of course, if there is to be mass redundancy, the situation can turn more difficult," according to Erkki Holma, the Oulu region employment office director. ("Nokia Siemensin irtisanotut työllistynevät hyvin": HS 08.05.2007)

The data also shows that especially politicians were often and visibly quoted. It is typical in the Finnish press to note the party affiliation of a commenting politician, which also gives a chance to look at the party position of those politicians commenting on Nokia. Surprisingly though, party allegiance did not come up in the press articles as reliable predictor of political discourse. Political spokespersons were often members of the government parties, and while they might voice their displeasure at Nokia’s conduct, they would also readily admit there was nothing they could do about it, in any proactive sense. As consequence,
both members of the National Coalition (party) and Social Democratic Party were at a loss as to how to deal with Nokia.

The identification of the root cause of the problem, however, could slightly vary. Politicians commenting from related positions of power in the economy would have relatively predictable solutions to offer, especially if they were from a party that espoused free market principles. For example, Minister of Economic Affairs Jan Vapaavuori claimed that a large structural change was hitting Finnish business and industry, which could not be solved through cyclical stimulus policy, but would need to include tax incentives and additional investments ("Suomen ahdinko pahenee": HS 28.06.2013). To the contrary, public sector expenditures would need to be cut, as Nokia’s decline and Finland’s continued economic slump served as proof positive of their unsustainability ("Nyt iski Nokia-krapula": IS 19.11.2013).

Even the Minister of Economic Affairs Mauri Pekkarinen (Centre party) stated he understood Nokia’s need to close down its factory in Germany as it moves manufacture to Romania, which is cheaper. ("Mellakoita Saksassa, iyyntä Suomessa": IS 14.09.2010)

The director of the Bank of Finland Erkki Liikanen stated that Nokia’s reductions didn’t really come as a surprise, given the decrease share of the electronics industry of overall Finnish production. According to Liikanen, the crucial factor for the future is the competitiveness of Finnish industry altogether. Finnish competitiveness has weakened in the last years, as unit labour costs have increased in Finland faster than in many competing nations. "Competitiveness has to be improved in order to attract investments. Through that we can keep and create jobs,” Liikanen said. ("Hallituksella vähän konsteja": HS 15.6.2012)

At the same time the minister admitted, that the government has very limited means to intervene. "We cannot do more than state that a private company has to acknowledge its social responsibility also at home [...]". ("Kiukkuinen Kiuru paheksui Nokiaa": HS 19.01.2013)

We have now returned to a state of normalcy, Minister of Economic Affairs Vapaavuori begins [the interview]. I don't think that in the modern history of western countries there has been another case where a single company has so positively impacted the economy of a single nation to the extent that Nokia did in Finland. Nokia, in a way, warped the numbers of the Finnish economy, Vapaavuori adds. A Nokia-hangover is a lamentable state because it is not brought on only by lost jobs and euros. Spending billions from Nokia, politicians could create automatic spending-dispensers in the public sector, which Finland can no longer afford. […] ("Nyt iski Nokia-krapula": IS 19.11.2013)

Given that there were over 557 articles in the dataset, and 760 quotations were marked, that many articles include at least one turn at speech by a party, and that two thirds of the articles had no quotations from additional sources. Some articles may have been published before a quote or comment could be acquired. Still, this suggests that while there may be some autonomous reporting within the journalistic frame, most news events require outside commentary, either from the principal agents (Nokia representatives), those affected (Nokia employees or union
members), and possible outside sources to weigh in with expert opinion (e.g. financial analysts).

6.2.3 Newspaper articles: Aggregate Argumentation Scheme

Nokia’s importance to the Finnish economy was, perhaps duly, stressed in the media articles. The problem this caused for Finland was one tied to its discursively constructed social reality, which disseminated in the media, equating the country and the company. Since Nokia’s rise happened in the relative downturn of other industries (see Chapter 4 and Häikiö 2001c), where Nokia’s ascendancy arguably offset previous economic structures, the implicit question became what, then, would or could replace Nokia in the Finnish economy? The media was obsessed in finding “a new Nokia for Finland”, both home and abroad. It is perhaps worthwhile asking have Nokia’s public legitimacy crises had a spillover effect on Finland’s own legitimacy as a successful exporting economy. Of course, in the context of the European financial crisis, it is hard to judge causalities with so many overlapping contributing elements.

The analysis follows the argumentative scheme in chapter 6.1.3 (and chapter 2.1.1: Figure 3). The model is not, and cannot be fully balanced to equally represent all argumentative elements. As seen in the thematic frames visualized in Figures 22-24, a treatment based on volume would leave only the pro-market argument as a dominant frame with limited discursive nuance. The close readings above serve as the point of departure for filling in the argumentative scheme. This is the key point of comparing and contrasting the argumentation between these three conceptually different areas of public discourse. The argumentation structure requires that these discursive elements are first set out textually, and then placed into the scheme to show their interaction. Following the structure set out by the Faircloughian argumentation model the key argumentative structure of the press articles will be discussed. This time there is no official voice, but rather a polyphony of different voices across time and newspapers, converging on an aggregate argumentation scheme. Separate journalists were not distinguished in the analysis.

The multiple voices competing for dominance in the press articles were a challenge for the argumentative scheme, risking a convoluted structure that could at times be self-contradicting. While the Faircloughs do offer more nuanced argumentative structures (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 140-142, 229) that account for several viewpoints, the solution offered here is to create two separate
and oppositional argumentation schemes based on the competing pro-market and societal frames. In so doing, it is possible to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of argumentation supporting and opposing Nokia’s downsizing actions separately.

The argumentative structure that is supportive of Nokia is presented first to outline all the positions of authority that fall in line with this scheme. As a result, the objections and counter-claims are dealt with only briefly in Figure 25. The opposing arguments are gathered in Figure 26, flipping Figure 25 around to allow for a more spacious analysis of the countering points. Thus Figure 25 and 26 should not be read as entirely separate, although they have been separated for purposes of clarity. They exist, as it were, horizontally, with the main claim of Figure 26 serving as the counterclaim of Figure 25, and vice versa.

**PRO-MARKET ARGUMENT**

**Claim**
It is necessary to “secure Nokia’s competitiveness and ensure our profitability” to safeguard “future investments”.

**Circumstances**
Given that the “competition in the markets has become even tighter”, company competitiveness has to be increased. Nokia has accumulated “fat”, and has waited too long to “rightsize” its operations. Modern global business environments are complex and dynamic, i.e. constantly changing and volatile.

**Goals**
Nokia aims to increase its competitiveness and meet the challenges posed by a tightened market in the future. Nokia’s continued success is important.

**Values**
Nokia’s CEO has emphasized that “in globalized competition no company can guarantee life-long jobs”, but Nokia will also show its social responsibility when dealing with the aftermath of site closures and/or staff reductions. Nokia will in 2011-2013 emphasize this commitment through the Bridge program, or by offering monetary compensation to reduced staff. Nokia’s first value has to be the generation of shareholder value.

**Means–Goal**
Adopting the plan of action will achieve the goals.

**Competitiveness**
The proposed action will “ensure Nokia’s future competitiveness”.

**Efficiency**
The proposed action will get rid of the “extra fat” that has accumulated in Nokia’s organization.

**Consequences**
The consequences of the action support the claim: Nokia’s competitiveness is increased and its future is secured

**Argument from authority [Nokia]**
Nokia management supports downsizings to control Nokia’s cost-structure. The actions proposed are presented as “based on facts” having been “thoroughly considered”, increasing their deliberative appeal.

**Argument from authority [press]**
People granted a position of power in the media discourse agree with the claim, adding their prestige to the argument. Media experts and
analysts support downsizings in order to control for Nokia’s cost-structure. There is both “room” and “a need” to cut down Nokia’s organization, and it is high time to get rid of it. Further staff reductions are accepted as given.

Addressing counter-claim Nokia admits that people losing their jobs has painful consequences, and these decisions are not taken lightly. However, the decision is forced on by economic necessity. In other words, a site closure may be “a disaster to employees and their families”, but “when the company’s competitiveness is at stake, tough decisions are best done well in time.”

Counter-claim The proposed action is not the right thing to do, as the effects of the consequences of mass redundancy, according to the objections raised by employees and unions, are largely unacceptable. Companies do not take social responsibility seriously.

Objection Nokia has a social responsibility to its employees. Downsizings will cause considerable human suffering in terms of lost jobs and excessive downsizings will hurt Nokia’s productivity, as an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty sets in and employees lost faith in their future with the company.

Negative consequences Both downsized employees and remaining employees will suffer.

**Figure 25.** Pro-market argumentation scheme aggregated from press articles
SOCIETAL (PRO-EMPLOYEE) ARGUMENT

Claim  Nokia should not commit to massive downsizings.

Circumstances  Nokia is a major employer that has committed itself to behaving like a responsible corporate citizen. Nokia’s troubles are acknowledged, but its handling of mass redundancy is deemed overreacting. Nokia is still a profitable company. Nokia has been able to grow its “profit margins without any benefit to the employees”.

Goals  Companies should take social responsibility seriously. Nokia should honour its commitments and hold on to its employees is a responsible and sustainable manner. This will help Nokia’s continued and future success.

Values  Nokia represents a wrong kind of globalization that “cannot be accepted”. A company’s mission should be to offer “jobs”, not just pursue competitiveness. Employees have to be motivated and have belief in the future of the company. Companies should be good employers, but Nokia has “lost all credibility”. Nokia’s action are tantamount to betrayal, and its personnel policy has been “brutal”.

Means–Goal  Adopting the plan of action will achieve the goals.

Consequences  Nokia behaves as a responsible employer, employee suffering is minimized and employees are more productive.

Argument from authority [unions]  Politicians should make companies “respect their responsibility over their workers even by force”. Nokia has demanded the Finnish society to conform to its needs, and in return “Nokia cuts their jobs”. However, “In Finland the competitiveness and productivity of companies are considered as given goals to pursue”.

Argument from authority [politicians]  Politicians emphasize that companies have to honour their commitments to social responsibility. However, politicians have very limited means to intervene: ”We cannot do more than state that a private company has to acknowledge its social responsibility also at home [...].” Finnish politicians understand companies’ need to leverage locations for cheap labour. Instead, politicians should rather look to tax incentives or other pro-market ways to foster economic growth and business-friendly environments: national ”competitiveness has to be improved in order to attract investments. Through that we can keep and create jobs”. Since Nokia had “warped the numbers of the Finnish economy”, the Finnish public sector’s expenditures have become unaffordable.

Counter-claim  Downsizing is the right thing to do to retain Nokia’s competitiveness and future growth

Negative consequences  Overtly emphasizing employee interests will have a detrimental effect on company profitability.

Objection  Private companies have to prioritize shareholder value. It is necessary to increase Nokia’s competitiveness to meet future market challenges.
Figure 26. Societal (pro-employee) argumentation scheme aggregated from press articles

Figure 26 shows the difficulty of mounting an argument against pro-market elements: two arguments from authority (unions and politicians) ceded their original objection in favour of supporting the counter claim. While union statements demanded Nokia to act responsibly, they also acknowledged that corporate priorities are legitimate, in effect reaffirming the differentiation into primary and secondary values as in Figure 25 of the pro-market argument. Politicians similarly demanded Nokia to honour its commitment to social responsibility, but used the argument as a redirecting platform to discuss national competitiveness. Nokia’s troubles became indicative of problems in Finnish public finances.

The elements can hardly be seen to offer any substantial pro-employee support. In other words, these two arguments from authority do not seem to support the premises and the proposed action at all, and they are marked in the scheme accordingly. In effect, these elements are either ambivalent or do not contribute directly to either the claim or counter-claim. As such, they have been included in Figure 26 in a non-standard form. Arguably the elements do implicitly delegitimize the proposed claim to action, which relies on corporate social responsibility (i.e.
prioritizing employees and society over profits). The non-standard argumentation elements are, however very important to understand the difficulty visible in the dataset of mounting a pro-employee (or societal) argument. Figure 26 also shows the narrow range of mutually supportive premises: there are no arguments from authority made on the side of the employees. The asymmetry of information makes it harder for the employees to mount a plausible argument (Erkama & Vaara 2010).

From the perspective of Finnish society it is surprising and perhaps even remarkable that not even the unions managed to mount an institutional challenge to the markets (and capital). The union argument rather seems to acknowledge “economic realities”. In terms of setting corporate profitability against labour interests one implicitly understands that in the case of a multinational enterprise, Nokia's shareholders are not only Finns, and even Finnish shareholders may prioritize their return on investment. The political argument in particular illustrates how an argument on corporate action was repurposed to an argument for political action. This link will be explored further in the following chapter, given how political expediency in repurposing the argument fits into the timeline after the financial crisis. The political argument seems to fall well within the expected parameters of pro-market thinking, and even austerity, when Nokia’s decline is connected to unsustainable expenditures in the Finnish public sector. The same medicine that is proscribed to Nokia is also prescribed to the Finnish state.

The necessity of maintaining competitiveness is a truism that the opposing argumentative structure cannot effectively challenge, perhaps not in small part because it equally reflected in evaluating the success of private enterprise and the national economy (see chapter 6.3.1). An argument scheme limited to non-financial frames and discourse, but set in the ideological realm of market logic, as relatively impotent. Nokia’s dwindling resources also affected the strength of the societal (pro-employee) argument: protesting the closure of the Bochum factory while the company was posting high profitability was intuitively objectionable. As it became clear that rather than mounting a rebound in the markets, Nokia’s profitability continued to spiral, similar protests became less sustainable. Raising awareness of responsibility commitments can, however, possibly affect some positive change in the aftermath of dealing with mass redundancy. The Nokia Bridge program was in that sense an exception in the dataset.

It is noteworthy that pro-market arguments were not challenged by the deteriorating financial standing of the company, but rather reinforced. As operational margins narrowed, even suggesting alternatives became untenable, exemplifying self-legitimizing crisis discourse. This seems comparable with
economic policy, especially in the case of austerity: if implementing austerity policy fails to bring about reduced levels of debt and increased levels of economic growth, then the answer simply is insufficient implementation of austerity. The policy itself is not considered faulty. This is the essence of ideological conviction.

Setting out the key argumentative structure of the reporting when it came to Nokia across all three newspapers was a much more challenging analysis than the one conducted on the press releases, given the multitude of voices present in the media material and thus the multitude of competing frames through individual discourses. However, based on the dataset discursive affinity with corporate discourse and argumentation seems strong. Business reporting portrays corporate downsizing events as inevitable, or as the result of carefully measured strategy to retain the competitiveness. As consequence, the argumentative structure between the press releases and the press articles that sympathize with Nokia’s economic priorities are noticeably similar.

Furthermore, when analysing the frames in the media, the interactive component of framing expected by Dewulf et al. (2009) and Van Herzele & Aarts (2013) was not found. The findings showed that rather than addressing competing frames, the articles tended to stick to their own frames alone. Ironically in some of the highlighted instances politicians and trade unions did engage in reframing of their own arguments, by defusing potential critique by caveats (as exemplified by Figure 26). The lack of sustainable argumentative alternatives may be explained by a claim to an existing consensus: all of media sources here are private enterprises, which operate under market logic. Media discourse does not offer alternative sustainable arguments because there are none. The institutional rationale for pro-market arguments legitimizing downsizings is familiar to journalists from their own experience of corporate restructurings in the media. The media – business media in particular – has very little to gain to go against established common sense of the markets. This is strong indication of the general acceptance of market-based hegemony. While journalists and editors may draw on journalistic integrity, they are also involved in the creation of this discourse. Is it possible that in the era of commercialized media, reporting has become the 2nd value premise to the 1st value premise of generating shareholder value?

Interestingly Nokia’s own contribution to mitigate the negative effects of its actions to local communities was often emphasized in the articles, even more so than it was in Nokia’s press release material. Arguably this shifted focus away from the downsizing actions and into managing their consequences. The Bridge Program served as a significant strategic asset – in addition to being a genuine
program of corporate responsibility – as it blunted societal critique: even when Nokia was becoming increasingly strapped for funds, it launched a sizeable outreach program that effectively defused any protests in 2011-2013.

In Finland the arguments presented were largely understanding of Nokia’s actions, and often in line with the economic logic the company had put forward in its own press releases. Successful management of counter-claims is an important insight of the pro-market argument visualized in Figure 25. Given that media discourse is more dialogic by nature, argumentative structures have to be able to predict and address countering claims and arguments. By claiming necessity and preparedness, rational pro-market argumentative elements, a counter-argument criticizing the timing or the necessity of the claim to action could be somewhat defused in advance. In so doing, this argumentative aspect also highlights the negative consequences of failing to act (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 142). The inferred meaning is that the company cannot afford not to act, now, and decisively. The ever-tumultuous markets are unforgiving of slovenly or indecisive actions.

To conclude this chapter, it is perhaps illuminating to paraphrase a commentary Nokia's significance to Finland on by a veteran political journalist, Unto Hämäläinen ("Mikä oli hyvää Nokialle, oli hyvää Suomelle": HS 22.09.2013): "Nokia in its own way had been a state company, even though it was privately held. […]Nokia's corporate R&D was heavily subsidized by the Finnish state, and engineers were trained to meet Nokia's increasing demand through special programs”. Acknowledging public investment in the company, Hämäläinen also credits aggressive pre-euro devaluations of the Finnish currency as a boost to Finnish exports, and most notably Nokia. This is not to say that the invested did not pay off, given that Nokia's booming profits and intake of Finnish workforce repaid the original investment with interest. At time it had been a national truism to say "what's good for Nokia is good for Finland". Hämäläinen calls this "a unique phase in the co-existence of a large company and small country”. Nokia had leveraged its influence in favour of Finland's decision to join the EU by targeting resistance in political parties and trade unions with persuasive precision. For Finns, Nokia had been more than just a company among others. The coming years will show how Finns come to terms with this national legacy, both politically and socially.
6.3 Political Discourse in the Finnish Parliament

The Parliamentary discussions were accessed online from the Finnish Parliament library system from 2001 onwards. A search into the library database was performed in March-April 2015, using, again, “nokia oy*” as the search term. The data was analysed twice to confirm findings. The search engine gave individual hits for document type (web document and PDF), which were identical. Only single instances of the same document were included in the corpus to remove duplicates. Similarly, as with previous levels of analysis, a longitudinal quantitative analysis was performed, where the instances of “nokia oy*” appearing in these official documents was the most concentrated on a timeline. This timeline (Figure 27 below) includes only documents from the electric service, starting from 2001. As the analysis was weighed in favour of the 2000s already on the previous level of analysis of media coverage, the electronic archive’s limit to 2001 served as a natural cut-off point. The documents from 2000 and before were accessed and reviewed, but not included in the current analysis.

All documents were in Finnish and were translated for analysis. The titles were left untranslated to allow for the tracking of the original documents. The total number of unique parliamentary documents relating to Nokia and submitted to analysis was 162. When placed on a timeline, the documents are spread out somewhat differently than in the other two empirical materials: references to Nokia are weighed heavily between 2004 and 2008 (96 of 162 total). The most notable result from this level of analysis was the fact that Nokia was, in one way or another, a commonly referred to entity in the official documents well before the late 2000s. While 2006-2008 was relatively active, it is interesting to see the instances of referring to Nokia in the material on comparably low level in 2009-2013. There was no correlation of occurrence between layoff news and press releases and political documentation regarding the economic and social implications of Nokia’s actions.

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64 Similarly to previous searches to locate related hits, ”oy*” was added to differentiate between the company and municipality, and to account for the fact that Nokia has been registered as “Oy” and “Oyj”, different corporate forms of organization, in the Finnish registry.
Figure 27. Distribution of Nokia-related parliamentary documents on a timeline 2001-2013

The political type of discussions spanned over several policy documents, such as committee minutes, government proposals, statements, and reports. These committees were ranked by the frequency of the codeword occurrence. All instances of Nokia being visible in official political documents of the Finnish Parliament are tallied in Figure 28 below:

Figure 28. Distribution of Nokia-related parliamentary documents per document type
As one might assume, Nokia was most often discussed in the meeting records and minutes of the Commerce Committee (“Talousvaliokunta”), with 46 instances. The next Committee in order – the Transport and Communications Committee – is an equally logical political arena for a telecommunications company. Nokia was found in 15 documents over 13 years, roughly averaging once a year. This could be considered a bigger surprise, given Nokia’s dominating position in the market. Employment and equality Committee and Administration Committee documents mention Nokia 7 and 8 times respectively, but other committees less than that. Even in an advisory role Nokia would have been expected to be more visible in Finnish politics.

Furthermore, very few instances were valid for analysis, due to format and style. Most committee minutes contain very little discussion or dialogue. The only reference to Nokia often was the acknowledgment of a Nokia representative present, consulted, or invited to be consulted about issues relating to the affairs of the Committee. The encoding for parliamentary documents yielded a much narrower selection of framing codewords, which reflects on one hand the smaller sample size of parliamentary documents compared to press releases and media coverage, but also the very fixed format of parliamentary documents. Only 10 categories were established and the distribution of the codewords is visible in Table 7 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codeword</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of all press releases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>advisory</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>62.96 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>example</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14.81 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>investment</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12.96 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public sector</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.64 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regulation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.02 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokia downsizing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>globalization</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.94 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.94 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.85 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>205</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7.** Framing codeword distribution in Finnish parliamentary documents

The analysis shows that in nearly 63% of all Nokia-related parliamentary documents, Nokia was referred to in an “advisory” role, though it was possible for
Nokia to be the only – or one of very few – corporate representative invited and consulted (“Talousvaliokunnan mietintö 2/2005 vp: TaVM 2/2005 vp — HE 282/2004 vp”). Various committees would consider Nokia a crucial party to invite to give input, either through a representative present at the Committee meeting or a written statement. The advisory role did not yield much interesting data, though, since the statements by Nokia were not included in the documents, but simply the fact that a statement had been made.

Two articles in Helsingin Sanomat (Peltomäki 2013a/b) outlined which committees were most contacted by which advisory groups (business, agriculture and forestry, labour unions, etc.) from 1998 to 2013. While business sector advocacy groups enjoy the highest access to Finnish legislators and policymakers by comparison, Nokia stood out as the fully first privately held company65 on the list. These findings have also been confirmed in an academic study by Hyeon Su Seo (2017: 132-133) and a government research report by Juho Vesa and Anu Kantola (2016): while the public sector is chiefly consulted as a matter of course, business and industry sectors in Finland are well-established and overrepresented parties in consultations in political committee of Parliament.

The parties invited to speak in committees can become relatively entrenched: Halpin, MacLeod & McLaverty (2012: 2: quoted in Seo 2017: 51) in their study of the Scottish Parliament refer to them as “usual suspects”. Vesa and Kantola (2016: 42-43) also note that the resources big interests groups can bring to bear in terms of proactive solicitations of access and breadth of expertise serves business interests in particular well. Business interests account for 47,1% of interaction with public officials in legislative preparations, also partially because of the power of the interest group: without the consent of Finnish business interests, many officials find the preparatory work mired is resistance and obstructions (ibid.).

The next most common category to describe how Nokia was present in the documents is “example” (~15%). This category signals the use of Nokia as an example by way of authority or a point of reference in a discussion relating to e.g. market dominance, or the structural change of companies moving manufacturing jobs out of Finland. This category was a bit more interesting in the sense that it reveals how Nokia is used as a powerful discursive example of high salience: the frames attached to Nokia become important as Nokia can serve as a simple and readily recognizable example or even a symbol of a certain kind of corporate activity. Nokia was referred as a good example of suitable activities especially

65 The list included also companies like Fortum Oyj and Finnair Oyj which are partially owned by the Finnish state: it is not surprising these companies had higher exposure to Parliament.
before the latter half of the timeline. The co-operation of Nokia and the public sector was seen largely as a success.

Päivi Räsänen (KD): "[...] The recent warning from Nokia CEO Jorma Ollila about Finland entering an age of stagnation should be taken seriously. Our country cannot afford to forget the importance of entrepreneurship as the foundation of a functional economy.” ("Välikysymys VK 1/2004 vp: PTK 7/2004 vp")

[The employment services in] Salo have been cost-effective and highly successful. Countless entrepreneurs representing small or medium-sized businesses without resources to dedicate to recruitment have received support at a competitive price from the consultants and psychologists of the employment office, who well versed in the local area. **The recruitment of 400 new employees to Nokia Corporation serves as an excellent example of catering also to large companies with the help of local experts.** ("KIRJALLINEN KYSYMYS 521/2006 vp: KK 521/2006 vp — Mauri Salo /kesk ym.")

Nokia is also present in terms of “investments” (~13%) made by various societal actors, such as pension funds. In other words, these framing codewords were present in the documents dealing with national finances, though as little more than an acknowledgment of the investment. In other words, “investments”, despite being the third most common category, yielded the least useful information in terms of analysis: it merely illustrated that Nokia was considered a suitable target of investment.

The framing codeword “public sector” was used similarly to press articles, denoting explicit public sector involvement through e.g. financial subsidies or engagement with the mass of workers downsized from Nokia. Ten instances of the overall 14 coincided with “example” category, as the example given above also indicated. This indeed meant that Nokia was often used as an example of the public-private interface in Finland where even multinational companies can draw on public sector support in their business. However, here the tone is more readily accusatory, as Nokia’s public subsidies are seen as implicit commitments to the Finnish society. Any suggestions of wrongdoing are immediately frowned upon and commented accordingly.

One written question from 2010 asked directly how the Minister of Economic Affairs would deal with Nokia’s changes in corporate strategy that stood to cause severe downsizings, or even closures, on the part of a Nokia subcontractor having been made redundant. Nokia’s changes are described as elements of unpredictability and chaos that adversely affect small municipalities with little hopes of attracting compensating jobs. The response by the minister, included in the same document, notes that politicians have no knowledge beyond what Nokia has reported, but that actions have been taken in co-operation with Nokia.
"Nokia has promised, however, to show its social responsibility. The problem has become that no one seems to know what this means. The government should hurry to ensure Nokia can offset the losses incurred by its shift in corporate strategy and explains how it will realize its social responsibility commitments.” ("KIRJALLinen KYSYMYS 1340/2010 vp: KK 1340/2010 vp — Krista Kiuru /sd")

"The goal is to find new careers for as many former Nokians or employees let go by Nokia's subcontractors as possible. Nokia has pledged to contribute economically and through its technological knowledge to the implementation of a joint social program.” ("KIRJALLinen KYSYMYS 1340/2010 vp: KK 1340/2010 vp — Krista Kiuru /sd -- reply from Minister of Economic Affairs Mauri Pekkarinen (kesk")

The “regulation” category was also very poor in terms of discourse analysis: all the 13 instances (8% of all documents) dealt with members of the cabinets (i.e. ministers) giving an annual declaration of their holdings in publically traded companies to divulge possible conflicts of interest and financial ties. The report is strictly numeric in nature, and contains very little or no discussion or commentary. This requirement was implemented in 2000. Documented reports of ministers holding Nokia stock from 2003 onward with an average of 3 ministers annually holding Nokia stock between 2003-2013. This is not a majority of the ministers as Finnish cabinets have tended to include 18-20 ministers in various positions during 2000-2013. In other words, holding Nokia stock is not in any way a defining element of Finnish cabinets.

Nokia’s “downsizing” events did have an impact in parliamentary documents, showing 10 instances (or ~6% of all documents). The instances are found at the end of the timeline with one instance in 2010, 2 in 2011, 5 in 2012 and 2 again in 2013. Based on the analysis, before this Nokia downsizings were not specifically taken up or discussed in Parliament, which on one hand shows the non-interventionist attitude adopted in Finnish politics in regards to business, and on the other shows the inherently reactive nature of politics as references to Nokia’s downsizing appeared in official documents only once they were well on their way. The reactions of politicians were limited to funnelling public money into mitigating the negative social impact of Nokia’s downsizing.

For example, the budget proposal for 2013 includes labour training costs: the cost to the state for retraining former Nokians for 2013 is estimated at slightly less than 5,9 million euros. The government intends to apply for compensation from the European Globalization fund for this cost. ("Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle valtion talousarvioksi vuodelle 2013: HE 112/2013": 586). In the supplementary

66 The distribution is as follows: 2003-2004 3 ministers; 2005 4 ministers; 2006 3 ministers; 2007-2008 4 ministers; 2009 1 minister; 2010 3 ministers; 2011 report shows no Nokia ownership; 2012 1 minister; 2013 3 ministers.
budget for 2013 that figure was revised to 7.8 million, and that the costs would carries over to 2014 ("Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle vaation talousarvioksi vuodelle 2013: HE 52/2013 vp": 69). The downsizings were largely framed as opportunities to do something new – as did Nokia Bridge – and the entrepreneurial aspect in particular was emphasized:

Juha Sipilä (Centre party) [response in a debate]: "[...] In these economic times we need new companies. One of the biggest problems with a former Nokian engineer setting up his own business is that entrepreneurs are not covered by full social security. [...] As an entrepreneur myself that some risk is necessary, but apparently we’re losing out on several potential companies due to this ‘incentive trap’. " ("Täysistunnon pöytäkirja PTK 89/2011 vp")

Globalization and markets were also deployed in this material as separate framing codewords – as with media articles – with “markets” denoting a more positive attitude of using legislation to open new profitable markets and the promise of communications technology. “Globalization” in turn denoted a more negative interpretation of global markets, often meaning outsourcing jobs and manufacturing, especially in Nokia’s case to India and China. “Globalization” existed as a concern across the timeline, though intensifying towards the end. Nokia’s strong showing in the Helsinki stock exchange (HEX) is noted – also as an example – of a company which can move the entire exchange ("Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle laeiksi sijoitusrahastolain sekä eräiden siihen liittyvien lakien muuttamisesta: HE 110/2003 vp": 46).

Nokia’s decline was linked to decline of Finnish exports overall and a discussion of applying to the European Globalization Fund for additional funds to cope with the structural collapse of industry and employment in municipalities Nokia divested from. Thus Nokia’s downsizing was understood – possibly for the sake of political expediency of applying for additional funds – as part and parcel of globalization effects. Cheap labour concerns were also voiced, to which the answer seemed to be – by now a rather familiar line – of increasing Finnish competitiveness.

"In January Nokia outsourced over 700 of its Information Management employees to two Indian strategic partners, TataConsulting Services (TCS) and HCL Technologies. Over 400 people transferred to TCS. Some 7 weeks after the outsourcing, TCS announced co-operation negotiations to sack at most 290 of these former Nokians. [a claim that Indian labour can be used to replace sacked Finns omitted] It is not right that a company that operates in Finland sacks Finnish employees through the co-operation negotiations and then imports foreign labour to replace sacked Finns. Finnish labour legislation and visa programs should not allow such activities that undermine the Finnish welfare state." ("KIRJALLINEN KYSYMYS 528/2013 vp: KK 528/2013 vp — Ari Jalonen /ps")

"Safeguarding jobs in Finland in constantly tightening international competition can be best furthered by taking care of Finland's national competitiveness and keeping Finland
as an attractive alternative for companies to set up their business.” ("KIRJALLINEN KYSYMYS 528/2013 vp: KK 528/2013 vp — Ari Jalonen /ps -- reply from Minister of Labour Lauri Ihalainen (SDP)"

The framing codeword “responsibility” for (corporate) social responsibility was explicitly present in only 3 of the 162 documents. One would have expected the discourse of social responsibility to be more heavily present especially in speeches criticizing Nokia’s actions. Instead, the general finding was that not that many official parliamentary documents contained outright condemnation of Nokia’s actions (only 6 out of 162). Thus it would seem that at least through official documents, Nokia was not strongly held accountable for any perceived breaches of corporate social responsibility, and certainly none that would have triggered government/state intervention.

"Nokia has announced it would limit the size of economic compensation to be offered to employees let go from Salo’s discontinued mobile phone factory. [...] The Finnish state has supported Nokia during its years of success by tens of millions in R&D subsidies. Between 1997 and 2009 the subsidies paid to Nokia by Tekes rose to over 160 million euros. The state must demand that Nokia honours its social responsibility commitments equally by offering the same compensations to employees to be downsized now as it did in the spring. All corporate subsidies received by Nokia are to be repossessed and used to ease the employment situation.” ("KIRJALLINEN KYSYMYS 576/2012 vp: KK 576/2012 vp — Jyrki Yrttiaho /vr")

"[...] [As a public institution,] Tekes has in certain cases, set out in law, a duty to repossess subsidies according to its judgement. These decisions are left to Tekes according to the regulations that govern its activities, and there is no need for the government to take any actions regarding the issue.” ("KIRJALLINEN KYSYMYS 576/2012 vp: KK 576/2012 vp — Jyrki Yrttiaho /vr -- reply from Minister of Labour Lauri Ihalainen (SDP")"

Honouring social responsibility commitments was visible in these instances. However, corporate social responsibility was apparently by and large left to the companies themselves. Political control through promoting CSR is not discussed, and as such a political form of CSR, as expressed by Scherer and Palazzo (2011) is not entertained. The final framing codeword, “security”, relates to concerns over the security of rapidly developing communications technology from 2001, where Nokia is seen as the resident expert in corporate security, thus earning the company an advisory role in the related Committees. This category yielded no fruitful analysis.

After examining the corpus, it was determined that the parliamentary documents mentioning Nokia were not very useful for argumentative analysis. Of the 162 documents 54 were minutes, which reduced the de facto usable corpus for discourse and argumentative analysis down to 108, and in most of these the reference was otherwise oblique. Nokia’s possible influence is likely not locatable
in explicit form. As was hypothesized based on the lack of references to politics in Nokia’s press release material, it seems likely that a company would seek to make its influence covert to avoid legitimizing interventionist actions. Still, some politicians referred to a breach of societal trust: public subsidies served as an assumption of quid pro quo between the nation and the company. In this, Finnish politicians were very similar to their German counterparts relating to case Bochum seen in the media material.

To move forward with the analysis, it is prudent to turn to other forms of political discourse to track how market and societal logic interact in politics. The next chapter discusses the argumentative structures put forth in selected national budgetary speeches.

6.3.1 Political Discourse: Finnish National Budgetary Speeches 2001-2013

Selecting the introduction of the Finnish national budget as a point of reference for comparative argumentative analysis within this work is more intuitive than it immediately seems. Nokia does not, of course, influence the formation of the Finnish budget in any direct sense. It has not been the purpose of this analysis to claim a direct link of influence, but rather follow the dissemination of discourse and argumentative logic across three very distinct levels of empirical material. This means moving away from explicit references to Nokia to track the elements of economic speech and reasoning in political discourse. The analysis was reoriented to a specific genre of political documents that contain more argumentative elements. A budgetary speech would be serve as a natural platform for the measuring the similarities of corporate economic logic and state economic logic. As stated in chapter 6.2, the fate and fortunes of Nokia have been very closely linked to perceptions of the fate and fortunes of the Finnish state. Although Nokia promoted the market frame, its actions ironically would require the Finnish public sector to mitigate the impact of downsizing actions through public funds. But with decreased state income such actions risk becoming fiscally unsustainable, and call the state to re-evaluate its capacity for societal commitments.

As such, arguments for spending cuts will become part and parcel of the national budget. The introduction of the national budget, given by the Minister of Finance, will become a de facto argumentative forum to legitimize budget cuts in public services (comparable to consolidation) but also a vehicle for delivering promise of a better tomorrow (comparable to futurism). In essence, the budget
becomes the Finnish state’s annual equivalent of Nokia’s quarterly results, where the management – the government – tries to convince the audience of the necessity and legitimacy of their plan going forward. The selection of budgetary speeches for argumentation analysis by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012; 2011) also supports the same selection for this analysis, even though the respective argumentation structures differ. The Finnish budget proposals discussed here provide policy documents well before the financial crisis and several years into it, which allows comparing possible similarities not only between the national contexts, but on a timeline as well.

The analysis covers four budgets between 2001 and 2013. Budget speeches give an opportunity to observe arguments from different government coalitions in different times of economic fortunes for Finland. Post-2000 Finnish cabinets are majority governments with a relatively established base of power in Parliament. Table 8 lists the budgetary speeches available for 2001-2013, the finance minister and their party affiliation, and the consistency of the government at the time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Prime minister</th>
<th>In office</th>
<th>Government coalition</th>
<th>Minister of Finance</th>
<th>Budget proposal for</th>
<th>Document ID</th>
<th>Cabinet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.9.2001</td>
<td>Paavo Lipponen (SDP)</td>
<td>15.4.1999 - 17.4.2003</td>
<td>Left-right coalition (National Coalition; SDP; Left Alliance; Greens; Swedish People’s Party)</td>
<td>Sauli Niinistö (NC)</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>PTK 86/2001 vp</td>
<td>Lipponen II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.9.2002</td>
<td>Paavo Lipponen (SDP)</td>
<td>15.4.1999 - 17.4.2003</td>
<td>Left-right coalition (National Coalition; SDP; Left Alliance; Greens; Swedish People’s Party)</td>
<td>Sauli Niinistö (NC)</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>PTK 97/2002 vp</td>
<td>Lipponen II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 Fairclough & Fairclough (2012; 2011) cover UK politics, where government coalitions are narrower, given the dominance of two primary parties. The Finnish case will broaden the discussion to include more diverse party selections in government and opposition.

68 Finnish cabinets have been based on majority coalitions since 1979.

69 The Jäätteenmäki government was excluded given its tenure of only 70 days in office before Vanhanen I.
Table 8. Finnish national budgetary speeches delivered by year

For the purposes of analysis, a total of 13 budgetary speeches were canvassed to create the dataset. Four speeches from different cabinet configurations were selected to maximize the diversity of the dataset.

Table 9. Selected Finnish national budgetary speeches for argumentation analysis

All four speeches are markedly speeches given at the end of a government’s term in office, giving the budget proposal for an election year (in the third case three years of the second Vanhanen cabinet was followed by one year of the Kiviniemi cabinet, which was tasked with carrying the electoral term to its end after Prime Minister Vanhanen lost an intra-party leadership struggle).

Table 9 illustrates the rather limited diversity of Finnish cabinets in 2000-2013: the position of Minister of Finance has been held by the National Coalition and the
Social Democrats respectively. In fact, these parties have kept this position between themselves in every Finnish government since 1987 (though both parties have not been in government simultaneously every time). This speaks to the power of these parties, as the position of the Minister of Finance is often considered the “second position in government” right after the Prime Minister. As such, in Finnish coalition governments the PM and the Minister of Finance are typically not from the same party. By happenstance the data covers budgetary speeches and policy proposals between parties that are historically positioned to the right and left in terms of the Finnish political economy.

The speeches also reflect different eras for both Finland and Nokia; in 2002 globalization drove national and private economies forward, 2006 notes a high point before the economic crisis, 2010 has both Nokia and Finland a few years into the unfolding of their respective yet intertwined crises, and 2013 serves as the last point on the timeline when Nokia’s mobile phone business was continued and the company’s impact in the Finnish economy had dramatically decreased.

Party popularity in the timeline has remained relatively fixed: the three largest parties are the Social Democrats, the Centre party, and National Coalition (electorally and in survey data usually at >15%), whereas the Greens, the Left Alliance, the Swedish People’s Party and the Christian Democrats poll closer to 10% or less. In practical terms this meant that cabinets would be typically formed by two of the three big parties with an assortment of the smaller ones. This reflects the distribution of seats in Table 8 and 9. The phenomenal surge in popularity of the Finns party70 starting in 2008 (see Figure 29), however, changed these dynamics, with the Big Three turning into the Big Four. The rise of what is considered a populist party also reflects political trends in many other Western European nations during this time.

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70 The party was often referred to as “True Finns” in English, but in 2011 the chairman of the party Timo Soini opted for just “Finns” as the official English translation of the party. The official translation is used here throughout.
It should be noted that this research does not mean to link party popularity directly to political argumentation – this connection is not tested here – but party popularity may serve as an interesting macro-political context on party platforms and strength of cabinet integrity.

The budgetary speech is usually delivered to Parliament in mid-September, which allows the government to take stock of year and use that as basis for future predictions. To complement the argumentative structure given by the Minister, the dialogical nature of the speech is taken to account. Party representatives are allowed to offer rejoinders, challenges, and rebuttals. It is customary for each party to offer their comments, and after that open the floor for general debate. Parties in government typically back up the Minister, whereas opposition parties challenge the claims with their own. A stronger dialogical nature than in the two previous datasets is assumed, as the session of Parliament is specifically planned for delivering an argument and allowing responses. This would also give a chance to observe interactive framing processes expected by the literature (Dewulf et al. 2009; van Herzele & Aarts 2013).

The analysis of responses to the speech is limited to the official statements from the parties. The analysis proceeds by first setting out the Finance Minister's primary argument, and then the secondary supportive or countering arguments from the Parliament parties. A separate argumentation scheme will be drafted for
each speech, with parts of the speeches provided – translated – to support the construction of the scheme’s various elements. In each case the entire speech has been translated, but abridged – only segments will be included to supplement the analysis in the next chapters. The translated abridged transcripts will be included for each argumentation structure to exemplify how the different elements were selected. The full transcripts of the selected speeches will be included – in Finnish – in the Appendix. This will also allow for an assessment of the accuracy of the translations offered here.

It should be noted, however, that the debate does not determine the outcome in terms of political actions: in the case of budgetary speeches the decision by the government on how to allocate resources has largely been already made. In other words, the counterclaims cannot be expected to be effective beyond discourse at this stage. While the budget can be subject to change, it is not going to change as the direct consequence of partisan debate at this stage. For example, no acceptance by voting is necessary. As such, the parliamentary procedures surrounding a budgetary speech are somewhat similar to media discourse: in theory opposing combinations of discourse-frame-ideology can be mounted, but only on the argumentative level. In essence, there is interaction but it is largely a formal procedure, not actually engaging in deliberation. While a budgetary speech could be construed as a proposal, the act of giving the speech is more akin to informing both internal and external audiences (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 212-213).

Fairclough & Fairclough found in their own work (2012: 201) that persuading the opposition is not even its main purpose. There is a considerable secondary communicative dimension to political debates centred on a high-profile event such as the budget: outside audiences. The government lays out its case for the budget and the opposition predictably contests it, not so much to convince themselves but the larger public. The budget debate is the full public expression of political discourse that has happened largely unseen by the public thus far. It is an argumentative legitimating event for the political parties in terms of their ideological agendas: what is the state of the national economy and what is the correct way to take it forward? The budgetary text expresses both discourse (text) and intent (social practice).

When evaluating the practical argumentation put forth by the Minister of Finance, it is often difficult to tell – as it was with Nokia’s press articles – whether or not the arguments were correct at the time. Argumentation analysis has to look at policy necessarily from the benefit of some hindsight to better evaluate the outcomes of the government’s spending strategy (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012:
173-174). On the other hand, evaluating the practical plausibility of the counterarguments is difficult even in hindsight, as assumedly these alternatives had been rejected.

In the following subchapters each budgetary speech will be presented by first laying out the translated argument by the Minister of Finance and the argumentative structure it sets up, followed by a discussion of the responses and the construction of supportive and/or challenging argumentative schemes that arose out of the response transcripts. The Finance Minister’s speech is included in full in the text, with specific parts picked out for the argumentation scheme (with line numbers for reference). The analysis also locates the broader themes (frames) visible in the texts to keep both macro-discourse (frames) and micro-discourse (the argumentation model) in mind, as the theory section suggested. The analysis of the transcripts was done as follows: 1) reading and translation into English in entirety, 2) annotating the text(s) with thematic markers for frames, and particular discourse, 3) abridging the corpus (responses only), and then the analysis.

All speeches and responses were read through twice before the analysis was finalized, and in several cases the analysis in a previous subchapter was slightly amended based on later analyses in subsequent subchapters – especially when drawing lines of consistency in translation or discourse was necessary. Careful attention was paid to translating the statements accurately and without interpretative bias to give as honest of an accounting of the arguments presented. In the case of the responses, for example, not all of the content was directly relevant to the argument at hand, but they were included to give context to the discussion overall. This consideration sought to reduce possible bias caused by abridging the responses too much.

6.3.2 Finnish National Budgetary Speech: Proposed Budget for 2003 (17.9.2002), by Minister of Finance Sauli Niinistö (Kok/NC)

The first budgetary speech to be analysed – by Minister of Finance Sauli Niinistö – was delivered in the Finnish Parliament on September 17th, 2002. The speech was given on September 17th (Parliamentary document PTK 97/2002 vp), and the responses the day after (18.9.2002: PTK 98/2002 vp) by the decision of the Speaker of the Parliament. The Minister’s speech is discussed in the first section – translated and presented in full – and the responses from Parliamentary parties in the second section, translated and abridged (and included in Appendix I when
subsequently referred to). The first document, the speech, contains 1330 words in original Finnish (nearly 1700 words translated). The responses of the eight major parties contain over 12 000 words. The responses are translated and abridged (8700 words), and included in the Appendix. The original Finnish response transcript is not included as it is publically available on the website of the Finnish Parliament.

Some matters of interest that is not explicit in the Parliamentary debates should be addressed before moving on to the analysis. First, although the Greens party is officially credited as a part of the second Lipponen cabinet (Lipponen II), at the time of the budget speech for 2003 the party was in opposition. The Greens left the cabinet after an application to build a fifth nuclear power plant in Finland was approved on May 24th 2002, which ran against the party’s values. Second, the Lipponen cabinets were in Finnish referred to as the red-blue cabinet (“sinipuna”) since its main parties were the Social Democrats (primary party) and the National Coalition (secondary party). These parties could well be described as ideological opposites, which made their match in the Lipponen cabinet an interesting phenomenon. The Lipponen cabinets have been presented, and liked to represent themselves, as the governments that guided Finland out of the recession and into prosperity. This is an important historical contextual element for the first budgetary speech.

The analysis will follow the structure outlined in Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 140-142) in their own treatment of budget and pre-budget reports in the UK with the full speech transcript offered first, then the categorization in the argumentative elements and then the argumentative scheme itself with some elaborating comments. The following is the translated transcript of the speech given by Finance Minister Sauli Niinistö with line numbers for reference to link the text into argumentative elements in the analysis.

71 This number does not include statements in Swedish: as a bilingual country, many parties offer at least some of their comments also in Swedish. Only the Finnish text was used for translation into English.
Madam Speaker!

The outlook for this year and the next, to which this budget pertains, could be characterized, if not downright turbid. In economic terms, for over a year and a half global growth has been desperately sought but so far only uncertainty has been found, and this uncertainty certainly has not decreased of late. It would be more accurate to say uncertainty in the economy has increased.

The anticipated change for the better in the US economy has failed to materialize for the second year in a row. To the contrary, the American stock indicators indicate that the markets remain unsettled. This is the only way to explain the constant daily and weekly flux in the stocks.

Another traditional economic power, Japan, is still wrestling with the same difficulties that have been well known during this same two-year period. In fact, the overall outlook is somewhat muddled by the fact that none of big economic risks that were discovered already at the beginning of 2001 failed to materialize, but they haven’t been positively solved either.

In terms of European economy, one can only acknowledge that all those speeches that predicted Europe as the new locomotive of the global economy have long since been forgotten. Europe couldn’t shoulder that burden. To make just one sliver of positive expectations, the super-elections in the European Union are fortunately drawing to a close in a few weeks, culminating in the German election. There is maybe, just maybe, a chance that regardless of the outcome of the elections, Europe could start to gain new economic drive, something akin to the one that powerfully influenced the mid-1990s only to fade away during the surprisingly good economic growth in the beginning of the 2000s.

All of these predictions of course reflect the state of the Finnish economy. The Ministry of Finance restates its prediction in this budget that economic growth in 2003 would be 2.8 percent, which is in fact a fairly normal rate of economic growth. I myself, on the other hand, have repeat the view that I expressed when this prediction was first made, that the prediction still contains a great deal of optimism.

What, then, should the handling of state finances and budgetary policy be under these circumstances? The answer from the Ministry is very explicit: the budget has to stand for stability in a time when instability is considerable. At least one thing should remain constant, and one thing will be public finances. Any sort of jerking to and fro in the name of economic stimulus or policies or some other doctrine in these circumstances would only lead to an increase in uncertainty and thus most likely to even greater difficulties in the future.

Despite this one has to confess, that holding up expense discipline in a budget is extremely hard. Surely we all still remember the 2001 Midsummer policy deal that the representatives of the parliamentary groups of all the parties in government made.

(interjection: rep. Kalliomäki] Not all parties agreed to the deal!) The ripple effect of that deal will still be seen in the 2003 budget since a balance couldn’t be struck at that time.

We didn’t fall too short, however. At the moment it seems that incurring state debt to cover the state’s overhead will be limited 155 million euros. In addition additional 230 million euros in debt will be taken on to services older debts in advance. This is referred to as conversions, which eases the debt burden in the long term. These numbers mean, however, that while a few year ago the stated goal was to incur a budgetary surplus every year until 2010, at best up to 1.5-2 percent, this goal cannot be reached in 2003.

What are the outcomes of this? I see two primary outcomes. Firstly, in the government negotiations next year balancing the budget must be dealt with much more seriously. These issues will otherwise move forward so that budgetary issues at the end of the decade will become even more problematic than anticipated thus far.

Regarding the incoming money flows of the budget the tax proposal has, of course and once more, elicited the most discussion. It seems like in Finland, too, there is a general theme of seeing reducing taxation on various forms of income would somehow be at odds with the welfare state. This understanding is false. It is not true at all. To the contrary, it could be said that increasing all kinds of economic activity serves the maintenance of the welfare state in the long run, especially in our circumstances where there is a mismatch between the supply and demand of labour. Continuing to lower taxes in low-wage sectors is sorely needed.

(interjection: rep. Kuoppa] The taxes on the rich have been cut!) Now it is possible that despite the support of representative Kuoppa that in the Parliament the group most favored have been those pensioners, whose pension income is double or more the size of median pensions.

(interjection: rep. Elo] That must be from Niinistö’s own statistics!)
I believe this policy has been strongly furthered in Parliament and also surprisingly by parties in government. I say surprisingly so, because no one has yet acknowledged or dared to confess to holding this goal. It seems to be an outcome that has been no one’s goal. The goals of all parties were so disparate that we ended up with this outcome due to so called political realism.

(interjection: rep. Elo) Still haven’t seen those statistics!

This apparently sometimes happens in politics. I will immediately hand over detailed statistics and presentations after this speech that tell a sad tale of this state of affairs.

(interjection: rep. Pekkarinen) Representative Elo should make copies and distribute to everyone!

(interjection: rep. Elo) I will!

Taxation is not, of course the only tool to pursue higher employment and income goals on a national level. This budget has been drawn in conjunction with a working group of undersecretaries that also proposes additional incentives to increase the efficiency of the labour markets. As such, the labour market subsidy can in the future be used to support active employment activities, which is of course a new policy initiative. Apprenticeship training programs will also be increased, and a new five-year plan seeks to improve vocational training. The goal of all these policy measures is of course to stop us from ending up having a shortage of labour with high unemployment levels.

If we think of the public sector as a whole, then clearly the demands for efficiency are increasing also in the municipality sector. In the municipality sector this means also structural reforms, specialization, and constant competitive bidding for public service procurement. The last item also applies to the state.

Another popular topic for discussion in relation to the budget, and I understand popular again this time given the letter you’ve all received, is the relationship between the state and municipalities, which has been intentionally turned into a problem. I believe it is rather unnecessary to set two parts of the public sector at odds. I will, however, give brief descriptions of what the budget proposal means for this relationship.

