



Samforsk

The Social Science Research Institute

Annual report 2023



2023

Foreword

The previous year was definitely a hectic one at the Social Science Research Institute. We conducted one of the largest research projects in Samforsk's history, namely, the Citizen's Parliament. The Samforsk team also managed to write, edit and publish an election report in less than three months in the wake of the parliamentary elections in the spring.

Apart from that, our researchers had the time to do individual research and they produced a great deal of publications. Furthermore, the team have actively shared their research and input in media. In this report, we invite you to read about what we have been up to during the previous year. Enjoy!

The Future of Democracy, FutuDem

For more information about FutuDem, please visit our homepage: www.futudem.fi.

The Finnish Research Infrastructure for Public Opinion, FIRIPO

For more information about FIRIPO, please visit our homepage: www.firipo.fi.

BAROMETERN

– online panel survey for Swedish speaking Finns

Within Barometern, six surveys were conducted in 2023: We studied the opinion formation before and after the Finnish parliamentary election, opinions on government coalition building, mapped the recognizability of Finland Swedish institutions, asked about the identity and culture of Finland Swedish, and the upcoming Finnish presidential election 2024. We published two reports in Swedish: The voting intentions of the Swedish speaking Finns in the parliamentary election 2023, and the voting behavior of the Swedish speaking Finns in the parliamentary election 2023. Barometern also collaborated with several external partners, for example with the Swedish daily newspaper Hufvudstadsbladet in polling and presenting the Finland Swedish opinion on the coalition government formed by PM Petteri Orpo. All the reports can be downloaded from www.barometern.fi.

Barometern is funded by the Swedish Cultural Foundation and is part of the Finnish Research Infrastructure for Public Opinion at Åbo Akademi University.

New Horizon project: ActEU

PD Henrik Serup Christensen is part of the Horizon project ActEU: *Towards a new era of Representative democracy – Activating European citizens' trust in times of crises and polarization*. Researchers at Åbo Akademi University are leading work package 2, meaning they coordinate the work of investigating the development of political trust to determine differences in development between countries, actors, levels (level of governance), and groups in society. The funding for ÅAU is 250 425€. More information about the project can be found at research.abo.fi/en/projects/acteu-towards-a-new-era-of-representative-democracy-activating-eu

A polarized society in Swedish-speaking Finland? Scope, causes and solutions (2022–2025)