It is indisputable next year the municipalities as a total end up in a more favourable position vis-à-vis the state than this year. Depending on the way it is calculated, the municipalities benefit between 40 and 130 million euros. If we look at the larger picture, and especially compared to the highest numbers, the state’s financial balance has decreased by 3 percentage points in relation to the GDP compared to 2000. The municipal sector’s related number has also decreased, but only by 0,6 percentage point, or a fifth of the state’s loss. I believe this should be taken into account by anyone who – sometimes purposefully – seek to cultivate the perception that the state was the enemy to its municipalities, and vice versa.

All this explains, of course, how the state has taken up a considerably larger share of the risk of economic fluctuations that has crept into public finances quickly yet significantly. From here on out we must be prepared that public finances, the municipalities but especially the state, will be extremely sensitive to macroeconomic fluctuations. It should not be at all necessary to stress once more that living according to peak prosperity and not aligning expenses accordingly, will sooner or later lead to suffering in this game.

If we think the municipality sector as a whole, the increases in expenditures there have completely outnumbered those of the state. Especially during the super-years the total expenditures in the municipality sector grew by 7-8 percent, while state expenditures grew by half as much, even less. I don’t mean to say by any means that every municipality did this, but some did. The municipal expenses were enabled by top earnings without wanting to understand that they wouldn’t necessarily last forever.

(interjection: rep. Pekkarinen) I believe the duties of the municipalities have also been increased?

It is true that municipalities have also seen an increase in duties and investments, which also appear as increases in expenditures, but even you representative Pekkarinen, might consider restraint when the duties of municipalities are increased by Parliament; I certainly cannot recall you opposing them.

(interjection: rep. Pekkarinen) I’m pretty tough on these things!

Madam speaker! All in all, although the economic outlook is not the best, with the proviso that the Ministry of Finance’s growth estimate for 2003 – 2,3 percent – is accurate, and I do mean that by the proviso that it is realized, we’re settling in for quite normal economic growth. We simply have to understand that the time of winning the lottery is simply for the moment over. It may be that the next winning ticket will be filled in by the next generation, but we can make do with these levels of growth. It simply means that we understand that we’re not living in a country that is overflowing with wealth.
From the transcript it became immediately apparent that the floor of Parliamentary debate was a very different discursive arena compared to the previous datasets analysed. There were eight interjections from members of Parliament, which forced the Minister to address these comments. Most notably some of the comments called for the Minister to provide statistical data to support his claims in what appeared to be more controversial claims (ll.56-65). The Minister promised to make the data available after the session of Parliament.

The claim the Minister make is simply, and completely expectedly, to argue for the approval of the budget proposal. The Minister immediately draws on the apparently endemic chaotic nature of the global economy (and markets) as a circumstantial premise. The Minister refers to abstract economic risks that have not materialized but have not been solved either (ll. 10-12). By comparing the Minister’s statements to Figures 8 and 9 in chapter 3 (the overall economic indicators for the performance of the Finnish national economy), there are clear signs of a slowdown after the post-recession economic boom. The indicators would seem to support the Minister’s cautiousness.

The goal expressed by the Minister is budgetary balance, which can stand for stability in unstable times (ll. 25-26). The goal, in short, is budgetary discipline. Public finances should be managed consistently with care and with an eye on the expressed long-term goals of incurring a budgetary surplus every year until 2010 (ll. 39-40). The Minister denies the feasibility of reorienting economic policy as it would only “lead to an increase in uncertainty and thus most likely to even greater difficulties in the future” (ll. 27-29). Thus inconsistency of policy is represented as having negative consequences. Failing to act according to the budget proposal is seen to have negative long-term ripple effects that will manifest as severe economic problems (ll. 34-35, 42-44). There is, however, a reasonable concern that arguing for consistency also argues for path dependency.

The goal is to return to normal – or better – economic growth, but there are no robust signs of growth in sight. The Minister admits that a targeted surplus will not be possible for 2003 (ll. 39-40) and goes as far as to put his own authority against the authority of his Ministry by noting that the current economic predictions are quite optimistic. The Minister ends his speech in a way of summarizing that only if the predictions of the Ministry of Finance are accurate, the Finnish economy is navigating into safer (i.e. normal) waters (ll. 17-22, 104-106). A second summarizing point is the claim that Finland is not a wealthy nation, assumedly to keep the overall frugal frame of the speech in effect. It is interesting, then, that if the Minister does not see Finland as a wealthy nation, he still finds good cause to
promote for reductions in taxation: while specific tax breaks are not mentioned in the budget speech, lowering taxes is described as sorely needed (ll. 50-51).

Taxation, in fact, becomes an issue of values, as the Minister argues that lowering taxation is not – predicting counterclaims – at odds with the welfare state: the Minister employs his authority to flatly state that it is “false”, “not true”, and “to the contrary” increasing economic activity of all kinds helps with the upkeep of the welfare state in the long run (ll. 46-51). This argument exemplifies how strongly beholden Finnish politicians are to the welfare state in discourse. This is why the argumentation scheme (Figure 30) also includes the separation into primary and secondary values, suggesting that primary values tend to take precedence if there is a conflict between the realization of both values. In this case it can be argued that the government is as committed to the welfare state as Nokia is to its employees; this is a true value, but subservient to what are represented as the fiscal reality.

Other values expressed by the Minister include a moral aspect of behaving responsibly: the Minister both exhorts the parties in government to hold their line (ll. 27-29, 30-32, 41-44) – a perhaps necessary reminder in a coalition government with ideological differences – to pursue the stated long-term goals, while invoking responsibility expresses practical economic reason. Given the nature of emphatic consensus in Finnish politics (see Chapter 3.3), argumentative elements promoting consensus seek to defuse perception of partisanship. In so doing, consensus would reaffirm commitment to consistency of economic policy. The Minister also makes an accusation of politicking, which claims that it is possible to end up with results that were no one’s goal, or goals that no one admits to having (ll. 57-60).

The moral nature of responsibility is also brought up in the context of public finances. The municipalities in particular are chided for living beyond their means and incurring expenses that cannot be covered in times of more modest economic growth (ll. 91-93, 94-98). This is a moral story which is familiar to many observers of externally imposed austerity: living beyond one’s means is condemned as wilful irresponsibility in the case of individuals and nations alike (Blyth 2013). The Minister goes on to comment that the state has shouldered a larger share of the risk related to unexpected but significant macroeconomic fluctuations (ll. 98-101), which has caused discrepancy in the financial relations between the Finnish state and municipalities. The Minister admits that municipalities have also seen an increase in their responsibilities, which has partially increased expenditures (ll. 94-98, 100-102). Given the strong regional politics in Finland espoused in particular by the Centre party – in opposition at the time – this expression of values can also be seen as an addressing an anticipated counter-claim.
The Minister’s speech contains no actual counter-claims (comparable to a corporate press release) so in the argumentation scheme the counter-claim is extrapolated from the way the Minister addresses anticipated counter-claims. Thus the objections, negative consequences and counter-claims in the argumentation scheme are marked here as hypotheticals, and will be explored in the analysis on actual counter-claims in opposition responses to the budget speech.

ARGUMENT BY MINISTER NIINISTÖ

Claim The budget proposal is realistic, responsible, and should be accepted in the current uncertain macroeconomic circumstances.

Circumstances Economic circumstances are extremely uncertain: uncertainty is increasing (ll. 2-5; ll. 88-99). Existing economic risks have not materialized, but the situation has not been solved either (ll. 11-12). There is only limited optimism that Europe could regain the level of economic growth seen in the mid-1990s (ll. 17-19). The time of “winning the lottery” is over, and Finland is not a country that “overflows with wealth” (ll. 106-109).

Goals The budget has to stand for stability in a time when instability is considerable (ll. 25-26). Public finances should remain consistent (ll. 26-29), and, above all, balanced in the long-term: the long-term goal was “incur a budgetary surplus every year until 2010” (ll. 39-40), but this goal cannot be reached in the next budget.

Values The government plans to stay the course, which is the responsible thing to do, even though holding up expense discipline is extremely hard (ll. 25-30). Reducing taxation is not at odds with the welfare state (ll. 46-48).

Means–Goal Adopting the government’s budget proposal will achieve the goals.

Responsibility “It should not be at all necessary to stress once more that living according to peak prosperity and not aligning expenses accordingly, will sooner or later lead to suffering in this game” (ll. 91-93): municipal expenses have been set too high without realizing economic boon would not last (ll. 97-98).

Consequences If the predictions of the Ministry on economic growth are correct, Finland can expect “quite normal economic growth” (l. 106).

Argument from authority The Finance Minister contradicts the economic growth prediction issued by his own Ministry as very optimistic (ll. 22-23); the Minister stresses at the end that providing that the economic growth for 2003 meets the Ministry’s prediction. To claim that reducing taxes is at odds with the welfare state is false, “it is not true at all” (l. 48). On the contrary, increasing economic activity of all kinds allows for the upkeep of the welfare state in the long run: “continuing to lower taxes in low-wage sectors is sorely needed” (ll. 50-51).

Negative consequences of failing to act Governmental parties have agreed to certain economic principles (ll. 30-32). Failure to pursue the long-term goal has negative consequences. Failure to act to balance the budget will have long-term ripple-effects
(ll. 34-35). “Any sort of jerking to and fro in the name of economic stimulus or recovery policies or some other doctrine in these circumstances would only lead to an increase in uncertainty and thus most likely to even greater difficulties in the future” (ll. 27-29).

Addressing counter-claim Balancing the budget is important, or else “budgetary issues at the end of the decade will become even more problematic than anticipated thus far” (ll. 42-44). While expenses have risen, the state is not the enemy of the municipalities (ll. 81-82, 87-87).

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted or adopted, as it disadvantages the municipalities and threatens the welfare state through excessive tax relief. More societal investments are required to stimulate the economy.

Objection The budget proposal is too cautious. Finland is, in fact quite wealthy, and could spend more on improving society (most notably municipalities) and infrastructure. The state is setting the municipalities in too dire straits, which hurts public services and citizen access to these services. Tax deductions erode the financial base of the welfare state.

Negative consequences Tax deductions will be unequally distributed and public services will on average continue to decline.

Figure 30. Argumentation scheme for the 2003 budget proposal by Minister of Finance Niinistö
Responses to the speech from Parliamentary parties

By order of the speaker of the Parliament, the responses to the speech were to be relatively brief, though the time allocated for each speaker was not explicitly stated (unlike in later response transcripts). The responses show where the parties in government supported or challenged the argument put forth by the Minister of Finance. The argumentative scheme for the responses is aggregated from a series of statements. The parties in government at the time of delivering the speech were the Social Democrats (Prime Minister’s party), the National Coalition, the Left Alliance, and the Swedish People’s Party. The opposition consisted of the Centre party, the Christian Democrats, and the Greens. The Greens had been in government until May 2002, which means their party platform might have still been visible in the budget proposal presented in September.

The opposition typically offers a “shadow-budget” as an alternative to the government’s budget, but at the time of the budgetary speech and debate, the opposition was yet to produce one, which clearly hurt their argumentative position. In other words, the government could use numbers to explain their plans, whereas the opposition would have to argue on their intentions in more general terms. The government parties were quick to point this out, arguing that the opposition was offering simply critique without any solutions of their own (e.g. ll. 35-40 in Appendix I). The opposition parties would each formulate their own shadow-budget and submit it later in the year (e.g. the Centre party in October, the Greens in December).

The focus in the analysis is on economic policy. While this in itself is an extremely broad field, the analytical discussion is limited to arguments specifically dealing the state of public finances and the actions taken or required. Thus unemployment and other issues do feature in the responses, but they are not given extensive treatment due to the focus on economic argumentation specifically. In terms of economic policy, it should be noted that according to the responses, none of the parties in Finland at this point advocated for stricter financial discipline: the opposition parties advocate for more spending or even increases in taxation, rather than the current government’s policy of moderate increases in special areas of spending and tax breaks. In other words, based on the transcripts, Minister Niinistö strikes the most liberally aligned position towards public finances.

Moving through the responses in order, in their response the Social Democrats emphasized that this was the last budget proposal before the next elections. As the
governing party the response also critiques cabinet partners who have started profiling themselves in anticipation to the elections. The party of the Prime Minister feels obliged to remind government parties of their commitment to consensus. Given that the Lipponen cabinets (I and II) had been in power for almost 8 years, there was a need to emphasize the strong consistent showing of these cabinets as a legitimating element. While uncertainty remained, the economic policy of the Lipponen cabinets was represented as having balanced public finances and reduced the rate of debt accumulation significantly after the 1990s recession. As such, this economic policy could also serve as a firm foundation for facing the economic challenges of the coming years. The Social Democrats acknowledge the two Lipponen cabinets have reformed the model for the welfare state to focus more on services, rather than income transfers, which “has been dictated both by tightening public finances and global changes” (Appendix I, ll. 53-55).

The first priority to the Social Democrats was reducing unemployment: the response attributes work as the “best medicine against social exclusion and poverty” (Appendix I, ll. 22-23). Indeed, reducing unemployment is seen as integral for freeing up social expenditures for other purposes (Appendix I, ll. 59-61). The Social Democrats support the consensual model of income policy – building consensus between employees and employers in the labour market – in their budgetary response. This policy has worked “commendably well” by supporting welfare and citizens’ purchasing power through centralized wage-agreements (Appendix I, ll. 26-29). In other words, for the Social Democrats the negotiations between the employee and employer organizations are as an extension of politics, which could be incentivized through state budgets. True to their labour union constituencies, the Social Democrats also credit the trade unions and labour organizations for their part in the recovery.

The Social Democrats also argue that the spending increases in the budget may be modest, but this is because the Social Democrats also accept that the budget must prepare for weaker economic growth (Appendix I, ll. 44-46). Even these small increases, however, are represented as social justice. Despite Hayek’s protestations on the illusory form of social justice (1976: 101), Finnish politicians refer to social justice quite readily. This particular discursive trope will discussed more thoroughly in the summarizing chapter (6.4).

The following response from the Centre party emphasizes the opposition’s naturally confrontational argumentation. The main thrust of the delegitimizing argument by the party is to represent the Lipponen cabinets (as they have been in
opposition for the duration of both) as failures. The cabinets are represented as majority dictatorships, that are ideologically too fragmented to have a common cause (Appendix I, ll. 73-79). As consequence, the policy of the Lipponen cabinets is a contradiction of terms, providing material wealth but increasing social and regional inequality, to which Finns losing faith in the political system is attributed (Appendix I, ll. 83-86). This critique could be expected to sting the Social Democrats in particular, when it is claimed that the state has sided with the strongest in society (Appendix I, ll. 78-80): “Strengthening the already strong, taking from the weak and centralizing everything have accelerated short term growth. This policy has, however, increased both economic and social vulnerability in the long term (Appendix I, ll. 96-98). The response claims that the Lipponen cabinets have failed to realize their election promises, despite favourable macroeconomic trends (Appendix I, ll. 88-94).

The moral argument is made when the Lipponen cabinets are stated to have given “billions in tax reductions […] to those with the highest incomes”, while having “simultaneously cut so much from regular families and the everyday livelihoods of those with the smallest incomes” (Appendix I, ll. 101-105). This has amounted to nothing less than an attack on welfare society72. The numbers that the government puts forth, the Centre party argues, show a more broken and unequal Finland (Appendix I, ll. 106-108, 111-113). When the Lipponen cabinets have engaged in “record-breaking centralization policy (Appendix I, l. 142), this is meant to meant exceptional, or even abnormal centralization policy. The Centre party advocates, then, for a return to normalcy.

When drafting their alternative, the Centre party argued for rather leftist ideas: the “gap caused by reductions in social security must thus be plugged by slightly increasing the burden on larger and best capitalized companies” (Appendix I, ll. 123-124). The response identifies the National Coalition as an ideological adversary for the Centre party. The main thrust of the party’s alternative model is expectedly regional. The party would allocate at least 100 million euros as financial relief for the public finances of the municipalities to ensure the good quality and availability to basic services: the “central idea is that all of Finland must be cared for” (Appendix I, l. 143). Given that the base of the Centre party is rural, this makes sense both from an electoral and argumentative point of view. The Centre party

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72 Interestingly Ministry of Finance Niinistö used the term ”welfare state”, which can be considered to emphasize the role of the state in providing citizen welfare, as did the Social Democrats, whereas the Centre party, National Coalition and even Left Alliance and Green responses used the reformulated “welfare society”.

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reiterates that “an alternative exists. An alternative that is more just, that encourages work and entrepreneurship more and better, and an alternative that takes better care of the entire Finland and all Finns” (Appendix I, ll. 156-158).

The response, in turn, by the National Coalition starts by emphasizing how the values expressed in the budget not only inform decisionmaking, but are also realized through that decisionmaking (Appendix I, ll. 162-164). This is, in fact, a very astute observation relating to the way values are usually used in argumentation as basis for an argument. The response by the National Coalition argues that “although many things are well, everything is not fine” (Appendix I, ll. 165-166). The budget is a decision on where to allocate – implicitly scarce – resources, and as such expresses socio-political prioritization. This is made evident in the response by two sentences: “The answer naturally cannot be that everything needs more money appropriation. Nor is it a sustainable solution to spread all additional resources equally among all expenditures” (Appendix I, ll. 170-172).

In the Finnish context, it would be fair to say that the National Coalition is the party of Thatcher, as public finances are envisioned and represented in a chronic state of borderline insolvency, whereby it is only reasonable and rational to prioritize societal investments. While some reforms have improved the situation, others have made the situation worse. The response shows a clear aversion to any forms of public debt (Appendix I, ll. 186-188), even if the response also admits, like the Minister did, that more debt will need to be taken on “to finance the expenses of our welfare society” (Appendix I, ll. 194-195). There are “no easy solutions to financing welfare services” (Appendix I, l. 204).

The National Coalition believes the budget proposal continues to follow, despite uncertainties, policies that support economic growth (Appendix I, ll. 205-211), which are exemplified by reductions in income tax rates, specifically driven by the party (Appendix I, ll. 211-212). It is important, according to the response, to be able to do so even in poorer economic times. It would be severe mistake to lapse into “into election-budgeting that would undermine the plausibility of our economic policy” (Appendix I, ll. 253-254). In other words reducing taxation is a principle that takes precedence over macroeconomic circumstances.

Taxation policy is the key argumentative driver and means to the desired goal for the National Coalition in this response. It was a bit more surprising to find the National Coalition also advocate for the income policy negotiations (between employees and employers) as an important factor that would support Finnish “competitiveness of export industries and thus improve employment rates at
home” (Appendix I, ll. 218-219). These favourable outcomes, however, are connected to additional possible decreases in taxation (Appendix I, ll. 220-223). The long-term structural unemployment is also considered a problem, as is the mismatch between the supply and demand of labour. The political concern between Social Democrats and the National Coalition builds on the duality of having an excess of labour (unemployment) in some fields, while having dire lack of labour (unfilled jobs) in others. Various other solutions to this are offered, but they are not discussed here for brevity’s sake.

The following response is from another governmental party, the Left Alliance, and the party rather surprisingly starts off by admitting that there is no common ideological ground in the cabinet. This leaves the Left Alliance in a somewhat difficult position for having to argue for issues that are important for their party platform, such as offsetting poverty and reducing social exclusion (Appendix I, ll. 262-263). The argument in the response thus has to legitimize acting in concert with ideologically distant partners and failure to pursue economic policy. This internal conflict is evidenced by two explicit references where the party departs from the points made by the Finance Minister (Appendix I, ll. 279-282, 308-312: see Figure 31). Regarding taxation policy the response draws on the authority of the Ministry of Finance to argue against the Minister of Finance’s claim that tax breaks are an inefficient way to stimulate the economy. The response argues that securing basic services should take precedence over tax relief, which is directly at odds with the party response by the National Coalition. The also response draws on popular authority: “that according to survey polls Finns would rather have good services than lower taxes, if they know their tax income is directed at securing important public services” (Appendix I, ll. 312-324).

The response lays claim to increases in employment despite adverse economic conditions (Appendix I, ll. 274-278). The co-operation of the labour market organizations is considered a central feature of maintaining socially sustainable economic development. The Left Alliance’s response argues that the government should supplement the current budget with increased employment appropriations to combat unemployment (Appendix I, ll. 288-290). The response also discusses globalization as a negative force, noting that the control mechanisms for economic uncertainty proposed in the budget lack substance (Appendix I, ll. 317-323). The sustainable development of the Finnish economy takes on elements of fiscal, social, and environmental sustainability in the response. Sustainability is presented as a rather reductionist choice between a more equal or unequal Finland (Appendix
The markets are identified as the main source of inequality and exclusion, running contrary to social justice. Market pressures must be offset by strong public actors that give citizens more equal chances to succeed (Appendix I, ll. 342-343). As such, the response also argues that cutting taxes should not be an end in itself, but that “good taxation policy” is a tool to even out income inequality and enable redistribution and public services in order to promote solidarity, common responsibility, and social justice (Appendix I, ll. 348-358).

The response from the Greens party, recently moved into opposition, offers to deliver a credible and responsibly balanced shadow-budget for consideration (Appendix I, ll. 361-365; 414-416). The response clearly shows the party aligns itself against tax reductions in favour of securing more functional and high quality services. The poor service quality is in particular seen as a problem impacting the municipalities, which are doing much poorly than believed (Appendix I, ll. 369-372). It is the responsibility of the state to plan public finances (Appendix I, ll. 373-376), so that the municipalities are not forced to shoulder a disproportionate burden. The response by the Greens also discusses the concern over high unemployment combined with a projected lack of labour, arguing that the budget proposal contains very few practical tools to tackle this issue, beyond taxation policy (Appendix I, ll. 382-383; 391-396). Unemployment is represented as a personal malaise as well as a burden for public finances.

The issue of unfavourable demographics is also mentioned, as structural unemployment continues and Finnish baby boomers age themselves out of the working population. The Greens acknowledge that the Finnish national economy is conjoined with the global economy, “which is prone to crises that may spread fast and wide”, which is why domestic economic policy “must increase flexibility and the capacity to handle market interferences also in good economic times” (Appendix I, ll. 384-387). The Greens in effect discuss risk management of endemic uncertainty in political economy. The Greens wish to “secure the welfare society, meaning the wellbeing of families, children, youth and the environment also in the future” (Appendix I, ll. 406-407). The budget is found sorely lacking in this dimension, even though the party response notes these are concerns that all parties officially subscribe to in their rhetoric.

The response by the Swedish People’s Party is by far the shortest, mostly due to the fact that the bulk of the speech is given, in the party’s true form, in Swedish. To minimize mistranslations, only statements in Finnish were considered. The
assumption was that the key points of the response would be made in Finnish as well, so that all of the Parliament could follow. The party’s main point in the response was the role of municipalities, possibly because the party represents a relatively limited number of municipalities in the Swedish-speaking coast of Finland. According to the response, municipal finances have been in trouble for years: the increased expenses and reduced state reimbursement have left a national deficit of 69 million euros (Appendix I, ll. 432-433). The municipal dependence on corporate taxation – susceptible to macroeconomic fluctuations – is cited as a constant source for concern. As the case of Nokia showed, these concerns are not unfounded.

This relates to the basic service provision security: the party response emphasizes that citizens have a right to care and treatment regardless of where they live (Appendix I, l. 439), and this principle is not subject to negotiation. Here the party may find common ground with the Centre party in opposition, but being in government, the argument rather is a reiterating the stated commitments of the party. The response also notes policy initiatives in the budget proposal could have gone further (Appendix I, ll. 441-443), but is apparently unwilling to press the issue.

The second to last response came from the Christian Democrats, in opposition, which made ideological connections with some government parties (Left Alliance and the Swedish People’s Party) and the opposition (Greens) immediately to draw more support for their alternative budget proposal to come. The government’s budget proposal is considered to be acceptable, but fails to noticeably improve the lives of citizens (Appendix I, ll. 462-463). The response strongly favours the introduction of new taxation on capital (Appendix I, ll. 464, 467-469, 476-478) to finance more meaningful changes, rather than just talk about them, which is the charge levied especially at the Left Alliance (Appendix I, ll. 489-493). The Christian Democrats claim that their alternative budget offers the Left Alliance a chance to finally follow through with their promises. The Christian Democrats soften their argument for new taxes by promising to deliver politically popular reductions of other taxes, assumedly to build consensus and calls for other parties to agree with them that the government’s proposal includes unreasonable elements.

The alternative budget by the party is described to have many winners, and only a few losers (those impacted by the new taxes on capital movements), which is an implicit argument for a more reasonable budget (Appendix I, ll. 503-506). If the other parties can prove there are issues with the Christian Democrat alternative,
the response argues, the party would be more than willing to revise their proposal accordingly. To build more support for the increases in taxation the Christian Democrats offer anecdotal evidence from Finns regarding their willingness to pay higher taxes if that safeguards better services. Indeed, given the concern all parties have expressed for public finances, the response claims that by adopting their budget and not implementing the proposed tax breaks would allow 100 million euros to be channelled into municipal finances to fix public finances at one swoop (Appendix I, ll. 507-510).

Finally, the response from the **Finns** party, in opposition, leans heavily on economic conservatism, stating that the government constantly makes too optimistic prediction on economic growth (Appendix I, ll. 512-524). As such, the Finns party would seem to agree with the reservations expressed by the Minister of Finance. The budget proposal is represented as unrealistic and failing to deliver on its promises. The response suggests that the government’s budget proposals are insincere political rhetoric (Appendix I, ll. 525-526). The Finns’ response also contains references to taxation “poisons” that are hidden in the government’s proposal (Appendix I, l. 533). Tax breaks should be carefully targeted at the lowest levels of income and increasing the limit of non-taxable income (i.e. the minimum level of income that is taxed: Appendix I, ll. 534-536). The purchasing power of low earners should be augmented simply to enable their survival.

The response provocatively asks is it merely hard to for the government to understand these realities, or is the budget proposal based on an intentional desire to favour those already well off (Appendix I, ll. 541-543). In other words, the Finns turn their response into a moral argument: neglecting social responsibility “is extremely short-sighted and reprehensible, when we at the same time can afford to given capital and high income earners tax reliefs in the billions” (Appendix I, ll. 560-563). The Finns state that this is a goal of the National Coalition, but the Left Alliance’s complicity in the government is also emphasized. The Finns thus place themselves beyond the traditional left-right division. Rather than connect with possible allies, the response by the Finns is largely expressed through negation of political parties that they stand in opposition of.

The response describes a state of collapsing public finances exacerbated by the budget proposal in line with the policy of the Lipponen cabinets (Appendix I, ll. 568-572). The reduction of the state’s share in municipal expenses is seen as weakening capacity to provision basic services, with municipalities represented in crisis or even bankruptcy (Appendix I, ll. 572-573). The Finns’ response also makes
implicit references to national interests by outlining to the uselessness and detrimental influence of Finland’s EU membership (Appendix I, ll. 564-566), as the only party to do so. Notably the party response did not denounce globalization per se, only external authority.

All of the points covered in the statements cannot be included in the argumentation scheme without it becoming too complex, so the scheme focuses on economic policy claims and counter-claims to create a point of comparison with Minister Niinistö’s argumentation model (Figure 30). Figure 31 below shows the condensed argumentation scheme of the responses. The party names were abbreviated73 to mark arguments that were shared or exclusively offered to show commonalities or divisions in argumentation between the government parties and the opposition.

ARGUMENT AGGREGATED FROM RESPONSES TO THE 2003 BUDGET PROPOSAL

Claim The proposed budget should be accepted and adopted.

Circumstances Economic circumstances are increasingly uncertain (NC & Greens). These creates secondary circumstances of scarcity (NC).

Goals The goals are higher levels of employment (SD & LA), with tax breaks offered as the way to higher employment (NC).

Values It would be irresponsible to play electoral politics with the budget (SD & NC). The budget should be economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable (LA & Greens).

Means–Goal The proposed action might not be the best action, but is a satisfactory political compromise. There are no easy answers to securing public finances (NC), but basic service provision should be prioritized over tax cuts (SD & LA).

Argument from authority The Ministry of Finance itself admits that tax breaks are an inefficient form of economic stimulus, and that surveyed Finns would rather have good services than tax breaks (LA).

Consequences Adopting the budget will ensure consistency in economic policy and positive policy outcomes.

Negative consequences of failing to act Not accepting the budget would increase economic uncertainty in an already uncertain time.

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73 Social Democrats [SD]; National Coalition [NC]; The Centre party [CTR]; Left Alliance [LA]; the Green party [Greens]; Christian Democrats [CD]; Swedish People’s Party [SWP]; the Finns party [Finns]
Addressing counter-claims  Three counterclaims addressed by parties in government:
1) Tighter public finances and global changes dictate economic policy (SD); 2) Increasing state expenditures will mean piling on more debt (NC); 3) The opposition lacks credibility; the lack of an actual alternative budget makes arguing for it a moot point (SD & NC).

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted or adopted; alternative opposition budgets exist that are more reasonable or take care of Finland as a whole.

Negative consequences Adopting the budget will increase long-term societal inequality.

Objection There are several across many opposition parties:
1) The govt’s abnormal centralization policy has hurt municipalities: municipalities are in crisis (CTR, Greens, SWP); 2) The government has abused its democratic majority (CTR); 3) Favouring the strong over the weak is unacceptable: high-income earners should be taxed more (CTR & CD); 4) All of Finland must be equally cared for (CTR, Finns, SWP); 5) Parties in government share no ideological ground (CD, CTR, LA); 6) Tax breaks have been excessive (LA) and one-sided (Finns); 7) Government must do more to prepare for the future and economic uncertainty (Greens, & Finns).

Figure 31. Argumentation scheme for the responses by Parliamentary parties to the 2003 budgetary proposal
A few final observations can be made based on this scheme. First, in the case of the government, there is clear fragmentation, mostly on the part of the Left Alliance, which was perhaps to be expected and also reproached by the Social Democrats specifically. The Left Alliance engaged in extensive argumentation against the tax breaks included in the budget proposal by rallying arguments from authority. The desire to do so while still accepting the government’s budget made these protests materially insignificant, but they did show to the opposition the fragmented ideological base of the cabinet. The Left Alliance can also be expected to signal to its constituencies that these issues were not in line with the party’s values, something that the Social Democrats as the party leading the government could not do. Second, the Swedish People’s Party was attributed one case of confirming the premises of the counter-claim by arguing for the dire straits of the municipalities and wanting more state appropriations for municipal finances so that all municipalities would be equally treated.

It bears noting here that due to the party political versatility of the Finnish system, the opposition and government – consisting of many parties – are not as singularly aligned. Parties in opposition may have stronger ideological differences among themselves than with the government parties. As a general observation the argumentative structures also showed the close compatibility between the “red-green axis” between the Left Alliance and the Greens, both being the only parties to explicitly advocate for sustainability in several forms. The compatibility between the Christian Democrats and the Left Alliance on (wealth) taxation, however, was relatively unexpected. It will be interesting to see if this compatibility endures in the following speeches.

6.3.3 Finnish National Budgetary Speech: Proposed Budget for 2007 (12.9.2006), by Minister of Finance Eero Heinäluoma (SDP)

The second budgetary speech to be analysed – by Minister of Finance Eero Heinäluoma – was delivered in the Finnish Parliament on September 12th, 2006. The speech (Parliamentary document PTK 82/2006 vp) has been translated and is found below. The transcript contained both the speech and the responses, and was separated into the speech (in full) and the responses from the Parliamentary parties (abridged: Appendix II in subsequent references). The speech, contains 1560 words in original Finnish (~1700 words translated). The responses of the eight
major parties contain nearly 11 000 words. The responses translated and abridged responses contain 8000 words. The original Finnish text for the response transcript is not included.

As with the previous budgetary speech, it is necessary to establish some context. This budgetary speech is given at the end of the first Vanhanen cabinet (Vanhanen I), which features a Centre-left coalition. The National Coalition is in opposition, and the Centre party is the leading party. Matti Vanhanen became the Prime Minister after the previous Prime Minister Anneli Jäätteenmäki resigned. While Centre-left, Prime Minister Vanhanen took the agrarian Central Party towards more liberal economic policy. The Social Democrats continued as the second party in this pro-market cabinet. The Social Democrats held the seat of the Minister of finance, with Eero Heinäluoma replacing Antti Kalliomäki halfway through the term due to intra-party politics. The Speaker of the Parliament at the time of this debate is the former two-term prime minister Paavo Lipponen.

The analysis will next proceed to with the transcript of the speech delivered by Minister of Finance Heinäluoma and draft the argumentative structure drawn out from the text with some discussion over the findings.

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74 The same caveat relating to the response from the Swedish People’s Party applies here as in the previous subchapter.
Mr. Speaker! The government submits its budget proposal for 2007 in favourable economic circumstances. Economic growth has been extremely rapid this year, and according to the Ministry of Finance’s predictions it will reach 3% next year as well. This positive economic development is influenced by several factors. The economic policy of the government has worked well through the government’s term, powerfully supporting domestic market developments at the beginning of the term. Now we’re getting additional traction also from exports.

Employment rates have been increasing rapidly for already two years. According to the numbers from Statistics Finland the number of people in employment is already 60,000 higher than when the government took office. During the last two years no less than 80,000 jobs have been created. All this confirms that we are on the right path, and that through economic growth we can also impact employment levels.

The co-operation of the government and labour organizations has also had an important part to play in the increases in employment and favourable economic development. Achieving long-term income policy agreements is very important factor not only for the predictability of business, but also household consumer confidence. Having faith in a better tomorrow has been the key factor that has bolstered our domestic markets and employment even when exports have been sluggish. We have every reason to appreciate the co-operation on economic policy as a Finnish strength and asset. This co-operation is important for our economic and employment development. There is no reason to wilfully abandon or ruin this recipe for success.

As economic growth continues favourably, employment will also increase also during this autumn and the following winter. The budget is based on the prediction for the average unemployment rate for 2007 being 7.5%. It is less than this year, but still far too high. This is why supporting positive employment development remains an integral goal for this government.

The budget proposal continues on a taxation policy that supports domestic demand through decreases in income tax rates as agreed upon earlier in the income policy negotiations.

The tax reductions next year will reduce the state’s income tax revenues by 590 million euros. In addition, the tax income brackets will be adjusted for inflation.

The appropriations in the budget proposal grow by approximately 2% in comparison to the actual budget for 2006. Additional appropriations are focused on projects emphasizing economic and employment growth, and in municipal services and in improvements to social security.

Bottlenecks in the labour force threaten to become obstructions for economic growth. The amount of open jobs is growing, while we still have a lot of people unemployed. On the second quarter of 2006 there were 52,000 open jobs, which is an increase of almost 10,000 to 2005. On the other hand we also have over 200,000 people unemployed. This is why the budget proposal tackles with this problem. Every unfilled job is a loss. It is a loss for business, it is a loss for these regions, and it is a loss for the unemployed person who cannot find the right opportunity for employment.

It is a central goal for this government to bring labour to workers and vice versa. The creation of new jobs nationally is supported through purposeful business policy, and, among other things, through regional Centre programs. On the part of the civil service we will continue with the regionalization of tasks and responsibilities, which will also support a more equal regional development. The professional and spatial mobility of labour will be supported through many initiatives. Based on the recommendations of the so called Tupo 2—working group, an increase of 15 million euros in appropriations to pro-employment initiatives have been included in the budget proposal.

All in the budget contains an additional employment initiative, which includes e.g. a reduction in the value-added tax in labour-intensive service jobs and precision acts to support employability. The tax limit on commuting expenses deduction will be substantially increased for 4017 euros to 7000 euros to increase mobility. Workers will be encouraged in both professional and regional mobility. As a new policy a public moving subsidy of 700 euros will be proposed for those seeking employment at longer distances. Similarly the mobility subsidies per kilometre will be increased, and the maximum duration of discretionary travel subsidy will be increased from two months to four. An increase of 3000 students are proposed for apprenticeship training as additional vocational training, so that in 2007 some 25,000 new apprenticeships could be entered into.
Altogether 30 million euros will be set aside for subsidies to municipalities suffering from sudden economic structural changes and large-scale job loss. This is a significant amount which will have real impact when it is targeted to exactly those municipalities that have, or will suffer from sudden job loss. This is visible in the appropriations for the Ministry of the Interior, the Trade and Industry Ministry, and the Labour Ministry.

Regarding the value-added tax, we began a trial of reducing the VAT as a part of a general European Union initiative. The VAT for barber and hairdresser services and some small repair services is proposed to be lowered from 22% to 8% for 2007-2010. This reform seeks to increase the employment opportunities of these labour-intensive service jobs, and also to cut back on the black economy.

The trial to reduce employer social security payments will be expanded to cover not only private municipal employers, but also municipal and church employers in the Pielinen Karelia and Ilomantsi and Rautavaara municipalities.

The government eases the situation of those living in economic hardship through both enabling employment policy and precision actions in social policy. The investment made together with the municipalities amounts to over 80 million euros. The upper limit for the living expenses subsidy for pensioners will be increased, support payments will be increased, the position of the disabled will be improved and more support will be given for family caregivers. For example there will be a very sizable increase in the interpreter services for the disabled.

Rights to social security for family members of entrepreneurs will be improved, and we believe that it is well grounded not only in social policy, but can also act to encourage entrepreneurship.

The access to care for disabled veterans, and rehabilitation activities for them and their spouses will be improved. Finland's Slot Machine Association will also contribute to realizing these actions.

An additional appropriation of 15 million euros for a comprehensive plan to improve well-being in schools will be made alongside precision social policy actions for families with children, in addition to expanding morning and afternoon activities are all significant improvements.

The plans to improve the financial standing of municipalities are a crucial part of the budget proposal from the perspective of welfare services. Including index adjustments the public finances of municipalities will be improved through state actions by over 400 million euros. This is the best influence on municipal finances through state actions in 15 years, and while simultaneously employment improves, the tax income of the municipalities also stands to increase substantially next year. [interjections] This creates the necessary conditions to invest in elderly care, health care, education and day care.

The budget now proposed means that the tax income and state appropriations for municipalities increase altogether by 5% in 2007. At the same time it is very important, that the municipalities will actively participate in the realization of the municipal reform. Through the reform we can find better ways to organize services cost-effectively while increasing service quality, and bringing those services still lagging behind to the level they should be on in Finland. I'm especially referring to expectations levied on elderly care.

The budget proposal can be called, with good reason, a budget that strengthens employment and wellbeing, but it also invests heavily in the future. The potential for future economic growth is improved by an additional increase in R&D appropriations by over 40 million euros in addition to an expansive logistics project. Next year 10 new projects [on road- rail- and waterways] will begin, with the overall cost rising to 800 million euros.

([interjection: rep. Sasi] And cuts into the operational frame of the next government!)

The scale of the logistics project being proposed now can perhaps be better grasped when it is cost is converted into 5 billion former Finnish marks. Projects of this scale have not been often embarked upon in the economic history of Finland. In addition to the logistics project included in the budget it has also been decided to being the project for Interstate 5 between Lusi-Mikkeli in 2008.

([interjection: rep. Pulliainen] Again under the next government!)

This is how the statement approved by this Parliament last year will be realized in its entirety.

The increase of 75 million euros in development aid can also be included in the investments in the future made by this budget proposal. We want to be involved in building a better future also in the developing nations dependent on our support.

Despite reductions in tax rates and several increases in expenditures, the government's budget proposal ends up with a 163 million euro surplus. The government proposes this to be spent in reducing the state's debt.

The calculations on the Finnish national economy that inform the budget proposal state that the surplus of public finances next year would be 0.3% in relation to overall production. One of the central goals of government plan and platform – balanced public finances – can thus be realized.

The nature of economic cycles exhorts us to take advantage of the good year, to reduce state debt and take care of pension liabilities. When the economic growth is significantly faster than the long-term economic outlook had indicated, it is prudent to reduce debt and thus making room for economic stimulus, which will in time be needed. The current rapid economic growth is of course not eternal.

The budget proposal has set as its goal the accumulation of the state’s pension fund faster than before, and accordingly reaching the funding objective sooner. At the same time it is prudent to generally prepare for the need to increase pension payments by 0.2% per year in the future, so the pensions of today and tomorrow can be secured.

([interjection: rep. Kallis] A wise government would do just so!)

This proposal is, like the proposal to reduce state debt, based on economic cycles; we must prepare for future expenses when we are best equipped to do so. This is also the message echoed throughout Europe. One of the common messages from the European Union’s summit of ministers of finance last weekend was that the current and coming good economic years should be taken advantage of for the sake of investments in the future. The further into the future we look, the more reasonable the policy of strengthening public finances in the budget proposal are.

The generations now working will leave behind for their children and their children’s children a state with more debt than what they were handed. This is a fact regardless of the budget proposal at hand. The budget proposal means an increase in the ratio of public debt from the GDP to about 35%. Although our policy has been in the recent years framed to strengthen public finances – thanks to resolute actions and shared policy goals – we should remember than still at the end of the 1980s the ratio of public debt to GDP was only at a tenth. We are even today significantly above that ratio.

([interjection: rep. Pulliainen] That’s true!)

The difference in debt ratios of approximately 25 percentage points from 20 years ago equals to 40 billion euros.

([interjection: rep. Sasi] At the EU average our debt ratio is very low!)

Out of these 40 billion every cent is deducted from the welfare services of our children and grandchildren, with the debt interests to boot.

([interjection: rep. Pulliainen] Why is not the black economy curtailed?)

We can also see our children paying off some of the debts upon which our welfare for the last 20 years has been based. We thus have every reason to put aside funds in times of strong economic growth, and not simply make all money near 5% growth rates up for grabs.

([interjection: rep. Ojala] How will that money put aside be spent?)

This is how we act responsibly for future generations in this election cycle and the next.

Mr. speaker! Dear members of parliament! We should remind ourselves that traditionally the biggest mistakes in economic policy have been made when economic growth has been fastest. The government has, in its budget proposal, decided that we would avoid this temptation and do the right thing from the perspective of long-term economic trust. The government's proposal enacts the budgetary frame accepted in Parliament last spring closely and consistently. We have not compromised on the agreed upon maximum level of expenses, and even within this limited space we have been able to make significant investments in basic services: health care, education, day care, elderly care, and begin expansive investments in logistics, increase R&D expenditures and in top of all this make improvement proposals for social care.

([interjection: rep. Tennilä] You completely forgot about the poor!)

Thus we have shown that responsibility is compatible with social justice.

I hope for the entire government that people keep their heads cool also when dealing with the budget proposal in Parliament. It would be wise to prepare for the economic situation not staying as favorable forever as it has been right now. We are in a time of great responsibility. Adopting these measures will also be appreciated by future generations for their full worth. The world is not finished after this budget proposal, and Finland is moving in a better direction.
With this speech there were a total of thirteen interjections from members of Parliament. Unlike Minister Niinistö, however, Minister Heinäluoma did not address these. The Minister argues for the approval of the budget proposal by emphasizing some argumentative elements, such as value-premises of fairness and responsibility that would serve as legitimizing discourse for the budget proposal. The Minister begins by setting the macroeconomic context for the budget proposal in very positive terms (ll. 1-6). Both Finnish and world economy are booming, and positive economic growth is expected. Thus the Minister has no need to express pessimism or to temper the growth rate predictions. Figures 8 and 9 in chapter 3 regarding the overall performance of the national economy would seem to confirm this perception; economic indicators for the Finnish economy indeed were favourable at the time. Also compared with Figure 14 (chapter 5) of Nokia’s stock value development, growth is on the horizon. The Minister argues that the economic indicators show that the government is on the right path (ll. 7-11). Good policy is thus determined by good outcomes. The Minister quotes optimism, “having faith in a better tomorrow”, as a key factor of domestic demand that supported the Finnish economy while exports were sluggish (ll. 15-16). The Minister proposes a budget that is not undergird by uncertainty or scarcity.

The Minister credits the co-operation of the government and labour organizations as a strategic asset and a major contributor to increases in employment and favourable economic development (ll. 12-13). The Minister stresses the role of consensual income policy in successful national economic policy: “a recipe for success”, which should not be abandoned or ruined (ll. 18-19). Taxation continues on a downward trend, although this is contextualized as a move to support domestic demand (ll. 26-27): decreasing taxation increases purchasing power. The total cost of the tax cuts to the state will be 590 million (l. 29). It is somewhat problematic, then, to find the Minister also arguing for an overall increase in expenditures (ll. 31-33) without explaining the circumstances that allow this. The reduction on value-added tax is represented as a part of a European Union initiative (ll. 61-62), which acts as a weak argument from authority.

Employment issues continue as an important goal for the government (ll. 22-24), and especially the mismatch between the supply and demand of labour remains an important priority from the 2003 budget speech (ll. 34-39). Improving the overall public finances of municipalities is a rather expected item of economic policy, given the Centre party’s emphasis on rural areas. Municipalities will receive over 400 million euros, which is quoted an exceptional show of largesse (most significant in 15 years: ll. 81-85). Furthermore, the list of expenditures also include
an appropriation for “municipalities suffering from sudden economic structural changes and large-scale job loss” (l. 56-57), which a signal that the state has to increase its capacity to react to negative business news. It seems, however, that this money is somewhat conditional on the municipalities participating in “municipal reform”, which intends to find “find better ways to organize services cost-effectively while increasing service quality, and bringing those services still lagging behind to the level they should be on in Finland” (l. 89-91).

The Minister goes on to argue the proposed budget also makes significant investments in the future through appropriations in R&D and large-scale logistics projects (ll. 93-97, 99-102). These investments, given their long-term nature, solicited interjections from members of Parliament who felt the current government was overreaching and cutting into the spending options of the following government by imposing costly projects (ll. 98; 103). The Minister chooses not to address these comments.

The Minister addresses counterclaims by stating that “despite reductions in tax rates and several increases in expenditures, the government’s budget proposal ends up with a 163 million euro surplus” (ll. 108-109). The surplus will be put into debt management (i.e. debt reduction), following an argument that seems to invoke Keynesian economics (Keynes 1964): the Minister states that:

“The nature of economic cycles exhorts us to take advantage of the good year, to reduce state debt and take care of pension liabilities. When the economic growth is significantly faster than the long-term economic outlook had indicated, it is prudent to reduce debt and thus making room for economic stimulus, which will in time be needed. The current rapid economic growth is of course not eternal (ll. 115-118).

However, Keynesian economics would expect a more wholesale reduction of public expenditures and cutting down debt, whereas the government increases its appropriations. While the surprising solvency of the budget is not explained, the focus is thus moved to discussing how public finances should be managed responsibly. The Minister draws once more on common European consensus (ll. 125-128) that this is the responsible way to prepare for the future in the long term. A balanced budget is an issue of long-term economic trust (l. 151). As economic booms cannot last forever, it is prudent to show some restraint (ll. 118, 160-161).

The argument for reducing debt is a moral one: the Minister points out that future generations will be burdened with relatively more debt than current ones (ll. 130-131), making debt reduction an issue of intergenerational fairness. The solution to dealing future generations with more fairness is to act responsibly to reduce state debt consistently (as arguably the budget proposal for 2003 also
intended to do through running budgetary surpluses) and not allow themselves to be tempted to simply spend all revenue (ll. 143-145, 147, 149-151). The government must, then, exercise self-control, and especially so in economic booms when the temptation to spend is at its highest (ll. 148-149). The budget proposal is responsible, and adopting it will support policy that future generations, too, would appreciate (ll. 161-162). It is interesting to find the argument – as reasonable as it is – here, given that usually it is employed in legitimation efforts for austerity policy (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 166-168). The Minister claims that all that remains is for people keep their heads cool when discussing the budget proposal (ll. 159-160), which may be interpreted as a way to defuse possible counter-claims as overtly emotional. The Minister concludes by assuring that Finland is now – implicitly with this budget proposal – moving in a better direction (l. 163).

As in the previous speech, there are no explicit references to any scenarios where the budget proposal is not accepted. The speech lists only positive things and implicitly suggests they would be lost if the budget is not accepted. Similarly to a Nokia CEO, the Finance Minister is not interested in playing the devil’s advocate for his own budget proposal and leaves the objections as oppositional hypotheticals. The interjections were also used to reconstruct a hypothetical counter-claim and its premises, marked again tentatively in the scheme in grey.

ARGUMENT BY MINISTER HEINÄLUOMA

Claim The budget proposal should be accepted.

Circumstances Economic circumstances are very positive both domestically and globally (ll. 1-6). Continued economic growth is predicted and there is very little uncertainty. There is cause for optimism, which also serves as a catalyst for growth (ll. 15-16). However, economic cycles change naturally: economic growth cannot continue forever, which is why the budget prepares also for that contingency (ll. 115-118). Finland is moving in a better direction (l. 162).

Goals Support domestic consumption through tax relief (ll. 26-27), increase employment rates (ll. 23-24), increase societal wellbeing (ll. 31-33), improve municipal finances (ll. 82-85), and foster economic growth with a budget which also takes future needs into account (ll. 93-97; 99-102; 161-162). Finland is moving in a better direction (l. 162).

Values The co-operative consensus-based Finnish political system is a strategic asset and should be utilized as a recipe for success (ll. 12-13; 18-19). Unemployment is costly on multiple levels and the government is committed to increasing employment levels (ll. 43-44).

Means–Goal Adopting the government’s budget proposal will achieve the goals. Cool heads must prevail in processing the budget (ll. 159-160).
Fiscal responsibility (values)  It is responsible to prepare for a change in the course of economic cycles which will bring the current growth trend to an end (ll. 115-118; 160-161). Governments must not allow themselves to be tempted into overspending by economic booms (ll. 149-151).

Fairness (values)  The generations coming to age will inherit more debt from their predecessors than they did (ll. 130-131). The state budget should be balanced so the budgetary surplus can be used to pay down state debt (ll. 108-109). Reducing state debt is responsible and fair (ll. 143-145). The budget proposal is within the framework agreed upon by the Parliament (ll. 152-154).

Consequences The budget will support growth while increasing political responsibility.

Negative consequences of failing to act  Economic downturn in the future could cause problems later on without proper preparations.

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted or adopted.

Objection The budget surplus should be appropriated to the poor (ll. 28, 111, 157). The government’s actions tie the hands of future administrations (ll. 98-103).

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Figure 32. Argumentation scheme for the 2007 budgetary proposal by Minister of Finance Heinäluoma
Responses to the speech from Parliamentary parties

By order of the speaker of the Parliament, the responses to the speech allocated 15 minutes per speaker. The analysis of the responses will proceed in order of the parties giving their responses in the transcript of the full session of Parliament. After an overview of the topics presented in each response an aggregate argumentative scheme will summarize the reactions to the budget speech. The parties in government at the time of delivering the speech were the Centre party (prime minister party), the Social Democrats and the Swedish People’s Party. The opposition consisted of all the other parties with the party list being the same as in the previous subchapter (6.3.1). The abridged translated transcript of the response can be found in Appendix II with line numbers for reference.

Overall the second budgetary analysis had the existence of the opposition’s “shadow-budget” in a much smaller role, as the government parties did not demand one, nor did the opposition parties go out of their way to assure they had one. It is safe to assume that the publication of the “shadow-budget” had by 2006 become such a standard issue, that specific references would not have been meaningful argumentative elements.

The first party to offer their response is the party of the Prime Minister, the Centre party. As the ruling party in government, support for the budget can be expected: “The budget emphasizes services, entrepreneurship and balanced regional development (Appendix II, ll. 2-3). The three primary goals are to improve municipal finances, cover for decreases in funding in rural areas (interpreted here as agricultural subsidies), and large investments in logistics (Appendix II, ll. 4-7). The investments serve as basis for a claim that the budget proposal exemplifies socially just policy (Appendix II, ll. 11, 53, 72, 79). Social justice in general appears quite often in the responses for this particular debate on a budget proposal, although at the same time the response by the Centre party clearly emphasizes the market frame (esp. entrepreneurship: Appendix II, ll. 22-23, 71, 79). The response states that “economic policy is a tool to the end of supporting Finnish work, entrepreneurship and competitiveness in the markets” (Appendix II, ll. 71-72).

Similarly, the “main mission of economic policy is to increase the number of people in employment, reduce unemployment, increase productivity and expand the opportunities for people to decide for themselves over the essentials relating to their lives” (Appendix II, ll. 73-75). This gives some indication of the shift in the party’s interest from rural-Centre to business-Centre in terms of economic policy.
The central values are stated as “equality between citizens, social justice and the opportunity for spontaneous self-motivated action” (Appendix II, ll. 72-73), and expressed further in claims to solidarity, which state that “the results of economic success belong to all Finns” (Appendix II, l. 69). The response acknowledges that the economic circumstances are good, but still makes a point of stressing how poor the situation was when the new cabinet began its term (Appendix II, ll. 33-35). It seems typical of political parties in power – when they were previously in opposition – to actively discredit the previous administration, thus setting circumstances of adversity that are external to the sitting cabinet. The new cabinet, then, should be credited for changing direction (Appendix II, ll. 36-39). In two-party systems this can be taken as a given, but in Finland this might cause some tension if the new cabinet partially consists of parties in the previous cabinet (as in this case the second party in cabinet, the Social Democrats).

The response states that the budget fosters continued economic growth through “carefully considered and necessary” measures (Appendix II, l. 15). The response also makes a point to note that “this carefully considered policy has to be continued” (Appendix II, l. 80). The budget proposal also “continues positively on the previously agreed upon policy” (Appendix II, l. 51), which signals consensus and consistency. The response also acknowledges a caveat in the budget proposal: even a good budget cannot cover all necessary needs (Appendix II, l. 58). This signals an anticipated counter-claim to the fairness of the budget proposal, which was indeed accurately predicted.

The second response is from the second party in government, the Social Democrats. The response opens with a declaration that the budget is “a good and balanced proposal” (Appendix II, l. 85). According to the response a top priority once more is increasing employment rates (Appendix II, ll. 89-93). Entrepreneurship or taxation receive less emphasis, but the meeting between the supply and demand of labour gets more attention for the Social Democrats. The goals set for the budget proposal – the increase in employment – are judged to be “challenging […] but not impossible” (Appendix II, l. 93). As a special note, it seems that one sentence in the response confirms the point of argumentation: “economic policy is first and foremost debate and decisionmaking that includes values and attitudes” (Appendix II, ll. 87-88). These values are described through commitment “to preventing social exclusion and helping all citizens to be included in society. The work for a more equal and fairer Finland continues” (Appendix II,
The economic circumstances remain very favourable and the parties in the cabinet move in consensus (Appendix II, l. 102) to support municipal finances.

The Social Democrats specifically state that current policy follows the legacy of the previous Finance Minister (Niinistö, NC) to defuse expected counter-claims (Appendix II, ll. 105-107). After all, critique by National Coalition of policy initiated under a National Coalition Minister of Finance, would appear hypocritical. The response accuses the National Coalition of populist electoral politics by claiming the main opposition party has “racked up a lot of dubious attention by promising to remove this tax or that. The reputation of the National Coalition has a supporter of responsible economic policy is merely a memory” (Appendix II, 140-143). Thus the main opposition party is represented as irresponsible.

Social justice features also in this response, though less explicitly. The response notes that the “fruits of economic growth do not [...] distribute evenly”, drawing on the authority of official statistics to note that while overall wealth has increases, income inequality has grown (Appendix II, ll. 120-124). The Social Democrats claim that the budget proposal will address this and seek to help those least well-off, but like in the Centre party’s response, the imperfection of the budget proposal is acknowledged (Appendix II, ll. 114, 145-146). Future actions will be required to correct these issues (Appendix II, ll. 132-133).

The third response is from the main opposition party, the National Coalition. The response immediately states that the government’s budget proposal for 2007 is a typical budget of missed opportunities in favourable economic times (Appendix II, ll. 150-151). In essence, the use of public finances is deemed wasteful and not as supportive for the future as the government parties indicate. To bolster their counter-argument, the response draws on two (bureaucratic) authorities within the Finance Ministry that have also found the budget proposal lacking (Appendix II, ll. 154-159), especially in terms of expenditure cuts. The length of the references shows how strongly the response’s counter-argument relies on the expert-opinion of these two sources; the response explicitly asks if the citizens should believe the Minister of Finance, or experts who offer warnings.

A second counter-argument is based on an implicit claim of the government’s inconsistency between election campaigning and actual governing (Appendix II, ll. 162-164). The government’s real actions particularly in labour policy are depicted as ineffectual (Appendix II, ll. 175-176), even according to ministerial reports (Appendix II, ll. 180-181). Furthermore, the qualifications of the Social Democrats in particular to deal with unemployment are called into question (Appendix II, ll. 210-212).
Given the emphasis on negative counter-claims, it seems that favourable economic conditions have forced the National Coalition to emphasize the incompetence of the government more aggressively, while worse conditions would require less effort.

The National Coalition claims that there is “a disconnect between talk and actions of the Centre-left government” (Appendix II, l. 201). In similar vein, the response accuses the Minister of Finance of playing with numbers to claim higher appropriations to municipalities than are actually realized (Appendix II, ll. 206-209). When the Minister is describing the benefits of the budget proposal, he is, according to the response, being insincere. The response claims that both the state and the municipalities in Finland are spending more than they make (Appendix II, ll. 2220-221), which implicitly makes Finnish public finances unsustainable. The response offers their own alternative, which is “economically balanced, just like the previous one was” (Appendix II, ll. 225-226), thus representing the party in terms of consistency and implicit responsibility. To bolster this case, the response also notes that when the National Coalition has offered corrective measures, they have been officially rebuffed by the government, but actually implemented (Appendix II, ll. 214-215).

The following response is from the Left Alliance, in opposition. The party acknowledges that economic growth has been strong under this government, and that the ratio of state debt to GDP is already lower than was planned (Appendix II, ll. 230-234). This leaves more surplus to combat the key oversight in the government’s policy of allowing societal inequality to grow (Appendix II, ll. 236-238): “the Finnish society is right now more wealthy than it has ever been before, but not all citizens are equally party to this wealth” (Appendix II, ll. 239-240, 264-267). The response also claims that the circumstances within Finland have changed so that uncertainty has moved from an exogenous market factor into an endogenous social factor, which, in the form of e.g. increased fixed-term employment, makes working life increasingly uncertain (Appendix II, ll. 241, 245-248). This argument is bolstered through a claim to statistical authority (Appendix II, l. 250).

For the Left Alliance, as for the Social Democrats, working life has a central role in the response. Industrial closures and the outsourcing of manufacture are also mentioned as elements of uncertainty and economic difficulty on the individual level (Appendix II, ll. 242-244). The main problem identified in the response is taxation policy, which no longer evens out income inequalities
This is represented as a conscious value-choice; those least well-off have effectively been closed out of the increase in societal wealth. The government’s taxation policy helps the wealthy more than the poor, which makes this a objection based on a value premise of unfairness. Taxation plays a key role to finance “the services and the maintenance of the entire welfare society” (Appendix II, ll. 283-284).

The Left Alliance also criticizes the budget for setting public finances in trouble to “ensure the consistent reductions in taxation levels. In this case this process has contributed to the increase in societal inequality and the weakened of public services” (Appendix II, ll. 298-302). Tax deductions are represented in the response as path dependency. Though government parties refer to social justice, more social justice is needed (Appendix II, l. 302): “The Left Alliance demands a budget that increases social and regional equality. We now need solidarity both on a national and international level” (Appendix II, ll. 306-307).

The next response is from the Greens party, in opposition. The Greens state that “intergenerational fairness should be an important value in politics”, but that it is not for this government, followed by a moral statement: “this is not right” (Appendix II, ll. 310-311). In their response the Greens argue that the poor are only left with the “crumbs” of the economic growth. The Greens take up poverty policy in particular, stating that it is “as important as any other political policy” (Appendix II, l. 322), staking a claim to the traditionally more leftist area of political representation. The Finnish system no longer, it is claimed, offers equal opportunities. The response refers to the director of the (Evangelic-Lutheran state) church of Finland, Heikki Hiilamo to call the Finnish social security system a complicated and inflexible bureaucratic trap (Appendix II, ll. 319-321).

The overall take of the Greens’ response to the Finnish economy is fundamentally a defence of the status quo – quite similar to the arguments presented in the speech by the Social Democrat Minister of Finance Eero Heinäluoma:

“In Finland we often focus attention to a reasonable, collectively financed social security and welfare services combined with flexible job markets have led to good competitiveness. This combination has shown it works: caregiving and creativity has formed a virtuous circle. We’re taking a big risk if we neglect things that have turned out to be our assets” (Appendix II, ll. 336-339).

In short, the Finnish system functions well and departing from it would pose a greater risk. The response also deals with poverty as an international issue: it is
necessary for Finland do its part in sharing global responsibility (Appendix II, ll. 329-332). The role of environmental taxation is revisited in a fashion similar to the 2002 budget proposal response, by drawing on Sweden and Estonia as examples of positive environmental policy trends. The Greens also engage in futurism in their response, by referring to what the next government should do several times (Appendix II, ll. 310-311, 324-325, 330-331). This is because at the end of their response, the Greens also explicitly state that the party wants to be a part of realizing a more environmentally oriented cabinet after the elections (Appendix II, ll. 363-365). In their response the Greens are, in fact, already looking to the next electoral campaign, rather than commenting the budget proposal at hand.

The next response is from the Swedish People’s Party, the third party in government. Economically speaking the main point of the response is one of implicit social justice through assuring that the government’s policies actually do support those least well-off in society, and that “all taxpayers should be dealt with equally” (Appendix II, ll. 369-370, 373). There is clear inconsistency between the government and the opposition on how well the budget proposal (and past government policy) has addressed the needs of the poor. More work needs to be done, but that is pushed to the next government (Appendix II, ll. 372-373).

In terms of employment, the party response goes against the government’s own argument: while there have been undoubtedly increases in employment and the unemployment rate is at its lowest in over a decade, “despite economic growth we have certain structural problems that have to be solved. It is time to understand that some of the investments in employment policy are not returned as expected” (Appendix II, ll. 374-376). The party response also acknowledges the mismatch between supply and demand of labour, and considers it a high priority on a national scale: “a shortage of labour is a very real threat to the competitiveness of our nation, and our attractiveness to investments” (Appendix II, ll. 388-389). The language of competitiveness emerges more strongly as a reason for implementing labour market policies.

The second to last response comes from the Christian Democrats. The party response begins with employment, arguing that the government is too quick to claim success. Employment policy should be more efficient and high unemployment is seen as a prerequisite for the functionality of the Finnish economy and society: “Only with a sufficiently high rate of employment and good productivity trends can we secure welfare services and social security without
considerable pressures to increase taxation as the national demographics significantly shift” (Appendix II, ll. 401-403). The concern over Finnish demographics – the changing cost-structure of a society publically funded social programs – is represented as a crisis in the making, unless efficiently and promptly addressed.

The response also takes aim at the two main parties of government, noting that in light of statistical evidence both regional and societal inequality in Finland continues to grow, even though the Centre party and the Social Democrats should specialize in this particular policy areas respectively (Appendix II, ll. 411-414). Once more, the capacity of the government to handle policy correctly even in their strongest areas is being called into question. Both main government parties have, according to the response, lost credibility to the point of being counterproductive (Appendix II, ll. 421-424). The government’s budget proposal features no real solutions (Appendix II, ll. 436-438, 458-460). The critique is further stepped up in the response when the government’s ministers are accused of groundless electoral promises (Appendix II, ll. 447-449).

Economic growth alone has not been able to address social ills equally, and instead doing so requires “actual choices based on values” (Appendix II, ll. 477-478). Taking care of the poorest and the weakest in society is the manifestation of these values. Thus the Christian Democrats take it upon themselves to offer alternatives, drawing e.g. on the authority of the VATT Institute for Economic Research (Appendix II, ll. 425-427). These proposals represented as “completely realistic” (Appendix II, l. 450). The response also argues that the need to make significant changes is so great that reforms should not be pushed forward to the next election cycle (Appendix II, ll. 428-429). Though unlikely, suggesting immediate action has more argumentative appeal.

As the last response, the Finns party begins by acknowledging that external powers influence economic policy more than domestic agency, and that the Finnish economy is inexorably linked with the global economy (Appendix II, ll. 484-487). The Finns party argues through its response, that since the economic situation is so much better, there is room for redistribution, “but justly and within reason” (Appendix II, l. 491): “Finland has money, but the question remains where we want to spend it” (Appendix II, ll. 528-530). Here the Finns link argumentatively with the Greens to claim that the poor only get crumbs from the budget (Appendix II, ll. 492-494). As in their previous response, the Finns party argues that any tax breaks should be targeted on the lowest income levels, whereas
the government had only managed the removal of the wealth tax (Appendix II, ll. 495-496, 498-500). The response makes a second claim to facts by stating that tax breaks at lower income levels is directly fed back into consumption, whereas the return on tax relief on higher income levels is by comparison negligible (Appendix II, ll. 504-507).

The Finns draw attention to the Centre party’s neglect of rural constituencies, and its “flexibility” in making political compromises to the point of being “bewitched by the EU” (Appendix II, ll. 540-544). The response also accuses various parties of suddenly developing an interest in the affairs of the poor as elections are nearing. The political argument of actions speaking louder than words is reiterated towards the end of the response. The Finns demand immediate action on poverty – as did the Christian Democrats – and not pushing the goals over the elections (Appendix II, ll. 516-517). While the government talked up its new infrastructure and logistics investments, the Finns argue that by doing so the existing infrastructure continues to be neglected, incurring a debt comparable with monetary debt, and that infrastructure debt should be treated the same (Appendix II, ll. 534-538). This point was also mentioned in the previous response (Appendix I, ll. 581-582).

The aggregate argumentation scheme (Figure 33) covers the party responses, focusing specifically on economic policy claims and counter-claims to create a point of comparison with Finance Minister Heinäluoma’s argumentation model (Figure 32). As before, the parties are abbreviated in the scheme to mark arguments that were shared or exclusively offered to show commonalities and divisions in argumentation between the government parties and the opposition.

ARGUMENT AGGREGATED FROM RESPONSES TO THE 2007 BUDGET PROPOSAL

Claim The proposed budget should be accepted and adopted.

Circumstances Economic circumstances are extremely favourable at home and abroad, unlike at the start of the government’s term, but preparations for tougher times ahead should be made. While economic growth has been considerable, the benefits from this growth has distributed unevenly.

Goals Supporting entrepreneurship, municipal finances, employment and investing in the future (CTR); social exclusion should be prevented and all citizens included in society to promote equality (SD, SWP).
Values       Socially just policy and equality; all Finns are entitled to the results of economic success (CTR, SD). Economic policy itself is a tool of decisionmaking that includes values (SD). Preventing social exclusion in an inclusive society (SD).

Means–Goal The proposed action might not be the best action, but is a satisfactory political compromise with the best of intentions. The budget is carefully considered and necessary (i.e. reasonable but also inevitable: CTR).

Consequences Adopting the budget will ensure consistency in economic policy, improve the lives of Finns, and prepare for the future.

Addressing counter-claims One budget cannot solve all problems (SD), and some of the needs of some groups will need to be addressed in subsequent budgets by following governments (CTR, SWP). Much of the economic policy is continued on from that of the National Coalition, now in opposition (SD). The budget builds on previously agreed upon policy (CTR, SD).

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted, or it should at least be considerably amended.

Negative consequences Adopting the budget will increase long-term societal inequality and squander opportunities to act now (NC, CD, Finns).

Objection 1) The government’s (e.g. employment) policies are ineffectual (NC, SWP, CD) and the government parties incompetent (NC, CD) even in their theoretically strongest areas (CD); 2) the government’s budget is a wasteful and misguided (NC); 3) the government is all talk and no action (insincere: NC, CD, Finns); 4) working life has become increasingly precarious (LA); 5) high unemployment is a threat to Finnish national competitiveness (SWP, CD); 6) Targeting low-income earners with tax breaks would not only be morally just, it would be economically efficient, as the increase of disposal income would go directly into consumption (Finns).

Fairness (values) 1) The increased wealth in Finnish society is not evenly distributed, and societal inequality is allowed to grow (LA; Greens, Finns); 2) taking care of the weakest in society is a value choice (CD); 3) taxation policy cannot even out income inequality; instead of helping the poor it benefits the wealthy (LA); 4) intergenerational fairness demands investment in the future (i.e. children, families, students: Greens); 5) rural infrastructure is being neglected at a high cost (Finns).

Argument from authority Bureaucratic authorities within the Ministry of Finance find the budget proposal lacking, causing a discrepancy between ministerial and bureaucratic opinion (NC)
In terms of circumstances, none of the opposition responses challenge the positive economic outlook, even if they do engage in various forms of conservative estimates or predictions. The same applies also to values and goals; the expressed values and goals were largely explicitly or implicitly shared, although this is not very surprising considering how they were expressed in generically appealing terms. Even the parties in government acknowledge in their description of circumstances, that the benefits of economic growth have been distributed unevenly in society, exacerbating economic and social inequality. In effect, no parties disagree on the circumstances.

The parties in government also seek to emphasize how their goals and values are aligned; preventing social exclusion and creating an inclusive, equal society are values that motivate the parties towards this goal. It is also acknowledged that the government should take of the weakest in society, and that the government needs to invest in the future – both by demographics and preparing for an economic slowdown. The government’s argumentative weakness comes from the fact that despite being in power, this development has continued, leaving room for the
opposition to counter these claims. That a single budget proposal cannot solve all problems is another weak argument, as it is the fourth budget proposal by this government.

The government parties also seek to pre-emptively delegitimize opposition critique; the Social Democrats in particular target the National Coalition in an attempt to head off any counter-claims. The argument essentially claims that the National Coalition, based on its record, would have acted exactly the same as the parties in government have. When arguing their case it seems that political parties like to draw on consistency claims in a way to legitimize their own consistent policies, and delegitimize parties that are inconsistent. Consistency is seen as predictability, which is seen in a positive light (and not as inflexibility or path dependency). While this argument has some merit, it also neglects the possibility that parties could reorient themselves based on new evidence or circumstances: consistency demands may lock a party into obsolete policy tracks.

The opposition’s counter-claim is also problematic. There is evident friction between opposition parties, most notably between the Greens and the Finns. Global responsibility, environmental politics and immigration are all issues the responses starkly differed in. A second probably point of contestation within the opposition is the Left Alliance’s and the Finns’ desire to increase appropriations for the poor, given that the National Coalition already has criticized the government of loose spending. The opposition does roll out an expansive list of the government’s faults ranging from moral to procedural flaws, which challenges the government’s right to govern. Political insincerity – all talk and no action – is one key delegitimizing argumentative element. Although Minister of Finance Heinäluoma addressed several issues in his speech relating to future investments, this was still picked up widely by opposition parties. It is possible for the opposition to completely ignore statements made by the Minister of Finance and stick to a counter-claim that has already been somewhat addressed if the government’s defence is perceived as weak. Thus the dialogic and interactive nature of the responses can also be somewhat reduced, fixed by pre-planned lines of critique and counter-claims.
6.3.4 Finnish National Budgetary Speech: Proposed Budget for 2011 (14.9.2010), by Minister of Finance Jyrki Katainen (Kok/NC)

The third budgetary speech to be analysed – by Minister of Finance Jyrki Katainen – was delivered in the Finnish Parliament on September 14th, 2010. The speech (Parliamentary document PTK 82/2010 vp) has been translated and the transcripts for the speech and the responses separated. The Minister’s speech contains 1740 words in original Finnish (2800 words translated). The responses of the eight major parties contain nearly 11 000 words, abridged and translated to 8100 words, and included in the Appendix (Appendix III). This budgetary speech is given during the interim term of the Kiviniemi cabinet, which followed after three years of the second Vanhanen cabinet (Vanhanen II) with a Centre-right coalition. The National Coalition is included in the cabinet while the Centre party retains its position as the party of the prime minister.

The Social Democrats were in opposition for the first time after three consecutive terms in government. The government set-up could be described as relatively pro-market, given the platform of the National Coalition and the Centre-right preferences of the Centre party under Vanhanen. The financial conditions for the Vanhanen II/Kivimäki cabinets deteriorated globally due to the financial crisis spreading from US markets to Europe, leading to the sovereign debt crisis in many southern EU member states (Greece in particular, but also Spain, Italy, Portugal and Ireland; the infamous PIIGS abbreviations: Blyth 2013). While Finland was not directly affected by the unravelling markets at the time, as an EU-member Finland was required to participate in financial aid packages to Greece. Economic policy was adapted to an economic crisis context.

Looking back at the overall status of the Finnish economy discussed in chapter 3, in 2009 Finnish GDP collapses and retracts by several percentage points. The indicator manages to return positive at the beginning of 2010 (Figure 8), which is also the last year of the Vanhanen cabinet, settling in for the elections to come in 2011. Even if the GDP indicator was positive, after positive deficit ratios from 1998 on, in 2009 Finnish deficit-to-GDP ratio went negative again, and the accumulation of debt – seen in the debt-to-GDP ratio (Figure 9) – started to grow again. The difference to the 2007 budget proposal can be expected to be stark indeed.

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75 The same caveat relating to the response from the Swedish People’s Party applies here as in the previous subchapters.
The budget proposal for 2007 was aligned with Nokia’s own economic boom, but that boom had come to an end for Finland and Nokia alike. While the drop in Nokia’s stock prices (Figure 14 in chapter 5) was not as dramatic as the indicators for the Finnish economy, it was persistent. The depth of the unfolding crisis can be seen in the staff numbers turning sharply downwards in 2011 (Figure 12 in chapter 5). Both Finland and Nokia were facing down relatively difficult times ahead. The analysis next analyses the transcript of the speech delivered by Minister of Finance Katainen to the argumentative structure based on the text.
Distinguished Mr. Speaker! Dear representatives. When presenting the last budget proposal of this electoral term it seems prudent to summarize what has been done so far, where we are right now, and what is our direction forward.

The budget proposal for next year is a turning point after four tumultuous years of the world economy: it is a transition from powerful financial stimulus to gradually reduced indebtedness, balanced finances and marked budgetary surplus. The international financial crisis hit Finland’s export-oriented economy the hardest within the entire Eurozone. The government’s grand plan has been, through economic policy, to maintain positive economic development, increase employment and thus safeguard families from the storms of the international economy. We survived the biggest dip quite well, and the greatest thanks for this are owed of course to Finns and Finnish companies.

The recession was averted through immense financial stimulus. As an interim audit we could state that we have succeeded well even in difficult times: human suffering has been left smaller than what an 8% economic collapse might warrant. The price for the stimulus was, however, considerable. We deflected the recession by instalments, and those are coming due. When one asks smart Finns should the economy be put in order after the recession, or leave it to the dogs, there is no uncertainty regarding what their answer is. Our unequivocal goal is for Finland to remain a welfare society also in the years to come. This requires balanced public finances.

Taking care of the economy is taking care of the weakest in society. We keep our own house clean. It requires determination and a hard struggle. No one, however, will be left behind. No one.

([interjection: rep. Rajamäki] We already have!)

The success of economic policy can always be determined only in hindsight. It is thus possible to evaluate the actions taken during the couple of years of financial crisis. As I already said, the gross domestic product dropped the most in Finland out of the entire Eurozone. Our unemployment, however, hasn’t conversely increased at the same pace. This is a success, given how closely linked GDP and employment tends to be, unless temporary economic policy actions seek to influence this coupling, as was done this time.

There is an even more transparent and direct yardstick for the success of the government’s economic policy, however, and that is the cost at which different countries can borrow money from the markets. It relates directly to trust, and it speaks directly to the credibility, that the government’s economic policy has had of late. Finland’s credit rating is one of the strongest in Europe. Next year’s budget further strengthens our position in this regard. The price of debt reveals, without fail, how our policies have been met by trust. As the elections near, also the opposition’s policy proposals will affect Finland’s trust in the debt-markets.

I assume, however, that the opposition shares the government’s economic policy alignments in the bigger picture. Why does that trust matter, then? Losing trust may cost us billions of euros. If we paid the same interests rates for state debt as the problem-nations of Europe, we would have billions less to fund schools, health care Centres and elderly homes. We want to honor this trust. The greatest contributor to the trust Finland has gained has been our predictive and meticulously planned budget frame. Even in these difficult times we have been able to stay within the frames and uphold trust. The frames on expenditures have not prevented financial stimulus.

It has been possible to do many things outside of the frames, such as supporting construction and exports, moving cost cutting forward within the frame, and tax breaks implemented at a timely moment. The level of expenditures within the frames of this electoral term was moved up to maximize the effect of state-led stimulus. Now that payment, made in advance, will be collected in the budget for 2011.

When the overall expenditures for the state have grown by an average of 7% annually on this electoral term, the budget proposal for 2011 cuts that down to 2%. Simultaneously incurring debt will be reduced from approximately 12 billion euros this year to approximately 8 billion euros next year. We are moving from financial stimulus to financial austerity. Stimulus and austerity are in range and intensity a balancing act. For now we have succeeded well. Now we are once more at a crucial junction. We have balance between supporting economic growth and the sustainability gap. In any case we face adjustments in public finances, and it is best to get to it ahead of time.

The situation in the global economy, on the other hand, affects our economic growth more than any domestic actions. Third, the securing of the financial foundations of welfare society requires us to turn the faucets for stimulus to the bare minimum. Overall EU economic development seems quite positive. The news from the United States and Asian economies, on the other hand, are not particularly good. The influence of these economies to the Finnish one is considerable. If the United States’ economy continues
to grow, we have every possibility to attain even rapid growth next year. If, on the other hand, the United
States’ economy stalls, the negative implications will also be felt here in Finland. The biggest question we
have now is whether or not the economic growth will hold. In this kind of uncertainty one shouldn’t be an
optimist or a pessimist. Instead it pays to be a realist. Now is the time to make structural changes that are
profitable in any case, which build on the future.

Mr. Speaker! In expenditure and taxation emphases of the next budget we can get a good
understanding of the government’s outlook on how Finland’s future should be built. The university
reform will support Finnish skills and competitiveness. A green tax reform will encourage more
environmentally aware actions and the development of new environmentally friendly products for e.g.
exports. Energy policy solutions will ensure that industry and households will have access to energy at
reasonable prices, which is important for our competitiveness. On the other hand extensive investments in
renewable energy will increase employment and serve as a stimulus for new environmental innovation
R&D.

We are actively building a Finland, where skills are valued, where people create new jobs, where both
working and employing is profitable. We want to build a Finland that is genuinely at the cutting edge of
the green economy. This requires the capacity to make changes and sizable reforms.


The exceptionally large university reform with its new finance models is a more significant reform
than many people think. This reform will empower the production of new information and encourages
the universities to focus in their own specialties. Next year the state funding for universities will grow by
no less than 160 million euros. This is especially important, given that the basic mission of the universities,
high-quality teaching and research, are the bedrock of Finnish education. In addition to the increase in
funding by 160 million euros, altogether 125 million euros are reserved for the capitalization of the
universities. We will also implement a reform, which speeds up studies, and lowers the age of starting
studies. The goal is to reduce the average age at which students move into the workforce. Student
selection will be fundamentally reformed. The joint electronic application system for higher education will
be taken into use in 2013. Those applying for the first time will be favoured in the student selection. The
rate at which graduated students from higher education find employment will be included in the funding
system. The structure of studies will be developed further so that students have the opportunity to
graduate at a faster pace than now.

([interjection: rep. Korhonen] This has been done for many years already!)

At the same time student subsidies will be developed so that they encourage full-time studies. Rights
to student subsidies will be changed to reflect two-tiered higher education studies. Housing allowance will
be included in the subsidy period, and follow-up of studies will be reformed. In short, a lot is being done,
and a lot has already been done. The government enacted a 15% index increase to the student subsidy at
the very beginning of its term. Now the requirement for means-testing the student subsidy during e.g.
internships will be reduced, and the meal subsidy for higher education students increased.

Mr. Speaker! The massive energy policy solutions of this year, which combine a considerable policy
initiative for renewable energy and nuclear energy policy, will write the manuscript for the Finland of
tomorrow. Environmental tax increases will collect revenue for the needs of the welfare society in a
smarter way than now. Secondly, we want to make a clear choice and move the burden of taxation away
from working and employing to taxing environmental consumption.

([interjection: rep. Zyskowicz] Do the Social Democrats disagree?)

Socially, ecologically, and economically sustainable development needs a functional and growing
economy. This is why we want to bring responsible market economy into the service of environmental
protection. A vehicle tax based on environmental grounds has already yielded results: in a few years the
emissions from new cars have dropped by 15%. People have been incentivized to make environmentally
smart choices.

([interjection: rep. Zyskowicz] To use public transport!)

Shouldering responsibility for the environment does not have to be all prohibitions doomsday
declarations. We don’t have to give up everything, if we make the right choices. Finland must be made
into a carbon-neutral society in the future. To this end we need all emissionless sources of energy and
incentives to move into emissionless fuels and technologies. This why the green tax reform will be
continued in next year’s budget. The taxation on fuel will be changed into an environmentally defined
model. In the future the taxation of all fuels will be determined by the energy content and carbon
emissions. Traffic fuels will also take related emissions into account.

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The change will decrease the taxation on environmentally friendly traffic fuels. The purpose is to attract new investments into the development of domestic, low-emission fuels. In the same way our goal is also to encourage the use of environmentally friendly fuels. We want to encourage people and companies into environmentally friendly action. Polluting is a choice, which in the future will simply cost more.

[interjection: rep. Tiusanen] Except for peat!

The new structure of energy taxation has been broadly recognized. The details have been fine-tuned up to the very last moments. The new model for energy taxation will with certainty guide investments towards low-emission energy production. Many have been concerned that the taxation changes of coal and gas may impractically lead to gas being replaced with coal. To this issue science and research give no clear answer. It is always about assumptions. Many elements beyond our control can influence this, such as the effects of emissions trading, the price developments for both coal and gas, and the completion of power plant investments. The government wants to be sure in this regard, however. So that our goal of reduced emissions could be realized also in the short term, we will scale the tax on the energy content of natural gas to the final level being determined in 2015. In so doing we have the opportunity to follow the development of this form of energy for example after renewed emissions trading system coming into effect in 2013. In 2013 emissions rights will become subject to a charge. This is estimated to affect the competitiveness of coal in a negative way.

One of the most significant reforms of this government’s term is at hand, which will have, alongside other energy policy solutions, a considerable positive affect on innovations and the creation of a new environmental technology economy in Finland. This is what I believe. Some have declared they’re against the green taxation reform. This would mean a stricter taxation of work, and more modest revenues from environmental taxes. This, in turn, would mean poorer employment rates and a weaker welfare society.

The theme of green economy is also visible in the extensive subsidy policy targeting renewable energy. Production subsidies for renewable energy will be directed to wind power, biogas, forestry wood chip combustion, and electricity produced by wood fuel. The government will also support the introduction and deployment of geothermal heat pumps and a shift to wood pellet heating in previously oil, or electricity heated houses. We want to target the millions in renewable energy subsidies into investments, through which Finnish know-how will grow into a global exports.

Green economy and environmental responsibility require actions, which require the courage the make even larger reforms. The state can act as an enabler in the creation of something new, even if people and companies will implement the change in practice.

Mr. Speaker! Increasing social justice has been one the most important goals of this government. We have wanted to take care of the weakest in society. That means that societal income transfers and subsidies are not scattered to the tune of a couple of euros to everyone, but that those who need help the most will be substantially supported.

The guaranteed pension to be implemented next year is a value choice. The guaranteed pension will increase the pension income of especially in the low-income bracket for e.g. people who have been injured when they were young and thus unable to work or elderly housewives whose work has consisted of taking care of the children. The guaranteed pension will increase the smallest pensions by at least 100 euros for pensioner spouses who make even 170 euros a month.

The linking of several families’ allowances to the national-pension index will also strengthen especially the position of low-income families with children. In the future also child allowances, household allowances, and subsidies for private care will be increased to match to increase in prices.

Mr. Speaker! In next year’s budget we will pay the first instalment for the bill incurred during the recession. If we could redress our economy in this way for the three following budgets, we would again gain a surplus in public finances in the same scale as we did before the world economy came to a standstill. This shows the pace at which the work to adjust the economy has been begun. A lot of work remains ahead of us. There will be work also for future governments, but this work must be done to preserve the Finnish welfare society’s foundations – public finances – on a healthy terms.

I believe we will need several instruments at our disposal, at least five different instruments. To have enough labour force to pay the taxes and fill the jobs, we will need longer working lives. I also believe that we need to step up the efficiency of the public sector both by the state and the municipalities. We need tax reform that strengthens economic growth and other actions that will attract investments to Finland also in the future. In addition to this we will need discipline regarding expenditures and tax increases. This is what I believe.
Politics is always full of alternatives: we can for example choose if we will work in roughly 15-20 a few
years longer on average than now, and we will cut public expenditures needlessly by a few extra billions of
euros. Even if we choose to do so, we still shouldn’t touch the basic security of those weakest in society.
Personally I would choose longer working lives than now for healthy workers. We can also choose
whether to support the change into larger municipalities and removing administrative overlap, or will we
take more out of the pockets of wage earners and pensioners, and from the employment capacity of
companies, through tax increases.
By opposing the lengthening of working life, the national productivity program, and reforms
expediting economic growth will drive Finland into ever harder tax increases and expenditure cuts. Every
measure taken in the three previous points – the length of working lives, increased efficiency in the public
sector, tax solutions that foster growth – reduces the need to make even more unpleasant measures.
Mr. Speaker! Employment, new growth, investment in Finland and bringing the public finances back
in order are the three points this government wants to advance. I believe these are also things that
responsible and smart Finns expect from us.
([interjection: rep. Rajamäki] We’ll soon see if the emperor has clothes!)
The budget proposal after the immediate fallout from the 2008 financial crisis shares some similarities with the first budget proposal for 2003 (subchapter 6.3.2.), and is markedly different from the budget proposal in an economic boom for 2007 (subchapter 6.3.3.). Though the economic issues dominate the budget – as expected – there are also other initiatives present: the analysis revealed that this is not a single-issue budget. There were a total of seven interjections from members of Parliament, but the Minister of Finance did not choose to address them.

The speech begins with an overview of past, present, and future economic policy, which is a common feature for all budget proposals discussed so far. The budget proposal for 2011 is described by the Minister as a turning point after “four tumultuous years of the world economy: it is a transition from powerful financial stimulus to gradually reduced indebtedness, balanced finances and marked budgetary surplus” (ll. 4-6). The Minister also claims that the crisis hit Finnish exports the hardest within the entire Eurozone (ll. 6-7, 22-23). The Minister argues that the government has sought to maintain positive economic development and employment in order to safeguard Finnish families from the calamities of the global economy. This protective act was managed through “immense financial stimulus” (l. 11). The price for said stimulus has been considerable, though. The Minister uses the metaphor of making a payment – economic stimulus – with borrowed money, which now has to be repaid. This logic relies on the metaphor that equates public finances with private household debt. Secondly, the Minister also draws on represented public opinion by declaring that “smart Finns” would agree that the public finances must be balanced so that the goal of maintaining Finland as a welfare society can be realized (ll. 14-17).

In essence the Minister of Finance seems to argue that the recession has been successfully weathered through stimulus, and now a change in the direction of economic policy is necessary. This is the turn to austerity politics. The timing of this change coincides perfectly with the general shift in economic policy at the European level: by mid-to-late-2009 the moment of Keynesian stimulus was being actively overturned in favour of austerity (Blyth 2013: 60-62). While there were arguments that the turn to austerity was premature – many economies had not recovered – the consensus became that reducing public debt and thus restoring market confidence was more important (ibid.; Streeck 2014: 73-75). A Finnish budget proposal for 2011, offered in September 2010, is a natural extension of the proliferation of this ideology.

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76 This is true, according to the CEPR’s Policy portal (Sinn & Vanetinyi 2013), and confirmed by Eurostat data.
The Minister is indeed quick to invoke hardships ahead, which will require determination and struggle (l. 19). Like organizations, national economies are only reborn through painful (but necessary) sacrifice. The Minister softens this by making a moral claim of no one being left behind (ibid.). Even so, the representation of the economic realities in the budgetary speech clearly takes precedence. This is evident in the section of the speech identifying international market trust as a clear, transparent and direct way to measure the success of economic policy (ll. 27-33). In other words, the Minister of Finance represents market trust as the measure of economic policy as an ultimate authority. Finland’s credit rating – still AAA at the time – is one of the concrete expressions of this trust. The government’s national economic policy is hence aimed at honouring and maintaining this trust as a high priority.

This priority assumes such authority, that the Minister suggests that careless proposals of the opposition’s economic policy might jeopardize the situation (ll. 32-33). Resisting the government’s economic logic – the logic asserted by the financial markets – is associated with irresponsibility: “Losing trust may cost us billions of euros. If we paid the same interest rates for state debt as the problem-nations of Europe, we would have billions less to fund schools, health care centres and elderly homes. We want to honour this trust” (ll. 35-37), even in difficult times (l. 39). Stimulus becomes irresponsible, and austerity seeks to restore trust by curtailing expenditures and the amount of state debt incurred (ll. 45-49). Although “austerity” is not used literally –”tightened economic policy” (ll. 49-51) – a literal expression is not necessary if the policy measures match.

The Minister describes himself as realist, rather than an optimist or pessimist (l. 60), in the currently uncertain economic circumstances. The proposal rests on the “common sense” of maintaining the trust of the global financial markets. Shift from stimulus to austerity is represented as a necessity for the preservation of the welfare society (ll. 53-54). This argument features new discourse: “the sustainability gap” (l. 50) refers to fiscal sustainability in terms of the risk of reduced state solvency when expenditures consistently exceed its income. In other words, the sustainability gap marks the distance between revenue and expenditures. Thus a balanced budget – or surplus – becomes the only definition for “sustainable” in this context. The Minister also acknowledges the considerable influence of the global economy on Finland: if the great economies of the world recover, Finnish exports are also expected to recover (ll. 54-57). If they do not, Finland will suffer even more; outside forces, rather than internal agency, once again decide Finland’s future (ll. 52-53). However, if austerity becomes the economic policy of choice,
then all countries will seek to minimize imports and maximize exports (Blyth 2013). In other words, cutting expenditures to increase competitiveness becomes a race to the bottom. A national economy implementing austerity is dependent on other economies not doing the same.

The middle of the budget proposal deals with two major themes: university reform, and environmental policy and green economy. The first discusses the need for the university reform to support Finnish skills and competitiveness (ll. 64-65), and though it is discussed at length, the core goal can be summarized in seeking “to reduce the average age at which students move into the workforce” (l. 81). The second seeks to ensure Finnish competitiveness through energy policy (ll. 66-67) by shifting the onus of taxation from work to (environmental) consumption. Indeed, the new reform on environmental taxation will provide revenue for the welfare society “in a smarter way than now” (ll. 96-97). This initiative would “bring responsible market economy into the service of environmental protection” (ll. 101-102), and further “encourage people and companies into environmentally friendly action” (ll. 115-116). The way the argument is formed seems like the state is acting as a national promoter of corporate social responsibility.

The success of these initiatives requires “the capacity to make changes and sizable reforms” (l. 72); Finns must display willpower and conviction to carry out change. The Minister, though, represents the change in its most positive potential: “we don’t have to give up everything, if we make the right choices” (l. 107). The speech also rather abruptly states that “increasing social justice has been one of the most important goals of this government” (l. 144). Social justice in the context of this proposal means targeting income transfers and subsidies to only those who need help the most, and not haphazardly and ineffectually distributed (ll. 144-147).

In essence, this is the same as focusing on core competencies in the context of business discourse (and often repeated in media discourse: ”Terve bisnes jää jäljelle”: KL 30.10.2013). In other words, some social policies are defined as the core of what society (and state) has to do, and the rest is discretionary. It is interesting to note, that one staple piece of discourse from the previous budget proposals – inequality – does not feature in this proposal even in this context. The Minister concludes with optimism, despite the circumstances: as an expression of futurism, making the right choices would enable surplus to develop, and return to the time before the financial crisis hit (ll. 157-161). There is a promise, then, of a return to normalcy. This work is sternly handed to future governments in the context of preserving the foundations of the Finnish welfare society. If the
government’s proposal in 2006 was accused of overextending its logistical spending decisions, this proposal rather confidently extends cost-cutting decisions.

Both the state and the municipalities are called to enact reforms that increase efficiency in the public sector (ll. 163-164). The Minister considers the combination of “tax reform that strengthens economic growth and other actions that will attract investments to Finland also in the future” and “discipline regarding expenditures and tax increases” (ll. 164-167). Within this one argument structure the Minister repeats three times that this is something he believes, delivering a faith-based argument to convey sincerity. Overall there are five different points where the Minister attests his belief as an element of his argument (see also: Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 131).

The alternatives that the Minister offers are essentially between the government’s proposal and something worse. For example, “we can choose” to support the municipal reform to decrease costs, or to “take out more out of the pockets of wage-earners and pensioners (ll. 171-174). Implementing the measures proposed by the government “reduces the need to make even more unpleasant measures” (ll. 177-178). In short, when the Minister states that “politics is always full of alternatives” (l. 168), he means that there are good and bad alternatives, the government’s being the prior. The government’s alternative, the Minister suggests, is what “responsible and smart Finns” expect (ll. 180-181). There is no room left for counter-claims or objections, again filled in as hypotheticals, as the Minister offers no caveats in his own proposal. The negative consequences of failing to act overwhelm any possible objections. This argument is undoubtedly powerful, but it also draws the closest to business discourse in politics so far.

ARGUMENT BY MINISTER KATAINEN

Claim The budget proposal should be accepted and adopted.

Circumstances After successfully reacting to the global financial crisis with immense economic stimulus (l. 11), the budget proposal is a turning point in a transition to austerity politics (ll. 4-6, 47-49). The debts incurred by stimulus will now have to be repaid. Finnish exports suffered exceptionally in the financial crisis (ll. 6-7, 22-23). Market trust is the primary way of measuring the success of economic policy. Given the economic uncertainty after the crisis, Finland has to show the international financial markets that its public finances are in good order to maintain access to affordable debt (ll. 35-37, 49-51).

Goals Change of direction in economic policy from austerity to stimulus, a balanced budget which enabled paying back incurred debt. Finland must maintain the trust of the financial markets through specific economic policy (ll. 27-33) and preserve the welfare society (ll. 53-54, 160-161). Doing so will help the Finnish
economy recover and increase competitiveness. Public finances have to be made more efficient both on the municipal and state levels (ll. 163-164).

Values Smart and responsible Finns understand that only through balanced finances the Finnish welfare society can be maintained (ll. 14-17, 185-186). Owed debts must be repaid. No one will be left behind in the process, however (l. 19). The right choices must be made (l. 109) to honour societal values, such as social justice (l. 148).

Means–Goal Adopting the government’s budget proposal will achieve the goals, and they are the best alternative to reaching these goals.

Means–Goal premise To succeed, Finns must show their willpower and conviction to make changes and sizable societal reforms (l. 73) and attract future investments (ll. 169-171). Following budgets will also have to balance public finances to return to normalcy (ll. 160-163).

Fiscal responsibility (values) To depart from market-accepted responsible balancing of public finances might incur serious consequences as the interest rate for Finnish debt increases (ll. 35-37). Public finances should be sustainable to address the sustainability gap (l. 51). While there is choice in politics, there is only one responsible choice that reduces the need for even more unpleasant measures to be taken (ll. 182-183). Smart and responsible Finns will recognize this (ll. 185-186). The opposition should follow along the lines of responsible public finances proposed by the government (ll. 32-33, 180-181) now and in the future.

Sustainability (values) Environmental taxation will also bring responsible market economy to serve environmental goals (ll. 100-104).

Consequences This budget and following budgets following the same guidelines will allow Finland to return to balanced public finances.

Negative consequences of failing to act Finnish public finances would not be balanced and the trust of the international financial markets would be lost, costing Finland billions of euros (ll. 35-37).

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted or adopted.

Objection Alternatives to the current economic policy exist.
Responses to the speech from Parliamentary parties

By order of the speaker of the Parliament Sauli Niinistö, the responses to the speech were allocated 15 minutes per speaker. The analysis of the responses will proceed in order of the parties giving their responses as before and each response laid out before forming an aggregate argumentative scheme. The parties in government at the time of delivering the speech were the Centre party (Prime Minister party), the National Coalition, the Greens, and the Swedish People’s Party. The rest of the parties were in opposition. The abridged translated transcript of the response can be found in Appendix III with line numbers for reference.

The first response is given by the Centre party. The response expresses some optimism, given that exports and employment have improved and consumer confidence is high despite the recession (Appendix III, ll. 1-3). The government is credited for navigating through the financial crisis successfully, with the emphasis...
being on an international recession – Finland was influenced by negative external forces – and on the government’s responsible response (Appendix III, ll. 3-5). The government has managed to succeed even in difficult economic circumstances (Appendix III, ll. 30-31). Still, the future of the nation demands responsible economic policy to balance public finances (Appendix III, ll. 19-21), which seems like a euphemism for austerity. The debts must be brought under control, as they would otherwise risk ruining promising economic growth (Appendix III, ll. 21-22). The emphasis on debt incurred during the recession is a bit undercut by the acknowledgement that Finland has one of the least indebted western public finances (Appendix III, ll. 18-19). It is not surprising that politicians, like corporate operatives, discuss the future actively in a crisis, placing a lot of emphasis on the future that would legitimize policy in the present. The necessity of preserving the welfare society has been repeated in practically all budgetary speeches and responses, which makes it a strong discursive trope in the Finnish context.

The emphasis on debt incurred during the recession is a bit undercut by the acknowledgement that Finland has one of the least indebted western public finances (Appendix III, ll. 18-19). It is not surprising that politicians, like corporate operatives, discuss the future actively in a crisis, placing a lot of emphasis on the future that would legitimize policy in the present. The necessity of preserving the welfare society has been repeated in practically all budgetary speeches and responses, which makes it a strong discursive trope in the Finnish context.

The new energy taxation reform included in the budget proposal is represented as a step “in the direction of self-sustained and renewable energy production”, which will “sow the seeds for future economic growth and Finland’s future success” (Appendix III, ll. 39-41). This metaphor, too, explains policy as investment in the future. The Centre party lays claim to values such as social justice in the realization of government policy (Appendix III, l. 35). The party response states that the position of those worst off in society is improved by concrete actions, rather than flowery discourse (Appendix III, ll. 37-38).

Addressing constituency concerns, however, the response acknowledges that energy taxation cannot disproportionately target transport, as the regional equality of citizens must be safeguarded (Appendix III, ll. 43-44). Similarly the response attests to securing sufficient funding for municipalities, noting that they weathered the financial crisis better than was expected. However, the municipalities also need to do their share to balance public finances now and in the future (Appendix III, ll. 55-58). The Centre party’s response also moves again municipal reform that would seek the benefits of economies of scale; “driving down the number of municipalities will not automatically bring savings” (Appendix III, ll. 60-62)\(^77\).

The moral message of the response is encapsulated by the final paragraph of the response, where responsibility and sensible economic policy are called upon. There is a need for real debate that works toward shared wellbeing and welfare (Appendix

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\(^{77}\) The municipal reform in general is discussed a very limited way in this budget, which reveals a possible weakness in the analysis offered here: new policy initiatives that are introduced between budgets chosen for analysis may become entrenched and self-evident in later references.
Sincerity and solidarity are occupied by the Centre party’s response, leaving very little space in terms of socially acceptable positions to the opposition.

The second response comes from the second party in the cabinet, the National Coalition. The party response also emphasizes the international recession, which caused an exceptional collapse of the Finnish economy. The Finnish economy, being heavily export-oriented, suffered more than other western nations (Appendix III, ll. 78-82). The circumstances, as they are represented here, could with good reason be called catastrophic. However, the response applauds the government’s actions to avoid mass unemployment, which also meant incurring massive debt. The debt was taken on for a good cause, but now it is time to begin reducing it as soon as possible (Appendix III, ll. 84-87). Finnish consumer confidence has remained exceptionally high, providing some relief in the circumstances (Appendix III, ll. 92-95). Correct economic policy has been rewarded by consumer confidence; the citizens, through the markets, have signalled approval. The implication is that stimulus policy was responsible policy at the time, and now it is responsible to move on. There is no acknowledgment of the possibility that stimulus policy drove consumer confidence, or that austerity might be counterproductive.

The response emphasizes that the government’s consistent and consensual actions. The response notes that the socially just choice has been made to help those “who cannot improve their wellbeing through their own work” (Appendix III, ll. 112-115). This was also echoed by the claim that “Finland’s strength has been based in our readiness to set the common goals above personal gain. Finland’s national interest absolutely has to be built above all sorts of power-political aspirations in the future as well” (Appendix III, ll. 149-151). This is a call to greater common values of solidarity, and setting common (but nationalistic) goals beyond personal gain.

Public allowances are now to be linked with cost indices to help them retain their purchasing power; this is how the increase in energy taxation is compensated to lowest income groups as a matter of socially just policy (Appendix III, ll. 120-123). These are value choices, as is the green tax reform: unlike “arbitrary” environmental taxes, this reform is carefully considered (Appendix III, ll. 125-129). It is noteworthy, however, as the opposition responses point out, that this is also a shift from progressive taxation to typically non-progressive indirect taxes.

In terms of addressing potential counter-claims, the response predicts critique for the government’s employment appropriations. The response argues that the
efficiency of employment measures cannot be deduced from the size of budget appropriations alone (Appendix III, ll. 98-99). The response also reproaches the response by the Centre party for completely ignoring its partners in the cabinet. Comments on consensus, consistency, and seamless, determined co-operation all represent a strongly aligned government (Appendix III, ll. 112-116, 147-149). The National Coalition thanks labour market organizations for their contributions combined with a call to the opposition to also value this success.

Responsibility features again powerfully as a discursive trope in this response, as economic policy, decisionmakers and decisionmaking all are cast under the auspices of responsibility (Appendix III, ll. 75-76, 87-88, 144-145). It is responsible to enact challenging yet expansive future-oriented reforms (Appendix III, ll. 150-151). The goal expressed by the response is building the welfare society of the future. This goal also shares close resemblance with corporate futurism. The response concludes by asserting that the budget at hand exemplifies “the government’s capacity of look into the future, to build the welfare society on sustainable grounds” (Appendix III, ll. 154-156).

The third response comes from the Social Democrats. The response claims that the Minister of Finance and two parties in government have managed to present a rather one-sided view of the state of the nation so far (Appendix III, ll. 158-161). It suits the Social Democrats to remind the listeners of the favourable economic situation and political legacy handed down to this cabinet (Appendix III, ll. 164-167). The response blames the government for poor fiscal management and mounts a competing account of responsibility to delegitimize the government by emphasizing the evaporation of several billions in surplus into 8 billion in deficit and a ratio of state debt to GDP nearing 50%. The government’s attempt to deflect responsibility (and accountability) to outside forces is denied (Appendix III, ll. 173-175).

The response repurposes the sustainability gap into its own use to critique the performance of the current government. The sustainability gap is represented rather as the result of a “record-breaking tax reduction program” that the government implemented “despite severe conditions in the public economy” (Appendix III, ll. 179-182). Thus it is implicitly immoral, according to the response, to use the sustainability gap, which was self-inflicted, as an objective premise to call for sacrifices in public finances. The argument is that the government misspent its stimulus on tax breaks that created the very problem in public finances now used as basis for austerity.
The circumstances in Finland are represented as dramatically changed; Finland “has been a society of great opportunity and equality”, but is now becoming increasingly polarized based on income inequality (Appendix III, ll. 185-190). In particular taxes on wealth and capital are identified as a problem. True to their platform, the Social Democrats take up employment as a point of emphasis, as everything in Finland is “contingent on new jobs, safeguarding current jobs, and people’s employment” (Appendix III, ll. 213-216). To improve employment the Social Democrats suggest precision stimulus. While the parties in government seem determined to end stimulus in favour of austerity, the Social Democrats support continued stimulus – for long-term and youth unemployment. The response also briefly mentions the dire straits of municipal finances, where more funds are needed to guarantee all the necessary services (Appendix III, ll. 223-224).

While there are some policies in the budget that the Social Democrats support, by and large these are found insufficient. The solution for public finances offered by the Social Democrats is an increase in capital and wealth taxation to counter existing tax breaks. Rather than discussing “the bill” of incurring debt, the Social Democrats discuss “the bill” of imbalanced public finances due to tax breaks (Appendix III, ll. 228-230). The current government is accused of favouring flat taxes, merely camouflaged as green consumption taxes (Appendix III, ll. 231-233). The party response also notes that social responsibility payments by businesses have been moved on private households (Appendix III, ll. 241-242). An unequally shifted tax burden means not all Finns participate equally in the collective effort to save public finances78. The goal of the Social Democrats’ response is to champion an alternative budget that supports employment, reduces societal polarization, and increases social justice (Appendix III, ll. 243-244, 247-2249).

The following response, coming from the Left Alliance, is relatively similar to the one by the Social Democrats. The Left Alliance would rather increase expenditures (stimulus) than cut services, but compensating this by tax increases. In terms of policy, the party responses emphasizes that active employment policy is still needed (Appendix III, ll. 261-267). The response also echoes the argument of the Social Democrats that the move from taxing work to taxing consumption is a glorified marketing trick of the National Coalition and the Greens (Appendix III, ll. 279-

78 The specific term used, “lamatalkoot”, refers to collective, communal work, which is quite typical of Finnish discourse. With a relatively small labour pool, Finns have worked together for collective goods. This discourse is repurposed as consensus, co-operation, and shared sacrifice in the economic context of a recession.
According to the response – and in line with their 2006 response – the taxation system has become increasingly unequal by favouring high-income earners and by increasing indirect taxes that impact low-income earners (Appendix III, ll. 282-285). Taxation is a key ideological point for the party: the response finds the Greens’ willing complicity very problematic. While apparently expecting such measures from the National Coalition, the actions of the Greens are represented as counter to their stated values.

The response identifies the state productivity program as something to be abandoned (Appendix III, ll. 276-278). The program was initiated under the Vanhanen I cabinet to increase the efficiency in the public sector. It was a plan of structural reform to increase the competitiveness and the public sector and plan for future challenges. The program had led to arbitrary outcomes, and ironically, decreased efficiency in the public sector (Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2011). While efficiency might have been the original goal, the program was interpreted as shorthand for staff reductions, regardless of efficiency outcomes. The response represents the program as a camouflaged ideologically guided public sector termination program.

Like the Social Democrats, the Left Alliance also targets the transfer of social responsibility payments from businesses to households (Appendix III, ll. 298-299). The response furthermore would like to scrap the energy taxation in its entirety for turning environmental taxes into fiscal tools, rather than using them to influence consumption to the point that they are no longer needed (Appendix III, ll. 299-302). The response of the Left Alliance is concerned over fate of the Nordic welfare model, which has been a successful recipe for a more just and equal society. The response makes a direct reference to neoliberalism undermining the Nordic welfare state (Appendix III, ll. 303-307). According to even the government’s own numbers, that model is now jeopardized, creating growing demographics of persistent low income (Appendix III, ll. 309-310). The Left Alliance’s alternative budget would increase taxation, make capital taxes progressive, and restore the wealth tax to finance employment and improvements in basic security (Appendix III, ll. 315-320). Progressive taxation is represented as just, and as a key element of the Nordic welfare model.

The next response is from the Greens, in government. The response is very forward-looking, thanks to the government having staved off the crisis. The Greens consider the budget proposal at hand to be well balanced (Appendix III, ll. 327-329, 332-333), as it aims to finance welfare society and reduce deficit by
expanding the tax base (Appendix III, ll. 334-3336). The response argues that a system where “everyone has the prerequisites for a good life and work” is worth financing, and to this end tax increases are not only possible but supported (Appendix III, ll. 337-340). The energy taxation reform is seen to benefit employment as it redirects tax burden to consumption, though the response does note such taxation may be less effective as a tool against income inequalities (Appendix III, ll. 342-337). The Greens’ response calls for “unbiased research on the social effects of the government’s tax reform” to support factual claims and defuse baseless critique (Appendix III, ll. 354-356). The green tax reform is undoubtedly the Greens’ major goal in the budget proposal, and positively represented through the promise of energy efficiency and new jobs in a new future growth industries of a sustainable economy (Appendix III, ll. 360-362).

The response draws on majority opinion via polls that show high citizen support for the tax reform (Appendix III, ll. 362-365). Popular support in a democracy should serve as an argument from authority. Given that the Left Alliance claims that Finns favour progressive taxation, the claim by the Greens would seem to counter this argument. The Greens also present themselves as a party of the future, which acknowledges that the world economy is changing, and a transition from an industrial society is taking place. The Greens are essentially a party for this new era, where Finland has “to be agile and determined to keep jobs and create new throughout this transition” (Appendix III, ll. 383-384). The term “green-collared shirts” is coined to mark this new era. (Appendix III, ll. 387-388). There is a distinct tendency towards futurism that is stronger in the Greens’ response than in the others, emphasizing the tasks ahead for the next government (Appendix III, ll. 392, 397, 412). It is interesting that the response would try to pass these goals forward without any knowledge of the composition of the next cabinet.

The Greens’ response criticizes its political opponents – the Social Democrats in particular – for contradictory policy initiatives, which is reflect in their lack of direction (Appendix III, ll. 368-373). The Greens expect that “all responsible parties must put forth a credible vision on balancing the budget. This is not only about economic policy, but about the parties speaking out their vision for securing the future of the welfare society” (Appendix III, ll. 413-415). This is offered as a moral prerogative, as the Greens themselves pledge to “secure the economy of the welfare society in a socially and environmentally sustainable way” (Appendix III, ll. 417-418).
The following response comes from the Swedish People’s Party, in government. The response allows for some careful optimism, but sees unemployment as a major problem. Inequality is reflected in the statement that “all demographics are not faring as statistical averages would suggest” (Appendix III, ll. 422-423). The party is also uneasy about taking on more debt in the budget proposal: it is not “sustainable in the long term, and we must strive for sustainable public finances as soon as possible” (Appendix III, ll. 426-427). Sustainable and responsible finances are strictly within the realm of austerity. The party response expresses concern over preparing for the next negative economic cycle: “in good times we must build surplus, which can act as a buffer and enable stimulus in bad times” (Appendix III, ll. 428-429). This is essentially a Keynesian argument. It is fairly interesting to find it here in conjunction with a party that is in a government that has selected austerity as its new economic policy. Indeed, the concerns typical of austerity politics are voiced in the following sentence which states – erroneously79 – that Finland faces the largest demographic challenge in Europe (Appendix III, ll. 429-431). This claim is used to boost the severity of the Finnish sustainability gap.

The response also notes that the opposition’s political commitments seem fickle and quickly changing (Appendix III, ll. 432-435). Disconnect between discourse and practice is suggested – insincerity. This is a claim that is used by parties in government and opposition alike. The response claims that the government for its part has exemplified consensus politics in action. The green taxation reform is to be implemented in a socially just way (Appendix III, ll. 439-440). Interestingly, though, the response ends with an acknowledgment that Finland’s social conscience should expand beyond its borders, and that the government is to finally increase development aid to the level recommended by the UN (Appendix III, ll. 444-447). It does not seem like an unlikely prediction that when public finances are tight, some parties will react with hostility to initiatives of this sort.

The second to last party to offer its response is the Christian Democrats, in opposition. The response describes the entire budget process as a waste of time and resources since even expert opinion rarely changes anything (Appendix III, ll. 451-452). Rather than discussing the economic situation, the response claims that the budget is clearly not the best possible budget at this conjuncture (Appendix III, ll. 454-455, 494-496). The response calls for a broader societal discussion beyond just the Parliament to determine whether or not this budget proposal is the best

79 When discussing demographics, at least Portugal and Italy, discussed more expansively by Blyth (2013: 68-70) have far greater problems with sustainable demographics.
The response makes a strong moral argument, claiming that the government's budget proposal is austerity, but evasively so before an election year. The government’s behaviour is unfair and cowardly (Appendix III, ll. 455-458). Debt still is a cause for alarm: “everyone certainly is aghast at this spiral of debt: 30 billion euros in 3 years is almost as much as the state receives in tax revenue next year” (Appendix III, ll. 468-471).

The circumstances border on a rare example of Finnish exceptionalism: “If you look at what Finland is today, it is the world’s best country. It is undisputedly the world’s best country”. There are problems, of course, but they can be corrected, “if we so choose” (Appendix III, ll. 459-461). The response proposes general cut of 50 million in every ministry, which would gain savings “without inflicting suffering to those in the most difficult position in our society” (Appendix III, ll. 475-476). The response goes on to identify potential locations of waste, where savings could be considered reasonable. The response claims that identifying targets to eliminate waste can be done, if one has the readiness to do so, without adversely affecting those weakest in society.

The response also suggests increasing revenue by cancelling tax breaks. While implementing austerity, the government also is implementing 450 million euro tax break, which could be better used to refinance failing services (Appendix III, ll. 486-489). The Christian Democrats also propose, calling back to their 2002 response, a banking tax to allow the state to refinance without severely damaging business activities (Appendix III, ll. 490-494).

The final response comes from the Finns party, in opposition. The party’s response accuses the government for jeopardizing positive growth predictions; for the Finns the current budget is interpreted as the anathema for growth. The green tax reform is represented as a taxation blunder of historical proportions (Appendix III, ll. 500-502), socially unjust and a blow to the competitiveness of Finnish industry (Appendix III, ll. 505-506). Instead of the energy tax, the Finns propose cuts in spending to an equal degree. The list of potential cuts is not surprising, given the party-profile: EU-membership fees, developmental aid, immigration policy, climate policy, foreign policy are all considered expendable. The response argues that these cuts can balance the budget without sacrificing social security or essential services, or industry competitiveness: they are “targeted on items Finns can do without” (Appendix III, ll. 509-512). The nationalist preference of the party is in plain sight here.
The Finns make a moral and legal point to demand that services that are legally mandated should also be adequately resourced. The government has driven the municipalities into such dire economic straits that societal inequality grows as a result (Appendix III, ll. 518-519). The Finns’ response finds common ground with the Left Alliance by targeting the state’s productivity program. The Finns state that they had correctly predicted the true nature of the program. To bolster their argument, they call on the authority of The National Audit Office of Finland to note that productivity should be sought elsewhere than in personnel reductions (Appendix III, ll. 520-525).

The Finns’ response also deals with the high unemployment rate, given that the budget proposal would reduce employment appropriations. This is considered cold-hearted, as it will increase polarization and social exclusion (Appendix III, ll. 528-530). Instead, the Finns call for employment stimulus (Appendix III, ll. 531-532). Their argumentative platform is thus similar to that of the Left Alliance and the Social Democrats, showing the potential for shared working class constituencies at least on the level of discourse. The argument is that investment in employment would pay itself back in the form of reduced costs in various forms of social security on one hand, and the increase of tax income on the other (Appendix III, ll. 537-539). This is represented as an economical and a humane choice.

Interestingly the Finns are ready to use the EU as weak authoritative backing to argue that the increase in poverty is the outcome of decades of “consciously advanced inequality” (Appendix III, ll. 541-542). The opinion expressed by the Finns’ response is that an intervention is needed to restore higher levels of wealth taxation and progressive taxation. This would not only combat inequality, but also be socially just (Appendix III, ll. 549-550). In this, the Finns party joins the leftist opposition argument that calls for progressive taxation and more taxes on wealth or capital. While these ideological alignments may be temporary, they certainly exist in the responses to the 2011 budget proposal. The response concludes with a call to consensus based on claims presented between the government and opposition to improve the budget proposal (Appendix III, ll. 561-564).

The aggregate argumentation scheme (Figure 35) covers the party responses to the budgetary speech, focusing specifically on economic policy claims and counter-claims to create a point of comparison with Finance Minister Katainen’s argumentation model (Figure 34).
ARGUMENT AGGREGATED FROM RESPONSES TO THE 2011 BUDGET PROPOSAL

Claim The proposed budget should be accepted and adopted.

Circumstances The exceptionally dire financial crisis is over, and situation is improving overall (CTR, NC). The crisis was caused by forces external to Finland, and the government has reacted promptly and successfully (CTR, NC). Consumer confidence and faith in the future in Finland is high (NC). The state has covered municipalities by taking on the biggest damage from the crisis, so it has become necessary to cut costs and reduce debt to balance public finances without jeopardizing the potential for future economic growth (CTR, Greens, SWP, CD, Finns). The world is changing, and Finnish economy and society should pioneer the (green) shift (Greens).

Goals Balancing the budget and thus securing the welfare society in economically, socially and environmentally sustainable ways. Preparing for the (welfare society of the) future (NC, Greens, SWP).

Values It is necessary and worthwhile to preserve the welfare society (Greens), even if requires some sacrifices. Government policy, however, should always prioritize social justice (CTR, NC). The weakest in society must be protected (NC, Greens). Finns always prioritize the common good over narrow individual gain (NC). The government has acted consistently, and in consensus, with responsibility both in stimulus and now in austerity (NC).

Argument from authority Market trust legitimizes the economic policy of the government (NC). Also the majority opinion of Finns favour green taxation reform (Greens).

Fiscal responsibility (values) Handling of public finances has to be done in a responsible way, as the government has done (CTR, NC). It is responsible now to move from stimulus to austerity (NC). Finland also has global responsibility (SWP).

Means–Goal The proposed budget should be recommended, despite some oversights. Reaching the goals needs courage (Greens, CD).

Consequences Adopting the budget will ensure responsible economic policy that preserves the welfare state and prepares for the future.

Addressing counter-claims Actions speak louder than words; the government is going to take action to improve the position of those worst-off in society (CTR). Responsible and sensible economic policy is necessary, rather than cheap politicking or populism (CTR, SWP); the opposition is being insincere. The efficiency of employment policy is not decided by employment appropriations in the budget alone (NC). The effects of the government’s policies should be researched to give data and defuse baseless critique by the opposition (Greens).

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted, or it should at least be considerably amended.

Negative consequences Adopting the budget will increase long-term societal inequality.
Objection 1) The government has wasted the good work of previous governments and the blame collapse of public finances lies mostly on the current government (SD); 2) Finland’s circumstances have drastically changed; the structures that have provided opportunity and equality have been eroded and society is becoming increasingly polarized (SD); 3) problems with public finances can be attributed to reckless tax breaks that have expanded the sustainability gap, making the current government in fact irresponsible (SD, Finns); 4) instead, cancelling tax reductions (CD) new taxes (LA, CD) and progressive taxation with employment stimulus is needed, rather than austerity (SD, LA, Finns); 5) progressive taxation is socially just, it is the bedrock of the welfare state, and the current government favours flat taxes (SD, LA, Finns); 6) according to the government’s own numbers the unemployment situation worsens, despite claims to the contrary: insincerity (LA, Finns); 7) the green tax reform should be entirely rejected as a failed initiative and lost revenue compensated by cutting non-essential costs (Finns); 8) Public finances should be organized so that legally mandated services are secured (Finns).

Counter-argument from authority Finns express support for increased progressive taxation that is determined by the ability to pay (SD)

![Figure 35. Argumentation scheme for the responses by Parliamentary parties to the 2011 budgetary proposal](image)

When going through the various responses, it seems no wonder that politicians appear insincere when the same state of affairs is represented in so many different
ways. The logical conclusion is that all of the parties cannot be right, or sincere, in their discourse. As in the previous budgetary responses, political insincerity continues to be used by both opposition and government parties to undermine the legitimacy of their respective opponents. Through extensive discursive salience, this clearly increases the general frame of all politicians being all talk and no action, or being unable or unwilling to follow up on their promises. While this may be objectively true – political opportunism is both tempting and typical – it also opens up discursive space for a more populist party that promises straight and honest discourse. The increase of popularity of the Finns party (see figure 29) could be seen as a symptom of this saturation of political discourse with insincerity claims.

Secondly, the lines drawn between the opposition and government in terms of arguments remain somewhat porous. The acceptance of austerity savings and cost-cuts, for example, in order to balance public finances, found wide support. Christian Democrats and the Finns join the government explicitly in this regard, and even the Social Democrats expressed that their alternative budget would reduce the indebtedness of the state. Third, many arguments try to monopolize desirable moral or authoritative premises. For example, given that energy taxation is represented as socially just by the Greens, then those opposing it also implicitly place themselves in opposition to social justice. But the favour is immediately returned when the opposition parties take up progressive taxation as an issue of fairness and social justice. Social justice can be mobilized to serve several causes due to its appealing connotations.

6.3.5 Finnish National Budgetary Speech: Proposed Budget for 2014 (17.9.2013), by Minister of Finance Jutta Urpilainen (SDP)

The fourth and final budgetary speech to be analysed is delivered by the Social Democrat Minister of Finance Jutta Urpilainen in the Finnish Parliament on September 17th, 2013. The speech (Parliamentary document PTK 83/2013 vp) has been translated in full and separated from the responses as in the previous chapters. The Minister’s speech contains 890 words in original Finnish (2800 words translated), and is the shortest speech in the dataset. The responses of the eight major parties contain nearly 5 800 words80 (translated and abridged to 6160 words, in Appendix IV). The responses are also shorter, signalling that the

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80 The same caveat relating to the response from the Swedish People's Party applies here as in the previous subchapters.
parliamentary proceedings related to the presentation of the budget proposal have been shortened.

This budget proposal is slightly exceptional in the sense that all previous budget proposals in this dataset have been the last budget proposal of the current government’s electoral term, delivered in the autumn before the parliamentary elections in the coming spring. The Katainen cabinet was formed after the 2011 Parliamentary elections as an uncommonly broad “rainbow” coalition (see Table 8). The reason for the coalition was the electoral success of the Finns party and the electoral loss of the Centre party (see Figure 29). The Centre party felt its defeat signalled a need to move to the opposition. Determined to keep the Finns out of government, the National Coalition and the Social Democrats were forced to include every other party to gain a sufficient majority to govern.

The National Coalition had been in government before with the Social Democrats and the Left Alliance, but the Katainen cabinet had the National Coalition was the largest party. The Greens, the Christian Democrats, and the Swedish People’s Party were also included in the cabinet, leaving only the Centre party and the Finns in opposition. The coalition was ideologically fractured, and the Left Alliance left the cabinet in March 2014 due to disputes over economic policy. At the time of the budget proposal for 2014, given in 2013, Katainen was still the Prime Minister, but the cabinet dissolved in June 2014 to be replaced by the Stubb cabinet (2014-2015; see Table 8).

Referring back to the status of the Finnish economy (Figure 8 and Figure 9 in chapter 3), the economic circumstances for this budget proposal are not promising. Despite a period of GDP growth between 2010 and 2012, identified as the positive outlook after the earlier collapse, the Finnish economy dipped again in mid-2012, and was still struggling to maintain GDP growth at the time of the budget proposal. Similarly the rate of debt to GDP continued to rise and Finnish public finances maintained a persistent deficit. The economic situation can be considered serious, and as such more austerity measures are logically expected. Given the constitution of the cabinet, the approach to economic policy may be ambiguous. While Nokia’s story in Finland was drawing to an end, Finnish politicians still had to argue for how to save the nation’s public finances. The speech by Minister of Finance Urpilainen and the argumentation structure put forth is discussed below.
Mr. Speaker! The budget proposal being presented today for 2014 is a response to the economic challenges of difficult times. The global financial crisis and the following recession have continued during the current year worse than was anticipated. The growth in the Eurozone has been subdued this year due to the crisis with the euro. The global economy is also at a standstill, and the growth of global trade is also expected to be exceptionally slow next year. All this is reflecting directly and mercilessly on our domestic economy.

In 2013 Finland’s gross national product will contract by 0.5%, and future growth will remain slow. The Ministry of Finance estimates the rate of next year’s growth at 1.2%, partially due to the minimal recovery seen in the Eurozone economies, and increase in domestic demand. The Finnish GDP has regressed back to the level of 2006. Compared to a situation where the economy would’ve grown at a steady pace of 2%, we’ve lost approximately 30 billion euros of our GDP. With Finnish tax rates that means about 10-12 billion euros in lost tax revenue. Those missing tax revenues would have a significant effect in maintaining the basic services and income transfers of the welfare state. Two consecutive years in a financial recession also creates great pressures in public finances.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn under these circumstances: we must invest in creating new growth and the increase of work in Finland. It is of central importance to increase the employment rate. We need more people working. Only through work we can finance wellbeing and welfare in Finland.

Mr. Speaker! The weak economic cycles, the sustainability of public finances, and the structural change in the economy form a triple challenge. The government’s responds to this challenge with a comprehensive strategy of economy policy. The comprehensiveness of this economic policy is formed out of the totality of structural actions, a budget and a supplementary budget that increase employment and growth, and of course labour market policy solutions. These four pillars are the foundation upon which the government bases Finnish growth and also the future of the welfare state.

The size of next year’s budget is 53.9 billion euros. Although it is over a billion less than the budget for 2013, the proposal is 6.7 billion euros in deficit. We have lived beyond our means in Finland for a long time, and this government is tasked with the painful mission to catch up with the deficit. The amount of state debt is about to rise to 100 billion. We all know, that continued indebtedness is not sustainable. The proposals for incurring significant additional debt are no more responsible than proposal for extreme cuts. The government’s path is the happy medium between extremes. We hold on to the goal of folding back the debt ratio, but we also don’t want to make the recession worse through our own actions. We will continue to support work and economic growth.

It is also equally clear, that those weakest in society cannot be made to pay for crises. To the contrary, with solutions like the banking tax the government wants to prepare for future crises and defend the taxpayers. This is of course no easy feat. The road is long, and it may also be arduous, but our direction is clear. What, then, is all this work all about? It is about safeguarding the welfare state for future generations. To quote a Finnish folk song, we must recreate this land.

Mr. Speaker! The 2014 budget proposal presented to the Parliament today is a budget that strengthening employment and growth, which simultaneously balances public finances in a just way. Together with the third supplementary budget they form a central part of the entirety of economic policy. The proposal strongly supports the opportunities for companies to grow and employ people. The corporate tax is proposed to be lowered to 20%, which, when taking into consideration all deductibles, is a level effectively comparable to Sweden. The reform in capital gains taxation encourages companies to reinvest their profits into new manufacture and innovations, rather than paying them out to the owners. The government’s ambitious growth funding program in turn ensures, that new companies and ideas are created in this country also in the future. Together with funds from the private sector, the joint capital in growth funds is estimate to reach nearly a billion euros in the next few years.

At the same time the government invests in work and welfare. Those worst-off in society are taken care of through full index-raises into social benefits. The student subsidy will be linked to the index starting from the autumn of 2014. Also employment for those only partially capable to work will be invested in next year. In addition, to youth guarantee and the accessibility of education will receive additional investments.

The situation of Finnish industry is difficult. We heard yesterday bad news from the Rauma dockyards, and because of this it is important to tell what the government has done to secure the operational prerequisites of industry and exports. During this electoral term the government has supported the operational prerequisites for industry by altogether one billion euros. We have increased the risk-capacity of Finnvera, reformed export finances with a credit-based model, and taken R&D and...
growth incentives into use. We have made an investment over 70 million in seafaring industries through
e.g. innovation subsidies and decided to implement a national plan of action to minimize the adverse
outcomes of the [EU’s] Sulphur Directive. In addition, changes have also been made to the power plant
tax, corporate tax, the tonnage [freight] tax, and the energy taxation moderator mechanism. The
government can thus hardly be accused of inaction.

Mr. Speaker! We’re also discussing today the third supplementary budget for 2013. It includes
measures to support work and growth quickly, which aim to get more Finns to work. The investments
into repairing schools with severe mold problems, the expansion of the Helsinki-Vantaa airport, as well as
maintenance of roads, bridges and railways will employ Finns and will thus help us over this difficult dip
in the economic cycle. The supplementary budget invests in work and growth to the tune of 389 million
euros. That is a significant investment.

The plan for construction policy presented by the government in Parliament last week is a third,
important pillar in the entirety of economic policy. Although reforms have effects that both increase and
decrease costs, we should keep the main point of reforms in mind: increasing work and the prerequisites
for working. Structural political measures will ensure the room to manoeuvre in future budget policy and
the development of long-term potential in the economy. Although we’ll be discussing next year’s budget
proposal and a new supplementary budget for this year today, they wouldn’t as effective without the other
pieces of the puzzle, namely comprehensive structural reforms and labour market solutions.

Mr. Speaker! It is the government’s policy to support work and growth. As a part of the entirety of
economic policy the next year’s budget proposal and the moved up supplementary budget for this year
will improve employment rates while taking care of sustainable public finances. The government’s
proposal is enacting the decisions we made in the budget workshop last spring. The state of Finland’s
economy is now more serious than we were able to estimate back then. This is why the policies outlined in
the government’s budget workshop, despite receiving a lot of critque at the time, appear now, with the
most recent information, correct and responsible. They support growth and employment and hold on to
social justice.

Mr. Speaker! Now or ever Finland needs a clear direction and policy that increases employment and
growth. We also call for cooperation and pulling together. The outcome of the labour market negotiations
are a significant indication of this. Together with the structural policy initiative and the labour market
solution next year’s budget proposal and this year’s third supplementary budget form the foundation for
the politics of cooperation. It is time to open our eyes, and roll up our sleeves. Finland needs work, and
that what our proposals offer.
This budget proposal positions itself into a continuum with the budget proposal for 2011 (subchapter 6.3.4.), given the context of the enduring effects of the financial crisis. There are also differences, however. First, there are no interjections included in the transcript, so Minister Urpilainen was able to deliver the speech uninterrupted (or interjections were no longer allowed). Second, as mentioned, the budgetary speech is much shorter than previous speeches, and this has affected the argumentative range of the speech. The budget proposal offers “responses to the economic challenges of difficult times” (ll. 1-2). The recession had continued and austerity had not led to growth. The argumentative circumstances of this budget proposal are represented as regressive (l. 10). Growth in the Eurozone is minimal, and the global economy is in trouble: the macroeconomic circumstances are “mercilessly” hurting Finland (ll. 3-6), rather than erroneous policy.

In this budgetary speech Finland’s responsibility to the markets is not discussed, assumedly because Finland had managed to retain the trust to of the markets that Finance Minister Katainen had been so concerned about in 201081. The national context is equally grim: Finnish GDP has contracted and future growth is expected to remain minimal. The Ministry of Finance offers an argument from authority but this is limited to a single sentence (ll. 8-9). State revenue has continued to drop and financing the Finnish welfare state without those revenues is becoming untenable (ll. 10-14). Regardless of these circumstances, it is interesting to note there are no references to either debt obligations or austerity in the budget – certainly not to the explicit extent that was visible in the budget proposal for 2011.

As a point of discursive interest, Minister Urpilainen returns the “welfare state” into her discourse (ll. 13, 23, 35), when the last time the expression featured in the dataset was in the speech given by Finance Minister Niinistö in 2002 (none of the responses used it). Finnish politicians have talked about the “welfare society” instead. While it is hard to infer any concrete change in social practice associated with this discursive change, it is nonetheless interesting to see an older discursive form return into official use.

The emphasis of the budget undoubtedly is on increasing economic growth and employment. This pair is repeated in the comparatively short budgetary speech a total of nine times (ll. 16, 23, 31, 38, 63, 66, 75, 81, 83-84). Once more for the Social Democrats employment is a central focus: “only through work we can finance wellbeing and welfare in Finland” (l. 17). The meritorious quality of work is

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81 Finland’s credit rating was maintained AAA by Standard & Poor until October 2014.
visible in all budgetary speeches, but not quite as strongly as here. The challenge posed to Finnish public finances is, according to the Minister of Finance Urpelainen, threefold: the currently weak economic cycles, unsustainable public finances, and structural changes in the economy require a “comprehensive strategy of economic policy” (l. 20). The government’s economic policy forms comprehensive whole (ll. 20-21, 39, 69, 75-76).

The government’s comprehensive strategy includes structural actions, a budget proposal for 2014 and a supplementary budget for 2013 together with labour market policy solutions (l. 22). These serve as the foundations of Finnish growth and the future of the welfare state, safeguarding the welfare state for future generations (ll. 23, 35-36). Furthermore, “structural political measures will ensure the room to manoeuvre in future budget policy and the development of long-term potential in the economy” (ll. 71-72). These are the clear long-term goals, to which growth and work are the tools (the means-goal) to realizing them, although no explanation is offered as to what “comprehensive structural reforms” are (l. 74). The budget proposal indeed also contains a section on the third supplementary budget for 2013 (ll. 62-67). While possibly caused by changes in or by external factors, the government does not appear as a skilful manager of public finances if the budget for 2013 is amended and supplemented for the third time, in September of that year.

The Minister admits that the government’s proposal is 6.7 billion euros in deficit; the proposed budget cannot and will not address the deficit completely, although government recognizes its “painful mission” to reduce the deficit (l. 26). There is no argument or even promise of reaching balanced public finances within the scope of the coming budgets. The road to balanced and sustainable public finances is long and potentially arduous, but its direction is clear (ll. 34-35). The Minister argues that

“proposals for incurring significant additional debt are no more responsible than proposal for extreme cuts. The government’s path is the happy medium between extremes. We hold on to the goal of folding back the debt ratio, but we also don’t want to make the recession worse through our own actions” (ll. 28-30).

The Minister thus argues for reforms that both increase and decrease costs (ll. 69-70), aiming to simultaneously improve employment and manage public

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82 It is interesting to consider if this could be interpreted as a push to decrease social benefits to force people into employment. The Social Democrats have never made this inference, but other parties – notably the National Coalition – have stressed the need for any employment.
finances. This may be seen as an attempt to address potential counter-claims by the opposition, and a weak rebuttal of stricter austerity claims. The budget proposal notably does not mention stimulus either.

Recognizing that the situation for Finnish industry is difficult, the government’s proposal seeks to encourage growth in the corporate sector through incentives in funding programs (ll. 43-46) and taxation: the government’s proposal to lower the corporate tax rate to 20% is legitimizized by Sweden being already at that level (ll. 40-42). The Minister gives a long list of actions taken by the government, declaring in summary that the government can hardly be accused of inaction (ll. 60-61). Once more this can be seen as addressing potential counter-claims. The Minister notes that the government received a lot of critique for its policy proposals when they were formulated, but claims that in light of recent information, those policies seem correct and responsible (l. 81).

This shorter speech finds no room to discuss green economy, which was prominent in the 2010 speech and responses, even though the Greens are in government. It may create a sense of disconnect when potentially revolutionizing political agendas quietly disappear and are not mentioned again. In terms of values the speech makes a few comments familiar from previous speeches or responses. First, the Minister notes that the balancing of public finances must be conducted in a socially just way (ll. 38, 81-82), which is also reflect in the “middle way” argument (ll. 29-30). Second, those worst-off in society must be protected from the ravages of the crisis (ll. 32, 47-48). Third, the labour market organization implicitly once more feature strongly as a part of the co-operative and consensual nature of Finnish economic policy (ll. 84-85). The Minister states that it is “time to open our eyes and roll up our sleeves”, calling for “politics of cooperation” (ll. 87-88).

The responses will show whether this request is aimed at the opposition, or the disparate partners in government. Potential counter-claims and objections in the argumentation scheme based on the Minister’s speech remain, once more, hypothetical and extrapolated from the basis of anticipated counter-claims.

ARGUMENT BY MINISTER URPILAINEN

Claim The budget proposal should be accepted and adopted.

Circumstances The economic situation continues persistently as problematic both domestically and internationally (ll. 3-5). The lack of growth has been worse than anticipated (l. 3). There is only cause for very limited optimism (ll. 8-9). Decrease of GDP and increase of debt are making public finances enabling the welfare state unsustainable (ll. 10-14). The government will implement a comprehensive strategy
of economic policy (ll. 19-21). The current level of public debt is unsustainable (ll. 28-29).

Goals Securing the future of the welfare state through economic growth, employment, structural reforms. This will create a frame for future budget policy and developing of long-term potential in the economy (ll. 73-74): debt reduction without damaging growth potential.

Values Balanced and responsible handling of public finances should be a middle way between the extremes. The government must act with social justice in mind; the weakest in society must be taken care of (ll. 33, 49-50).

 Means—Goal Adopting the government’s budget proposal will achieve the goals by supporting economic growth and work (employment) (ll. 16, 23, 32, 39, 65, 68-69, 78, 85, 87): only through work can the welfare state be financed (ll. 17-18).

Means—Goal premise Balancing public finances is a painful mission, and a long and arduous (ll. 26-28, 35-36). However, this is the correct direction. It is time to open our eyes and roll up our sleeves (ll. 90-91).

Fiscal responsibility (values) Balanced and responsible handling of public finances should be a middle way between the extremes (ll. 29-32), which could make matters worse. The government’s actions so far have been shown to have been correct and responsible (l. 84). The government has taken action to improve the situation (l. 63). The budget will improve employment while handling public finances in a sustainable way (l. 80).

Addressing counter-claims Reducing debt and expenditures too harshly will undercut the potential for growth (ll. 30-32). The government’s proposals have been critiqued, but in the end have been shown to have been correct and responsible (l. 84). Serious economic times call for politics of consensus and cooperation (ll. 90-91).

Consequences This budget will allow Finland to return to (some) economic growth and higher employment levels.

Counter-claim The proposed budget should not be accepted or adopted.

Objection Alternatives to the current economic policy exist. The government has been inactive and is unworthy of support or consensus.
Figure 36. Argumentation scheme for the 2014 budgetary proposal by Minister of Finance Urpilainen

Responses to the speech from Parliamentary parties

By order of the speaker of the Parliament, Eero Heinäluoma of the Social Democrats, the responses to the speech were to be very brief with only 7 minutes allocated per speaker. As in all earlier instances, the debate would continue after the party responses, but for the sake of brevity only the immediate responses are included in the analysis (Appendix IV). The analysis of the responses proceeds in order of the parties giving their responses. A categorization of argument themes will be formed based on the responses, and then the aggregate argumentative scheme formed. The parties in government at the time of delivering the speech were the Nation Coalition (prime minister party), the Social Democrats, the Left Alliance, the Greens, the Swedish People’s Party, and the Christian Democrats. This alignment potentially gives the Finance Minister’s speech a lot of secondary argumentative support. With only the Centre party and the Finns in opposition, the opposition’s scope for counter-claims and objections is potentially narrowed. The
The first response to the speech on the proposed budget is given by the National Coalition. The economic circumstances are described as grim: Finland has fallen behind its competitors, the nation’s credit rating is at risk due to incurred additional debt, and the size of the Finnish working population shrinks (Appendix IV, ll. 2-4). The circumstances are represented as realism, which necessitates acting responsibly (Appendix IV, ll. 4-5). The goal of the budget proposal is strengthening growth and competitiveness with the help of tempered income policy solutions and structural changes that help bridge the sustainability gap (Appendix IV, ll. 6-9). According to the response, Finland sorely needs a change in direction:

“In this economic situation a small diet is not enough for Finland, but an entire change in lifestyle is needed. We need to renovation so that we can also afford to educate our children, take care of those needing help, and securing old age worthy of human dignity for everyone in the future as well” (Appendix IV, ll. 10-12).

The National Coalition’s response notes explicitly that Finnish success is dependent on the success of companies, adding that “this is difficult to admit for the representatives of some ideologies” (Appendix IV, l. 14). It is suggested that “some ideologies” are resistant to simple facts, with ideology being synonymous with false consciousness (see chapter 2.3). Of course, understanding companies as the creators of wellbeing and welfare is equally ideological – it specifically undermines any conception of the public sector (or the third sector) as locations of value creation. The public sector rather appears as costs and expenditures, if by contrast companies “employ people, they pay taxes, they bring in export revenues” (Appendix IV, ll. 14-15) and that “new, sustainable growth is based on the products and services of our companies being sold” (Appendix IV, ll. 21-22).

To promote business interests, the corporate tax rate is to be lowered. The next measure is reducing unnecessary bureaucracy and the administrative burden of companies, i.e. deregulation (Appendix IV, ll. 19-21). The response of the National Coalition in 2013 seems to reflect the neoliberal agenda in its purest form so far. The response also addresses employment, but from the perspective of incentivizing work over social benefits (Appendix IV, ll. 29-33). At the same time taxation on work is reduced, although that arguably adds to the deficit in public finances. The response argues that only cuts in expenditures and tax increases would “erode the potential for economic growth and welfare. Instead employment, competitiveness, and structural reforms improving the efficiency of the public sector are softer and
better ways” (Appendix IV, ll. 43-45). If the currently formulated reforms are insufficient, more are needed.

Structural reforms aim to achieve sustainable solutions that would heal the public sector in order to secure “good everyday life and the welfare society” (Appendix IV, l. 57). It is noteworthy that the response uses welfare society, rather than welfare state that was the discursive expression of choice for the Minister Urpilainen. As an expression of values, the response states that “we politicians are here, however, to change the world into a better and more equal place”. To this end, it would be unfair to rob children of their future potential (Appendix IV, l. 37-39). This argument of intergenerational fairness specifically refers to Finland’s rate of indebtedness. This demand of fairness towards children legitimizes hard decisions (Appendix IV, l. 41). To persevere, “Finnish endurance and fortitude [sisu]” is necessary for Finns to pool their resources and succeed through cooperation (Appendix IV, ll. 62-64). This serves as the motivating call to action of the response delivered by the Prime Minister’s party. The government is open to criticism, but only constructive criticism that provides comprehensive alternatives (Appendix IV, ll. 48-50). Thus critique is given predefined acceptable parameters.

The second response comes from the second party in government, the Social Democrats. The response finds public finances burdened by poor economic performance (Appendix IV, ll. 68-69). The party’s response emphasizes work as the foundation of society without specifying what work is considered valuable. The Finnish employment level is noted to be “significantly lower than in other Nordic countries, which in the long-term is unsustainable” (Appendix IV, ll. 79-80). Higher employment means higher productivity within this logic, whereas lower employment means loss of tax revenue and increase in social expenditures, both detrimental for public finances. The third supplementary budget for 2013 included in the proposal is depicted as absolutely necessary employment-based stimulus (Appendix IV, ll. 86-88).

In the speech and the response the Social Democrats have reverted back to using “welfare state” in their discourse, but this does not seem to have much bearing on argumentation. The party’s goal is to even out the extremes of the economic cycles (Appendix IV, l. 112) and to build the groundworks for a better future by enhancing Finnish competitiveness through these structural reforms, tempered income policy solutions and other investments (Appendix IV, ll. 83-84). Structural changes happen both externally and internally guided: the party response argues that “structural reforms are needed to keep the Finnish welfare state
sustainable in the future, too” (Appendix IV, ll. 81-82). In so doing the Finnish economy would be well position to take advantage of global growth once it resumes. The Social Democrats also pledge that no more further costs will be levied upon Finnish industry during the government’s term (Appendix IV, ll. 90-91). The party also picks up the pro-business discourse of the National Coalition, emphasizing the need of increased exports: developing ideas “ideas into productive business in the international markets is an opportunity for the future of our economy and society” (Appendix IV, ll. 97-98).

In the response the values of the Social Democrats call to social justice, the weakest in society must be protected (Appendix IV, ll. 105-108), espoused by practically every political party in their official discourse. This values premise reflects also on the long-term consequences of the recession of the 1990s: “although the economy later recovered, not everyone did. Some people became permanently unemployed and excluded” (Appendix IV, ll. 110-111). Thus the financial crisis should not be managed in a way that increases polarization and social exclusion, given the long-term negative effects of cutting social security. All in all, the response considers the budget proposal a “successful and equal totality, which matches Social Democratic values” (Appendix IV, l. 114).

The third response comes from the Finns party, in opposition. The third position reflects their electoral ascendancy. The state of the economy is understandably the main concern in the response: “the economy is not growing, the exports have stalled, and news of redundancies come in almost at a daily basis” (Appendix IV, ll. 117-118). The need for a change of direction, of returning Finland back on the track for growth, is expressed in the response, as it has been in other responses and the budgetary speech itself. Speaking from the opposition, though, the Finns argue that the budget proposal does not include the necessary tools to accomplishing this goal (Appendix IV, ll. 118-119). The Finns’ response also protests being unfairly marginalized, as their proposals have been by and large ignored in order to construct a negative narrative of the party. The response suggests that “only by working together we can make Finland rise again” (Appendix IV, ll. 120-126). The response states that the Finns are committed to finding solutions, as a responsible opposition party.

The response finds that there are good grounds for precision stimulus through infrastructure investments and repairs (Appendix IV, ll. 127-128), which seems quite compatible with the stance also taken by the Social Democrats. These investments are considered necessary – as they have been throughout the
responses of the Finns in this dataset – and a sensible way to use public money. The party is in favour of improving Finnish competitiveness (Appendix IV, l. 143), but their primary area of concern is undue regulatory oversight. To this end, the Finns are once more willing to draw on the EU’s arguments from authority to prioritize economic needs over (renewable) energy policy (Appendix IV, ll. 148-153). Softer environmental values are secondary in the zero-sum game of economic priorities.

The response claims that the government is behaving as if it had an endless supply of funds, despite wrought public finances (Appendix IV, ll. 155-157). The reduction of state subsidies to municipalities is considered to be a massive crisis in the making, moving the burden of debt to the municipalities, and the weakest in society will suffer as a result (Appendix IV, ll. 157-160). The Finns’ response draws on the authority of former state secretary Raimo Sailas, a prolific commentator of public finances, to reinforce their point (Appendix IV, ll. 163-164). The response concludes that the government’s entire reform program relies on so many variables to succeed that one must hope for “some kind of miracle” (Appendix IV, l. 180).

The second thrust of the Finns’ critique is aimed at the budget appropriations, following the same arguments as in 2010. The Finns wryly comment that the current budget proposal offers to subsidize other countries, “shovelling money to countries in crisis” (Appendix IV, ll. 168-169). The implication is of a self-inflicted crisis, in Greece in particular, which means these countries are unworthy of help. Cutting the appropriations abroad – including development aid – would require fewer cuts domestically and support employment opportunities and competitiveness instead. The values expressed by the response may call for protection of the weakest and social justice (Appendix IV, ll. 158-159, 180-181), but purely on a nationalist level. Improving Finnish welfare, work and competitiveness all require national solidarity and true responsibility, and not – it is implied – the sort of false solidarity that camouflages the National Coalition’s individual-centred thinking (Appendix IV, ll. 182-185). The Finns thus claim that based on the party’s ideology, it is claim to solidarity cannot be genuine.

The fourth response comes from the second opposition party, the Centre party. The response claims that the government has failed its crucial expectations, given

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83 The reference here is to the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala, and the Sampo, a magical device that churned wealth to its owner. Note also that this was referenced in the press material in relation to Stephen Elop, who was “the man who stole the Finnish Sampo” – Nokia (“Sammon ryöstäjä”; IS 04.09.2013). This treatment of Elop in the tabloid IS corresponds with Wiio’s (2006: 22-23) expectation of locating specific individuals at fault.
the dire circumstances of the state of the Finnish economy. The structural reforms the government parties have talked up have, according to the Centre party, been botched. Many other initiatives have not only failed but aggravated regional differences (Appendix IV, ll. 189-191). The government has failed to reach its goals and deficit is slipping beyond acceptable limits. The inability to get significant changes done has been, according to the response, also noted by the European Commission (Appendix IV, ll. 203-204). While market confidence was a key enabler in the budget speech and responses in 2010, in 2013 the European Commission is cast in the Centre party’s response as the outside authority of note. The response suggests Finland might be taken under special surveillance within the EU (Appendix IV, l. 195) as a result, delivering an implicit threat to Finnish sovereignty. The government is “leaving a dreadful legacy to those who will succeed it” (Appendix IV, l. 196).

The Centre party lays claim to popular opinion, which states that “only less than half people have faith in the government”, and that people want changes similar to those proposed by the Centre party (Appendix IV, ll. 197-198). The response claims that the government’s structural reform program is essentially camouflage for just a new set of cuts. Here the opposition parties are in agreement; the cuts in municipalities put social and regional justice in jeopardy. In addition, the response makes the important note that municipal reforms takes the substantive form of forced municipal mergers – against specific promises by parties in government (Appendix IV, ll. 215-217). Efficiencies in public finances are thus sought through the economies of scale.

Like the Finn’s response, this response also finds that the proposed corporate tax reform is effectively meaningless to small and mid-sized companies (Appendix IV, l. 220), which are taking on an increasing share of Finnish employment. While the parties in opposition share objections, they implicitly also agree on private companies as the source of value creation and employment, which links to the National Coalition’s argument. The response further makes a moral complaint against large companies setting a bad example, incompatible with tough economic times, of excessive stock options and bonuses. This accusation is mainly directed at the government, though, as state-owned companies engage in this same activity: “People are sacked as only stock market courses and quarterly results mean anything. The Centre party does not accept outsourcing by state enterprises, shifting Finnish work abroad” (Appendix IV, ll. 224-225).

The Centre party’s own initiatives, for example, would greatly increase capital put into special growth funds to support new business ventures (Appendix IV, ll.
This appears to be a form of corporate stimulus. The response’s critique calls back to an interpellation made in 2011, pointing out the contradictions in the government’s economic policy objectives and realization. The Centre party predicted the government’s program lacked the necessary tools, and this prediction has, according to the response, unfortunately been proven right (Appendix IV, ll. 243-248). In essence, the party’s premises for previous counter-claims have been realized. Regardless, the Centre party is willing to co-operate, if the government is willing to change its direction. While it is not too late, there is also no time to wait (Appendix IV, l. 249). The Centre party, like all parties, calls for co-operation under these requirements. This is understandable, since co-operation is considered a positive trait, unlike its logical counterpart, obstruction.

The following response comes from the Left Alliance, in government. The Left Alliance launches immediately into a statement regarding the party’s goals and values (namely justice and equality). The party argues that these values are being realized in the government’s budget proposals: “taxation policy has been implemented and basic security has been improved based on these goals” (Appendix IV, ll. 254-255). The Left Alliance calls for outright employment stimulus in general (Appendix IV, ll. 260-261, 267-268). The response is the only one that explicitly argues for the state to take on debt in the short-term to boost employment, and worry about balancing the budget in the long term through structural reforms (Appendix IV, ll. 262-263). A continued “starvation diet” of ruinous savings would only destroy jobs and “by default be socially unjust” (Appendix IV, ll. 264-265). The response also notes that the EU pledged to perform financial stimulus, but the consensus broke as the weakest nations were unable to procure debt – already mired in insolvency – and strong economies like Germany saw no need in stimulus (Appendix IV, ll. 267-272).

The Left Alliance maintains that if large European economies could be convinced to engage in stimulus, it would create economic growth throughout the Eurozone. The Left Alliance’s response also takes issue with representing Finland’s problem in public discourse as one of overtly high wages, while the structural change in Finnish economy is the bigger issue (Appendix IV, ll. 273-274). The party response argues against apparently implicit claims in public discourse for

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84 Mark Blyth would agree with this argument in his analysis of German fiscal ideology and practice during the financial crisis (Blyth 2013: 56-58).
wage depression to improve Finnish competitiveness. The Left Alliance is willing to invest in long-term growth funding programs that will “enforce capital investment markets and support the growth of small and mid-sized companies” (Appendix IV, ll. 278-279). It seems like very few politicians are willing to engage in the defence of big corporations in discourse, whereas small and mid-sized companies are represented as the engines of industry and economy.

The Left Alliance’s response further claims that the structural reforms that have been agreed upon will narrow the sustainability gap by “socially tolerable way” (Appendix IV, ll. 283-284). The focus on jobs and employment also means that the Left Alliance supports taking on even short-term jobs, following the government’s policy (Appendix IV, l. 286). There is surprisingly little reflection on how emphasis on short-term jobs that supplement social security might actually increase precarious jobs and maintain low wages. In addition, again following governmental policy, the Left Alliance addresses the municipal reform – which clearly would affect a lot of workers in the public sector – as a given: “in order to survive the difficult challenges of our times, municipalities have to take reforming the municipal structure seriously” (Appendix IV, ll. 295-296). Interestingly the response does not call for solidarity or co-operation as most other parties did.

The following response comes from the Greens, also in government. The Greens’ response leans on the necessity of the structural reform program as a signal of a change in direction in Finnish economic policy. The overall claim is that managing economic cycles simply through stimulus and consolidation is a thing of the past, and meaningless without addressing structural weaknesses. In this the Greens are in consensus with the Minister of Finance (Appendix IV, ll. 300-305). The Greens find some cause for optimism in the Eurozone, though domestic issues remain to be solved. Throughout their response the Greens clearly favour the structural policy program and accept structural changes in Finland as an inevitable fact.

The financial crisis has brought about “a permanent change in the international division of work” (Appendix IV, ll. 307-307): “The disappearance of many occupations as the production structure changes will worsen structural unemployment for a long time to come” (Appendix IV, ll. 310-311). The Greens mention Nokia, the only reference to the company in the entire dataset, as an

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85 Seeing as how the Sipilä cabinet that followed the Katainen and Stubb cabinets in 2015 did push for wage decreases in the name of competitiveness, the Left Alliance has most likely correctly identified contextual discourse at the time which is not captured in the dataset of budgetary speeches and responses.
example of fields of industry and companies suffering from this change. The Greens, in addition use the word “structural” with “unemployment” three times, more or less meaning permanently lost jobs. In other words, those who are structurally unemployed will never see their jobs return even in times of economic boom (Appendix IV, ll. 318-320). Arguably this risks creating a structural demographic of the disadvantaged – the losers of globalization.

The Greens’ response offers cleantech, i.e. clean, environmentally friendly technology built for renewable energy as a replacement for fading occupations to also boost the demand for labour, visualizing it as a growing sector of exports (Appendix IV, ll. 332-337). The key to solving issues, according to the response, is increasing efficiency through creative, innovative ideas that would be open-mindedly implemented so that cuts in expenditures would not result in poorer services. After all, the required savings of two billion euros “in the form of cuts alone is senseless” (Appendix IV, l. 331). The response makes an argument in favour of state finances being deployed to jumpstart businesses: “if banks don’t finance risky endeavours, it is up to the state to do so” (Appendix IV, ll. 342-343). In essence, the state becomes the lender of last resort for private investment; while the state has the capacity to shoulder risk more than the banks, this policy also leaves a lot of high-risk investments in the state’s books, which may imbalance public finances more than is gained through increased indirectly taxable income.

The second to last response comes from the Swedish People’s Party, in government. The response starts off surprisingly strong against too strict austerity, given that Finnish state debt is one of the smallest in the EU in relation to population and GDP. Cultural reasons are offered in the response as way of explanation: Finland “has always been a country that repays its debts”, referencing the code of honour of settling Finnish reparations after the Second World War (Appendix IV, ll. 345-348). In truth, however, Finland had been incurring debt – just like any nation – for decades as a matter of course. One look at Figure 9 (chapter 3) shows Finland debt at least since 1991. Finland cannot realistically be expected to pay back all of its debts immediately (Appendix IV, ll. 353-354).

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86 It is interesting to note, though, that Nokia collapse is not blamed on Nokia’s own poor performance, but rather abstract outside forces, labelled structural change, which have made the industry in Finland unsustainable. Nokia’s own willingness to blame the macro-economic environment, rather than addressing the ways it has failed to operate in this environment, is an argument of relatively similar nature. This increases the perception that failure is due to inevitable global forces, rather than individual agency. This begs the question whether or not the same would apply to success.
This, however, is largely a “strawman argument”; no one is suggesting cutting the debt in one fell swoop. It does, however, make the government’s chosen middle way approach appear moderate and reasonable. The government is committed to financial priorities without compromising fairness (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 139). The middle way approach also causes some problems, however, in the flow of the argument. The anti-austerity argument is immediately undermined by the SWP’s call for intergenerational fairness as a claim on morality: “we are borrowing from our own children and grandchildren, and for this we should be ashamed” (Appendix IV, ll. 349-350).

The response provides support to Minister Urpilainen’s (and Christian Democrats’) argument that the government’s policy cannot be viewed through separate elements, but rather as a whole, that “consists of the stimulus package included in the supplementary budget for this year and the structural reforms decided on in the government’s budget proposal” (Appendix IV, ll. 356-357). The argument of taking the whole of economic policy into account has some merit; particular policies may make more sense and seem more effectual when combined to other policies. However, at the same time it sets a rather high bar for critique, and allows for easy dismissal of arguments based on the bigger picture.

The response claims that despite difficult circumstances, the government has managed to uphold the “fragile balance between indebtedness and taking care of welfare and wellbeing” (Appendix IV, ll. 351-352). The SWP’s response makes the only statement in favour of development aid and the second one in favour of immigration, though the latter is weak given that the government had already decided to freeze the level of appropriations (Appendix IV, ll. 362-364, 366-368). This could be expected to be highly unpopular with the Finns party.

Finally, the last response comes from the Christian Democrats, also in government. Their discursive trope of choice for this response is “the moment of truth”, with the expression being used four times in a relatively brief response to motivate reasoning and action (Appendix IV, ll. 379, 385, 389, 392). The phrase also serves circumstances for the debate on the budgetary proposal. The circumstances are indeed grim with the Finnish GDP described as being 5% smaller now than it was before the recession, according to the authoritative data of the Bank of Finland, and Finnish exports are lagging behind (Appendix IV, ll. 385-

87 It might not be a coincidence that when the Sipilä cabinet was formed in 2015, with the Finns party in cabinet, the Swedish People's Party ended up in opposition for the first time in many decades.

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387). Of course, comparing the GDP grown by the momentum of several years of economic boom to one that has been stalled by several years of recession yields rather obvious results. The current accounts of the Finnish economy are in “a bad way”, and according to the response only the United Kingdom has suffered more: “Finland is weakest of all the Eurozone countries” (Appendix IV, ll. 389-391).

Like the Swedish People’s Party, the Christian Democrats also insist the government’s economic policy must be viewed in its entirety. Thus the emphasis lies on several measures being taken simultaneously: tempered labour policy solutions, relieving (the bureaucracy of) public administration, extensions on working life that match with people’s capacity to cope, and so on. The response outlines a need for “economic realism, which means both cost-cutting measures, as difficult and challenging as they are, curtailing indebtedness and increasing productivity” (Appendix IV, ll. 396-398). Finland’s road forward is thus difficult and challenging, which is comparable to painful but necessary measures being taken – a staple of austerity discourse (Blyth 2013: 12-13). The Christian Democrats’ response also creates a moral argument where the good economic years have made the nation fat and reduced its performance; Finland is paying the price of overtly indulging in “the sweet life” (Appendix IV, ll. 391-392) and it is high time to embrace the nobility of frugality (see also: Slothuus 2007).

The response states that “excessive indebtedness and the sustainability gap have to be seriously addressed” sooner rather than later (Appendix IV, ll. 399-400). The working population has to be increased by making small jobs more enticing; the response makes specific mention of “welfare traps” that make people opt for social benefits rather than work. The response also promotes work-based immigration in line with the SWP’s response (Appendix IV, ll. 406-407). The Christian Democrats declare, following many other parties, that “new jobs are created in companies, and this is why a corporate tax reform is needed”, and that “small companies are the key to employment” (Appendix IV, ll. 403-404). Within this ideology, the public sector discounted as a source of jobs, employment or value.

The reduced, aggregate argumentation scheme for the party responses to the budgetary speech is focused on economic policy claims and counter-claims to create a point of comparison with previous argumentation models.

ARGUMENT AGGREGATED FROM RESPONSES TO THE 2014 BUDGET PROPOSAL

Claim The proposed budget should be accepted and adopted.
Circumstances  The economic situation is exceptionally grim due to lost competitiveness and increasing debt while Finland’s working population decreases (NC, CD). A small fix is no longer enough, but an overhaul of the entire Finnish system is required (NC). There is some hope, though (Greens, SWP). Employment-based stimulus is necessary. (SD, Finns, LA). Finnish society and global labour relations have permanently changed (Greens). The moment of truth to decide Finland’s future course is here (CD).

Goals  Strengthen economic growth and competitiveness with tempered income policy solutions and structural changes and reform that will bridge the sustainability gap (NC, SD, LA, Greens, CD). Doing so will afford Finland to hold on to the services of welfare society (NC, Greens). Working should be emphasized over social benefits (NC) and employment increased (SD, LA, CD).

Values  Even though it may be hard, Finns need to pool their resources and succeed through cooperation and solidarity (NC, Finns, CTR, CD) with endurance and fortitude (“sisu”) (NC). Actions are needed against long-term unemployment and social exclusion (SD). Social justice demands that the weakest in society must be protected (SD, Finns, LA).

Fiscal responsibility (values)  Finns expect their government to act responsibly and take action accordingly. (NC) Simply cutting expenditures and increasing taxes are not a sustainable way to economic growth and maintaining welfare (NC). Finland taking the middle way between policy extremes is responsible (SWP).

Fairness (values)  Unsustainable increase of public debt is an act of intergenerational unfairness (NC, SWP).

Means–Goal  The proposed budget should be understood as a part of a larger, functional whole. All parts are needed for successful economic policy (SWP, CD).

Consequences  Adopting the budget(s) will enable comprehensive economic policy that preserves the welfare state and prepares for the future as a middle way.

Addressing counter-claims  Opposition critique should be constructive and provide comprehensive alternatives (NC).

Competitiveness (counter-claim)  Finnish competitiveness has to be improved (NC, SD, Finns). Finland’s success is dependent on the success of its companies (NC). The private sector is the primary source of sustainable employment and value creation (NC, SD, CTR, CD). Following this, the public sector must be reduced in size and deregulation increased (NC).

Counter-claim  The proposed budget should not be accepted, or it should at least be considerably amended.

Negative consequences  Adopting the budget will solve nothing.

Objection  1) The state of economy has utterly stalled, and the tools proposed are insufficient to accomplish the government’s stated goals (Finns, CTR); 2) Rather than improving, the situation has worsened as was expected (CTR); 3) The proposed tax corporate tax reductions only benefit large companies (Finns, CTR, LA); 4) The government is shifting the focus of public debt on to the municipalities (Finns,
3) Cutting expenditures abroad: Finland cannot afford to support or subsidize other nations with so many problems at home (Finns); 6) Finland’s poor economic performance invites the EU’s unwanted attention (CTR); 7) More debt must be taken on to boost stimulus (LA); 8) The opposition is willing to take its role responsibly (Finns, CTR).

Unfairness (objection values) Legitimate proposals from the Finns are routinely sidelined for political reasons (Finns). The legacy of this government to the next one is terrible (CTR). Market logic is unfair (CTR).

Figure 37. Argumentation scheme for the responses by Parliamentary parties to the 2014 budgetary proposal

Figure 37 was the most complicated response scheme so far, with the counterclaiming widely argued for. There is no real argument premise given to dissuade the audience from failing to act; assumedly the situation is grim enough that everyone realizes something in this general direction needs to be done, which means salience plays an important role in sensemaking. In this context it is
interesting to note that the word “structural change”, “structural reform” or a clear
derivate thereof appears 18 times, by all parties in government at least once. It
seems that structural change is something endemic, which happens due to external
forces, but structural reforms are a form of policy. It is a curious mixture of cause
and effect, depending on argumentative needs. Structural problems do not really
have to be explained, but structural reforms explain a lot of policy decisions,
especially those that seek to dramatically change existing structures (i.e.
institutions). This serves as an example of stunningly comprehensive use of shared
discourse in governance, which will be investigated further in chapter 6.4.

Parties in government agree on many basic or abstract argumentative elements,
but also opposition parties (most notable the Finns) find some of the government’s
premises convincing. No party is willing to claim that the situation is not grim;
there is overlap between the descriptions of circumstances and values. In the case
of the latter, social justice and protecting the weakest in society have become staple
discursive tropes. A third discursive trope emerges in the form of competitiveness:
the “competitiveness” of the Finnish economy is discussed in relation to the 2011
budget proposal but really leveraged in the 2014 budget proposal by parties in
government and opposition (National Coalition, Social Democrats and the Finns,
to be specific). This compelling motivation is supported by the conceptualization
of the private sector as the only provider of employment, revenue and value
creation. The public sector is explicitly marginalized and reduced to a target for
structural changes and reform. The National Coalition goes as far as the claim
those that do not recognize this do so for ideological reasons.

The National Coalition is the only party that explicitly takes this premise to its
logical conclusion, while the Centre party hedges between large and small-to-
medium companies, decrying corporate activities where “only stock market courses
and quarterly results mean anything” (Appendix IV, ll. 231-232). The Centre party’s
position could be seen as one of politically oriented corporate social responsibility.
The Social Democrats also admit productive businesses are needed for the future,
but fall short from locating all value-creation there. The Left Alliance’s argument
for stimulus through debt is placed in the scheme as an objection although no
other party would agree that it were a legitimate premise for objection. In this the
Left Alliance is in stark contrast not only with opposition but also government
policy. This disconnect may be one of the reasons why the party felt compelled to
leave the Katainen cabinet before finishing its term.
6.4 Three Examples From The Data

In this chapter three particular discursive tropes that exist in all three fields in discourse of the dataset are discussed as illustrative and summarizing examples: the prevalence of 1) “structural” reforms or changes, 2) “competitiveness”, and 3) “responsibility”, “fairness” and “social justice”. These examples show how certain discursive tropes serve as premises in intertwined economic and political argumentation in business, media, and political discourse.

Beginning with structural changes and structural reforms, it was already discussed in chapter 6.3.5 how broadly speaking structural change is interpreted as something that is caused by outside forces and requires a reaction, whereas structural reform tends to be represented as a result of active policy. The circumstantial premise for both is inevitability, and as such they may be interchangeably used. This trope serves as an excellent example of discourse that motivates action, but fails to ascribe meaningful agency. For example, structural change is argued as structural reform in a Nokia press release (“Nokia Q3 2011 net sales EUR 9.0 billion, non-IFRS EPS EUR 0.03 (reported EPS EUR -0.02)”): 20.10.2011). For Elop structural change is a necessity for Nokia’s long-term success, commenting that Nokia is

“pursuing steady improvement through a period that has known transition risks, while also dealing with the various unexpected ups and downs that typify the dynamic nature of our industry. During the third quarter, we continued to take the action necessary to drive the structural changes required for Nokia’s long-term success” (“Nokia Q3 2011 net sales EUR 9.0 billion, non-IFRS EPS EUR 0.03 (reported EPS EUR -0.02)”): 20.10.2011)

In media discourse “structural change” was borrowed from political discourse in two separate occasions in Helsingin Sanomat, both referencing ministers in the Katainen cabinet. Here the division between change and reform is clearer: Nokia’s closure of the Salo plant invokes structural change, while a policy of structural reform is expected to lead to public sector savings:

Finance Minister Jutta Urpilainen (SDP) spoke to HS after the Parliament question time and told that the funds in the budget reserved for sudden structural changes will be all spent after this latest round of downsizing: [...] (“Hallitushallity vähän konsteja”: HS 15.6.2012)

Proof of this can be seen in the constant difficulties of the government led by [prime minister] Jyrki Katainen to implement a structural reform, which consists mostly of different public sector savings, finalized in the Autumn. […] (“Nyt iski Nokia-krapula”: IS 19.11.2013)
In the first instance Nokia’s actions cause the need for the government to declare the Salo region as an area of sudden structural change and allocate funds for local employment efforts. It is possible that the understanding offered by the Greens in their response to the 2014 budget proposal were accurate, and that these losses are permanent, and the jobs are not expected to come back to Salo. Thus the employment structure of the municipality has indeed changed.

Structural reform as policy gives an implicit suggestion of technicality, rationality, or neutrality. Reform also suggests movement forward, and improvement. Structural reforms as discourse allow Finnish politicians to argue “beside the point”, meaning they do not have to argue for spending cuts per se, but reforms as a collective effort within the collective context of the welfare state. Structural reforms give the impression that unlike irresponsible stimulus, the reforms will achieve public savings without jeopardizing services. While structural reforms have agency, and thus at least theoretical accountability, that is deflected often through claiming necessity (i.e. inevitability).

It was possible to locate examples of structural actions, reforms or problems, in each budget speech (Niinistö 2003, Heinäluoma 2007, Katainen 2011, and Urpilainen 2014). In the responses to the 2014 budget proposal, however, all responses made references to structural change, policy, programs, reforms, solutions, and/or/unemployment, often several times. The same need for structural changes is repeated in 2015, according to the analysis by Niemikari & Poutanen (2018). One could conclude that either there is very spontaneous use of very similar political discourse among the political elites, or a new discursive trope has been successfully disseminated and utilized for fortuitous political argumentation. The fact that the parties in government and in opposition could use this discourse at will shows how important framing it to one’s advantage could be.

A rare instance of challenging structural reform was expressed in the response of the Centre party to the budgetary proposal of 2014, where it was pointed out that the reform of municipalities – represented as one part of a series of structural reforms by the government – in fact meant forced municipal mergers. The legitimization process operates through tautology: structural reforms are necessitated by structural changes, and when circumstances change, policy must be reformed. The discursive trope is not an informative argument from a citizen perspective, and relies heavily on elite inference.

The second example, competitiveness, can be characterized as an explicit pro-market argument, framing issues through of winning or losing in the case of
companies and national economies both. It is also considered a good example of interdiscursivity, i.e. discourse that can reach across several fields, with high discursive affinity (Sum 2009). Competitiveness came out in several press releases as motivating circumstances of increased competition (“Nokia's Nairobi office opening marks further expansion into Africa”: 14.03.2006) and expansion to increase its competitive potential (“Nokia to set up a new mobile device factory in Romania”: 26.03.2007; “Nokia announces investment of USD 75 million in its Chennai manufacturing plant in India”: 05.12.2007). In divestment and/or consolidation frames (Table 3) market priorities were even more dominant, explaining Nokia’s need to perform better. As such, competitiveness came across as a specific discursive trope visible in many close readings of Nokia press releases:

Nokia Networks, the infrastructure division of Nokia Corporation, will put into place a plan to **further improve operational efficiency in order to ensure overall competitiveness.** The target is to align the organization to the current business environment and to **meet the challenges of the future.** [...] **The key target of this restructuring is to bolster operational excellence and competitiveness** by further developing the Nokia Networks' organization in order to always meet changing market requirements. (“Nokia Networks to further develop operational efficiency and optimize its structures and processes to meet current business needs”: 28.06.2001)

**These measures are part of Nokia's previously announced plans to adjust its business operations and cost base in accordance with market demand and safeguard future competitiveness.** Nokia continues to seek savings in operational expenses, looking at all areas and activities across the company. (“Nokia streamlines production support and administrative activities in its Demand Supply Network Management operations”: 19.05.2009)

Nokia has today announced planned changes at its factories in Komarom, Hungary, Reynosa, Mexico and Salo, Finland [which] aim to **increase the company's competitiveness in the diverse global mobile device market.** These three factories are planned to focus on smartphone product customization, serving customers mainly in Europe and the Americas. Device assembly is expected to be transferred to Nokia factories in Asia, where the majority of component suppliers are based. [...] (“Nokia plans changes to its manufacturing operations to increase efficiency in smartphone production”: 08.02.2012)

Securing future profitability was closely aligned with competitiveness claims. At the same time competitive pressure was described as an extraneous market element over which Nokia had no control (Figure 17). Although competitiveness according to the same logic was present only in 2,69% of the press articles, the strength of the pro-market frame allow competitiveness claims to be made relatively unchallenged by Nokia’s spokesmen, industry analysts and experts (“Vasta alkusoitto”: IS 22.10.2010; ”Hyöty: Ulkoistaminen järkevä ratkaisu Nokiaalta”: KL 28.04.2011).

"But when the company's competitiveness is at stake, tough decision are best done well in time.” [...] (“Ylläyyspotkut järkyttivät ja itkettivät Saksassa”: HS 18.01.2008)
"The need for staff reductions is primarily due to the necessity of adapting our business to the current economic conditions in the markets to ensure our long-term competitiveness," said Pekka Soini, the head of operations of Nokia Siemens in Finland. ("Nokia Siemens aikoo irtisanoa 120 työntekijää": HS 28.04.2010)

"Competition in the markets has become even tighter, and we have to increase the company's competitiveness", says Niklas Savander, director for the markets unit at Nokia. [...] "All our planned actions will ensure Nokia's future competitiveness. What has happened between February and September has increased our faith that we have made the right decisions,” Savander says. ("Nokia varautuu ankaraan kilpailuun": HS 30.09.2011)

Politicians acknowledged Nokia’s corporate competitiveness as a way to demand improvements in Finnish national competitiveness:

The director of the Bank of Finland Erkki Liikanen stated that Nokia's reductions didn't really come as a surprise, given the decrease share of the electronics industry of overall Finnish production. According to Liikanen, the crucial factor for the future is the competitiveness of Finnish industry altogether. Finnish competitiveness has weakened in the last years, as unit labour costs have increased in Finland faster than in many competing nations. "Competitiveness has to be improved in order to attract investments. Through that we can keep and create jobs," Liikanen said. ("Hallituksesta vähän konsteja": HS 15.6.2012)

The resonance of corporate competitiveness in media discourse makes the connection to political discourse also possible. In political discourse the earliest reference to competitiveness was found in the National Coalition’s response to the budget 2003 proposal, which considered the unique labour market arrangements in Finland as something that gave a competitive edge in exports and supported domestic employment (Appendix I, ll. 218-219). This was also echoed in the responses for the 2007 budget proposal by the Greens, the Centre party and the Swedish People’s Party (Figure 34). It seems that nearing the recession Finnish competitiveness was in good hands and well supported by institutional factors.

In the 2010 speech improved competitiveness is mentioned more explicitly as a goal of various reforms (ll. 64-65, 66-67). The response by the Finns’ party argued that the green tax reform, the focus of the 2010 budgetary speech, would be not only socially unjust but also hurt the competitiveness of Finnish industry (Appendix III, ll. 505-506). While no party understandably wants appear as harming Finnish competitiveness, this creates yet another discursive trope that automatically casts alternatives in an inherently negative light. In general competitiveness is mostly dealt in the negative: competitiveness is lost and there is a need to catch up. Both private and public agencies must “become competitive, entrepreneurial and work-market oriented” to enable catch-up competitiveness (Sum 2009: 197). The competitiveness race, much like the austerity race, are both
races to the bottom: there is an infinite amount of competitiveness to be achieved and competitive edge maintained.

The budgetary speech by Minister Urpilainen in 2013 does not mention competitiveness, but the response by the National Coalition uses the discursive trope to argue that not only has Finland fallen behind its competitors, restoring competitiveness requires bridging the sustainability gap (Appendix IV, ll. 2-9). What is notable here is that two discursive tropes, competitiveness and sustainability gap, enter into mutually reinforcing discursive constellation. In other words, they share discursive affinity. The Social Democrats’ party response also subscribes to this argument (Appendix IV, ll. 83-84: see also Figure 38). Even the opposition in the case of the Finns party joins in this quest for competitiveness, though they prioritize different policies. The only pushback came from the Left Alliance.

Competitiveness exists in the dataset as a salient theme already before the financial crisis, but it is truly mobilized only after the financial crisis hits: in political discourse competitiveness was leveraged in the budget proposal for 2014 by parties in government and in opposition both. When given argumentative space, especially the Ministry of Finance argues for responsible public policy that emphasizes national competitiveness and budget discipline (Kantola & Kaananen 2013). Competitiveness claims are often paired with futurism; competitiveness through downsizing is represented as a responsible move that safeguards future profitability. The same could be argued for improving national competitiveness to safeguard the welfare state. Competitiveness also allows for a redefinition of “core competency” also located in economic discourse in all three discursive areas. This expression is typical in business consolidation, when companies redefine their focus, implying that everything excluded from the new focus is considered redundant. A natural point of comparison is found in political discourse when the public sector is targeted for adjustments, or privatization of services that are not within the “core competence” of the public sector.

In terms of the third example, “responsibility”, “fairness” and “social justice”, are considered to be crucial points of gaining or contesting legitimacy within the societal frame. Forming a “soft” discursive trope to cover the demands of economic competitiveness, responsibility and fairness serve as legitimizing argumentative elements that create the second layer of values that undergird actions. This is to say, the actors will act according to economic priorities (the first values), but seek to argumentatively mitigate the harm they cause in the process.
References to responsibility and fairness in the dataset were encountered in the argumentation schemas for almost every downsizing decision stated by Nokia, but also in every budgetary speech and response in political discourse. This means that either Finnish governments, regardless of ideological stripe, all act within a highly tuned sense of societal responsibility or fairness, or this is simply something that has to be addressed as a rationalizing premise. Claims to responsibility support legitimacy, but claims to (i.e. accusations of) irresponsibility serve as delegitimizing moves.

In corporate discourse claims of responsibility abound in business argumentation. This reflects responsibility as the defining discursive feature of CSR. Responsibility as a values-premise is a key component of any corporate argumentative structure. Proactive emphasis on social responsibility serves as a mitigating element. In other words, when reporting staff reductions, Nokia could rely on its established record of responsible actions to gain legitimacy as a corporate citizen, rather than invite political or labour market interventions. Accordingly, the instances of “responsibility” and “sustainability” in the business discourse dataset coincided with the increase of downsizing news. Based on the primacy of economic logic, however, responsibility or fairness were rated as secondary social values in the argumentation schema (Figure 17).

While Nokia remained profitable, the media discourse largely reproduced Nokia’s comments of responsibility or fairness. The Bochum closure, however, was controversial enough to introduce corporate irresponsibility to Nokia’s image. Afterwards also Finnish unions started to voice their displeasure:

"Porokari also demands that Nokia honours its social responsibility commitments by participating in the retraining efforts of sacked engineers. “In the 1990s Nokia demanded society to increase engineer training to meet its demand. It received, for free, highly educated and well-trained workforce, that it now proceeds to callously cut. The employees trusted in Nokia, and now in return Nokia cuts their jobs.” (“Insinööriiliitto vaatii Nokiaa kantamaan vastuunsa”: HS 18.03.2009)

As discussed in chapter 6.1.3, however, the union frame of corporate irresponsibility was left weak. Politicians took an aggressive discursive approach much later, with equally uncertain outcomes ("Kiukkuinen Kiuru paheksuu Nokiaa”: HS 19.01.2013; "Sipilä paheksuu Elopin palkkiota”: HS 29.09.2013). As with competitiveness, the onus of responsibility was in fact relocated to the state:

According to president Niinistö, society has to bear its share of responsibility over the downsizings [in terms of supporting downsized personnel]. ("Niinistö järkyttyi": IS 15.6.2012)
Responsibility was present in 6.3% of the press articles, and even when combined with coverage of the Bridge program the coverage only amounts to 8% (Table 5). Responsibility appears as a values-based objection that forms the core of the counter-claim against Nokia’s pro-market frame (Figures 25-26. While ultimately unsuccessful in resisting Nokia’s argumentation and actions, raising awareness of responsibility commitments can force following up discourse with social practice – the Nokia Bridge program. Nokia’s corporate responsibility was discussed in a very limited fashion in political discourse, which makes sense given the limited range of politics that were considered to be legitimately applicable to Nokia’s case:

The state must demand that Nokia honours its social responsibility commitments equally by offering the same compensations to employees to be downsized now as it did in the spring.” (“KIRJALLinen KYSYMYS 576/2012 vp: KK 576/2012 vp — Jyrki Yrttiaho /vr”)

Thus the focus in political discourse lies more in responsible politics, which can be divided into two particular strains in political discourse: responsibility over public finances (value shared by all four Ministers of Finance: figures 31, 33, 35, and 37) and responsibility for the weakest in society (value expressed typically in responses: figures 32, 34, 36 and 38). These two types of values are arguably at odds, once more creating potential for primary and secondary values: strict fiscal responsibility may rule out universal societal responsibility.

For example, in the speeches the Finance Minister is primarily responsible for the finances of the state by arguing that irresponsibility would become increasingly costly in the future (Figure 35). It is thus up to the party responses to highlight societal responsibility. Fiscal responsibility – responsibility over public finances – is also easily combined with arguments for intergenerational fairness as a value and a goal. Saddling future generations with debt is immoral – a negative moral argument. Responsibility over the weakest in society is an issue of social justice not limited to Finland, but also located in political speeches in the UK (Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 130).

In Minister Niinistö’s speech (Figure 30) overspending (living beyond one’s means) is a moral argument condemning irresponsibility of individuals and nations alike. Fiscal stability is an issue of responsibility, so conversely not honouring fiscal stability is irresponsible. This was challenged in the Left Alliance’s response, representing taxation policy as a vehicle of social justice (Appendix I, ll. 345-347; 354-358). The responses in Figure 31 also exhort politicians to be responsible and not play electoral politics with the budget (Figure 31). The budget proposal for 2007 emphasizes responsible public finances as being compatible with social justice.
In the third budgetary speech Finance Minister Katainen invokes responsibility indirectly by claiming that “responsible and smart Finns” (Figure 34) support the government’s proposal (a similar structure was also found in the budgetary speech of 2015 by Niemikari & Poutanen 2018). The speech also claims that departing from the responsible conduct of public finances would incur serious consequences for the Finnish economy. The Centre party and the National Coalition (in government) lent their joint argumentative power to secure the primacy of responsible economic policy that seeks to balance public finances (Figure 35). The Social Democrats challenged this definition of responsibility but the argument gained no real traction among the other parties. The parties in government had successfully defined responsible and sensible economic policy, leaving alternative views to compete for the unenviable labels of cheap politicking or populism.

The fourth budgetary speech by Minister Urpilainen sought to describe the responsible middle way between extreme cuts and doing nothing to reduce Finland’s mounting debt-ratio (Figure 36): “proposals for incurring significant additional debt are no more responsible than proposal for extreme cuts” (l. 28). The focus is, then, again on responsible public finances, which is echoed by the National Coalition (Figure 37). It seems like there is an effort to redefine acceptable limits of protesting or challenging economic policy, if alternatives are readily labelled as irresponsible.

As a discursive element closely linked with responsibility, intergenerational fairness came up in the responses for 2013 (Figure 37) in the context of the continued financial crisis. In their responses the National Coalition and the Swedish People’s Party argue for further adjustments in the public sector in the name of intergenerational fairness, while the Centre party describes the legacy of current government as being unfair to the following government (Figure 37).

It was rather unexpected to find references to fairness also in both the Minister’s speech and the responses in 2006 (Figures 32-33), in an economic boom. For the opposition the argument relied on the grown income inequality in Finland during this time as a statement of unfairness. According to the indicators for the Gini coefficient measuring income inequality (Figure 11), the 2007 was indeed the top year of income inequalities in Finland. This is also an issue of social justice. While the Minister was aware of the issue (Figure 21), the failure of the Social Democrats in particular in curtailing the rise of inequality remains. The decrease in progressive taxation may have contributed to this development.
As a final observation on responsible and fair policy, references to social justice serve as another strong value premise. For example, Minister Katainen argues in the speech for the 2011 budget proposal 2010 that “increasing social justice has been one of the most important goals of this government” (l. 144). The response by the Centre party in 2010 notes that social justice has to be integrally a part of government policy and not just discourse (Appendix III, ll. 37-38), which on one hand is typical political argumentation, but may also reveals the ease at which the discursive trope is used without substance. If austerity is implemented mindful of social justice, the value-premise for responsibility is discursively balanced. Accordingly, the opposition parties (Social Democrats) are quick to declare their alternative budget would increase social justice more. The Finns and the Left Alliance form an unexpected argumentative coalition by arguing that restoring higher levels of progressive taxation is socially just policy (Figure 35). The National Coalition’s response emphasizes that it is socially just to help those “who cannot improve their wellbeing through their own work” (Appendix III, ll. 112-115).

While the discourse of social justice is prevalent, its realization in social practice is relatively unclear. Defining social justice as applying only to those least well-off in society is not unproblematic: Governments can better justify taking away welfare benefits from a group that is declared undeserving (Slothuus 2007); definition of deserving and undeserving operates as a differentiation against universalism and solidarity. The implicit understanding is that in times of scarcity those truly in need have to be prioritized, and the emphasis on social justice becomes a legitimizing factor of reducing social benefits for other groups. Social justice is, in short, a discursive trope that has to be included – because it is expected – but with little or no substance offered. In practice it can be used as legitimating strategy of redefining who, really, is deserving of collective assistance in society.
7 SUMMARIZING DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will discuss the findings of the empirical chapters, and draw some common elements together. Before moving on to empirical contributions to specific discursive fields, contributions to theory formation are addressed. The theoretical nexus, the discourse-framing-ideology construct offers a way of conceptualizing discourse analytical theory on multiple levels while acknowledging their inseparable and porous nature in practice. This research has fully acknowledged the rich diversity of different theoretical elements of the construct while utilizing the argumentative turn of “Faircloughian” as central theory and method. The analysis tackled an extensive corpus in three different discursive fields (business, media, and political discourse) to uncover similarities in argumentative structures. Recurring argumentative structures across various fields have the potential to show how understandings – ideologies – are mobilized in society.

Even though the analytical scheme was unconventional, this research has contributed to the Faircloughian argumentative turn in CDA (Fairclough 2016; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; 2011) by adding new levels of analysis and a longitudinal and cross-disciplinary research case. Finland is added as a comparable case of arguments during the economic crisis, with many similar argumentative elements located as in the UK. This increases the appeal of the method to be employed more widely to investigate the discourse relating to European politics responding to the financial crisis. The findings also contribute to the range of the public sphere theory (Habermas 1996; 1989), while recognizing, as CDA does, that the Habermasian ideal of the meritorious nature of the public sphere and beneficial influence deliberation are indeed ideals and not reality supported by the analysis. The public sphere is, in fact, a contested battleground for discursive and ideological hegemonies, and the arguments that win are not necessarily the best ones. Hegemonic common sense is materialized in objectively sound argumentation structures.

The contributions to the argumentative turn are firmly rooted in the previous work of CDA that emphasizes the discursive and social constitution of society and policy (Fairclough 2000; 2003). While CDA has always incorporated a degree of
ideology theory (van Dijk 1993; 1995; 2006a; 2008; 2009), in this research that connection was made explicit, and, for the sake of clarity, conceptually separated. This has also aligned the approach toward the empirical nexus in terms of a critique of neoliberal and globalization discourse (Fairclough 2006; Fairclough & Thomas 2014). In so doing, this research has also the potential to inform empirical works that are based on this body of literature, for example in organizational science or media studies.

Framing theory was incorporated into the theoretical nexus to allow for a triangulation of theory and method. While framing theory is not typically associated with discourse analysis or ideology theory, it does serve as an excellent theoretical basis for the sorely needed separated conceptualization of micro and macro discourse (or discourse and Discourse: Alvesson & Kärreman 2000; Kärreman & Alvesson 2011; Jørgensen, Jordan, and Mitterhofer 2012). Adding framing theory into the mix to define the border between micro and macro discourse is a novel approach. The utilization of framing theory allowed discussing broader thematic frames and the argumentative structures separately. Framing theory in its qualitative form (van Herzele & Aarts 2013; de Vreese 2012; Slothuuse and de Vreese 2010; van Gorp 2007) is found to be a suitable match for discourse analysis to explain why discourses may end up “clustering together” to form mutually supportive chains of discursive affinity and interdiscursivity: they share a common frame.

### 7.1 Business Discourse

Summarizing the findings on Nokia’s communicative practices through its press releases, Nokia’s discourse became increasingly repetitive in terms of discursive tropes. Nokia had to legitimize its actions by downplaying its own agency. Inevitability as a downsizing discursive strategy has been in previous research seen to privileged “the economic rationale and constructed market as a totalizing ethos and an irresistible disciplinary force” (Vuontisjärvi 2013: 306), rendering the company a subject to, rather than an agent of, the market. The agency is profoundly reactive in nature, despite the numerous claims to futurism in Nokia’s discourse. Nokia’s management has to create an image that they are on top of the company’s future as agents, but when that favourable future fails to manifest, they immediately jettison past agency – and to an extent accountability – in favour of creating another future vision.
Analysts should be mindful of futurism in corporate discourses, consisting essentially of estimates and hopeful conjecture, but represented as authoritative factual scenarios. This authority draws on agency, whereas disclaimers on futurist promises are actually grounded on the lack of agency. As with corporations, politicians may feel the need to draw on external factors beyond their control to legitimize their failure without delegitimizing themselves. Nokia's divestments were legitimized as improving competitiveness: business adjustments would be followed by a return to profitability and growth. If, however, growth never materializes, only further cuts follow (and vice versa). In this corporate consolidation is markedly similar to arguing for austerity, which also claims temporary retraction in favour of future growth. There were no acknowledgements in the data in either discursive field that organizational or fiscal contraction might not lead to future growth, but rather perpetual contraction.

To argue for its case, Nokia presents itself – its values – in a positive light. The findings in this regard were in line with previous research: values may be contradictory because they are largely based on projections (Vaara and Tienari 2011: 383). Stated contradictory values also enable the discursive trope of taking “painful but necessary” actions. The actions taken (redundancy) are primarily painful to the employees, but a potential remedy for the company's profit margins. In other words, corporate necessity favours capital over workers. However, the frame of employee self-reliance (McKinney, Mone and Barker: 1998), for example, legitimates downsizing as the ethical issues of downsizing are removed. This does not mean, however, that Nokia acted maliciously in its argumentation; the order of the stated values was merely left implicit.

In terms of analysis, Nokia's argumentation was confirmed to primarily reflect the business interests of the company. The emphasis on good news in corporate communications was to be expected, as well as limiting the discussion of failures to the present and past, leaving the future open for more optimistic conjecture. The primacy of market demands was equally expected, and confirmed by the findings. Nokia's press releases are a very likely example of any corporate press release, where the role of objections of counter-claims is completely disappeared under the onslaught of favourable argumentation. While corporate discourse is highly rationalistic, it also makes good use of expressed corporate values, as discussed above. One must wonder, however, that if Nokia wanted to use Bridge to polish its corporate image, why was it so limitedly communicated in the press release material? More extensive coverage of Bridge especially in layout news would have offset the dominant social critique in the press.
Nokia’s argumentation scheme reconstructed based on the company’s press releases (Figure 17) highlights, as one would assume, the circumstances of the company as the primary legitimating element, supported by values-premises. The argumentative scheme’s division of values into primary and secondary categories serves as the foundation of corporate tough-but-necessary discourse. The scheme in Figure 17 was considered the purest expression of market goals and without counter-claims. The findings contribute – given the Finnish context – to Finnish organization studies in particular (Vuontisjärvi 2013; Vaara & Tienari 2011; Erkama 2010a/b; Siltaoja & Vehkaperä 2010; Vaara & Monin 2010; Joutsenvirta & Vaara 2009) by providing an alternative analytical framework for those analyses that have utilized critical discourse analysis in the past (often through van Leeuwen’s (2008) discursive categories for legitimation. An explicit political dimension was added to this field of existing organizational research (see also: Vaara 2014). Organization scientists and political scientists should more willing to look past their respective disciplines and see the similarities in discourse that have become intricately intertwined (Teivainen 2013; Scherer and Palazzo 2011: 2007).

While the approach to corporate social responsibility was rather critical, based on the press releases Nokia understood that given the societal consequences of intensifying restructuring. Nokia not only acknowledged that state intervention was necessary to soften the blow of mass redundancy to local communities, it participated directly through the Nokia Bridge program, giving concrete backing to its claim of being a responsible corporate citizen. The problem with CSR seems to be that for private companies full openness and transparency may become business handicaps or administrative burdens creating a warning example of being “too responsible” in the industry, which is against shareholder interests (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015: 24). This research joins with Scherer and Palazzo (2011: 918) to suggest a more politically motivated, activist form of CSR which includes private and public actors in processes of public deliberation is possible.

Building on this idea, Nokia’s case does reveal a need to consider business and politics as deeply interconnected entities, rather than separate realms. One possible way of synergizing political and business approaches is offered by corporate political action (CPA) literature, which acknowledges that companies act in the political arena according to their own agenda, through e.g. lobbying or involvement in campaigning through funding, voicing support, active contacts with politicians, called in as expert witness, etc. (Lamberg et al. 2004: 341). In other words, CPA notes similarities in competitive business and political strategies as both also value
economic performance, creating extremely porous boundaries between business and political strategies.

Finally, given the quid pro quo between Nokia and Finnish business and society, which was very consequential for labour policy, educational policy, taxation policy and even legislation in a rather small country, some careful thought should be put into whether or not a new Nokia would even generally speaking be desirable, given how a similarly powerful company could also receive political priority for its vested interests. This could a fruitful avenue of further research playing into the strengths of organizational science and political science equally.

7.2 Media Discourse

Since the pro-market frame in press releases dominates, the argumentative elements are often mutually supportive, and create suitable conditions for high interdiscursivity. The pro-market frame is also identified as dominant frame in media discourse, even if an alternative frame at least exists. The pro-market argument exemplifies high discursive affinity, whereas the pro-employee argument exemplified the opposite. Elements of pro-market discourse would enter and influence, and even undermine the logic within the pro-employee frame. Building on the existing critical literature, it is assumed that newsmaking process is subjected to the same macro-economic context as are the events reported on. Through commercialization the media has been absorbed into the markets, which makes it more, not less, susceptible to ideology being enacted in discourse and policy. Institutionalized commercial media has also become dependent on social and market stability. For example, the risk of offsetting the market economy with “irresponsible” financial reporting is largely unacceptable.

Even though various stakeholders are included in the reporting, a genuine dialogue rarely forms within in the articles. Given that most experts quoted in the financial news tend to be directly linked to market institutions (Goddard 2000: 75), these experts are themselves embedded in the discourse-frame-ideology construct of their field. Success as a finance expert entails a high potential for having internalized market logics as the natural and inevitable interpretative frame for both business and policy. In short, there seems to be a lack of information not provided in starkly economic terms, and larger causalities often go unexplained (ibid.: 88). Active lobbying has changed from direct influence over politicians to try and achieve dominance in public debate forums (Jaatinen 2003: 7). This will also
allow the lobbyist to use the authority of public opinion as their premise – public opinion they themselves actively shaped. In discourse analytical studies this is known as drawing on expert authority (van Leeuwen 2008: 107).

In a rare display of self-analysis, Helsingin Sanomat reported that in its own reporting between 2008 and 2014 in economic news the experts quoted were men in 96,6% of the instances (Junkkari 2014). The gender division was, as would be expected, the main point of the article. In addition to the gender discrepancy, however, aside from the top commentator all following sources quoted were uniformly aligned with the banking sector88. The media is aware that it prefers actors that provide media-friendly statements; the media is interested in clear comments, that are sometimes even a bit controversial and polarizing (Parviainen 2014: 577, 579). When adding up the number of commentators who either are employed by the financial sector, have been employed by the financial sector in the past, or have links to financial institutions, it is clear that this group outstrips all others as sources of expert commentary. (Parviainen 2014: 577-578, 580).

This is highly consequential given that the prevalence of economic commentators corroborating Nokia’s arguments to the extent of calling for more pro-market measures was confirmed in the analysis of the press material. Downsizing actions in particular were never delegitimized by the experts. The role of a financial expert is also an oddly unaccountable one; bad predictions or incorrect assessments have relatively little or no consequence to expert position. The market determines economic expertise more than the substance of the expertise. Market mechanisms become normalized and naturalized as layoffs are represented as a natural part of the economic cycle. Critical literature notes that the commercializing effects of globalization on areas of society can colonize the media with compelling market logic and discursive practice. If the media adopts economist logic, political actors will autonomously adopt strategically effective salient discourse and argumentative premises. This reduces discursive variance by conceptualizing only a limited range of legitimate alternatives. In the data, reporting during the global financial crisis had accepted competitiveness and efficiency as inherently legitimate claims to action.

88 The bonuses of some economists in the banking sector are apparently also linked to their public visibility. This means private sector economists are personally incentivized and be visible in proffering financial analysis and policy recommendations. Their employers must have some idea regarding the content of their contributions. The fact that this observation is relegate to a mere side note observation in the article also speaks volumes of how accustomed the reporters are to this arrangement (Junkkari 2017).
For example, and following Wiio’s (2006:22) characterization of *Helsingin Sanomat* as the central newspaper media in Finland with considerable power over setting the public agenda, the findings in chapter 6.2 suggest that the newspaper does not offer strong arguments against market logic. Considering the consolidation of Finnish media outlets, regional papers may well offer diversity on the local level, but defer to the national newspapers when it comes to national economic policy (Karppinen 2005). In other words, a prestigious national newspaper of a large media house may find its economic reporting reproduced on the local level, given how media outlets must now compete for cost-effectiveness against declining readerships (see Figure 18). Because Nokia became emblematic of success, it is natural for the press to support that narrative. When the crisis overturned this discourse, new success-stories have become necessary. It also begs the question of how deeply has Finnish identity been shaken by Nokia: although Nokia has lost its exemplary position and related discursive power, the press still looks for “new Nokias”.

Overall, the media’s argumentative structures tilted towards market logic (Figures 25-26). While the media’s voice was not entirely uniform, many of the arguments expressed pro-market rationale. The potentially effective counterarguments in the pro-employee frame that would have forced a genuine debate between the frames were hamstrung by the speakers themselves, when unions ceded the ground to corporate profitability and politicians used Nokia’s problems as a platform to argue for pro-market reforms or structural changes on the national level (Figure 26). In other words, Nokia’s fall from grace was comparable in the business press with Finland’s fall from grace. The failure of Finland’s flagship company became emblematic of the dire economic straits facing Finland. This supported conceptualizing the state economy – public finances – from the direction of market logic that had not quite managed to make a breakthrough during good economic times.

The idea of retaining competitiveness was considered crucial, and the role of companies in society as profit-generators was uncritically accepted. Indeed, according to quoted experts actions to improve competitiveness should be taken sooner, rather than later. Of course, the media cannot be blamed directly for what the sources quoted have to say –legitimately as acknowledged spokespersons – but the media should reflect on who economic expertise is granted to. If all quoted sources are in favour of corporate restructuring, does this signify a broad societal consensus or weighted sampling of expert opinion? Previous findings (see Parviainen 2014) suggest the latter. This will give media audiences, which included
also politicians, a skewed view of range of potential societal discourse within established media outlets. The media might no longer effectively even serve as a public forum but as a “facilitator of debate and deliberation among elites, bringing them together to formulate the shared ideational and normative frameworks on which decisionmaking, competition and compromises are based” (Ojala 2017: 33).

Additionally politicians could mobilize Nokia as an example in the media to ground their arguments for adjusting public finances and improving Finnish competitiveness (“Hallituksella vähän konsteja”: HS 15.6.2012; ”Nyt iski Nokia-krapula”: IS 19.11.2013). In other words, a mediated, visible corporate case fuelled political competitiveness claims that reinforced the pro-market frame in public discourse overall.

This study contributes to the field of media analysis in Finland regarding organizational action and the Nokia Corporation specifically (Ruotsalainen et al. 2014; Lindén 2012; Tienari, Vaara & Erkama 2007). The findings corroborate Tienari, Vaara & Erkama (2007) in arguing that Nokia's treatment in the media is comparable to a “gospel according to the global market”. The findings also support claims of institutionalized market logic in Finnish mainstream commercial media (Parviainen 2014; Nieminen and Pantti 2009; Wiio 2006; Pajari 2003). This research links into a broader concern for more critical media studies in the market-economies in the West (Davis 2007). Arguably the market-based structures in the media create a frame of commercialization that is conducive for neoliberal ideology more than it is to other framings.

This study agrees with Lindén (2012: 281) to note that creeping ideological changes do not require coercion, but instead incentivize the co-option of institutionalized discourse. Nokia’s pro-market neoliberal agenda is already legitimate in business contexts, but through sympathetic voices the area for that agenda can grow further (ibid.: 283). This is not insidious as such, as many politicians find that agenda appealing based on their own ideological preferences. This research is placed in the same vein as Ojala's (2017) work in communication studies that identify and incorporate the political dimension of media discourse and the double role of the media as a platform and as a tool for the dissemination of ideology. Media analysis is a necessary arbitrator between other public discourses, but too much emphasis is placed on the assumption of objective arbitration. Especially in the era of commercialized media, the media is an equal constitutive discursive power in society and the processes and effects of mediation should be carefully studied, rather than assumed.
7.3 Political Discourse

The argumentative schemes created for political discourse were much more diverse than in the other two areas. Politicians are able to draw on a much broader range of topics to include their arguments. The genuine range of legitimate political arguments, however, remains somewhat uncertain. It is a question of some arguments being accepted more readily at their face value than others. As the financial crisis transformed into a persistent recession – though in many terms Finland’s economy suffers from a lack of growth rather than an outright contraction in the long term – political discourse started to take a more demanding tone in terms of public finances. Arguably the same phenomenon happened as in corporate discourse: while expressing softer societal values, the primary values revolved around economic priorities. Primary values cannot be overridden by secondary values. It is only through fiscal responsibility that societal responsibilities can be realized. This was certainly the case with discourse presented by parties in government, whereas the opposition parties enjoyed more leeway.

Nokia’s poor showing in Finnish political documents was somewhat of a surprise, though numerical data did show the company was often consulted in Parliament. Considering that committee work is done as a standard method of the “usual suspects” asked to comment (Peltomäki 2013a/b; Seo 2017), it often moves beyond public democratic channels. Thus the talk on the promotion of citizen democracy is misleading, as real chances to influence procedures remains limited (Farrelly 2015). There is a risk that citizen involvement initiatives will be limited to issues of values politics that do not and cannot directly affect the economy.

Combined with a more depoliticized conceptualization of the political economy, the findings of this research suggest a strong preference for rational and reasonable economic policy locked within a particular discourse-frame-ideology construct. The findings suggest a potential radical reimagining of the role and scope of politics in representative democracies, where the claim to legitimacy relies on a genuine potential for citizen participation and deliberation. Political discourse is dialogic in nature, but in the end favouring particular premises. The interactivity seems limited: based on the transcripts argumentation acts as basis for political positioning of the party is terms of government and opposition. Argumentation is offered in the sense of political positioning, not actual deliberative dialogue. A typical political legitimation strategy instead draws on the legacy of earlier
governments and their either noted failures or complicity in the chosen course of action. This move seeks to delegitimize opposition politics in advance.

Ironically, in management, condemning one’s predecessor is still something of a faux pas. In Nokia’s case the management did not engage in outright accusations towards prior management. In politics, however, the bulk of the blame is placed at the feet of the previous administration, which has left the current government with only bad alternatives to choose from (Fairclough 2016: 66; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 142-143). In political discourse parties also routinely denigrate the political legacy that the current government is going to hand down to the next one. It seems that in political discourse one’s own legitimacy hinges on the illegitimacy of one’s predecessors. Finnish coalition governments, however, make this a difficult discursive strategy to leverage. It is difficult to attribute blame plausibly if a party is not consistently in opposition.

Globalization discourse draws on implicit consensus, which is seems to be shared by most mainstream parties: the convergence of discourse between political parties and even societal actors (e.g. trade unions and business interest representatives) is high and effective counter-arguments relatively absent (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014:31). Admittedly the so called shift from the welfare state to the competitive state (Väyrynen 1998: 151) was not reflected in the dataset until the financial crisis, when the state's key role was reconceptualised as the enabler of markets and private business was identified as the primary creator of value. This does not mean, however, that the underlying idea had not existed previously. The financial crisis solidified this argumentative consensus as parties largely agreed on the nature of the crisis, and no longer seemed to argue from positions of clear ideological differences (with the possible exception of the Left Alliance). For some observers this might be a welcomed phenomenon; decreasing ideological bias should lead to more objectively evaluated consensual outcomes.

However, as has been discussed in theoretical section, this is a misconception of the nature of ideology. All parties are ideological as a matter of course. The apparent decrease in ideological clashes rather suggests ideological convergence towards one ideological preference, narrows down the range of acceptable and plausible – responsible – policy alternatives. While it is not possible to show causality, there is clear correlation with the rise of the Finnish ICT sector and the increasing affinity for technocratic discourse. Nokia’s ascendancy combined with Finland’s entry into global markets made market logic a natural frame to reorient political argumentation as well. Finnish consensus-culture and the close relations of the Finnish political and economic elites, which have endured through the financial
crisis (Ruostetsaari 2012), would promote a particular kind of economist rationality (Teivainen 2002) that would guide premises in political argumentation.

In these instances, economic realities are presented as all-encompassing realities, subverting also political realities. While it is true that public policy is to an extent dependent on the state of public finances, the argumentative structure inherited from the business world suggests economic priorities are the true priorities of policy. This separates economic policy into a separate political realm, effectively rendering it apolitical. Value premises shore up the arguments as not only the rational, but the right thing to do.

The risk of political common sense is not that it is false, but that it invites political ideologically to become embedded and declared non-ideological. Market-logic and pro-market arguments in the analysis have been found largely compatible with neoliberal ideology. Assuming that the neoliberal ideology had started its ascendancy in Finland through economic booms (1995-2000; 2002-2007), then that ideological choice had certainly been rewarded through material gains. As the guiding principle of economic policy increase the salience of market discourse in times of relatively stable economic growth. The prominence of neoliberal discourse is based on globalization: the economic model it represented was unavoidable and inevitable, but luckily also enriching. The years of economic growth seemed to propagate a new idea of the economy, where public finances became financed through external trade, rather than internal taxation. As a result, references in the dataset to particularly progressive taxation seem to favour reductions with flat taxes on consumption.

As discussed earlier, the complexities of the global economy have a tendency to reduce agency, as both representatives of business and politics alike find themselves influenced by forces beyond their control (or rather forces for which no control mechanisms have been developed). The mismatch of agency and responsibility can become quite problematic over time in the context of deliberative democracy. Considering that “political fortunes often hinge on “popular perceptions of the government’s handling of economic affairs” (Gavin 2000: 1), there is a need to purchase economic legitimacy in a democracy through discourse.

Adding to this, the narrowness of the Finnish elite increases the probability successful argumentation practice being adopted across discursive fields. If corporate argumentation sustains legitimacy, similar premises become appealing also for political operatives, in addition to increasing elite cohesion. Jaatinen (1999: 1) suggests that the Nordic consensus culture gives new discursive approaches
more access to specific interest groups. As circulation between the political and other elites increases, no new elites are admitted (Ruostetsaari 2016: 250-251, 271). Consensus-building is, still, a lauded principle of Finnish society, but only as long as it solves problems. Since delays have an adverse effect on finances consensus lose favour to decisiveness (Vaara & Tienari 2011).

This research suggests that the financial crisis reinvigorated market logic within the context of a Nordic welfare state. When a socio-political compromise between markets (capital) and politics (labour) is no longer necessary, market logic has no ideological opponent of equal strength. Critical political economists have argued that crisis is endemic to capitalism (Harvey 2010; Polanyi 2009 [1944]), creating the circumstances of unpredictability noted in most of the political argumentation schemes. The welfare state was a safeguard against this unpredictability. Proponents of neoliberalism would argue that the crisis is due to insufficient economic liberalization; crisis is caused by markets colliding with the state (Foucault 2008).

This research illustrates how the language of neoliberalism has made inroads into political discourse, disseminating understandings that emphasize economic and financial concerns over other viewpoints. Reasons for welfare state retraction on the level of policy and argumentation are offered. The work builds on existing work on political discourse and political argumentation (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) and further highlights how policy making takes the form of a discursive struggle over definitions of problems and solutions, following Fischer and Gottweis (2012). Analysing the dialogic exchange in Parliament relating to the budgetary debates has increased understanding of competing actors and the ways they construct competing policy narratives as an effort of not only sensemaking, but active sensegiving.

The findings broadly relate to the politics of globalization (Fairclough 2006), but also to a more discursive conceptualization political economy. This fits within the argument of “economist discourse” (Teivainen 2002), which is superficially democratic but characteristically more interested in markets. Furthermore, “economism” has natural discursive affinity with austerity politics (Blyth 2013), though Finland's case cannot be described as textbook austerity. Most ideological and discursive constructs are by default localized into hybridized versions of themselves (Ban 2016), and as such trying to find clear-cut cases of neoliberalism in politics sets the bar for definite findings relatively high. Indeed, there remains little doubt of neoliberalism’s influence in Finland (Ruostetsaari 2016; Heiskala 2006;
Kantola 2002). The discussion in this research has described how neoliberalist ideology and discourse have gone local in the Finnish context.

There is a risk that the scope of positive expansions of citizens democracy (Seo 2017) will be reduced through strict pre-defined limits of what can be accomplished (democratism. Farrelly 2015). A typical consideration would be the depoliticization of the economic (Mair 2013; Swanson 2008; Hoover 2003); while politicians, in all likelihood, will not cede political power over economic policy willingly, the gradual entrenchment of pro-market logic will guide economic policy away from interventionist actions. As extensively described in this research, actors seek to mitigate their agency and thus accountability over the negative things. In the dataset this was visible in the readiness of politicians to relocate the accountability of economic policy in the international bond markets (Figures 34-35). Institutional actors in Finland and elsewhere have been calling for the separation of economic policy from politics; the director of the Bank of Finland Erkki Liikanen stated in 2014 that “economic facts” and “value politics” have to be separated to the point that “economic facts do not fall under politics” (Sullström 2014). Politicians thus seem to actively advocate depoliticization, perhaps without understanding that depoliticization also affects their capacity to act. Politicians should not be too fast to surrender their agency in discourse, as they may find it difficult to recover it in practice. Some tentative hypotheses on consequences of depoliticization are explored in chapter 7.4.2.

Addendum – Figures 30-37 describe the range of political topics presented within the span of 11 years and 4 different cabinets in the context of presenting the annual budgetary speech to the Finnish Parliament. These findings are expanded by Niemikari and Poutanen (2018), also analysing Finnish budgetary speeches. In their treatment Niemikari and Poutanen analyse budget proposal speech for 2016 delivered by Minister of Finance Alexander Stubb of the National Coalition Party. In his 2015 speech Minister Stubb introduces the official budget plan of the three-party centre-right coalition government (Centre Party, National Coalition Party and the Finns Party) that took office in 2015. In Minister Stubb's speech, the Finnish system is in need of further reforms. Like multinational businesses, nation states also operate in dynamic environments now, where movement forward is necessary to avoid stagnation.

89 Liikanen was also quoted in the media material to the same effect: ”Hallituksella vähän konsteja”: HS 15.6.2012.
This is a powerful discursive trope, considering that “movement forward” is made appealing simply through the undesirability of its opposing alternative. The necessity to safeguard the services of welfare society is also inherited from past budgetary speeches, but its emphasis is on the credibility of Finnish public finances. The need to enhance Finnish competitiveness is expressed by a new discursive element, the competitiveness jump (policy), which primarily aims to make Finnish labour more affordable (wage depression). As before, when times are tough, the Minister has to rely on calls to collective responsibility to the extent of creating an obligation of solidarity. Outside the budgetary speech the Sipilä cabinet (2015-2019) has officially stated that the resulting social and economic restructuring following the financial crisis, while painful in the short term especially in terms of human capital, the overall long-term benefits to productivity and wellbeing are greater (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015: 11).

The assumption of value-creation being moved to the private sector in the budgetary speech in 2013 is further reinforced in 2015. Confirming the findings of this research, the budget proposal locates the value creation in society to the private sector. The role of the state in managing the economy of production and distribution is considered largely ended. This represents fundamentally changed political discourse, leaving the conventional left-right debate without a supporting context, (Mair 2013: 72). To rephrase Mair’s point in light of the data, it seems that on the level of discourse there still exists wide support for responsible, fair, and social just policies, but while these values exist in discourse, they are relegated to secondary positions because they make less sense in the context of pro-market arguments, such as competitiveness. The findings presented in chapter 6.4 apply also the budget proposal speech for 2016.

7.4 Concluding Reflections

Through a triangulation of a theoretical nexus between discourse analysis, framing theory and ideology theory this research has approached the topic of public discourse expressed in a second triangulation of an empirical nexus between business discourse, media discourse and political discourse. The conceptualization of the theoretical nexus has provided the research with sufficient tools in terms of method to approach a considerable corpus of data, consisting of Nokia press releases, Nokia’s representation in the newspapers, and political discussions. The
analysis has sought to confirm the nature of public discourse, and how the interplay of economic speech in public discourse resonates in political discourse. Ideas matter in politics, but the degree to which they can be implemented in policy is constrained by the discourse-frame-ideology construct dominant in the key areas of the surrounding society.

Any of the three discursive areas discussed in this research could be fruitfully pursued further within the respective disciplines of organization studies, media studies, or political studies. By straddling these three areas, there was a risk this research would say something of all three but not enough of any single one, which meant the analysis had to be sufficiently deep but still remain on a level that leaves room for a comparative view and discussion. Discourse should be accepted as a contributing factor, even if not the factor guiding new socio-political understandings and policy. In this way, the findings have focused more on sensegiving, than sensemaking. Established discourse not only reflects but directs subsequent discourse, which is used to legitimize future policy. The findings suggest that similar discursive and argumentative structures are assumed across different discursive areas. Arguments that are considered favourable or have high salience are incorporated from one discursive area to the other, especially if they can be linked through a common theme. In this research that common theme has been pro-market frame guided by neoliberal ideology.

The discursive similarities between corporate downsizings and cuts to public services in light of the empirical analysis are to be considered as homogenized argumentation. In both instances the necessity to act is established, but coupled with disavowing of responsibility due to external forces. Similarly, both discourses frame the decision made as “painful but necessary” (i.e. softer values superseded by economic prerogatives), creating high discursive affinity between the ways corporate and political elites tend to represent the decisions. This affinity is then reflected through media discourse. High discursive affinity also suggests that the discourses among the elites are mutually supportive, reinforcing specific representations. If democratic avenues also fail to provide plurality (politics: Seo 2017: 51; media: Parviainen 2014; Pajari 2003), even higher discursive affinity in political decisionmaking can be expected to follow, at the expense of other perspectives.

Alternative framings and discourse are dismissed based on the usual defence-mechanisms, as the discursive elites feel they are in greater possession of all the relevant facts. If competing discourses emerge outside the elite structures – outside the business-political establishment – there is little reason to engage with them.
seriously, which leaves this discursive space open for political opportunists and entrepreneurs – some of them populist. Accusations of populism were flung around in the budgetary debates all too readily, (purposefully) confusing disagreement with populist discourse. The media may also mimic this response, especially in economic reporting. It should be emphasized, that from a critical standpoint the discourse of inevitability embedded in globalist discourse is also in effect discourse of helplessness. Claims of “taking back control” form a formidable countering discourse that can mobilize political support, as was seen in the case of the referendum on United Kingdom’s EU membership (or “Brexit”).

When ideological and discursive affinity grows, the substantive difference between corporate and political goals becomes a formality: both need to legitimize their actions within their own institutional boundaries. Argumentation is reduced to a utilitarian vehicle that is only formally deliberative. Corporate and political operatives can become captured by the utilitarian value of what they do as means to the end of continued employment and membership in the elite. The difference is, of course, that having an eye on utilitarian success is more acceptable and even expected of business operatives, whereas politicians, especially representatives in a democracy, should have other normative and substantive goals, aside from re-election.

If elections become the only point of accountability and legitimation to a politician, then votes become the only measurable goal. Elections become comparable to quarterly results. This is a reductionist view of politics that contains very little of the essence of democratic governance. The introduction of business logic into politics arguably obscures the implicit goals of representative democracy. In light of the critical literature, this is why the separation between market-based ideology and the ideology of deliberative democracy has to be observed, and, if necessary, safeguarded. But how can deliberative democracy operate in practice if the economy is depoliticized (Swanson 2008)?

While the first two budgetary speeches and responses were only warming up to the idea, business discourse and (business) media discourse showed remarkable readiness to take competitiveness and global markets as motivating and authoritative argumentative elements. The readiness to explain what was meant by specific discourse reduced, and snappy discursive tropes like “sustainability gap” (or “competitiveness jump”: Niemikari & Poutanen 2018) required only superficial explanations to become premises for the means-goal. In Finnish political discourse argumentation has in general focused on “efficiency, functionality and rational
expertise”, which serve as technocratic argumentative elements that have embedded values (Luhtakallio 2010: 19).

To cover for these values politicians refer to commonly accepted and known values, such as social justice, even if the actions they proposed would run contrary to those stated values. Similarly, Siltaoja (2009: 198) describes how companies use CSR to show that they understand the negative sentiments related to downsizing, but precedence must be given to corporate survival: “downsizing is a socially legitimate practice and the managers become constructed as those who saved the business from a possible catastrophe”. To rephrase Siltaoja’s characterization of the legitimizing effect of CSR into politics, cuts into public finances are a politically legitimate practice and politicians become constructed as those who saved the state from possible catastrophe.

As consequence, the discourse of the political economy largely relies on externalizations that cannot be really solved (Luhtakallio 2010: 20). While Teivainen (2013: 88) argues that opening large companies with significant leverage in society (and politics) to the political realm would be beneficial to society as a whole, the era of globalization has liberalized the markets and market actors to the extent that it would be very difficult for the state to reassume any significant authority over them. The ease with which Nokia’s crisis became the crisis of the Finnish states speaks volumes of this. While Nokia did not tell a moral story of itself, the press certainly did, creating a ready platform to tell a similar story of Finnish public finances; of overindulgence, gluttony and profligate spending that had caused the inevitable economic collapse. Austerity as responsible fiscal management draws directly not only from political discourse but business discourse in Nokia’s case.

Both political and corporate austerity are moral arguments, that legitimize the painful measures through a representation of past indiscretions or mismanagement (Blyth 2013: 12-13). The competition for better corporate operating environments under globalization is at least implicitly understood at the political level: rational governments are aware of this and try to adapt by creating pro-business environments. While the firm can surpass the nation-state, the nation-state cannot surpass itself. The same applies to globalist discourse (and arguments), which can supersede the national context, creating mutually supportive structures so that national elites can draw on the discourse of international elites to solidify their local argumentative strategies.

This research offers a more nuanced interpretation than inferring a causality of economic discourses directly colonizing politics. There is no causal path of
discourse that can be accurately and unambiguously traced from Nokia to Finnish politics present in the analysis. To do so would require showing definite movement between the discursive areas, typically on a timeline. This study takes note, however, of the homogenization of discourse between the economic and political realms. Elite influence in general (Ojala 2017) and the close-knit nature of Finnish elites in particular offer convincing circumstantial evidence to the findings offered here (Ruostetsaari 2012: 279). While the Finnish political elite may not officially endorse neoliberal values (Ruostetsaari 2016: 268-269), the convergence of neoliberal argumentation is inescapable. The way in which discursive tropes that rely on economic logic, such as structural change, social justice and competitiveness, become embedded in political discourse does suggest an affirmative answer to the research question.

Abandoning the adversarial nature of partisan politics opened political space first to technocratic fiscal management discourse, which then proceeded to establish a centrist consensus of depoliticization. Within this consensus, “parties might still compete with one another for votes, sometimes even intensively, but they came to find themselves sharing the same broad commitments in government and confining themselves to the same ever-narrowing repertoire of policy-making” (Mair 2013: 51). In argumentation, this development is visible in many calls for consensus located in the data. Coalition cabinets lacking real ideological consensus show the struggle between ideological politics and non-ideological consensus.

7.4.1 Possible Shortcomings

The possible shortcomings of this work have been discussed earlier in chapter 4. While the potential concerns over the alignment of the theory have been addressed and acknowledged, the fact remains that the corpus under investigation is extremely large, and thus unwieldy for qualitative analysis without software assistance. However, the data has been manually assessed and categorized no less than twice in each section, providing a more careful investigation than any automated system might yield. Secondly, specific categories were created to avoid analytical arbitrariness, and the analysis was conducted with full transparency (Koening (2006: 64). While it would be challenging to repeat interpretive analysis under these circumstances, Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1132) remind that scientific “rigour should sometimes be downplayed for the benefit of social relevance”.

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Furthermore, given the potential unavailability of some of the empirical materials this research is not fully reproducible. While the data was gathered with the idea of public access in mind, ensuring that all the data gathered, used, and is thus available for competing analyses and not restricted by clauses of confidentiality, there is no control over e.g. Nokia’s decision to showcase its press releases on its website. Access to media archives may also require additional steps than were described here.

A loose framework allows for a more abductive approach where the theoretical ideas are refined through the empirical analysis. The hermeneutic circle was fully followed (Figure 15). The Faircloughian argumentative turn in CDA is but one way of analysing the data, mindful of Hay’s (2013) warning against methodological absolutism. Methodologically speaking the Faircloughian model has previously been applied to political and media discourse, but not corporate discourse. In terms of analysis, however, the model was very applicable. It is true that other forms of political discourse could have been considered for argumentative analysis, but given how Fairclough & Fairclough (2012; 2011) also use budgetary speeches in their analysis, the selection in this work is also considered valid.

Finally, in a large dataset it is possible that there are omissions. While remaining confident that the representation of business and media discourse is fair, given the scope of the material and the search terms, political discourse is represented by only four samples (eight, counting the responses) over a period of 13 years. The development of certain discursive tropes can thus be expected to be somewhat abrupt in the dataset. While it would not have been feasible to analyse the budgetary report of each and every year – certainly not to this level of detail – the fact remains that there are holes in the corpus which may contain particularities of political discourse left unaddressed here.

7.4.2 Further Research Directions

The potential consequences of the findings listed here, such as the depolitization of the economic in political discourse, may impact some of the more pressing issues in contemporary political analysis. Future research should further discuss the possible implications of this development in the context of changing political institutions influenced by growing populism. In other words, it would be worthwhile to explore the rise of populism in the West as consequence of the neutralization ideological differences and the homogenization of political
discourse. The irony of the neoliberal ideology and market supremacy is the claim of increasing individual liberty and self-realization while at the same time subjecting the individual to the aforementioned mechanics (Rehmann 2013). While the state still had a larger role to play, interventions into the markets for the sake of societal stability – especially in a Nordic welfare state – was accepted in a limited sense. As those interventions are perceived as increasingly illegitimate, state authority and competence deteriorates. This development arguably contributes to an overall sense of lost control, as the unpredictability of markets is imposed on the citizenry.

If the markets are accepted as an extraneous force, they cannot be controlled. Instead, winning on the markets is necessary, as competition implies that the binary choice is between winning and losing. Nokia served as a warning example of the ever-present threat of market failure. Similarly Finnish public finances have yet to recover, and the future is uncertain. It is, perhaps, no wonder that the same sense of lost control has spilled over to people’s personal lives, and promises to restore that control through nationalistic discourse has increased its appeal.

Bauman (2002) has noted that “the mantra of global competitiveness” breeds a persistent sense of powerlessness in politics and society, leading to the political passivity of citizens and parties in terms of economic policy. Competitiveness is a prerogative that overwhelms past egalitarian principles – high levels of income inequality are visible globally. As made evident by the first three budget speeches and responses in chapter 6.3, politicians are aware of this problem but apparently unable to curtail the mechanisms of inequality as redistributive policy is increasingly framed based on deservingness (Slothuus 2007). Although the general assumption of the late 1990s to early 2000s was that globalization benefits everyone, this truism has been severely criticized of late. From the perspective neoliberally aligned elites globalization’s side-effect of increased inequality is, rationally thinking, an acceptable trade-off for increased wealth. This would explain the way Finnish inequality had been, in lack of a better word, allowed to grow during the economic boom of the 2000s through regressive taxation policy. The discussion on the “losers of globalization” has emerged more vocally as a motivation of political (and economic) discontent only after the financial crisis intensified economic and political drive for structural changes and competitiveness.

It would make intuitive sense to argue that the receding space in economic discourse that is increasingly marked by uncontrollable externalities might be taken up by political forces seeking to leverage them. Staking a claim for political agency while other parties depoliticize economy in favour of unaccountable externalities would give such a political force an ideological anchor in largely unoccupied
waters. A populist paradigm shift in politics can usually be explained by the need to find new solutions when the old ones have been found unworkable in practice. While populism may be packaged in xenophobia or political opportunism, it also serves as a contrarian discursive position to the status quo represented by established corporate, media and political interests. Populism can voice legitimate citizens’ concerns. It seems that populism would serve as an alternative discourse to a “creeping neoliberal agenda” (Ahlqvist & Moisio 2014:48-49). If the economic imperatives placed on national governments and electorates by technocratic EU governance are viewed as a violation of sovereignty, one can assume a continued resurgence of populist and nationalist political movements.

Populist movements in Europe had been feeding off the spillover from former leftist workers' parties that had forgotten their base when they discovered neoliberalist politics in the late 1990s to early 2000s. They lost their credibility in their traditional role between capital and workers’ interests, and no longer could serve as a safety valve for serious political discontent. The populist parties, rather than having a message that suddenly found support per se, were well positioned to provide a platform for that discontent. In other words, as long as the good times were rolling, both for Fordism before the late 1970s, and for neoliberalism before the great recession, they were dominant/hegemonic ideological paradigms. Both systems have explanations for the fall of the old: in the 1970s supporters of Hayek and Friedman would find Fordism obsolete at the face of evolutionary markets, while coming up to the 2010s populism has declared the elites and all establishment politics at fault, demanding the right of the people to take back control.

Karl Polanyi predicts, based on his observations on the early 1900s, that as market interventions by the state are removed, and the markets operate freely, new types of resistance emerges that offers new solutions to crises in the political economy, often through populist politics (Heiskala 2009: 21). From Polanyi's perspective, the rise of populism is thus not only predictable, but a cyclical political phenomenon whenever the citizens feel they are no longer protected from the markets. The problem is that traditional parties have been thrown into confusion as a result of this development. Karvonen (2014: 108-117) has found that the more political parties are perceived as similar the more voter turnout decreases.

Looking at working class support in Finland, the left-to-centre SDP and the Finns party are the primary parties competing for working class votes (Westinen 2016: 251-252). In the recent years there has been considerable flow to and fro between these two parties in terms of voters. Given how the Left Alliance’s profile
has shifted to a “red-green” configuration, it has lost its working class appeal (ibid. 266, 268). With the SDP’s voters in flux and the reconfiguration of the Left Alliance, from the perspective of the voters there remains no leftist working class party in Finland. As such, there is little promise of a party-political alternative for the so called losers of globalization.

Taking back economic control from finance capital and the disembodied force of nature expressed through the inevitability of globalization tend act as subtexts of populist parties, rather than their text. This is because many especially right-wing populists may well subscribe to the neoliberal paradigm in terms of the political economy, and thus must find targets elsewhere through nationalist discourse. Right-wing populist movements are, at their roots, conservative reactions to this change. They are forced, however, to accept globalization as a given, irresistible entity and often acquiesce to it, contesting values rather than the economy. The political right cannot do otherwise as they are oblivious or hostile to class conflict, given its leftist nature. They are thus left with, and focused only on, value politics, such as minority rights. It is, in fact, the only area for them where control can still be exerted and political alternatives exist.

Political discourse has come to reflect this profound lack of alternatives, wherein citizens are given “opportunities” to innovate and be open agents at the labour market without any real alternatives. For example, lack of employment becomes an individual shortcoming. The effect of increased competitiveness in the Finnish labour force has been found to be mostly negative in terms of employee job satisfaction and work life balancing (Siltala 2004). The mechanisms affecting labour negatively can be expected to only worsen during the financial crisis. The link here to the so called New Deal at Work (Cappelli 1999) and the new representative models of employees (McKinley, Mone and Barker 1998) would be an interesting way to investigate the shifting conceptualization of workers and the working class. Such an approach would link the nature of citizens as workers (or entrepreneurs) to the increase of business discourse in politics.

Without any real breadth of choice, political discourse becomes perceived as meaningless; increased freedom becomes increased dependency on unaccountable market forces. This speaks of the form (discourse) of politics overriding the substance (social practice) of politics. It is no wonder people perceive all political speech as corrupt, and as such the integrity associated with everyday talk is (seen as) missing from political discourse (Hay 2007). It also opens space for politicians who break discursive norms at abandon to be perceived as “straight talkers”,

simply because they do not conform to standard political discourse. Under these circumstances political entrepreneurs who use disruptive discourse offer at least a theoretical chance for disruptive social practices that are preferable to the status quo. This is at the heart of populist discourse.

These shifts, however, take decades, depending on national institutional contexts and are never uncontested (Schmidt 2010). It is interesting to note that an institution as staunchly pro-market as the IMF has taken a much more critical approach to neoliberalism (Ostry, Loungani & Furceri 2016). It is possible that some institutions of the liberal market order realize that the political economy is indeed conjoined: depoliticization of the economic engenders the experience of societal exclusion and political alienation that feeds populism.
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9 APPENDIX


Antti Kalliomäki /SDP [in government]: Madam speaker! A year ago the news of the tragic terror attacks on New York and Washington came to this Parliament when we dealt with the budget proposal. The first thoughts for many of us were disbelief and uncertainty, even fear. Of those first impressions at last uncertainty still remains. […] Finland stands far away from the crisis hotspots of the world. This is a blessing few of the past generations can claim as their own. […]

Madam speaker! Uncertainty in the global economy is a defining factor as much as it is world politics. It is hard to estimate whether or not we can breathe easy even still. It would be unnecessary, though, to ignore positive signs. Both American and European economies show structural strength that enables economic policy that fosters economic growth: inflation is kept in check, exchange rates have settled closer to sustainable levels, and European corporations are more apt at competing.

Madam speaker! The current budget proposal is the last one to be offered by the second Lipponen government. At the same time it reflects the standard of economic policy of these election seasons that form a firm basis for facing the challenges of the coming years.

The results of economic policy implemented since the mid-1990s have been impressive. Public finances are balanced and the rate of debt accumulation has been significantly reduced. The share of the unemployed in the workforce has been halved from its highest level in the 1990s. Some 300,000 new jobs have been created. Inflation has settled on a low level, and the economy has been stabilized by restoring long-term co-operation with labor organizations.

During the last two governmental terms the accomplishments of financial policy thus serve as robust grounds from which to tackle the challenges of the coming years. The Social Democrats outlined their own goals in their June party convention. Reducing unemployment remains our number one priority. Long-term unemployment remains too high, and reducing it would serve as the best medicine against social exclusion and poverty, too often fed by periods of unemployment.

The uncertainty underpinning the previous economic descriptions should be taken into consideration in the continued preparations here in Parliament and later in the related income policy agreements in the labor markets. It is not hard to predict that in these trials the contractual social model’s utility will be put to the test once more. For almost over a 10-year period after the recession it has worked commendably. The grounds for welfare have been supported by encompassing income policy boosting citizens’ purchasing power. […]

The need to break ranks and politically profile oneself differently brought about by election fever is no reason to break apart the joint government stance, which – even in difficult circumstances in the previous budget session – managed to bring about an elegant solution. I say this because there have been signs of breaking away too much. [in the Left Alliance and National Coalition that undercut agreements made in government …] This government still has considerable work to do. […]

With the opposition the situation is of course different. At least most of the parties in opposition should have the capacity and the desire to draft their own shadow-budget as a response to the government’s own, so we can have a debate based on clear outlines: the government’s proposal versus the
opposition’s alternative. […] Setting these outlines explicitly would also be beneficial for citizens, as a budgetary debate, often accused of being obtuse, would compare unambiguous alternatives. But where is the alternative budget proposal by Center party? […] [Follows a lengthy accusation against Center party’s claimed lack of political leadership and incoherence of policy, where Center party is presented as populist, and trying to compete with National Coalition in tax cuts – largely in vain …]

Madam speaker! The Parliamentary group of the Social Democrats considers the government’s budget proposal well founded and a functional basis for the Parliament to work and decide on. Although increases in unemployment have been modest, we must prepare for weaker growth. […] The lowering of pensioners’ health insurance costs to the level of wage earners is in line with the goals of the Social Democrats. This is how justice is done. The CEO-like behaviour of the Minister of Finance does not change that reality. In the same way several other promises made in favour of pensioners over the election season will be realized.

In addition to employment this budget, like its predecessors, focuses on services and education. Appropriations in welfare services for health and social care will be increased. [particular policies listed …]

Madam speaker! During the two Lipponen governments, the model for the welfare state has been reformed to focus more on services, rather than income transfers. This has been dictated both by tightening public finances and global changes. The most important of the coming years is to drive this reform forward, not by cutting income transfers but seeking to improve both public services and other forms of citizen basic security. […]

Reforms of this kind and new needs of developing especially education and social and health services require one thing, however: the curtailment of unemployment must be finished. Only by removing the considerable costs associated with unemployment can new space for developing new services and improving on citizen basic security from child to elderly care be brought about. […] We must continue down this road as it relates to the sustainability and plausibility of our health care system. A tax-funded public health care system has to guarantee the same health services for all citizens. We have all received some concerning signals about the problems in public health care and the transfer of customers out of necessity to the private sector. These messages are a severe warning, that emphasizes the historic nature of the health care reform currently underway. Creating private service markets and feverish need to set up competitive bidding cannot become ends in themselves. When applying market-oriented solutions, one must be certain they will not weaken or endanger the service production of the municipalities. Social and health care services acquired through competitive bidding or outsourcing have to meet clearly defined criteria and limits. […]

Mauri Pekkarinen /Center party [in opposition]: […] Madam speaker! For almost eight years the Lipponen governments have enjoyed exceptionally large majority in Parliament. It has done as it has pleased. Its power has been sufficient for that. But whose will has served as the true foundation of the blue-red politics?

I claim that he government ranging from the far-left to the far-right – from the old communists to National Coalition – has lacked and continues to lack common values and ideals, a great common cause. That lack is visible in the results of the Lipponen government’s politics: materially greatly enriched Finland is economically, socially, and regionally more unequal than ever before. The state has during the Niinistö and Lipponen years set itself clearly on the side of the strongest in society. Even though many of members of the government parties have been roaring lions in the field, in this hall they have become sheep, and the great coalition has been one and the same. [interjections]

The government hasn’t had to listen to the voices of discontent of the people when it has enjoyed a solid majority in Parliament. Therefore it is no wonder that according to the latest research from Stakes [Statistics Finland] ever more Finns feel that the political system does not represent them. Faith in elections and the significance of voting has faded.

This is exactly what was not supposed to happen according to the Lipponen governments’ political platform. The first Lipponen government declared itself the government of employment and solidarity. The second one claimed to be just and supporting in order to build a more wholesome nation. These governments have certainly had the material resources to realize their promises. The record long growth of the global economy has constantly given them a strong tailwind. Extensive investments in skills and technology have paid off. The technological boom and a weaker euro have given an extra kick to the
economy. Even competitiveness looks good, thanks in part to the labor organization and labor market
negotiation outcomes.

In addition to external help, the policies enacted by the Lipponen governments have also contributed,
for both better and worse. Strengthening the already strong, taking from the weak and centralizing
everything have accelerated short term growth. This policy has, however, increased both economic and
social vulnerability in the long term.

The signs from the last few years indicated, that an international economic slow-down has, due to the
current policies, hurt Finland hard and fast. […]

I admit that public expenditures have had to have been cut somewhat. But according to what doctrine,
representatives Puisto, Stenius-Kaukonen and many others, have made it right to offer billions in tax
reductions, with the consent of you and all government parties, to those with the highest incomes? And
how have you simultaneously cut so much from regular families and the everyday livelihoods of those
with the smallest incomes? […]

A closer inspection of the eight years of blue-red politics reveals that it has attacked the most sacred
of icons of the welfare society. By cutting into the finances of the municipalities the government has
essentially struck at the citizens’ weakest point, at the most necessary basic services. The municipalities’
social and health expenses have increased by 15 billion Finnish marks between 1995 and 2001, but the
state subsidy in municipality finances has simultaneously decreased by 4 billion marks. […]

As the closing balance of its policies the Lipponen government is now offering the last budgetary
proposal of the election season. Under these circumstances a much more broken and unequal Finland that
what’s been seen in decades is visible behind the improved macroeconomic numbers. Finland has ended
up in a vicious cycle even according to the numbers offered by the government, where the unfortunate
triangle of again rising unemployment levels, again increasing levels of incurred state debt, and for many
an increase in taxation levels. […]

It is the opinion of the Parliamentary group for the Center Party that high skills, high technology, and
production relying on both is indispensable for Finnish exports and economic growth. But it is not
enough for good Finnish employment and the overall wellbeing of the nation. […] 300 000 unemployed
signify great human suffering and a strain to public finances to the tune of about 8 billion euros. […]

Madam speaker, the Parliamentary group for the Center Party renews its proposal to reduce costs for
small businesses in work-intensive but low-wage sectors, and reducing the value-added-tax burden on
specific services. The gap caused by reductions in social security must thus be plugged by slightly
increasing the burden on larger and best capitalized companies. […]

Quick fixes are also needed in our opinion in the seamless integration of short-term work and
unemployment and social benefits. Taking on a job should not be penalized as it is now. It should be
rewarded, as retraining efforts are, and the chances for retraining should be improved. I agree with
representative Kalliomiäki in this regard.

For years demands to see these reforms through have been made by the Center party, the Federation
for Finnish Enterprises, and thousands of unemployed people. It has been poorly received by National
Coalition, industry, and the employers’ associations. […]

[Follows a lengthy example of a young mother being penalized by government subsidies, or the lack
of social security, for becoming a mother]

Why did I use this example? Because it serves as focal point for a great deal of neglect and injustice
that these governments have inflicted by cutting the foundations of the welfare society. […]

Madam speaker! The Parliamentary group for the Center Party will propose that the government lives
up to its promises for example in removing the bottle-necks in the health care system in crisis, and elderly
care. At least 100 million euros should be targeted as relief in municipal finances, and this is especially
necessary to save the National health project. […]

The Parliamentary group for the Center Party will propose an invigorating move to bring regional
administration up to date with the needs of a modern Finland and the guidelines set by the European
Union. We offer an alternative to the record-breaking centralization policy of the Lipponen government.
The central idea is that all of Finland must be cared for. The roadways, other forms of transport, and data
connections must serve opportunities all over Finland. […]

Organizing new income arrangements may need tax incentives. If so, then those incentives should be
targeted primarily to low-income, ordinary citizens.
Madam speaker! The Parliamentary group for the Center Party will propose an alternative based on these guidelines to serve as the budget for next year. We will present this alternative at the end of October. [...] 

Every citizen should have the opportunity to identify at least some of the claimed positive achievements that the blue-red government will leave behind. Everyone should also recognize what are the practical outcomes of Finland, living the most prosperous time in its history, becoming ever more starkly unequal along social, economic, and regional lines.

The mission for the Center party is to evaluate, for its part, the closing balance of this government. Exempting the government from its liabilities, however, is not in the hands of the Center Party but the people in the coming elections. The Center Party is tasked with stating that an alternative exists. An alternative that is more just, that encourages work and entrepreneurship more and better, and an alternative that takes better care of the entire Finland and all Finns.

Pirjo-Riitta Antvuori /National Coalition [in government]: Madam speaker! The government’s budget proposal for an election year will be politically manhandled in this hall this autumn. We make political choices when we decided where the state will spend the funds it has accumulated. When handling the budget, we’re not only deciding on technical details, but we also make important decisions relating to our values. We decide on the priorities of things.

Even now even a short analysis of what is going on Finland makes it plain and simple: although many things are well, everything is not fine. Problems in health care, migration, constantly increasing ill-being among children and youth, the unemployment rate stuck at 8%, social exclusion and insecurity – these examples alone tell us we don’t necessarily prioritize the right things.

It is prudent to ask whether or not we, here in Parliament, have done the right decisions in previous years, or, when looking ahead, will this budget guide us in the right direction? The answer naturally cannot be that everything needs more money appropriation. Nor is it a sustainable solution to spread all additional resources equally among all expenditures.

The key point for the Parliamentary group for the National Coalition is services and investing in services. People have to be able to rely on the state and municipalities prioritizing basic services and citizen security. For example when falling ill the concern of accessing proper treatment in a timely manner is a legitimate concern. It is the duty of public government officials, particularly us here in Parliament, to look after the functionality and accessibility to basic services throughout Finland. [...] 

[follows a discussion on how it is the job of the municipalities to organize services, and for the state to finance those services]

Of late the reforms in municipality finances have taken us in the right direction. The municipalities are no longer as reliant on tax income from private businesses, which are subject to economic fluctuations. Similarly we have been able to ease the position of the smallest, and worst-off municipalities. Some reforms, however, have taken us out of the frying pan and into the fire. These changes, such as decreasing the share that municipalities receive of the corporate tax and reforming the state deficiency payment system have led to an imbalance in finances between municipalities. [...] All in all the Center Party has exhorted the state to take on more debt and distribute that money to the municipalities. The National Coalition in turn wants to find the solutions that safeguard basic services without forcing either the state or the municipalities to pile on debt.

The financial relationship between municipalities and the state is by no means without its problems. The Parliamentary group for the National Coalition is satisfied to note, however, that in the budget proposal for next year, the state appropriations to municipalities will increase by approximately 7 percent. This appropriation will support the municipalities in their vital mission to produce basic services. [including health care initiatives …] More funds could be diverted to health care even though the situation in public finances is relatively bad. The state will, after all, have to take on debt next year to finance the expenses of our welfare society.

To safeguard proper care for citizens we must do other things too, than just increase state funding. For example there is a lot to correct in the structures of health care. [...] It seems clear to me that too small health care units are unable to provide sufficient services. This is why co-operation especially in basic health care between municipalities should be increased. It is equally clear that mammoth-like health care units are inefficient, as is excellently exemplified by the hospital district of Helsinki. […]
Citizens are utterly indifferent to how the costs and responsibilities are divided between the state and the municipalities, as long as the services work and an ill person gets the help and treatment they need. […]

Madam speaker! There are no easy solutions to financing welfare services. Now things are made even more difficult by the general economic trends of late, and the uncertainty relating to the future. Different institutes drafting economic predictions have raced to revise their prognoses for this and the coming year downward. According to the latest predictions, however, the situation is more promising than before. […]

The budget has to account for this uncertainty, however.

The Parliamentary group for the National Coalition believes the strongest messages relayed by the budget proposal for next year are faith and trust in our capacity to continue to follow, despite uncertainties, policies that support economic growth. A good example of this is the continued policy of reductions in income tax rates driven by the National Coalition. Although the reductions for next year are minor compared to past years, they still give a clear signal that the reduction policy, very important for economic growth, will continue even if poorer economic times. […]

We must expect a well-balanced outcome in labor market negotiations, which will take the larger whole of the Finnish economy into account. The solution should on one hand secure sufficient increases in purchasing power for workers and guarantee reasonable employment costs for the employers on the other. This will support the competitiveness of export industries, and thus improve employment rates at home.

The government has announced its readiness to support a moderate outcome in the labor negotiations by separately agreed upon additional decreases in taxation. It is the opinion of the Parliamentary group for the National Coalition that reserving the option for additional tax breaks for the income policy and labor market negotiations was a smart decision. […]

Madam speaker! Under the current government we have succeeded in creating nearly 300 000 new jobs. This is a good accomplishment. The credit for this in practice belongs to, of course, Finnish entrepreneurs and companies. The balanced and successful economic policy outlined by this government has facilitated the birth of these new jobs. […] Although the government’s economic policy has managed to improve the overall employment situation, we haven’t been able to significantly reduce long-term structural unemployment.

The problems of structural unemployment are largely due to the fact that the demand and supply of labor meet more poorly than for example ten years ago. We have good cause to ask how will the current measures taken by the Ministry of Labor tackle this key problem of mismatching supply and demand? At the moment we still have critically high unemployment rates while simultaneously the situation in the labor markets is changing rapidly as the looming shortage of labor is becoming a reality in the coming years. How can we ensure that it the future we will not have simultaneously lack of labor in some sectors and thousands of long-term unemployed people in another? The situation calls for an accurate analysis of which fields need additional labor, and engaging in precision-training of individuals how can work in these fields. This is partially being done already, but there should be ample room for improvement.

Considering how much money the state spends annually on activating employment measures, it is quite peculiar that the effectiveness of labor policy actions is barely evaluated in Finland. […]

Another important aspect of structural unemployment is the future of low-wage service jobs. It is politics of times past to brand those who promote low-wage service jobs as proponents of a society of servitude. I find any claims that the National Coalition offers only punishment and discipline when it promotes low-wage jobs equally reprehensible. […] It is sad if our society belittles the meaning of work in these occupations. […] Is it not most important for the person who needs a work to get the income they need from any job that makes them feel useful and needed? Work does not only offer people with income but also builds up our self-respect and having a meaningful life. […] In this context the Parliamentary group for the National Coalition will propose improving tax exemptions for housework labor.

The Center Party has demanded fairness and propriety in politics. It would be fair and appropriate of the opposition to present their own alternative to the budget proposed by the government. […]

Madam speaker! Regardless of the pressures of a coming election year, we here in Parliament must be able to process this budget proposal properly and taking all aspects and consequence into account. We have a daunting task ahead of us to prioritize things correctly while ensuring that we will not lapse into election-budgeting that would undermine the plausibility of our economic policy.
he infirm and income derived from working are central for personal life management and, although we naturally would’ve liked to see more strident measures taken. The Left Alliance thus thinks in pension levels. The previous one happened 18 years ago. [...]

The Minister of Health, Martti Tuominen, accepted the new legislation of regional development unanimously in Parliament. At this point it is good to give a general overview of the ending governmental term and also look to the future. There has been progress in offsetting poverty and social exclusion, both of which is important to the Left Alliance, although we naturally would’ve liked to see more strident measures taken. We are satisfied that during the term of this government three things to improve basic security that we consider important have been undertaken.

First: the incremental increase in pension levels. The previous one happened 18 years ago. [...]

Second: we in the Left Alliance consider it a victory for the cause of the unemployed that the labor market subsidy and basic allowance for unemployment benefits have been increased, and the dependency of labor market subsidy on the income of one’s partner has been decreased. Third: This budget finally increases the minimum maternity subsidy and also improves the terms of determining parental allowance for unemployed parents.

Madam speaker! Work and income derived from working are central for personal life management skills. The Left Alliance also emphasizes that work, for able citizens, is the best way to avoid social exclusion. Although the global economic outlook hasn’t been favorable, this government’s policy has succeeded in increasing the rate of employment and create 100 000 jobs during this government’s term alone. During the two Lipponen governments a total of over 300 000 jobs has been created. Employment levels have been improved through good co-operation between the government and the labor movement which has resulted in good income policy outcomes. We can also hope that during the autumn we can find the keys to draft another comprehensive social contract. Regardless of the critique the Minister of Finance directed at the labor movement, I want to emphasize that the Finnish contractual social model has shown its strengths both in cleaning up after the recession and in formulating income arrangements that support employment in times of economic growth. Despite new jobs, however, too many long-term unemployed persons are still without work.

Regarding safeguarding the future, during the current election cycle significant investments have been made into education. Investments in R&D has also been sizable. [...]

Fellow representatives, in dealing with the budget, employment is a central concern for the Left Alliance. The economic outlook is extremely uncertain, and employment rates have somewhat declined. Increasingly we read in the news of pending layoffs and downsizings. [...] The Left Alliance thus thinks the government should prepare to increase employment appropriations and move up public works projects, in the supplementary budget for this year if necessary. In addition we need strong commitment and investment in training programs improving professional skills. Internal migration to the growth centers of the nations has also continued from ever since the 1960s. This is nothing new or specific to Finland, but a general trend in market economy Europe. [...]

The government has substantially invested in balancing regional inequalities and differences between municipalities. The Center Party in opposition is loath to acknowledge this, but that is the natural role of opposition. [...] The Parliament accepted the new legislation of regional development unanimously in June. [...]

During this government’s term state appropriations to municipalities have been increased in every budget, including this one. Still one must acknowledge that many municipalities are facing tough times. Additional investments in social and health care given the municipalities, in principle, better tools to secure the services demanded by their citizens, and the Left Alliance stands ready with the other parties in government to find additional funding for health care here in Parliament. At the same time we should remember, however, that the municipalities are responsible for setting their priorities. It is not right to start cutting from children’s daycare or education first, or that the infirm have to stand in endless queues in painful uncertainty. Thus it is necessary to drive forward a basic services package. [...] There have been differences in emphasis between the government in terms decreasing tax rates or supporting services and smaller benefits. While Minister Niinistö talked about how tax relief and services are not at odds, I feel it is necessary to remind everyone that even the Ministry of Finance has warned that the possible stimulating effect of tax relief only amounts to a part of the actual relief. [...] The Left Alliance has also emphasized the services are more important than tax relief, and tax cuts shouldn’t...
jeopardize public service provision. We wish to remind you that according to survey polls Finns would rather have good services than lower taxes, if they know their tax income is directed at securing important public services.

[follows brief discussion on the central role of UN in conflict resolution and climate change as a global threat]

The budget proposal does mention the need to further develop control mechanisms for globalization under the administrative branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but their substance is left completely open. At home, my dear friends, the material wellbeing of Finns depends on the sustainable development of our economy. In the coming years and decades Finland can succeed brilliantly or slowly drift into a state of weakness. The world is rife of examples of countries that fell from grace. Finnish companies have to deal successfully with international competition, as the world never stands still, and we need new ideas for products, new forms of manufacture, and new ways of offering services. In the last years the state has commendably invested in education and R&D. These are important factors, and yet only a part of a competitive and sustainable economy.

In the previous recession especially those with lower levels of education became social excluded. In the future a secondary education degree will be the bare minimum of employability, and we have to remember that at the moment we have almost 400 000 30-54 -year olds who do not have a secondary level education degree. […] The Left Alliance wishes to stress that Finnish economic growth must be socially and environmentally sustainable. Finland’s success also depends on social relations at the workplace. During the last years companies have started to emphasize both ownership and the indecent levels of corporate options. The role of the personnel in creating success has been neglected. […] The Left Alliance considers the co-operation of labor market organizations and the state as a key part of maintaining socially sustainable economic development.

Environmental and nature protection on a high level are also a part of a sustainable economy. In the coming years the challenges regarding the environment will only grow. Increasingly all solutions must go through the co-operation of EU member nations. At the same time one must acknowledge that the EU’s enlargement process also makes it possible to implement a common, responsible environmental policy in an ever larger scale.

The Left Alliance reminds everyone, that also in the coming years we must choose between a more equal or unequal Finnish society. The markets as they are produce great differences in income. The markets produce exclusion. [reiterating the earlier point that work is the best way to remove want and misery …]

Social justice does not only mean preventing social exclusion and evening out inequalities of income, but much more than that. Social justice also means the right to work, the right to a good education, or, in a word, full social rights. [list of particular policies that promote full social rights …]

Cutting taxes can never be an end in itself. Also in the coming years it will be necessary to even out income inequality through taxation, income redistribution, and public services. The Left Alliance emphasizes solidarity and common responsibility, and it demands for social justice. […] The next government can hardly have solely a policy of tax reductions; the people will not give a mandate in the elections for such an agenda. Instead the next government will have to take into account taxation in its entirety. […]

From the perspective of the Left Alliance, good taxation policy should safeguard the finances of the welfare society, help even out income inequalities, and also support the employment of unemployed people. Good taxation policy also supports environmental protection goals. The citizens need a state, a government, and a Parliament, that can offset market pressures, that enables equal chances to succeed, secures services to those least well-off, and helps them to return as productive members of society.

[conclusion with a demand for the opposition to put out its shadow budget for serious debate …]

Janina Andersson /Greens [in opposition]: Madam speaker! The parties in Parliament have brought up here several times a very important issue, which is that a plausible political opposition has to have a proper shadow budget outlining income and expenses. This has been also a matter of honor for us Greens when we were in opposition long ago, and it is again now as we found ourselves in opposition once more. You will definitely get to see our alternative proposal. [interjections] […]

The citizens believe that securing functional and high quality services – such as schools, daycare centers, health care centers, hospitals and libraries – is more important than tax reductions. The
prerequisite for securing these services is that the state, for its part, looks after the public finances of the municipalities. [...] Contrary to the assumptions of the Ministry of Finance we’re now in a situation where many municipalities are doing extremely poorly. The only difference across municipalities is to what extent they suffer. [...] How is this possible? When the nation is prospering, we have a crisis emerging, worse than ever, both in health care and educational services.

In other words, the current system of state appropriations cannot meet the needs of urban areas. People still need to be able to trust than society will carry – especially in health care – collective responsibility if the unexpected happens. [...] We will not accept a system where one has to rely on private insurance. [...] The Greens find that it is vital that the Parliament delves deep into the problems in the municipal health care sector and fixes the financial problems of municipalities next year with emergency aid, if necessary. [...] Practically this means, of course, that the importance of the state in financing basic services will grow.

Madam speaker! The Greens are concerned about the chances of balancing the labor market in a situation still need to be able to trust than society will carry – especially in health care – collective responsibility if the unexpected happens. [...] We will not accept a system where one has to rely on private insurance. [...] The Greens find that it is vital that the Parliament delves deep into the problems in the municipal health care sector and fixes the financial problems of municipalities next year with emergency aid, if necessary. [...] Practically this means, of course, that the importance of the state in financing basic services will grow.

Madam speaker! The Greens are concerned about the chances of balancing the labor market in a situation still need to be able to trust than society will carry – especially in health care – collective responsibility if the unexpected happens. [...] We will not accept a system where one has to rely on private insurance. [...] The Greens find that it is vital that the Parliament delves deep into the problems in the municipal health care sector and fixes the financial problems of municipalities next year with emergency aid, if necessary. [...] Practically this means, of course, that the importance of the state in financing basic services will grow.

The direction of the Finnish national economy is tightly bound to the development of the global economy, which is prone to crises that may spread fast and wide. [...] This is why domestic economic policy must increase flexibility and the capacity to handle market interferences also in good economic times.

The central challenge for the future of the national economy is to find solutions to the problems brought about by aging demographics and continued structural unemployment. As the baby boomers age, the labor force diminishes and the burden of maintaining public finances on those of working age will sharply increase. [...] Long-term unemployment is a big problem also for the unemployed person. Each year, each month, each day out of working life breeds social exclusion and health issues, if there is no light at the end of the tunnel. On the other hand in some fields the labor markets already suffer from a lack of suitably skilled and experienced labor. According to predictions this lack will only worsen by the end of this decade. For public finances unemployment, however, is a bigger problem than lack of labor. High unemployment levels are a burden on public finances and divest funds from renewing basic services.

It is the opinion of the Greens that correcting the imbalance in the labor market requires the shift of the onus of taxation from work to environmental and energy taxation. [...] The government’s budget proposal takes a small step in the direction of a so called green tax reform. The step should be bigger, however, and other measures to improve employment have to be taken to achieve sufficient effectiveness, for a general tax break alone does not bring about the needed jobs or ease structural unemployment. [...] The structure of taxation overall needs to be changed so that working and employment becomes more profitable. [...] Is not it also, humanely speaking, more reasonable to offer jobs that pay minimal salaries, rather than keep people unemployed and inactive? [...] The Greens want to secure the welfare society, meaning the wellbeing of families, children, youth and the environment also in the future. The government’s budget proposal must thus be considered depending on the answers to these questions: What does the government’s budget proposal give to families with children, the future generations, concretely speaking? [...] The government’s 2003 budget proposal has devoted the least amount of attention to families, children and youth. This is the case regardless of the fact that we all debated not so long ago that securing the future of families is the most important imperative for Finland. [...] [follows an extensive listing of examples in the budget where the policy falls short in this regard]

The Greens believe it is necessary to responsibly look after public finances, and when offering alternatives to the government’s proposal, it is clear that we will take care to keep our income and our expenses balanced. [...] The government never proceeded with the increase of environmental and energy taxation as was agreed in the government’s own program. [...] To follow the national climate policy based on the Kyoto protocols we must increase energy taxation regardless of new nuclear plants being built or not. [...] A clear schedule must be set for two reasons: first, for Finland to be able to live up to its commitments according to the Kyoto protocols, and second, for industry and private consumers being better able to plan their future by knowing for certain this is the direction we’re taking, and that this is our common responsibility. Energy will become more expensive, but the services will remain.
Actions to counter the black economy in the budget proposal remain meagre. Actions to curtail the black economy must be intensified so the business profits within could be brought within taxation better than before. [...] Even in the long-term active actions against the black economy could increase the state’s tax income considerably. And, dear colleagues, we certainly need more tax income, because welfare has always been, and always will be, costly.

Ulla-Maj Wideroos /Swedish People’s Party [in government]: Madam speaker! To be able to guarantee quality municipal services, the municipalities must have the funds to invest in health care and other areas. This is why it is necessary to observe the situation in the municipalities through the budget proposal. [...] The state has reimbursed only half of the grown expenses of the municipalities. [...] This means the municipalities operate at a deficit of 69 million euros.

The corporate tax has now for nearly ten years been a constant source of worry for the municipalities, primarily due to its sensitivity to economic fluctuations. The budget now proposes to increase the state’s share of corporate taxation at the expense of the municipalities. [...] In principle it is wise for the state to handle the risks related to the sensitivity of the corporate tax. The state cannot, however, take the share of the tax income without compensating the same amount to the municipalities. [...] The right to care and treatment applies to anyone regardless of where that person lives. The Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s Party will not bargain for the quality of care. We will neither bargain for everyone’s right to access care and treatment. [...] The Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s Party has been consistent in safeguarding social and health care services. We intend to continue following this policy. [...] [follows a lengthy discussion on various forms of family policy]

The Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s Party would’ve liked to see more items from the report on child policy in the budget proposal. [...] [follows a list on the specifics of this taxation, and how it relates to income tax]

Bjarne Kallis /Christian Democrats [in opposition]: Madam Speaker! Even though I am still not the prime minister, I certainly feel like commenting on this fervent washing of hands and populism. On the other hand, now that I’ve heard the other party responses, I can confirm that the opposition’s alternative budget will be supported especially by the Left Alliance and the Swedish People’s Party, not to mention the Greens.

There are always alternatives in politics, and we can see those alternatives by observing what kind of policies are enacted for example in Sweden, Norway and Denmark; those policies differ from Finnish ones. I have frequently, when discussing with my colleagues in the Nordic Council, presented the country report for Finland. And I’ve always been asked how is it possible that your unemployment rate is over 9 percent, when it is 2 in Denmark, 2 in Norway, and 3-4 in Sweden. There is only one difference, and that is slightly different employment policy. They have also asked why our tax rate as low as it is. [...] If it were higher, we would have much more money in our disposal. When one looks at our neighbouring countries, there are more helping hands in care centres and hospitals, more police officers per capita, smaller classes in schools and day care centres and so on. Of course this costs them, it is clear that it costs.

In our group response the Christian Democrats state that we can live with the government’s proposal. It is not at all life-changing, and it does not noticeably improve the life of citizens. [...] We do not propose an increase in income taxes, but we do propose an increase in capital taxation. I truly hope we could have a discussion over the alternatives offered by the Christian Democrats. Our alternative budget proposal is, in our opinion, completely realistic. [...] Where to find more income? We bring out the famous stock exchange tax, which inevitably leads to protests that all private trading will leave Finland. If it does, then we wouldn’t propose such a measure. But if it stays, then there is no reason why not to tax this activity. We should remember than in England this tax is set at 0,5%. We have proposed 0,15% for Finland [...] [follows a list of companies and how they are traded in various stock exchanges to support the claim that a 0,15% tax wouldn’t be significant, and yet it would increase state income by 300 million euros]

A second significant source of income would be increasing taxation of profits from short-term trading [...] [follows a list on the specifics of this taxation, and how it relates to income tax]

If there are representatives in this room who find a 50% tax on profits from short-term trading is excessive, you can vote against it and state your protests for the record. We believe that society needs money so it could offer those important services that all representatives have talked about today. [...]
Not to only increase taxes, we also propose a decrease in the rate of value added tax on food, which has also been put forward by almost all parties in Parliament. [...] [follows a brief argument on increasing pensions and family allowances]

It seems peculiar that the government proposes to increase the costs of falling ill on the individual. The government’s proposal moves to reduce the state’s share of drug reimbursements by 30 million euros. This is something the Christian Democrats cannot accept. For the record, the personal deductible for medical expenses in Finland already is about 50% [...] but in Norway and Sweden, my previous points of reference, only have 20-30%. It seems unreasonable to increase the personal costs of falling ill. [...] [follows a suggestion on increasing funding also for students and the unemployed, based on the income derives from proposed capital taxation]

The Left Alliance proposed that no tax relief would be implemented, and you failed. You proposed that the tax on fuel wouldn’t be raised, and you failed. [...] You [the Left Alliance] agree with the Christian Democrats on many of these issues, but when it government you’ve failed to follow through. You will have the option to do so when the Christian Democrat alternative budget is up for a vote in December. [...] On Monday a person came to see me who had been queuing for an operation, and had finally had the operation. All suffering and pain were now in the past for him. [...] He said that while he had been working, he had been critical of taxation, but now told me not to reduce taxes if the alternative is cutting hospital services. [...] [follows a few anecdotal examples of personal experiences from voters who look for alternatives]

If one looks at what our alternative budget means to the citizens, we can say that the position of pensioners improves [follows a list of “winners: pensioners, families with children ...”]

Whose position worsens? Those who have to pay stock exchange tax. Also those who gather profits from short term investments will be worse off. I find it difficult to understand that someone would consider the government’s proposal better than our proposal. If someone can indicate through debate that our alternative budget is unrealistic, then we’ll give it up and revise it to be more realistic. But it is not enough just to claim that private trading would flee Finland. It is not enough. One must also argue why it would. [...] When talking this much of healthcare and the position of the municipalities, we should note that not implementing the new tax breaks would improve the public finances of the municipalities by 100 million euros. If this much money is left in public finances, then the current issues in health care and in so many other areas would become history. [...] [follows a folksy reference to taxation “fish” that have been impregnated by taxation “poisons” …]

Raimo Vistbacka /Finns [in opposition]: The Parliamentary Group for the Finns party criticized the 2002 budget proposal last year for the government’s overtly optimistic expectations regarding economic growth. We argued that the predicted 2,5 percent growth was estimated too high, and considered that the prediction of 1 percent given by some economic experts would be closer to the truth. This prediction has been closer to reality, as we’ve seen. [...] In the new budget proposal for 2003 the government argues that the GDP would grow 2,8 percent. Again we must state that the Finns party finds this estimate unrealistically high, as its realization is hampered for far too many, mostly international elements of uncertainty [...].

Therefore we find it short-sighted to assume everything will turn out for the better, when it is probably some of the threats in the horizon will most likely materialize. It would be more honest and sensible from the perspective of the national economy of Finland to set more realistic expectation by setting the growth assumption for 2003 for at most 1,5 percent, as Minister Niinistö seems to have indicated, at least in part, in his speech.

The government’s budget proposal is despite its unrealistic projections on economic growth a budget of unfulfilled promises. The Lipponen government has, as its predecessor, promised to decrease unemployment levels significantly and continue tax reliefs also next year, and improve the economic position of families with children. None of these will materialize, based on the budget proposal.

To the contrary it seems unemployment will start to rise once more. The income distribution to families with children will be purely cosmetic, and talk about tax relief hasn’t moved into actions aside from marginal corrections in income level rates and minor adjustment for inflation. Also income tax deductibles and expenses allowances in the budget are set to collapse on the finances of the municipalities. [follows a folksy reference to taxation “fish” that have been impregnated by taxation “poisons” …]
The Finns party has repeatedly stated that tax reliefs should be targeted on the lightening the tax burden at the lowest levels of income by increasing the limit of non-taxable income and by sharply increasing the personal allowance deductible.

Even more significantly the tax burden on low-income citizens could be eased and their purchasing power increased by reducing taxation on foodstuffs. [follows list of affected people: pensioners, veterans, unemployed, students, families with children …] These population groups are practically forced to spend all of their daily disposable income on their everyday living expenses. Man has to eat to survive.

Why is this so hard to believe or understand? Or is it rather an issue of unwillingness and the desire to favor those well-off? On the part of the National Coalition this has been officially declared policy, but it is far harder comprehend how the Left Alliance has in government forgotten those with low incomes.

[interjections] […] Finally, I wish that especially the Parliamentary 

Madam speaker! The government budget proposal still carries the green stamp despite the fact that party no longer sits in the Lipponen government. The tax on energy is raised once more ostensibly for environmental reasons, while this is purely charging citizens through taxation. This increase, too, will hurt most those sparsely populated and remote regions, where the distances are long and there is no public transport, which why the use of a personal car is a necessity. The living conditions in these regions will once more decrease slightly more. […]

[follows an argument for the dilapidated state of Finnish roads]

This is foolishness. Our national property is being allowed to devalue by poor maintenance and hundreds of millions in repair needs are being piled on into the future. […] This is in my opinion against the spirit of equality set in our constitution, as the state does not fail to tax people [but fails to deliver services, such as well-maintained roads].

The parties in government have in election and celebratory speeches constantly emphasized the importance of improving the position of families with children. Unfortunately this issue hasn’t progressed beyond speeches. […] Even though the recession has been over for years, family subsidies are still at the level they were decreased to during the recession.

Society allows a generation that is sick and tife with problems to grow by neglecting its duty regarding the economic, educational, social and health issues of our children and families. This is extremely short-sighted and reprehensible, when we at the same time can afford to hand over 8,2 billion terminated Finnish marks for the forced membership in the European Union while the benefits at least to the ordinary citizen are almost nonexistent.

Madam speaker! Municipalities are an important part of our social apparatus, and often more tangible part of it than the state. Thus it is not at all insignificant how the finances of the municipalities and by that extension their abilities to provide the legally mandated basic services for their citizens develop. The Lipponen rainbow government coalitions have cut the state’s share of municipal funding year after year, and again in the budget proposal for next year. The state’s share has decreased in the last three years by over 2 million euros. This has led to a great number of small municipalities living in severe economic duress, even at the verge of bankruptcy. As a result, they have unsurmountable difficulties in providing, as the constitution demands, for the citizens’ basic needs in health care, social care, education, and elderly care. To top this off due to the recent deficiency payments many wealthy cities that lost some of their income have started to petulantly take it out on their own citizens by cutting health care services, closing down daycare centers and playgrounds, and even schools despite the fact they have hundreds of millions in funds as legacy from the good years. […]

Madam speaker! The budget proposal once more states admirable goals for policing in regards to improving activities against drugs and organized crime, the availability of emergency service, and pre-emptive actions. This is false and conscious misdirection as long as the operational resources of the police do not bridge gap of 10 years of accumulated lack of increase in resources. […]

[follows a long argument on police enforcement and the problems of giving the necessary resources to the Finnish police to do their jobs to safeguard societal security]

Unfortunately it sometimes feels like the bureaucrats sitting behind oaken desks in the ministries know nothing of the conditions in the field, where the practical work happens.

Madam speaker! Due to the lack of time, it is impossible to go through nearly all of the injustices or even negative items in next year's budget proposal. […] Finally, I wish that especially the Parliamentary groups for the parties in government can include in the budget through committee work changes that
safeguard the basic rights guaranteed by our constitution, and improve on public services for the good of the fatherland.
Timo Kalli / Center [in government]: […] The Parliament group for the Center party is satisfied with the budget proposal given to the parliament by the Matti Vanhanen government. [interjections] The budget emphasizes services, entrepreneurship and balanced regional development. The Parliament group for the Center party set, well in advance already last spring, as its central goal for the 2007 budget to improve municipal finances and compensate the cuts in funding in rural areas caused by the EU’s expansion. Setting sufficient investments on logistics and traffic were also on the list of goals to be achieved for the Center party’s parliamentary group. [interjection] All in all these three goals have been rather successfully met. [interjection] The strengthening of the municipal finances can be seen especially in the approximately 80 million euros in social policy appropriations allocated for improving the status of those the least well-off in society, amount to socially just policy.

The years of the Vanhanen government have seen good economic developments. The amount of people in employment decreased during the first years of the government’s term, and the balance of public finances was weakened. At the beginning of its term the government resolutely implemented tax breaks that fostered economic growth, as well as carefully considered and necessary increases in expenditures that affected, among others, family benefits.

The corporate taxation reform implemented by the government will encourage companies to grow and invest. [follows a list of other forms of reduced taxes] This has brought needed dynamism also in the service sector. It is very positive, that now we finally managed to correct the oversight in the unemployment security of entrepreneurs, that has unreasonably stopped unemployment benefits from being paid out to family members of entrepreneurs. This decision fits well within the policy of the Vanhanen government, seeking to promote solidarity and entrepreneurs, and remove obstacles from entrepreneurship.

Reductions in the levels of income taxation also continue. These increase purchasing power and demand, and create employment and entrepreneurship. [interjection] The ambitious goal of creating 100 000 new jobs is not out of reach. We’re nearing that goal steadily. [interjection] The government has supported long-term outlook in both the economy and employment in many times, above all by investing in R&D, development activities, education and infrastructure.

The opposition has saved most of its critique during this government’s term on two key points of the Vanhanen government: the creation of 100 000 new jobs and the funding for the correction on the balance of payments between the state and the municipalities. As the government makes its last budget proposal of its term, we should evaluate its accomplishments according to the metrics posed by the opposition. [interjection] On all indicators the results are excellent. These results can be appreciate even more, when one remembers the circumstances from which the government started, and the legacy it was handed down in 2003. [interjection]

The statements from the left and right ends of the opposition from 2003 excellently summarize the circumstances. [quoting previous statements to highlight how bad the economic situation was] The situation didn’t remain this bad, as the new government took precise action. […] With the doctrine of the opposition the government wouldn’t have achieved these results. […] The prediction now for 2006 estimates even 5% growth on GDP, and an increase in employment by 36 000 jobs. Next year this growth may even out at over 3%. […] What’s left for the opposition to criticize regarding the government’s policy? The government has increased the wealth in Finnish society. […]

The budget’s positive impact on municipal finances is 414 million euros, which is more than in 15 years, as we already heard finance minister Heinäluoma say. […] These decisions will strengthen the tax base of municipalities and normalize the state-municipality –balance. The government wants to renew both [societal] structures and empower municipal finances.

The goal of the Center party to empower regions and regional centers is also realized in the budget proposal. The competitiveness between regions will be strengthened and equal regional develop is driven forward through supporting skills, entrepreneurship and employment. This also creates the necessary pre-requisites for basic services. [follows a larger discussion on regional funds under EU programs …]

The government’s budget proposal also continues positively on the previously agreed upon policy of improving the positions of children, families, and the poor. The appropriations for pensioners and families with children show the government’s policy is socially just and sustainable. […] The reform on family leave is a significant improvement in the position of families with children. It promotes the realization of equality in the job market and within families. […]
In the future we must also consider how different parts of social security can fit together to create a whole that guarantees everyone a basic level of income. […] It is true the budget hasn’t sufficiently addressed the needs of students. We’d do well to remember, however, that in the previous budgets of this government student subsidies have been moved forward e.g. by increasing the state’s surety of student loans, and by increasing the tax deductibility of student subsidies and increasing the upper limit of housing allowances. [follows a list of other benefits for students …] The Parliament group for the Center party requires that the Parliament should decide on the model proposed by Minister Saarela to increase the meal subsidy for students for the 2007 budget. […] The key goal of energy policy should be increasing the level of self-sufficiency in energy management. Here bioenergy and other renewable energy sources play an important role. […] Promoting the use of biofuel is also efficient agricultural, regional, and employment policy. […] Unexpected crises in energy production should be prepared for by increasing self-sufficiency and by broadening our choices of energy provision. […] The results of economic success belong to all Finns in the form of well-being, good health, jobs, better services, socially just income redistribution, safe and clean living environments, and the decrease of taxation levels. Economic policy is a tool to the end of supporting Finnish work, entrepreneurship and competitiveness in the markets. The central values should be equality between citizens, social justice and the opportunity for spontaneous self-motivated action. The main mission of economic policy is to increase the number of people in employment, reduce unemployment, increase productivity and expand the opportunities for people to decide for themselves over the essentials relating to their lives. Taxation must be used in a way that guides society in the manner must fitting to that particular situation. […] Stringent taxation does not guarantee welfare, and reducing taxes does not necessarily deliver the best overall outcome. The tax policy for the coming electoral term also needs to promote the supply and demand of work, entrepreneurship and social justice. In addition tax policy has to strengthen Finnish ownership. […] This carefully considered policy has to be continued. […] The stable policy of the Vanhanen government that has yielded good results in solidarity and entrepreneurship serves as a good path forward.

Virpa Puisto/Social Democrats [in government]: […] The Parliament group for the Social Democrats considers the budget at hand as a good and balanced proposal. This is a good point of discussion for us members of parliament to exercise our parliamentary budgetary power. As all of us in this hall know, economic policy is first and foremost debate and decisionmaking that includes values and attitudes. They say that work is the best kind of social policy, and it is not merely a refrain. Increasing employment rates is the most important goal of the government’s economic policy. Actions to increase the employment rate have been effective, and they have created almost 70 000 new jobs during the government’s term, and the goal of reaching 100 000 this term means a goal of reaching a 75% employment rate. […] This goal is challenging, but, as we’ve heard today, not impossible. The effects of a comprehensive solution in income policy offered by tax policy are plain for all to see. According to the income policy contract the agreed upon collective employment agreements are moderate in nature. These actions have for their part created stability and enabled a favorable growth economically and in employment. Finland fills all the preconditions for maintaining fair economic growth. This is supported by the positive outlook in some of our most important export nations, and positive trust and faith in the future in the domestic markets. […] In the middle of high unemployment a mismatch between work and worker has come about. [follows a reaffirmation of the actions mentioned by the Minister …] The consensus reached between the parties in government regarding the municipality and service structure reform clear way for a new municipality reform, which seeks to guarantee the accessibility and funding for those services necessary to citizens. In the budget proposal for next year the state’s actions fortify municipal finances, as we’ve heard today, with 400 million euros. This is the gradual payment plan that the National Coalition refers to as forced debt, previously known as the halving or the freezing, was begun under a Finance Minister from the Coalition party. […] In conjunction with the municipal reform, we will also have to decide how the economic responsibilities will be divided up between the municipalities and the state. […] [follows a discussion on family care subsidies, which was pushed over to the next government]
More than the grand economic policies expressed in the state or even municipal budgets, we all care most of how well everyday things work, whether or not we get help when we need it. […] [follows a discussion on maternal and parental subsidies and support]

Every issue that threatens to divide our society cannot be corrected in a single budget. People's livelihoods and services have to secured in the long term. [interjection] Even after this successful and progressive government there remains more work to do even for the following electoral term. Municipalities must be guaranteed the financial resources to handle their legally mandated tasks and duties. On the other hand the state cannot act as a silent financier who simply observes as legal responsibilities are neglected. […] Economic development in Finland has been favorable for quite some time. The fruits of economic growth do not, however, distribute evenly, as we've heard from all the interjections today. Just recently a new report came out from the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health [STAKES] on the wellbeing of Finns in 2006. It is central conclusion can be stated briefly: our wellbeing has improved, but income inequality has grown. […] In the last year of this electoral term there will be some precise actions to help those groups in financial difficulties. [follows a list of those at risk …] When developing social security one must also dare to talk about changing its basic structures. […] [follows a brief description of the infrastructure/logistics projects as future investments]

Finland's international position is stable and respected. In the world economy Finland is significantly more visible than its size would allow. In various studies and international comparisons Finland is placed near the top. The government continues to develop education in the budget for next year as well. [follows a list of initiatives in education …]

The quality of life and livelihood of students needs future investments so that at the latest the next government needs to increase the student subsidy, for it hasn't been increased in 15 years. […] To increase in student meal subsidies should've been done already in the negotiations for this budget, but it is good that the parties in government are committed to the increase in Parliament. […] Taxation has been used to support the positive development of household purchasing power. Income policy should seek to continue along the same lines. A just taxation policy has been fitted in with moderate wage increases, and these guarantee a favorable development of real wages while keeping costs under control. In connection with taxation solutions, we have fairly include all citizens, also those dependent on income transfers: […] You can tell the elections are nearing as populist proposals increase. [interjections] Especially the main opposition party, the National Coalition, has racked up a lot of dubious attention by promising to remove this tax or that. The reputation of the National Coalition has a supporter of responsible economic policy is merely a memory. […] The Parliament group for the Social Democrats emphasized already in its summer assembly that the budget has to take the citizens the least well off also into account. Even though a single budget does not solve the problem with poverty, next year's budget has the Social Democrats' name written all over it. [interjections] The Social Democrats want to continue to commit to preventing social exclusion and helping all citizens to be included in society. The work for a more equal and fairer Finland continues!

Jyri Häkämies/ National Coalition [in opposition]: […] The government’s budget proposal for 2007 is a typical and unsurprising budget of missed opportunities drafted in favorable economic times. Instead of spreading money around the government could’ve really built a new future. The government misses this exceptional opportunity.

The closest advisor for Finance Minister Heinäluoma, state secretary Raimo Sailos estimated in last Friday's Taloussanomat that the budget smiles in every direction. Sailas stresses, that the government's should prepared more for the [expected] costs caused by aging populations. The chief director of the Finance Ministry Jukka Pekkarinen, in turn, proposed a 2 billion euro stabilization plan for the next electoral term. Pekkarinen's demand in practice means a list of cuts by 2 billion euros. Who are the citizens to believe: the Minister of Finance who praises the budget, or experts who offer warnings? [interjections]

Mr. Speaker! What is going on? The government set as its goal the creation of 100 000 new jobs in Finland in its platform. At the beginning of the electoral term, when the economic cycles didn’t favor Finland, our economic growth was upheld by domestic demand empowered by tax breaks. Surely we all remember who proposed these tax cuts in the election campaigns, and who opposed them? Now the economic cycle has pulled Finland into a staggering almost 5% growth, and still we estimate that no more than 80 000 new jobs will be created during this electoral term. [interjections] It is sad, that while the
government itself predicts a reduction in growth for next year, this budget lacks all actions to tackle this development.

From the perspective of future generations, the government has failed in its mission. [interjection] [...] Tax revenues riding at the crest of a wave flood the nation’s coffers only to be distributed around, and the state property is sold to cover for expenses rather than put in investments. Prime Minister Vanhanen, who is not here now, bragged in the spring here, in Parliament, that the economic policy of this government is the stuff of textbooks. [...] Despite extremely strong economic growth, that has lasted for a long time, some 15% of Finns in working age are either unemployed or subjected to employment policy procedures. The government’s actions have not had any effect at this hard core of unemployment. There is work to be done, as has been acknowledged in this hall. Simultaneously the employment office has some 50 000 jobs open. Supply and demand are not meeting. Next years’ budget does include the employment policy initiative marketed by Mr. Heinäluoma. It is unfortunate, that this initiative continues down the road of ineffectual government employment policy. [...] According to the study ordered by the Ministry of Labor, published this summer, the effects of current employment training are negligible. [...] Shouldn’t the government be listening to its own experts and not add funds for ineffective policies year after year? Last year alone these “trickery-funds” so coddled by the democrats were left unused to the tune of 35 million euros by the Ministry of Labor. For the current year these allocations were increased, and preliminary information indicates that again they will be left unused. [...] The government was also loudly selling its new reimbursement for 700 euros for unemployed people moving for work. The center-left would do well to remember that money won’t compensate even the cost of a moving van [...]. The National Coalition offers an alternative to this policy-by-trickery. [interjection] We propose the expansion of the tax credit for domestic work […], a student subsidy model that incentivizes graduation […], increasing apprenticeship training and improving its quality, increasing workshop activations, and promote the mobility of labor by granting a special tax break for people living in locales at the same time. [...] How can we keep the basic services we appreciate so much in the future? How can we guarantee health or elderly care services for senior citizens in ten years, or the best possible learning environment for students? These are the vital political questions for our near future that the government has no answers for. It is the opinion of the National Coalition that one reaches the top and stays there only through taking care of Finnish skills, the bedrock of which is our lauded school system. This legacy of previous governments the Center-left government is now squandering by moving the funds saved each year from consecutively smaller age groups for other purposes. [...] When the government cuts from the children and the young, it cuts from the future. The National Coalition wants to improve the quality of basic education. This means smaller group sizes than now, and genuinely functional special education. [...] There is a disconnect between the talk and actions of the Center-left government. [...] [follows a discussion on energy policy, and how securing energy resources for Finland is important, but the markets are dysfunctional, and how the government is failing to help citizens as their energy bills pile on: the National Coalition has an alternative for the government’s faltering energy policy, in the form of nuclear power]

Upon publication, the Minister of Finance characterized the budget estimate for next year as the budget for the municipalities. Minister Heinäluoma however counts settling old state debts to municipalities as additional appropriations, and incomplete index adjustments. Actual additional money for the municipalities account for 25 million, not 424 million, as the government claims. At the same time the operational expenses of municipalities increased altogether by 1,1 billion euros. With this equation the municipalities are not even proposed up. The government gives the cold shoulder to municipal health care centers and basic education. The National Coalition has demanded consistently that the government should step up the repayment of the forced loan it took from the municipalities. We also drafted an interpellation on this subject in the spring. [follows a claim that while the government rebuffed the interpellation, the budget proves the government did decide to act according to it …]

The [debt repayment] will lead to growing inequality between municipalities. The National Coalition demands that this problem relating to targeting the repayment should be justly resolved during the processing of the budget this autumn. The great service structure reform of the municipalities, which was to be the solution to constantly growing imbalance between revenue and expenditures, is moved over to the next electoral term. At the same time migration within Finland is stronger than ever and we can read in the newspapers how every third municipality spends more than it makes.
The government proposes some small corrective measures. To call them precision actions would be to call a single patch in an overall leaky roof a precision action. The Left Alliance finds these precision actions

Martti Korhonen/ Left Alliance [in opposition]: […] The term of this government is drawing to a close, which is why it is prudent to speak of the entire electoral term of this government, rather than just this year, and evaluate the future a bit further. Economic growth has been brisk. The ratio of state debt to GDP is lower than the goal set at the beginning of the term. The budget proposal shows so much surplus, that debt can be paid back on that account alone, never mind the income from selling [state] property and higher tax revenues than were anticipated. Many other things are also in good shape, for which credit is naturally due.

Without itemizing which outcomes are thanks to government policy, and which are attributable to external circumstances, we should still discuss the things that are not in order. […] The key mistake of the government’s policy, and I do emphasize key mistake, is the increase of societal inequality and the marginalization to regular people. From the perspective of the citizens, the government is entirely deaf and stone-heated. The Finnish society is right now more wealthy than it has ever been before, but not all citizens are equally party to this wealth. Elements of uncertainty are such in the lives of many common people that they dare not think about starting a family. Working life has become increasingly uncertain. Although economic growth has opened new opportunities, and there is even a shortage of labor in some fields and regions, the closures of factories in Finland and the outsourcing of manufacture brings a lot of considerable difficulties for many Finns.

A second considerable problem is found in the fixed-term nature of employment contracts, and the involuntary fixed-term contracts in particular. The representatives of business and commerce, and also those to the right and center of this hall have stated that the rigidity of employment contracts cause these temporary forms of employment. This is not true either, given that Finland ranks extremely high when it comes to worker turnover rates in companies, and even in terms of severance costs we’re only mid-range.

According to Eurostat data, the share of involuntary fixed-term contracts is steeply on the rise. […] The Ministry of Labor assigned a commissioner on the topic, and that report is now published. One would expect actions from the government when reports are available. […] The Left Alliance prompts the government to implement the proposals made by the commissioner as soon as possible. We have the information, and the proposals are straightforward. What’s needed in action. […]

Dear comrade representatives, there are also others who cannot partake of the increased wealth of the Finnish society. […] The poverty of families with children is the biggest stigma of shame in the middle of all this wealth. The poverty-rate of families with children has doubled in Finland during the last few years. The precision actions so celebrated by the government haven’t helped there.

The current taxation policy does increasingly less to even out income inequalities. People with low-incomes have hardly benefitted from the government’s reductions to the income tax brackets, and those out of employment do not benefit from the income deductible expansions for municipal taxes. […] In that sense the parties in government have been extremely unwilling to help in the greatest need, but more than willing to help those who are already well-off. From a financial point of view it wouldn’t have been impossible to consistently improve the smallest social benefits, and thus allow even those affected to partake of societal wealth. This is something the government and parties in government have been unwilling to do. Those values haven’t been their priority, and this where these accusations of being stone-hearted issues forth from.

 […] The LA would seek to improve these issues directly]

The government favors loan as a form of student subsidy. Student who grew up during the recession have seen bankruptcies and unemployment in their immediate circle. Thus students don’t look for the loan as readily, as the government would have them do after they adjusted the terms of the loans. Inflation can no longer be expected to eat away the loaned capital as it did in years past, and there is no certainty of employment after graduation. […]

This budget proposal has some small corrective measures. To call them precision actions would to call
insufficient. When taxation is reduced, the priority should be on those with low incomes, both employed and unemployed. In taxation the policy our approach is also different: no overtly large tax breaks to high income earners, and no removal of wealth tax for millionaires.

Why does the government want to lower the marginal tax for the top income group for half a percentage point again? In my opinion it is reasonable to ask whether or not this group of well-off people hasn’t already benefitted enough? […] Taxation income is needed for services and the maintenance of the entire welfare society.

Mr. Speaker! Municipal finances have been in dire straits for years. Even though service quality is weakened, the municipalities continue to pile on debt. This situation will be eased by the repayment of the so-called forced debt, but that is simply not enough. […] Municipalities need more money, so that proper daycare, education, health care, and elderly care can be guaranteed. […] [follows a discussion on the mismatch of the supply and demand of labor, and how the budget proposal does not sufficiently address this problem]

[follows a critique of regional policy, that sees very little new initiatives despite the Center party being in government and despite electoral promises to the contrary]

We haven’t seen any actions, or at least no positive actions. New logistics projects are initiated, but there are very little funds for road and rail maintenance. Far-flung areas in particular will suffer from this.

We should forget international solidarity. This is why I hope the Finance Committee will pay attention to Finland’s development aid appropriation. The Left Alliance finds an increase of this appropriation necessary.

When drafting a budget the budget framing process, meaning that public expenditures are set in stone for years to come, has been useful when getting out of economic malaise. Through the same framing process, however, this government has sought to ensure the consistent reductions in taxation levels. In this case this process has contributed to the increase in societal inequality and the weakened of public services. The framing process could now be used also to increase social justice. This only needs to be agreed upon in the next government’s platform. […] [follows a discussion on foreign policy, in particular the US anti-terrorism campaign in Iraq and Afghanistan]

The Left Alliance demands a budget that increases social and regional equality. We now need solidarity both on a national and international level.

Anni Sinnemäki/ Greens [in opposition]: [opens with a discussion on treating students fairly]

Intergenerational fairness should be an important value in politics. It does not seem to be one for this government. […] This is not right. [the Greens propose improvements to the student subsidies]

[follows an extremely folksy reference to how poverty is dealt with by mere crumbs: the argument is on the problems faced by families with children …] By leaving some of the children outside positive economic developments we’re creating a class society for children. A six euro increase in support payments does not offset child poverty.

The constitution promises everyone the right to livelihood and care, but this is not practically true. For example the right of a disabled person to an attendant is a basic right, but in practice is not enforced. The minimum benefits are set too low. We will discuss the meagre livelihoods of pensioners next week.

The director of the [Lutheran state] church of Finland Heikki Hiilamo calls our system of social security a bureaucratic trap. The system is complicated, inflexible, and in chains people into unemployment. […] The Greens consider poverty policy to be as important as any other political policy. […] The elimination of poverty needs patient long-term actions and defined goals, that can be monitored and according to which actions may be adjusted. Metrics like these must be a part of the next government’s policy.

In addition to removing Finnish poverty, removing global poverty also calls for patience and long-term thinking. This government did have what it took. In development aid appropriation Finland is falling behind from the commitment it gave for the EU, and we’re far from the level by Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The Parliamentary group for the Greens party finds it necessary for Finland to step up to the same line with other Nordic nations when it comes to sharing global responsibility. In the next government’s term, the development aid appropriations have to be detached from the budget frames, so they can be increased to match our promises. […]
In Finland we often focus attention to a reasonable, collectively financed social security and welfare services combined with flexible job markets have led to good competitiveness. This combination has shown it works: caregiving and creativity has formed a virtuous circle. We’re taking a big risk if we neglect things that have turned out to be our assets. A successful economy and skilled labor need good primary education, high-quality vocational training and higher education, and versatile research. The government’s platform promised to use the savings from smaller age groups into improving the quality of education, but this is not happening.

University education has focused on quantity over quality. The numbers of students have risen considerably while the numbers of teachers have stayed the same. [follows a discussion on financing higher education]

In a functional economy many difficult challenges are also opportunities. Intervening in the black economy increases the state’s tax revenue, and increases the chances for success for companies that take care of their obligations. The damage incurred by the black economy is estimated to grow to 5 billion euros annually.

Also immigration is an opportunity that is being missed. The government’s immigration policy is basically to be supported, but it is also very conservative in terms of initiatives. […] It is strange we still continue to behave as if immigration only brings us costs. […] In environmental policy the Vanhanen government has wasted four years. Only just recently it has seemed like the government has learned something, such as the word ‘bioenergy’. Actions lag far behind.

[follows a critique on how energy taxation has not been reformed, despite promises …]

In the budget proposal we can see that this point in the government’s platform will be sidelined in its entirety. The share of environmental taxes of all state revenue has remained on the mid-level within the EU. Our neighboring countries, such as Sweden and Estonia, have progressed in the direction of long-term ecological tax reforms. […] The appropriations for the Ministry of the Environment continue to decrease also this year. The appropriations for acquiring nature reserves and conservation areas decrease, appropriations for environmental works are reduced, and the reimbursements for costs from environmental protection decrease. […] The Greens do consider it positive, however, that of late the parties in government have made statements that are more environmentally oriented. […] The Greens party wants to be a part of realizing a governmental platform after the elections which takes climate change seriously and acts in favor of environmental protection.

Christina Gestrin/ Swedish People’s Party [in government]: [the first Finnish text is on adopting children as a positive government policy] The government has also kept the seniors of our society in mind. During the last two years the smallest pensions have been increased twice, and next year the subsidies for pensions for the least well-off will also be increased.

[follows a discussion of the benefits achieved for elderly care and family care]

The next government’s program should also include a goal that seeks to remedy injustices between wage earners and pensioners in certain income classes. All taxpayers should be dealt with equally.

Mr. Speaker! The employment situation has improved, and the unemployment rate is at its lowest in over a decade. But despite economic growth we have certain structural problems that have to be solved. It is time to understand that some of the investments in employment policy are not returned as expected.

The budget for the Ministry of Labor continues to grow every year although the number of the unemployed is decreasing. [interjection] We already know that employment courses do not offset structural unemployment.

Instead apprenticeships and the household work deductible have created new opportunities for work at relatively low costs. It is good that the government is now hearing out the needs of employers, and allows the increase of apprenticeship contracts.

Despite the fact that we have to find more ways to create jobs, we already have an acute labor shortage in many fields. A fitting example is the shipyard at Turku, the former foundation of Finnish exports, which has difficulties acquiring professional welders. In many municipalities immigrants have saved the operational capacity of many companies. In general our immigration policy remains backward. […] The Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s party considers that the government should
actively approve an immigration policy that improves the opportunities for immigrant labor. A shortage of labor is a very real threat to the competitiveness of our nation, and our attractiveness to investments.

[follows argument for an expansive language policy]

Sari Essayah / Christian Democrats [in opposition]: Mr. Speaker! The essential content of the budget is about economic growth and employment. The government's goal is to create 100,000 new jobs during their term, and increase the employment level to 75% by the end of the next electoral term. Representatives Kalli and Puisto already made a big deal out of this goal being reached, acting as if the government has thus secured a mandate for a second term. New jobs, however, don't decrease unemployment in equal amount. We still have over 300,000 unemployed people, accounting for disguised unemployment. The employment rate has thus only risen by one percent during this electoral term. Therefore there is no reason to feel satisfied.

Employment policy needs more efficiency, if this important goal is to be reached during the next electoral term. Only with a sufficiently high rate of employment and good productivity trends can we secure welfare services and social security without considerable pressures to increase taxation as the national demographics significantly shift.

Small micro-companies, that employ 1-9 people, serve as employment for about a quarter of the labor force. The increasing demand in the service industry should especially be noted, and supporting entrepreneurship in this area emphasized. The Christian Democrats thus propose an increase in entrepreneurial start-up funds, which with the current reform have in many placed been depleted early.

[...] The government's budget proposal has been praised as a “fitness budget”. Thanks to general economic growth, the revenue streams for the state look quite good; different taxes and dividends will accumulate almost two billion in our common treasury. At the same time, however the regional and societal inequality of citizens continues to increase. It is somewhat confusing to note, that in light of statistical evidence, the center-left government has failed particularly in those policy areas, which are considered the strengths of the Center party and Social Democrats.

The government led by the Center-party hasn't managed to balance regional migration or demographics, which means that securing service structures is threatened, despite new legislation. [...] This promotes migration to the metropolitan area and other net migration areas, when to the contrary we should be supporting businesses in the rural areas. [...] [follows a proposal to increase investments in rural areas and agriculture to boost vitality]

Mr. Speaker! Under a Social Democratic Minister of Finance there will be a tax reduction of altogether 3.5 billion euros. They have mostly benefited those well-off, as the Social Democrats admitted themselves. Also, as we heard in the response given by representative Kalli, the Center party has once more resurrected a key promise in the last elections: the reduction of the value-added tax on food. For four years the government’s had done anything to this issue. We Christian Democrats don’t use the reduction of the VAT on food as an electoral gimmick. [...] According to the research by VATT 80 of that tax break would transfer directly to consumer prices, and also take us closer to the European VAT average, which is about 8%. [...] Making the inheritance tax more reasonable for widows and under-aged children should not be pushed forward to the next electoral cycle. [...] The proposed bill by representative Kallis to fix the inheritance tax, signed by over a hundred members of Parliament, should be implemented speedily. [...] [follows a comment on car taxes]

The purchasing power of basic security has dwindled in the last 15 years while the national economy has grown with speed. Those least well-off, such as long-term unemployed, single parents, beneficiaries of the smallest pensions, and the students have remained in a permanent trap of poverty and survival. Especially the growth of child poverty is alarming. [...] The electoral bait of so called social policy package that the government built into its budget proposal with such drama is not a real solution to social exclusion and inequality. They may make the budget more palatable, but they won't sate your hunger. [follows and argument how tiny the increases are in real terms, and how small the group of actual recipients ...]

The Christian Democrats want structural reforms, which will dismantle the traps in basic income. [follows an argument on child policy ...]

[interlude: the president of the Republic on Indonesia visits the Parliament]
[follows an argument on parental benefits, and how they are insufficient; there is also an argument relating to gender roles in terms of which parent should take more parental leave, which is considered to be against equality measures] One can only wonder at the enthusiasm the Vanhanen government shows in undermining our traditional conception of family.

[follows an argument on the tiny real increases in pensions …] The promise of an increase of 300 euros made to pensioners by Minister Hyssälä before the elections has been judged by many as one of the most groundless electoral promises so far. The Parliamentary group for Christian Democrats propose a completely realistic 20 euro monthly increase to basic pensions. […]

[follows an argument to improve the position of students …] We propose an increase of 15% to the student subsidy, and also an increase in the child allowance of the student subsidy. Education and studies shouldn’t be made harder, but encouraged. […]

The costs for the national health care project have exceeded the estimates made by the government, just as our parliamentary party warned in advance, nor has the reduction of queues proceeded as planned. [follows an argument on health care at the municipal level …] “The treatment guarantee has become extremely expensive for municipalities, and the government hasn’t considered this in their calculations,” was the defensive response from one leading city official. The Center-red government has through forced debts and incomplete index adjustments driven the municipalities to brink of breaching their constitutional duty of securing health care services. […]

To enable the municipalities to take care of their legally mandated service duties, the Parliamentary group for Christian Democrats proposes full index adjustments into the state payments to the municipalities, and additional appropriations in discretionary financial assistance packages. […]

Last spring we had a debate in this hall relating to an interpellation posed by the Christian Democrats on the state of elderly care. Even the parties in government broadly acknowledge regional problems and a need to make improvements. After that the commissioner appointed by the Ministry, professor Kivelä, finished the ordered report in June, but the government hasn’t provided no proposals for actions, legislation, or financing to improve elderly care. […] The Christian Democrats’ minimum demand is an increase of 4000 caretakers in elderly services. [follows a list of additional legislation and quality control initiatives in elderly care and family care]

We mustn’t forget the government has already slipped from the 0,7% goal for development aid appropriations. […]

The alternative Christian Democrat budget challenges the policies set by this government. We want to show that through the alternative appropriation of 1,3 billion euros we would build a more socially just Finland supporting families, employment and basic services, which would be regionally more equal. The center-red Vanhanen government has made it clear that favorable economic cycles and economic growth does not necessarily translate into taking care of the weakest in our society. Instead, to do so requires actual choices based on values.

Raimo Vistbacka/ Finns [in opposition]: […] The last budget proposal given by this government to this Parliament in this election season assumes that our exports grow, more jobs are created at home than companies have time to outsource, inflation is more less kept under control, but that the economic growth will slow down somewhat and settle around 3%. The Finnish national economy will do well, then, next year too. The economic policy of the government has, however, had only limited influence on the fact that we’ve been able to live under the auspices of international economic growth. We are now at the top of this economic cycle. Next year the US economy is expected to dip, which will negatively influence European economic growth, and thereby cause Finnish exports to wane. […]

The overall outlook for the Finnish economy is positive, as experts have noted. The state’s revenues have increases year by year more than had been anticipated, and there is a proposal to pay down state debt. We have resources to distribute, and the Finns party believes we should now also do some distributing, but justly and within reason. […]

Finland is wealthier than before, but is it also more callous than before? At least the attitude of the parties in government toward those less well-off or in difficulties is made clear by the fact that the poor only get crumbs from this budget. It is good marketing, but an 80 million euro social policy initiative on poverty in the scale of this budget is very modest. It is similar in scale as the gift given to the wealthy in the form of removing the wealth tax. [interjections] We would’ve surely had the resources for structurally larger investments to remove poverty and inequality.
The tax breaks for wage-earners continue, but more moderately than now. Unfortunately these breaks still are not targeted as the Finns party would like them to be targeted. We believe the focus of the tax breaks should without a doubt be in easing the tax burden on the lowest income levels. [...] We also find it important to removing the faults in the inheritance tax by e.g. removing it from the immediate next of kin. [...] The best and easiest way to relieve the position for small-income earners and the poor would be to reduce the value-added tax on food. [interjection] It would benefit Finnish agriculture and the entire national economy because, the fact is, that an additional euro given to those with the lowest income will immediately and in full be put into consumption, whereas for those in higher income brackets the rate of return is negligible. Additional euros to high-income earners to end up in savings or investments, without supporting domestic markets, unlike in the case low-income earners, pensioners, our war veterans and women who served at the home front, students, the unemployed, families with children and single parents. These demographics, after all, have to spend nearly all of their disposable income on everyday living expenses, such as food, housing, clothing and transport, out of necessity.

The government especially forgot about the students in their budget proposal. [...] It seems like there is an election coming, as the poor suddenly have friends aplenty, though actions speak louder than words. [interjection] Even the Center party is already taking about the next government platform where the interests of the poor would be seriously championed. Why cannot this be done now, when the economic requirements and resources exist, and the Center party already is in power? [...] It seems like all these promises are again examples of the Center party just angling for votes. [...] In the employment policy initiative in the budget the government wants to improve the meeting of labor supply and demand. Increasing the range of tax deductibility on commuting is in this regard the right thing to do, so the government earns this acknowledgement. Instead we disagree on the suitability of the 700 euro moving subsidy for relocating workers. [...] This is a typical example of leftist policies of centralization. [interjection] This is why the Finns party unequivocally opposes this initiative. We want to keep the whole of Finland populated, with viable living conditions. [...] [follows an argument how the budget does not address the needs of war veterans]

When we talk about increasing development aid appropriations, or the costs incurred by refugees or asylum seekers, let alone the imposed and constantly bloating membership payments into the EU and other such expenses relating to the ongoing EU national chairmanship, suddenly we have all the money we need to throw at these vanity projects. [...] Finland has money, but the question remains where we want to spend it. We sincerely hope that we can find sufficient unanimity in Parliament to take care of problems in veterans' affairs. [...] If the Finns find that there should be compromise of the benefits for veterans, the opposite applies to development aid appropriations. The talk about the disgraceful levels of Finnish deployment benefits are a conscious misdirection. The amount of euros in development aid has risen wildly in the last few years. [...] [follows an argument how the appropriations for road maintenance are not at all sufficient: the roadways are seen as national property, being lost now at the pace of 100 million euros a year …] One must wonder why the Ministry of Finance hasn't intervene in this recklessness; this is exactly the same as incurring debt. [...] This is how the leading party in government remembers its loyal rural voters in its budget! [...] Next year's budget cannot be considered to be friendly to the countryside in general either. [...] The Finns party are accused of being populists, and fixes are promised immediately in the next negotiations for the new government. Believe that at your own risk. The Center party is in general quite flexible as a governing party, if it can be overridden this easily on this many issues pertaining to its core constituency. It remains a fact that bewitched by the EU, the Center party politicians are just as guilty as the Social Democrats in punishing the countryside; actions speak louder than words. [...] [follows a discussion on domestic security, relating to appropriations for police services; this would also enable more resources being put to curtail the black economy]

The Finns party presents as its final wish, that especially the Parliamentary groups of the parties in government would see in the committee processes to emphasize improvements to the constitutional basic rights and services for the sake of our shared fatherland.
Timo Kalli /Center [in government]: Mr. Speaker! There are encouraging signs of possible growth in the Finnish economy. Exports have improved, employment has improved, and consumer confidence in the economy is high. The government’s budget proposal for 2011 continues the fundamental line of responsible economic policy with which governments led by the Center party have responded to the challenges brought on by the international recession.

The government’s economic, employment, and stimulus policy has been successful. The historically difficult phase in our national economy was met with increased domestic demand and maintaining employment. Contrary to the opposition’s claims, the government’s medicine has worked. The Vanhanen and Kiviniemi governments have preserved high employment levels. Entrepreneurs have gotten to work thanks to the opportunities provided by the government. The citizens should also be thanked for holding strong to their faith in the future.

The burden of the recession of public finances has been severe, however. For example, during the last year the state’s debt in the EMU grew by eight times over the municipalities’ respective rate. The state has taken on the blows of the recession, rather than the municipalities which produce basic services. This policy has been consistently supported by the Center party’s Parliamentary group. Increasing the real estate tax, increasing the municipalities’ share of corporate taxes, and removing the KELA fee have invigorated municipal finances by over 700 million euros.

Finland still has one of the least indebted public finances among the western countries and Western Europe. Regardless of this our nation’s economic policy will expect responsibility also in the future. The budget proposal that supports working and entrepreneurship is one step on the road to balance public finances. The rate at which we incur debt has to be brought under control, so that decisions in public finances don’t ruin budding, good growth. At the same time we must also look to the future and make important decision relating to economic growth. One such decision is finding the 40 million euros needed to upgrade the railroad between Seinäjoki and Oulu. [interjections] […] The greatest challenges for the future for this and subsequent governments relate to extending working life. Extending working life is necessary to preserve the welfare society and services. The government’s actions and already made proposals to smooth out studies are good methods to accomplishing this goal. Working life must be extended from the beginning, the middle, and at the end. Alongside extending working life, we must also take care of people’s coping skills. […] The government has in difficult economic circumstances invested in improving employment. Labor political appropriations were increased by 15% for this year. Even though the employment rate is predicted to decrease next year, the government is not pushing the brakes, but is continuing its patient work to create new growth and maintaining employment rates. […] [follows an argument on how the government has successfully targeted youth unemployment]

Mr. Speaker! The Center party has looked after the realization of social justice in the government. A significant reform in this vein is the guaranteed pension to be implemented in March of 2011 […]. We do not offer those in the poorest financial position only a cold shoulder and beautiful words, but concrete actions to ease everyday life. […]

The energy taxation reform proposed by the government will take Finland increasingly in the direction of self-sustained and renewable energy production. Together with subsidy policy for renewable energy this will for its part sow the seeds for future economic growth and Finland’s future success. The Center party is satisfied that the taxation on mobility as a whole is not increased. People must be able to live and do business also beyond the reach of public transport. The regional equality of citizens must be secured also in the future. [follows and argument why peat production for energy should be specially exempted in taxation, as it is domestically produced and has high unemployment potential …]

We cannot haggle over reducing overall emissions and our duty to increase the share of renewable energy sources in our energy production. In this large cities dependent on gas and coal have considerable work ahead of them, which requires our support. The energy taxation reform has to be taken into account in future tax policy. Finland, in the opinion of the Center party, is not a country of flat taxes, but a country where people participate in the construction of society based on their abilities. [follows an argument that this is something that the Social Democrats have fumbled with …]

The Center party will look after sufficient funding for municipalities. The 2011 budget proposal brings no significant change in the financial relationship between the state and the municipalities. Before the international recession Finnish municipalities by and large had good income structures. The municipalities have weathered the recession better than was feared. The capacity of municipalities to take care of
balances public finances will be in high demand also in the future. The demographics in municipalities affect the services to be provided in many ways. The best way to organize services is known locally, however. Large scale service production is not always pretty, and certainly not cheap for the national economy. There is no single correct size for municipalities, and driving down the number of municipalities will not automatically bring savings. […]

The Parliament decided in the spring to participate alongside other EU countries to save the Greek economy and stabilize the euro. This decision has proven to have been the correct one. The outcome has been as planned: Greece and other EU countries have begun healing their public finances, and a new financial crisis in Europe has been averted. [follows giving credit to Center party officials who worked together with the EU for this accomplishment …]

Taking responsibility and sensible economic policy will be needed in the future. We need decisionmakers who can offer concrete proposals. Responses to these proposals have to be more than a flat-out “no”. Finland does not need political calculations or populism, but work for our shared wellbeing and welfare.

**Pekka Ravi /National coalition [in government]:** Distinguished Mr. Speaker! Times change. Before the last municipal elections there were general discussions over how much we can spare to share. We debated where various parties would’ve liked to distribute these additional resources to. At that time we had enjoyed a long period of growth, which had been supported and facilitated by responsible decisionmaking after the recession in the 1990s. [interjection]

Economic growth continued up to the summer 2008, until suddenly the economic outlook changed, becoming outright grim in a matter of months. Instead of expected growth the Finnish economy dove exceptionally deep with the international recession, [interjection] so deep in fact that such a drop hasn’t been experienced before during Finland’s independence. The decrease in GDP in 2009 was even more extreme than the descent in the recession of the early 1990s. World trade practically stopped to a large extent, and Finland’s export-led economy suffered from this more than other western nations. [interjection]

The government, however, acted with alacrity. Through powerful stimulus and massive debt the state took the hardest hit from the recession, and we avoided mass unemployment. This debt was not lightly taken on. We must acknowledge that repayment has to be implemented in a controlled way and begun as soon as possible. [interjections] Carefully targeted stimulus succeed in both timing and scope. The government made brave and forward-looking, responsible decisions. It has been shown without a doubt that thus the economic decline became shorter than at the beginning of the 1990s, even though it was faster and more severe than back then. [interjection]

We must admit that we could not avoid increased unemployment, and persistent actions have to be taken to improve employment. In this situation it is very encouraging to note that the confidence of Finnish consumers in the nation’s economic and employment development is at record-high levels. It speaks rather convincingly that politics has succeed in one of its most important goals: Finnish households have strong faith in the future.

Mr. Speaker! The government’s policy has been throughout this electoral term to support employment and encourage working, as well as strong social justice. Through work we can create funds to share to those who need society’s help the most. The opposition often likes to measure labor policy by the size of budget appropriations for employment initiatives. The math is not that simple, however. [follows reference to specific actions as also described by the Minister of Finance; investment in skills is specifically mentioned …]

University funding increases by even 160 million euros, out of which to university index alone accounts for 42,4 million euros, and on top of all this 125 million have been reserved for the capitalization of the universities. Vocational training has seen an increase of approximately 11 000 new student positions for this year, and this direction can also be seen in the budget for next year.

[follows a list of expenditures into education; education policy is also policy against youth unemployment]

This is the correct policy in the opinion of the Parliamentary group of the National Coalition. Employment policy has to be focused on pre-emptive measures, rather than belated reactions. […] The possibilities for companies to employ more people have been promoted in numerous ways. For example by increasing the funding for corporate R&D we have supported innovations and new jobs. […]
A good demonstration of the value choices of this government is also the green tax reform. Working, employing, and encouraging supply has been prioritized. The National Coalition finds that it is entirely correct to shift the onus of taxation from work to consumption taxes, Pigovian taxes and environmental taxes. The green tax reform shows that we enact effective environmental and employment policy, rather than just talk about it. [interjection] The removal of the KELA fee – practically a tax on employment – means that employers no longer a subjected to a fee that was collected directly from the payroll. In Finnish, when a new employee has been hired, the KELA fee has been higher. Removing the fee means the costs for hiring new employees has been lowered. […] Many Finnish companies should here be thanked for seeing their capable personnel, despite financial difficulties, as an asset, and for seeking to avoid terminations. For parties that employ a great number of people, such as municipalities, the removal of the KELA fee was a great relief in a recession. […]

This government has had the courage to prepare a new kind of model, where energy taxation no longer is arbitrary, but genuine environmental guidance is brought into taxation. [interjection] This model will encourage companies to invest in cleaner energy, and Finnish consumers to take environmental concerns into account and to make environmentally friendly choices in their lives. This is real work to combat climate change and improving our environment. […] A responsible decisionmaker will always take into account new information and perspectives. […] Through this policy decision everyone will know, that more environmentally friendly energy solution will also be more economically feasible than before. […]

This government has shouldered responsibility and shown its performance capacity in challenging conditions. Throughout the entire electoral term expansive future-oriented reforms have been implemented; university legislation, health care legislation, and a green taxation reform to new a few.

The government’s work has been seamless and determined. We have bravely built the welfare society of the future. The government has engaged in this co-operation very broadly with different actors, and here I specifically want to acknowledge the labor market organizations. I sincerely and seriously wish that also the opposition acknowledged the value and significance of this co-operation. Finland’s strength has been based in our readiness to set the common goals above personal gain. Finland’s national interest absolutely has to be built above all sorts of power-political aspirations in the future as well. […]

The debate over what to distribute has turned into a debate over paying the bills of the recession. The government has succeeded in its stimulus policy, but economic growth alone is not enough to cover the deficit caused by a crisis of global origins. We all should remember this. Next year’s budget is, in my opinion, an excellent demonstration of the government’s capacity of look into the future, to build the welfare society on sustainable grounds.

**Eero Heinäluoma /Social Democrats [in opposition]:** Mr. Speaker! I note that my response comes at the right moment, because it will somewhat balance the mental image of the state of our nation based on the previous responses. [interjection] The bourgeois government, or more nicely put the Blue-green government started more than three years ago with grand promises. Now we have the last budget of this electoral term at hand and an opportunity to evaluate the realization of these promises over the entire term. What has Finland become during these Vanhanen and Kiviniemi bourgeois governments?

Minister of Finance Katainen said in the spring of 2007, that the government received a favorable legacy. This we can with good reason agree on. Economic growth was over 5%, employment had increased by over 120 000 during the previous electoral term, and state finances were 3 billion in surplus. All in all in 2007 Finland was almost 30 billion euros wealthier than four years before that. This was the
basis for redistribution and the legacy the government was handed down as it started its work. With patient, employment-focused policy, broad co-operation and extremely responsible management of public finances for over 10 years had laid the foundations, the potential to correct flaws, and strengthened bedrock of an equal Finland.

[follows a list of (broken) electoral promises of the current government]

Instead of the promised 100,000 new jobs, we’ve lost 100,000 in a very short period of time. The employment rate has dropped to 68%, which is far too low in comparison with our Nordic neighbors and the necessary level of financing the functionalities of the Nordic welfare society. Next year’s budget has a staggering 8 billion euros in deficit. The state incurs debt more and more, and the ratio of state debt to GDP is nearing 50%. [interjection] The international financial crisis, and, distinguished representatives and ministers, the actions of the previous government are no longer sufficient explanations for all the problems we’re currently facing. Specifically, this government was quite capable in implementing a large, even record-breaking tax reduction program during the recession and despite severe conditions in the public economy. This worsened the sustainability gap of public finances, which is now paraded around as a basis for demanding sacrifice. When engaging in stimulus, the government had the option of doing real decisions that would’ve directly affected employment, if it had chosen to spend the resources it put in tax breaks in a different way. […]

Finland has been a society of great opportunity and equality, which should be credited broadly to the political field. Today our nation faces a very real and severe division – polarization – into those who’ve succeed and those, who are left outside the auspices of bonuses, stock options, and growing capital income. Income inequality is starkly on the grow, above all due to low levels of capital income taxation. A stock option millionaire today pays less taxes on his income than a nurse or a metal worker working in hard shifts.

Differences in health are a reality today, and their growth is a cause for concern. At one hand we have those who have the option of occupational care provided by good employers in good financial standing, and those whose personal finances and income permit private health care. On the other we have families with children, low- and middle income pensioners, and the growing number of unemployed and workers in small companies, who have to experience the difficulties of public health care, such as growing lines and unfilled doctors’ positions. […] In the labor markets the division is into workers with high income on one hand, and temporary workers, recurring unemployment, low salaries, and the generally elastic labor markets for immigrants and foreign labor on the other.

We’ve also heard of the university reform today. [follows an argument on how the reform has sent the universities in fact begging for money] The government’s sense of justice is demonstrated that if someone manages to get a lot of private funding, the government will meet this by a factor of 2.5. Dear representatives of the Center party, how will this help preserving the balanced network of higher education necessary for our regional development? It does not. There is also the risk that the universities will also be polarized, the consequences of which for the structures of an equal Finland would be dire indeed. […]

Does polarization bother the ministers in the current Kiviniemi cabinet? Does this cabinet dare to acknowledge these societal phenomena and does it have the courage to address this fault in its last budget? [interjection] This government does not address these issues of division. Its courage and capacity seem both insufficient. […]

There are also good, well-grounded improvements in social security in the budget proposal for next year, which we also support. But compared to seriousness of the problem, these actions are insufficient. [follows a list of further needs for improvement]

Finland’s future will be determined through employment. The chance to look after one another to build an equal, socially just Finland is more than anything contingent on new jobs, safeguarding current jobs, and people’s employment. Now is the time for precision stimulus. We must direct resources to practical actions that support employment for Finnish skills. [follows policy proposals on how to improve employment, particularly youth unemployment] Long-term unemployment – being unemployed consecutively for over a year – is growing at a concerning pace of over 30%. Despite increasing economic hardship, the government proposes to cut employment appropriations now by 60 million. […]

[follows an argument on the employment capacity of Finnish docks and a proposal to move up public orders to keep the docks in business …]
Municipal finances sorely need more funds, if we want to guarantee a high-quality education, which has brought us much international prestige, alongside day care, health care and elderly care. [...] The government has for some time seemed to favor postponing decisionmaking. They have made all these nice decisions, like tax breaks. The tax breaks cumulatively amount to 9 billion euros. [interjection] Preferably they would move all nasty decisions over the next elections: corporate tax reform, capital tax reform, moving on with the municipal reform. [interjection] The dark side of an overt tax break program is, however, becoming increasingly clear to citizens. It is visible in the deficiencies of health and elderly care, and in the lack of resources in education and day care. Those bills are now coming due, too. [...] The Kiviniemi cabinet is determinedly shifting towards flat tax, and the government remains silent on the practical consequences of taxation policy as it only serves up these green-camouflaged consumption taxes. [...] [follows an argument how the tax burden is being unequally shifted, and how the Center party is all talk about getting wealthier Finns to contribute to the “recession barn raising”]

The Social Democrats have proposed increasing capital taxation, and changing it into a progressive scale. On the level of discourse, all parties in government signaled their approval. How on Earth has it not found its way into the budget? [...] [follows an acknowledgement that there are also good things in the budget, though mostly those proposed by the opposition]

[follows an acknowledgement that removing the KELA fee has in fact moved social responsibility payment by businesses to private households through public finances]

The basic orientation of the budget has to be turned to support employment, to genuinely reduce the polarization of society, and to increase social justice. [...] [follows an argument that the Social Democrats will provide a shadow-budget by the end of September, unlike the Center party and the National Coalition did during their time in opposition]

Our proposal will increase justice in taxation, addresses taxation by the ability to pay, and will offer a slightly decreased need to incur more government debt. Thus the opposition fulfills its role not only by showcasing the weaknesses of the government’s proposal, but also offering constructive alternative policy. I hope that this will be seen in changes made in the budget during the Parliamentary process, but it is also important that citizens can compare different alternatives and make real decisions in the election based on facts.

Paavo Arhinmäki /Left Alliance [in opposition]: Mr. Speaker! The state of the economy looks more promising now than it did some time ago, although the situation in the United States offers some uncertainty. When presenting the budget the Minister of Finance Katainen smiled broadly and promised that employment would improve through economic growth. At the same time, however, youth and long-term unemployment continue on the rise. [...] Economic growth alone does not solve long-term unemployment, and many young unemployed struggle to find work despite economic growth. Instead we need active employment policy.

In response to this need the government cuts employment appropriations by 60 million euros. One can hardly be surprised by Katainen’s policy of cuts, but it is absolutely unbelievable that the Minister of Labor Sinnenmäki also signals her satisfaction with the range of employment measures in the budget proposal. [...] [follows an argument that ignoring unemployment will lead to social exclusion, and problems for the individual and public finances alike: the Left Alliance wants to see employment appropriations clearly increased in the budget for 2011]

Mr. Speaker! The Left Alliance defends honest Finnish work and entrepreneurship. All possible tools to combat the black economy have to be put into use. The Finnish worker needs those jobs lost to black economy. The Finnish entrepreneur needs the jobs lost to shady operatives. And all Finns need the billions of euros lost into the black hole of black economy to improve basic services and care. [...] The debate on immigrants should finally address the biggest problem, which is the exploitation of foreign labor as cheap labor. [follows a description of the unfortunate state of exploited foreign labor with propositions to improve the situation, as penalties are smaller in comparison to potential ill-begotten gains [...] Combatting black economy expects that the number of inspectors and inspections in occupational health and safety are increased. To the contrary, however, at the moment we fear that the ideological termination program known as the state’s productivity program will only make things worse. The productivity program in its current form has to be abandoned. [...]
The shift from taxing work to taxing consumption is an advertisement campaign by the National Coalition. It is well made up, but as misleading as many other ideas from the ad agency Bob. I’m also surprised to find that the Greens also have started to speak through Bob. The current government is taking taxation toward flat tax. The income tax for high earners has been reduced, but municipal tax, value-added tax, and real estate tax all increase. Indirect, mediated taxes and service fees affect low and medium incomes relatively more. This often money spent on necessities: food, medicine, clothing and housing. The government wants to up the price on these necessities.

[follows an argument that lowering income taxes and increasing service taxes are an unjust form of taxing e.g. entrepreneurs in low-income service sector jobs …]

The development of the services sector is important: it balances out the fluctuations in exports and is ecologically more sustainable. The Left Alliance does not accept increasing indirect taxes. The National Coalition, the Center party and the Greens, however, want to continue raising unjust indirect taxes, if they can only continue in government. […]

[follows an argument to maintain roadways, and that the government is favoring private transport over public transport, with the Left Alliance arguing for the latter]

When the government offered a golden handshake to corporation by the removal of the KELA fee, you, Minister Katainen, stood in front of this Parliament and said that “the cost to public finances is to be offset by raising environmental and other indirect taxes beginning mainly in 2011 so that for the most part it will be paid by industry”. With this budget you, Minister Katainen, are going back on these words. The removal of the KELA fee will be paid out of the increased heating and electricity bills of regular households. This is highly unsocial policy. […] The Left Alliance proposes abandoning the energy taxation reform in its current form. Environmental taxes cannot be fiscal in nature; their purpose is to make themselves redundant by giving individuals and corporation the possibility of changing their consumption patterns so as to not incur environmental taxes. […]

In recent times we have placed well in various metrics evaluating our society. These results show that model for Nordic welfare – currently in the jaws of neoliberalism – is a functional recipe for a more just and equal society. Even if Finland received good grades in international comparisons, there are also issues in our society that we cannot be proud of. Over the last ten years or so income inequality has increased at a record-breaking pace, and the number of people in poverty also increases. According to the latest calculations from the EU, there are 900 000 people at poverty risk in Finland. That is a dreadful amount. It is also worrying that according to the government’s own estimate the number of persistently low-income people will increase by 50 000 between 2009 and 2011. A good society cannot be realized within the auspices of a single budget, but one can get a lot done in four years. [follows an argument that states not enough has been done …]

Student subsidies need an incremental increase, and it should be linked to the index. This is what those students that felt they’ve been betrayed demanded in the demonstration in front of Parliament. […]

The Left Alliance offers, in its alternative budget, the means to realize these mentioned improvements. Among others the taxation for high income earners will be raised, capital and stock option taxation will be made progressive, and the wealth tax will be restored to finance improvements in employment and basic security. […] A stock exchange tax could also temper economic ventures in tax havens. The enduring principle of taxation is that each pays according to their capacity. The higher the income, the higher portion one can pay in taxes. Progressive taxation is just. The Nordic model found so applauded in international measurements is based on progressive taxation, not the flat tax model purported by this government. […] The Left Alliance wants a more socially just Finland. […] The direction of policy must be turned. We offer this change.

Ville Niinistö /Greens [in government]: Mr. Speaker! The recession seems to be behind us, even in Finland, but the hard years in terms of public finances are just beginning. The budget proposal of the blue-green government for 2011 begins the hard work of reducing the deficit in public finances. The government has succeeded in staving off mass unemployment by economic and employment stimulus. This is a good point to proceed from. As we move to narrow down the deficit, we must be certain that it does not endanger growth in economy and employment that has only begun. The government sticks to the financing of the service and social security of the welfare society. The state even strengthens basic security by linking several basic benefits to the index. The Parliamentary group for the Greens considers the balancing of this budget proposal successful […].
Reducing the deficit in the budget requires improving the efficiency of the public sector, extended working lives and high employment. This alone, however, is not enough. To finance the welfare society and narrow the budget deficit requires courage to expand the tax base. Securing welfare services is about the everyday lives of people: schools, day care centers, health care centers. It is about every one of us living in a country where everyone has the prerequisites for a good life and work. The Greens believe this kind of a country is worth funding. The Greens are ready, if necessary, to secure wellbeing also through tax increases.

The government will continue the taxation policy of tax increases, started last August by raising the value-added tax, to increase environmental taxes to 700 million euros. The goal of the green taxation reform is to move the onus from taxing work to taxing consumption and, above all, taxing activities that stress the environment. This shift into environmental and consumption taxes will improve employment, as doing work and employing people will become more profitable than before by comparison. At the same time we must make certain that the shift does not reduce the effectiveness of taxation as a tool to reduce income inequalities.

It is important to the Greens that the taxation system in its entirety strives to keep Finnish income inequality within reason. [interjection] This is why especially low income earners must be compensated for the increase in consumption taxes. The government has acted in this fashion by increasing the both this year and last the basic allowance of the municipal tax by over 800 million euros, by increasing several benefits considerably, [interjections] much more so than any previous governments, and by linking the benefits to the index. Benefits linked to the index will automatically account for the effect of consumption taxes on low income households. [interjection] The Greens find it would be important to have unbiased research on the social effects of the government’s tax reform. Doing so would get rid of the wildest accusations and made up pseudo-calculations.

Raising energy taxation will lead to the increase in competitiveness for renewable energies, [interjections] and the increased competitiveness of energy efficiency compared to fossil fuels. [follows an argument how this has been done to great effect in Sweden …]

The tax reform will promote energy efficiency and create new jobs in a growth industry of the future, clean technology. The green tax reform is thus also employment policy, building good, sustainable economy of the modern age. A clear majority of Finns support the idea that the cost of living and energy is affected by the environmental impact of the energy being consumed. A poll published this morning confirmed this unambiguously. The Blue-green government’s central tax policy, future policy, is supported by citizens.

[discussion on the treatment of different forms of energy]

The solution shows that the government listens to expert opinion, andrationally seeks to accomplish as much reductions in emissions as possible also in the short-term. [interjections] The opposition says that they, too, want to secure the funding for welfare services, and they don’t want tax cuts. And yet raising any tax does not seem agreeable to especially the Social Democrats either. […] I don’t think this kind of discourse wins over many Finns, who expect at least some level of integrity from their decisionmakers. [follows a secondary attack on Social Democrats] In several other countries green parties have enacted green tax reforms in good co-operation with progressive social democrats.

Mr. Speaker! Employment policy continues to be extremely important. The growth of youth unemployment has been broken, largely thanks to the government’s determined actions. Thanks to the government’s active stimulus policy mass unemployment akin to the scale we had in the 1990s that the opposition has tried to scare people with has not materialized. Active employment policy will receive an investment of 530 million euros next year.

[follows a discussion on employment policy and social work with youth]

The Parliamentary group for the Greens wants to emphasize, that success in the future cannot be built on contemporary skills alone. The playing field of the world economy is changing. The transition from an industrial society to an increasingly varied service and commodities of high production levels is intensifying. Finland has to be agile and determined to keep jobs and create new throughout this transition. Old tricks are not enough. Business policy has to encourage companies to grow and secure a good operating environment for micro-entrepreneurship. Most of the jobs of the future will be created in small and medium-sized businesses. Innovation policy has to have the courage to take risks to find new areas of growth and service concepts. Finland has to determinedly strive to become a pioneer of green technology, so that the goal of tens of thousands of new green-collar ed shirt jobs can be realized. [follows an argument for a more open information society]
The government's conscience expands beyond our nation's borders. Development aid and cooperation funds will be increased according to the approved plan of Finland finally reaching within a few
years to recommendation by the UN of 0.7% of GDP being attributed to foreign aid. [this is seen as a
utilitarian attempt to gain acceptance for getting Finland into the security council]

Bjarne Kallis /Christian Democrats [in opposition]: [begins with a declaration that war veterans are
visiting Parliament, and dismay expressed that not all have gone to meet them]

[follows a lamentation over the inefficiency of the entire budgetary process, seen as waste of time and
resources since even expert opinion does not change anything in the budget]

As I listened to the speech by the Minister of Finance I got the impression that this is a smart budget.
Even taxes are set up smartly. Is it, then, the best possible budget? The government certainly thinks so,
but the opposition may have a differing opinion. […] One might of course ask is it smart to talk about
strict austerity and the need to raise taxes without actually committing to such actions, and leaving it to the
next government to handle? I think that is unfair. It is cowardly. You know what should be done, and you
say what needs to be done, but in the end it is not done. This cannot be right.

If you look at what Finland is today, it is the world’s best country. It is undisputedly the world’s best
country. Things have been organized well here, and they are in good order, but we also have problems,
and we can correct these problems, if we so choose.

[follows an argument how health care in particular is one of the major problems in Finland]

[follows an argument how elderly care is not well handled either, and that a debt is owed to them]

Increased polarization between different societal groups has not been tackled, at least not in any
meaningful way. We haven’t paid attention to corporate competitiveness either. If there is no
competitiveness, then we don’t have jobs either, and jobs are extremely important to this society. When I
mention, that we’re talking about strict austerity, then of course the question becomes whether or not it is
possible to cut expenses. […] When one listens to the ministers, and when one listens to the people, when
one listens to members of parliament, then everyone certainly is aghast at this spiral of debt: 30 billion
euros in 3 years is almost as much as the state receives in tax revenue next year. In 2011 the state’s tax
income is 35.5 billion, and in 3 years we’ve taken 30 billion in debt. This is not the right way forward; we
need to cut costs, but also increase revenue. When we go into cost-cutting, we should do the same we did
in the 1990s. Back then every expense of a million marks was taken under scrutiny if it could possibly be
marked down. […] If every minister’s duty would be to cut, say 50 million, out of their own budgets, then
that would already cover 950 million, a hefty sum. I think it would be possible without inflicting suffering
to those in the most difficult position in our society.

[follows a rather rambling discussion of possible savings targets that are considerate moderate and
reasonable]

[follows a lengthy critique of the state-owned investment company Solidium as being a bloated
corporation that includes more costs than gains]

I do not blame the people who’ve been hired to work there. I blame the people who have set up this
kind of a company.

Now I have discussed only a few points which could be addressed, and I’ve fairly certain that no one
can oppose these examples, and if they do, let them do so publically. […] I claim that in only a few
minutes I have outline some points that could be addressed without changing the position of those worst
off in society. What I’m trying to say is that this budget can be changed. Is, for example, the reduction in
income tax for 450 million euros necessary? […] Not implementing this reduction of 450 million euros
would allow us to use half of that, 200 million, to improve the quality of health care centers, health care in
general, and elderly care. This is quite possible.

It is also possible to do what Sweden, England, and Germany have done – Finland also has talked
about it – and implement a banking tax. […] The banks would have to pay, but 0.06% wouldn’t be the
end of the world, and we could amass 200 million euros to the state’s coffers, and this money could be
used to the ends all you talk so much about. Taxation for profits from assignments and so on, all of this
can be increased, and we will propose all these issues in our alternative budget. […] I really wish that these
issues would generate discussion, not only in this building but in society, because this budget proposal by
the government is not the best possible one. I didn’t call it bad, but it is not the best possible one. […]

Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner /Finns party [in opposition]: Mr. Speaker! Several economic predictions
foretell the economy would begin to grow again. The government, however, seems to be acting so that
these positive predictions couldn’t be realized. The energy tax marketed by Minister of Finance Katainen
as a “historical green tax reform” will be entered into the annals indeed as historic, but not green but
The vanishing of the growth in income equality was begun already in 2006, when the overturning of the wealth tax meant that data on wealth also ceased to be public. Instead of hiding inequality between citizens the government should intervene by targeting taxation according to the citizens' capacity to pay. It is the Finns' opinion that the wealth tax should be restored. The taxation of capital taxes should also be raised. Turning capital taxation progressive would be socially just on individual and corporate level, as it would give more space for small and mid-sized companies. Without destabilizing the foundations of business life we could amass 300-500 euros into the state's coffers as additional revenues.

Mr. Speaker! We propose as an alternative to the 750 million to be gained through the energy tax cuts in spending of equal amount. These proposals for cuts to balance the budget do not weaken the social security or services to citizens and don't weaken the competitiveness of industry. It will be targeted on items Finns can do without.

These alone would account for the savings of 750 million. We will give more specific proposals in euros later. […]

The state has, for its part, driven the municipalities in such dire economic straits, that they have difficulties meeting their social and health care related duties. […] Shouldn't that which has been legally mandated also be adequately resourced? […] Shouldn't that which has been legally mandated also be adequately resourced? [...] Shouldn't that which has been legally mandated also be adequately resourced? [...] Shouldn't that which has been legally mandated also be adequately resourced?

The Finns party have emphasized several times, that the goal of the state’s productivity program should be improving productivity and genuine improvement of services, and not just cutting personnel. That remains our stance still, especially since our doubts over groundless staff reduction under the cover of increased productivity has turned out to be true. The National Audit Office of Finland has in its performance audit concluded that personnel reductions should be given firmer grounds than is currently being done. Productivity should be sought elsewhere than in personnel reductions. One way to improve productivity is to ban political nomination to office. […] All jobs that are publically funded should be opened for public applications, after which the most capable and qualified applicant must be selected. […]

There are over 300 000 unemployed people in Finland, but the government intends to decrease employment appropriations. That is cold-hearted cabinet policy, which will lead to the increase of youth and long-term unemployment, and further social exclusion. The Finns party believes the budget for 2011 should a budget for work. In 2011 we should employ 100 000 unemployed through internships, workshop subsidies, wage subsidies, and other systems. The emphasis should be on the youth and the long-term unemployed. The means-testing for labor market subsidy should also be abandoned. The costs of employment will mostly return to the state and municipalities as savings, which can be garnered from reduced costs into housing allowances, basic unemployment allowances, and other social costs as well as reduced consumption through e.g. value-added taxes. Employment always pays off, because the costs to society from a young excluded person living on unemployment and social benefits can reach a million euros. This we cannot afforded, economically or humanely.

According to some EU calculations we have over 900 000 people in poverty. During the last few decades the governments have consciously advanced inequality by increasing income inequalities. The number of people in poverty has tripled. As the lines for bread grow, the elite becomes ever wealthier.

The vanishing of the growth in income equality was begun already in 2006, when the overturning of the wealth tax meant that data on wealth also ceased to be public. Instead of hiding inequality between citizens the government should intervene by targeting taxation according to the citizens' capacity to pay. It is the Finns' opinion that the wealth tax should be restored. The taxation of capital taxes should also be raised. Turning capital taxation progressive would be socially just on individual and corporate level, as it would give more space for small and mid-sized companies. Without destabilizing the foundations of business life we could amass 300-500 euros into the state's coffers as additional revenues.
can be garnered as road tolls from foreign logistics companies. Good road and railway networks are a 
basic requirement for citizen equality and livelihood, and ensuring the operational capacities of business 
everywhere in Finland. […]

The Finns party further hopes, that the parliamentary groups of the parties in government could, with 
the help of opposition, in committee work include changes improving on constitutionally mandated basic 
rights and services into the government’s proposal for the good of our common fatherland and its 
citizens.
Sari Sarkomaa /National Coalition [in government]: Mr. Speaker! It is indeed time to roll up our sleeves. Finland’s economic situation is grim. We’ve fallen behind our competitors, our credit rating is under risk due to our brutal rate of incurring more debt, and all the while our population in working age reduces in size. Finns can handle the truth, and they also expect responsibility and the capacity to make decisions from the politicians leading their country so that the situation can be rectified. The government’s proposal, including a supplementary budget that increases employment and a budget proposal that strengthens growth and competitiveness, a tempered income policy solution and a structural policy initiative to start bridging the sustainability gap, are all correct and sorely needed steps in a necessary change of direction.

In this economic situation a small diet is not enough for Finland, but an entire change in lifestyle is needed. We need to renovation so that we can also afford to educate our children, take care of those needing help, and securing old age worthy of human dignity for everyone in the future as well. We must fight for Finnish jobs and companies. Our wellbeing is dependent on the success of our companies, although this is difficult to admit for the representatives of some ideologies. Companies employ people, they pay taxes, they bring in export revenues, and create that added value upon which we’ve built.

This is it is the opinion of the National Coalition that the significant reduction in corporate tax, capital gains tax that encourages growth, business funds, compensation for the Sulphur Directive, reduction in wage taxes and an increase in the tax credit for domestic help or household expenses are all good measures. They are implemented so that Finns would have work. Next we must cut down on unnecessary bureaucracy and the administrative burden of companies, which will free up time from especially small businesses to do their actual work. New, sustainable growth is based on the products and services of our companies being sold. We cannot compete in terms of labor costs, but we can compete in terms of skills and productivity. Here education plays an absolutely central role. The National Coalition considers investments in R&D in universities and polytechnics of crucial importance. Additional investments will also be made into apprenticeships and vocational training.

[follows an argument that it is of central concern for the future of Finland that young people study beyond comprehensive school and get employed; young people need skills that are in demand in the job market]

A society, where work does not pay, is not healthy. The age-old goal of the National Coalition regarding the profitability of work proceeds by leaps and bounds as we implement the raised income cap of unemployment benefits. We gladly salute the employment program for those with limited work capacity. The next step could be an adapted pension for those with limited work capacities, so it would be worthwhile to take on even short-term jobs.

[follows an argument that it is of central concern for the future of Finland that young people study beyond comprehensive school and get employed; young people need skills that are in demand in the job market]

The parties in opposition have become stuck in the present, and chairman Sipilä [of the Center party] claims as a so called fact that fathers simply have larger salaries and thus cannot participate in raising children at home as mothers do. […] We politicians are here, however, to change the world into a better and more equal place. [follows an argument for policy benefitting families with children …]

It is the interests of our children that we don’t rob them of their future potential. At the moment the rate of indebtedness in Finland is unsustainable. The National Coalition will not allow Finland to end up in an uncontrollable spiral of debt, and this is why we’re ready take even hard decision that will increase work and livelihood in Finland. […] We all surely agree that the sustainability gap of 9 billion euros cannot be covered only by cuts and tax increases. Doing so would erode the potential for economic growth and welfare. Instead employment, competitiveness, and structural reforms improving the efficiency of the public sector are softer and smarter ways. My dear [representatives of the] Finns [party], this is why your alternative of reducing everything into expenses and revenues is not enough, as it fails to address big structural solutions. The opposition’s tactic of breaking the government’s actions into tiny pieces and then making a racket over details is your way forward. Of course the decisions of the government can and must be criticized, but your task is to present your own comprehensive alternative on how things could be managed better.

The budget offers the municipalities both the stick and the carrot: the state subsidy for municipalities will be cut, but on the other hand the municipalities will receive more tax revenues. The reforms should be bravely furthered on the municipal level, because access to state finances is drying up. Organizing administration and work better frees up the resources of professionals to handling services and certainly also increases job satisfaction.
Sustainable solutions must be found for the municipal, and health and social care reform through cooperation. Healing the public sector is vital above all to save good everyday life and the welfare society.

[follows a note that the Parliamentary group for National Coalition supports the budget proposals, though work remains to be done]

We require that the government will make additional decisions as promised, if the reforms currently underway are insufficient. Finally, I can only note that sustainable growth and the renewal of Finland cannot happen overnight. That takes Finnish endurance and sisu, and we have plenty of both. Our strength has always been that in difficult times we have succeeded in pooling our resources. Through cooperation we will surely succeed again.

Kristiina Salonen /Social Democrats [in government]: Mr. Speaker! It hasn’t been possible to draft the budget proposal for 2014 under the circumstances that were hoped at the beginning of 2013. The economic situation is weaker than anticipated, and there has been no growth. Our society is plagued by a poor economic cycle, structural change and the deficit in public finances. From the perspective of current circumstances, the budget proposal for 2014 is still cut out for creating national stability. The foundation of society is work. That also shows in the budget proposal. Finnish work and employment have been raised into the central position in the budget proposal that they deserve. We Social Democrats know, how many families for example in Lahti and Rauma are facing tough times as jobs dry up. In these circumstances the society has to strive to find compensating jobs, and families cannot be left to fend for themselves. Measures against long-term unemployment and becoming excluded from the labor markets are crucial.

Building infrastructure and funds attributed to repairs demonstrate how the government aims to create work in Finland again. The growth financing program in turn supports the growth of companies and their internationalization. Our employment rate is significantly lower than in other Nordic countries, which in the long-term is unsustainable. Increase in the employment rate of one percentage point means two billion euros in favor of balancing public finances. Structural reforms are needed to keep the Finnish welfare state sustainable in the future, too.

The structural reforms proposed by the government together with a tempered income policy solution and traffic investments that enhance competitiveness will guarantee suitable groundworks for the future. When the growth begins again globally and in Europe, Finland has to be able to join it strongly. It is nonetheless important to address weak and decreasing employment now, when it is acutely felt. This is why the third supplementary budget for 2013, i.e. speedy additional funding for employment-based stimulus is an absolutely necessary solution.

Mr. Speaker! Export industries remain one of the core elements of our economy. […] One part of the measures supporting employment and economy is investing in industry. The Social Democratic Party has promised that Finnish industry will not be made to pay additional costs during this government’s term.

[follows argument for additional funds appropriated for repair constructions as support for employment …]

[follows an argument in favor of company growth funding to speed up the growth and internationalization of small companies]

Finland has skilled labor, high technology, a relatively reasonable wage-level compared to the productivity rates, and patents and ideas to spare. Developing these ideas into productive business in the international markets is an opportunity for the future of our economy and society. […]

[follows an argument to balance work and family life in policy for families with children]

In addition to families with children the budget also takes the young into account. Realizing the social guarantee for the youth will be given much needed resources, and the student subsidy will be linked to the cost-of-living index. It is crucial for the future of the young that unemployment and exclusion will cut off at the start.

[follows an argument for elderly services and pensions]

It follows the values of the Social Democrats that those who are weakest in society will not be made to pay for the financial crisis. The financial crisis cannot be managed at the expense of increasing polarization and social exclusion. […] We have seen that cutting social security in difficult economic times will be costly to society in the long-term. It may lead to the slow drift of able-bodied labor outside the labor markets, sometimes permanently. This was seen after the economic decisions made during the recession of the 1990s. Although the economy later recovered, not everyone did. Some people became permanently unemployed and excluded. This cannot happen again in Finland.
Mr. Speaker! To conclude: the government’s economic policy events out economic cycles, as it should. At the same time the services of the welfare state can be secured. The budget proposal for 2014 can be considered a successful and equal totality, which matches Social Democratic values.

Jari Lindström /Finns party [in opposition]: Mr. Speaker! The indicators of the Finnish economy are now in the red. The economy is not growing, the exports have stalled, and new news of redundancies come in almost at a daily basis. We need prompt additional measures to bring Finland back on the track for growth, for the budget proposal of the government does not include the tools to accomplish this goal.

The Finns party has been accused throughout this electoral term that we present no alternatives and only criticize. This is not true. We have presented an alternative budget for every budget during this electoral term, and well-founded objections to every budget frame. We have been ignored, however, since they don’t fit in the story our political competitors want to tell of us, or they’re misunderstood as reporting from [the Finnish public broadcaster] YLE today has shown. I hope we won’t resort to those tactics today in this hall but stick to the facts. We want to give input for the government in a constructive spirit. We continue to believe that only by working together we can make Finland rise again.

Mr. Speaker! We consider than the economic situation requires proper precision stimulus. Now is the time to move up necessary investments in the roadways and repairs for public buildings. Our roadways have been allowed to become so dilapidated that asphalt is being removed and we’re returning back to the era of dirt roads. Repairing schools plagued with mold, in turn, are investments in people’s health. Moving up these necessary investments would have an effect that would even out the economic cycles, and on top of that it would also be a sensible use of public money, given that making investments in a depression is cheaper than in peak prosperity.

The Finns party wouldn’t intensify tax-competition by reducing the corporate tax to 20% like the government is doing. We find that it would be better to lower the tax rate to the same 22% level as it is in Sweden and Denmark, and give similar tax breaks also to other forms of enterprise than just corporations. Funds thus saved would be used to support particularly the growth of small and medium enterprises, in addition to increasing employment opportunities by raising the lower limit of value-added taxes to 20 000 euros and implementing an employment-boosting corporate taxation model based on the model in use in Estonia.

[follows an argument to lower the VAT by 1% and to return the KEŁA fee to the private sector to increase revenue and employment]

In these times almost everyone is concerned over the competitiveness of Finnish exports, and rightly so. We’ve lost out position in the international markets, which has caused our current accounts to drop into negative. The recently agreed upon tempered income policy solution by labor market organizations is helpful, of course, but we must remember that the cost levels of our energy-intensive exporting sector is greatly influenced also by costs in energy and transport.

This is why it is the opinion of the Finns party that a comprehensive rationalizing of energy policy should be a top priority. And for once we’re willing to listen to the European Union. To quote the EU’s commissioner on industry, Antonio Tajani, “Europe needs new energy policy. We must stop pretending, because we cannot sacrifice our economy over unrealistic climate goals, which haven’t been implemented elsewhere in the world”. This also included industrial policy and [state’s] ownership policy. They must be reformed completely too. [follows an example of the closure of the Rauma dockyard and how the Finns would’ve handled it differently]

When one looks at all that has been budgeted by the Katainen cabinet, one cannot help but think the government thinks it has found the “Sampo” of public finances, which can always churn out a few hundred million into the budget when needed. I refer here specifically to the state subsidies of the municipalities, which are again being cut by over 350 million euros. This is something we cannot accept, for in addition to hurting those worst-off in society, these cuts are an inefficient way to curtail the indebtedness of the public sector. One mustn’t forget the public sector consists of the state and the municipalities. Even though the state incurs less debt through the government’s tricks, the indebtedness of municipalities will increase in return, so the overall effect at the level of the entire public sector is more or less zero. This same observation was made a few weeks ago by the former state secretary Raimo Sailas, so we’re not the only ones who have paid attention to this point.

Mr. Speaker! The typical policy of two purses by the Katainen cabinet lives on in this budget. In domestic finances we’re broke, as is well known, but internationally we’re ready to spend. You’re holding a historical budget in your hands, for I wonder if there has ever been so many appropriations in the Finnish
budget to directly support other countries without anything in return? Who in this hall still dares to claim
that we are not simply shoveling money to countries in crisis?

It is clear that only tax increases won’t stop indebtedness. We will also have make cuts. We would start
cutting from those appropriations that have least meaning for the welfare, employment, and the
competitiveness of this nation. As such, we should target the cuts into the funds flowing out, such as
subsidizing the Greek budget, as I already mentioned, and the over 1,1 billion euros in development aid.
There is also room to cut in inefficient corporate subsidies. From these targets we could save up to a half
a billion without significant effect on the wellbeing of our citizens.

[follows a brief discussion on the details of the government’s structural reforms, with some being
acceptable and others rejected]

The entire reform program relies in practice completely on the working life solution by the labor
market organizations, and the municipal and social and health care reform. One must really be hoping for
some kind of miracle. [follows a reference to the alternative program proposed by the Finns, that would
increase flexibility and social justice …]

The Finns are committed to improving Finnish welfare, work, and competitiveness. The cold,
individual-centered thinking that the National Coalition so idealizes is not needed, but instead true
solidarity and understanding that we all really are in the same boat. The Finns party is a responsible party
in opposition. […]

Antti Rantakangas /Center party [in opposition]: Mr. Speaker! The third budget proposal by blue-red
cabinet of Katainen and Urpilainen is the budget proposal of an exhausted government. More, better, was
expected. We have over 300 000 unemployed, the state debt soon exceeds 100 billion euros, the municipal
and social and health care reforms have been botched, the youth guarantee has fallen flat on its face,
health services are deteriorating and centralization policy aggravates regional differences. [interjection]
The government’s goal was to start reducing state debt in relation to overall productivity clearly by the
end of the electoral term. This, however, will not happen. The debt-to-GDP ratio will exceed 60%. This
has not happened since the heavy years when our nation was at war. Now the structural deficit is slipping
beyond acceptable limits. Finland is on its way to be put under special observation within the EU. The
blue-red government is leaving a dreadful legacy to those who will succeed it.

Mr. Speaker! According to opinion polls only less than half people have faith in the government. The
polls say that the people want change, just like the Center party does. [interjection] Finland has to be
brought back to the track to growth and employment. We thank those who managed to get the income
policy solution done, but that alone is not enough. Political decisionmakers and the government hold the
ball. The structural policy program of the government is practically a new list of cuts. It is also proving
itself to be made out of hot air. Much of it is left hanging for months, and too much has been pushed
back, to burden the municipalities, the labor market organizations, and the next government. This has also
been noted in the European Commission.

The Center party would be prepared, here and now, to make decisions relating to the retirement age,
so that people would have enough time to prepare for their implementation. Dawdling does not change
the facts. The economy of this nation cannot be fixed through punishing families; to the contrary it will
only make things worse. [follows an argument on specific policies, that, according to calculations, will
decrease disposal income in many families, which the Center party protests]

The government has shifted most of the responsibility over balancing public finances to the
municipalities. State subsidies, meaning services for citizens, will be cut by approximately a billion euros.
Municipal finances will be further strained by another billion, which will again mean new increases it flat
taxes. The Center party supports reducing municipal duties and regulations. The proposed cut of a billion
euros will mean the continued deterioration of many municipal services. Social and regional justice has to
be the point of departure from which we reduce municipal duties. The Center party strictly refuses the law
forcing municipal mergers. These forced mergers are against the specific promises made by parties in
government. [follows an argument how ordinary Finns will suffer from increases in energy and fuel taxes,
especially in rural areas]

Large corporations are receiving a generous tax break from the government to the tune of billions of
euros. There’s barely any relief offered for the employment efforts of small and family-run enterprises.
Tax rates for tens of thousands small companies will increase. The managers of large companies and
pension companies are setting a bad example: staggering bonuses and other special benefits are
incompatible with the times. State-owned companies are acting in the same way, so ownership steering
The Center party does not accept outsourcing by state enterprises, shifting Finnish work abroad, and the rest of Europe to rise out of the crisis. The government appropriates 30 million euros for investing in the growth fund for Finnish industry. The Center party’s alternative places 3-5 billion in special funds to support especially the development of growth businesses.

The second notable policy initiative relates to bio-based economy. We must shift to domestic energy with a bang. It creates jobs and livelihood to the entire nation and is environmentally speaking sensible energy policy. The government’s coal-black policy, which further puts our economy in debt, deserves no continuance.

The government weakens and centralizes services important to citizens. This is why the government does not enjoy the Parliament’s trust”. These concerns have unfortunately been realized. […] There is no time to wait. The wheels must be set in motion. We need a change in direction. The Center party stands ready to co-operate. […] It is still not too late. Finland’s strength has always lain in co-operation. It is the time for statesmanship!

Annika Lapintie /Left Alliance [in government]: Mr. Speaker! The goals of the Left Alliance are justice and equality. Those goals are also visible the government’s budget proposals. Taxation policy has been implemented and basic security has been improved based on these goals.

Additional investments in taking care of employment are visible in the third supplementary budget for this year, in the 350 million euros included therein. Measures improving employment must be implemented quickly, without waiting for next year. The appropriations in the supplementary budget will be directed e.g. in road and rail maintenance. As additional appropriations are also directed at building new apartments and repairing older ones, we’re talking about half a billion in stimulus. […] From the perspective of employment it is vital that the state continues to take on debt, and balance should be sought in the long-term and through structural reforms. If we had started saving money in panic, we would destroy jobs and unemployment would sharply increase. This sort of starvation diet would by default be socially unjust. The government luckily has the patience to stay away from the path of ruinous savings.

When the financial crisis began, EU member states decided upon joint stimulus, which mitigated the effects of the economic plight. Unfortunately so member states had already become so indebted at that point, that they couldn’t engage in proper stimulus, and their debt capacity was later proved to be questionable. It would be good for Europe, if Germany as the largest economy would agree to stimulus. […] German stimulus would create momentum for Finland and the rest of Europe to rise out of the recession without it endangering the sustainability of German debt.

Next year a long-term growth funding program will be initiated, which will enforce capital investment markets and support the growth of small and mid-sized companies.
Additional investments in the society guarantee for the youth we also aim to prevent the formation of a demographic of poorly employable individuals.

During the government’s budgetary negotiations we also agreed upon structural reforms. These will improve on the sustainability gap in public finances by increasing employment, extending working life and offsetting the growth of expenditures in a socially tolerable way.

[follows an argument how the Left Alliance wants to extend the scope of education]

It is the opinion of the Left Alliance that it should be possible to take on even short-term jobs. Now this goal is being met through the raised income cap in unemployment benefits, which mean an unemployed person can earn a specific amount before it reduces his benefits. […]

[follows an argument against restricting day care rights for children, and an accusation that is something the Finns were willing to accept]

[follows an argument on equality through a redistribution of parental subsidies between parents]

We did not move to a loan-based system in student subsidies, although many wanted to do so. Instead we increased incentives. Savings thus created will be directed into increasing the student subsidy all the while keeping the index-link of the student subsidy in mind.

In order to survive the difficult challenges of our times, municipalities have to take reforming the municipal structure seriously.

Mr. Speaker! In these economic tough times, one must be satisfied with the outcome we’re currently dealing with.

Osmo Soininvaara /Greens [in government]: Mr. Speaker! The government’s budget proposal and especially the approved structural policy program signal a change in direction in the economic policy conducted in Finland. From only trying to regulate changes in economic cycles through stimulus or consolidation we have shifted to correcting structural weaknesses and increasing the supply of labor. It makes sense to change the medicine when the disease itself has changed. I want to congratulate the Minister of Finances for this insight.

The crisis began in 2008 as a global crisis in the financial markets, but now we’re seeing a permanent change in the international division of work. This is why the paper and pulp industry, docks and machine shops are in trouble in Finland, not to mention the ICT-sector which has been led by Nokia. One can see some light at the end of the tunnel in the Eurozone, but problems in the Finnish production structure remain to be solved. The disappearance of many occupations as the production structure changes will worsen structural unemployment for a long time to come.

Mr. Speaker! The greens rejoice over the increased 300 euro earnings cap in unemployment benefits. It will increase the activity of the unemployed in the labor markets, though probably not immediately, since realizing the potential will take some time from workers and employers alike. The unemployed will that the role in the gig-based job markets currently occupied by students. […]

[follows an argument how subsidies in living expenses for low-income work is needed; the reform was unfortunately in the Greens opinion left short]

In bad times unemployment an affect anyone randomly, but structural unemployment – that part of unemployment that will not reduce even in economic booms – will primarily affect the workforce with little education, who may have deficiencies in skills but also some health issues. The deficiencies in education can be fixed with additional training, but even after this there is a lack of jobs in Finland that can be handled without any special skills. Especially in cities working in jobs with low productivity it is difficult to find a sustainable wage, which would also be profitable to the employer. The basic problem in structural unemployment is that low-wage jobs leave too little disposal income. A significant reason to this is the high level of living expenses in cities. […]

The hardest part of the structural program is enhancing the efficiency of the municipalities by a few billion euros by e.g. removing norms that shackle activities. Creativity and open-mindedness is demanded to find ways of making the municipalities work more efficiently, so that cuts in expenditures wouldn’t only be visible as poorer services. The Parliamentary group for the Greens party strongly emphasizes open-minded endeavors to secure services through innovative practices. This is about the life and death of the welfare society, because 2 billion in the form of cuts alone in senseless. […]

Actions to improve the supply of labor of course will not help unless there is demand for labor. Replacements should be quickly developed to cover for fading occupations. Cleantech could be a much larger field of exports, but it is not yet. It is hard to sell applications for clean technology if you cannot sell them at home. How is it possible that Finland, with abundant renewable energy resources, is clearly more
have been applied in banking for good reason, so that we would avoid new banking crises. As a result the banks have to shy away from risky loans. It then follows that companies starting up or expanding their activities have a hard time finding funding. [follows an argument how cautious banks is bad thing, as investments are needed to boost businesses that can offer employment or risk wasting human capital] If banks don’t finance risky endeavors, it is up to the state to do so. [follows a discussion on Finnvera specifically …]

Mikaela Nylander/Swedish People’s Party [in government]: […] Within EU our state debt is not among the largest, but on the contrary it is one of the smallest in relation to population and GDP, but we’re setting ourselves greater austerity requirements than many other countries seem to do. Finland has always been a country that repays its debts, and we want to hold on to this. Setting the debt on a timeline is always important. We take on debt, but our children and grandchildren will have to pay those debts back. We are borrowing from our own children and grandchildren, and for this we should be ashamed.

Under these difficult circumstances the government has, despite everything, managed to uphold the fragile balance between indebtedness and taking care of welfare and wellbeing. No one, not even our children or grandchildren – would benefit from us just giving up and cutting our debt away in one fell swoop. It will take time, but the plan to manage the debt is needed already.

The government’s budget proposal for next year cannot, due to this, be viewed as a separate document, but a part of a whole, that consists of the stimulus package included in the supplementary budget for this year and the structural reforms decided on in the government’s budget proposal. While the 2014 budget proposal and the stimulating supplementary budget seek to help us get through and out of this difficult economic phase, the structural changes are aimed to reduce debt in the long term. […]

We must get out the situation where increasingly more young people become dependent on income support. Linking the student subsidy to the index, and maintaining the index link for the appropriations for universities are also investments in the future. The employment program for those with limited work capacity is a significant measure to increase work. Also integration program for new Finns is being strengthened. Finland cannot cope in the long run without an increase in the population of working age, even if managed to find employment to all those currently unemployed. […]

The Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s party has always argued in favor of international development aid, and we are thus the first to raise concerns that we must now cut the increase promised into development aid appropriations. […]

Being in government with six parties the willingness to compromise is expected, and the Parliamentary group for the Swedish People’s party is prepared to show it. At the same time we want to voice our support to Prime Minister Katainen in his leadership and to Finance Minister Urpilainen in her difficult task of piloting the ship that is the state’s budget in stormy waters.

Jouko Jääskeläinen/Christian Democrats [in government]: Mr. Speaker! The debate on the budget proposal arrives at a difficult conjuncture. Our official numbers are based on the budgetary negotiations in the spring, but in truth we have to look at things from the perspective of recently made, very important decisions on structural reforms. We must also take general stock of the big picture of our economy, and also consider the labor market solution hopefully well underway.

All in all, Mr. Speaker, it is the moment of truth. Finland’s survival through the current imbalance in public finances and the circumstances which threaten the finances of welfare services is not down to one or two measures, as we all would probably hope. We need many things: we need tempered labor policy solutions, relieving public administration, moderate extensions based on real capacity to cope for working life, just to name a few. Public health care and social problems need recovery, pre-emptive measures, and supportive programs aiding rehabilitation.

It is also the moment of truth in terms of Finnish GDP being 5% smaller now than before the recession of 2008-2009. This is told by the Bank of Finland without any frills. Private consumption has certainly grown for a long time, but exports are still lagging behind. [follows a list of what works and what does not]

It is the moment of truth also in the sense that after 17 sweet years our current accounts are in a bad way for the third year in a row. Calculating cumulatively, only the United Kingdom has lost its share in world trade more than Finland in 2007-2011. Finland is the weakest of all Eurozone countries. The sweet
life is now backfiring as poor performance. It is the moment of an unfortunate truth also in the sense that the paper and pulp industry and especially electronics have been declining rapidly. [follows an argument that Finland is performing poorly in terms of costs per production unit]

We need simultaneously more excitement into work and entrepreneurship, most importantly, as well as structural reforms in our governance and managing the economy. We need economic realism, which means both cost-cutting measures, as difficult and challenging as they are, curtailing indebtedness and increasing productivity. The duties of the municipalities must be clarified and reduced. […]

Excessive indebtedness and the sustainability have to be seriously addressed. Our poor dependency ratio is one of the key reasons for the sustainability gap. The number of people of working age decreases while the need for public services and income transfers grows. For this reason working life has to be extended and the amount of work done increased.[…]

New jobs are created in companies, and this is why a corporate tax reform is needed. […] Above all small companies are the key to employment in the complex subcontracting chains of modern production. [follows a discussion of taking advantage of regional growth in Russia or Sweden]

It is clear, that immigration policy also needs that dimension and element that ensures skilled and work-ready labor force in our nation. […] The government’s preliminary proposals for supporting labor market solutions in terms of reducing income taxes, reducing shipping route fees, and abandoning limiting kilometer allowances, to name a few, support this whole of structural changes well. To remove welfare traps the increase in the earnings cap of 300 euros for temporary wage income for unemployed people is really needed. [follows a discussion on products hazardous to one’s health and their taxation]

[follows a discussion in the reform for affordable housing and repairs in mold-infested public buildings …]

[follows an argument on family policy in its traditional form, where the Christian Democrats hope that reason will prevail]

Mr. Speaker! We must begin preventing problems that threaten welfare. […] Without decreasing social ills there is no wellbeing.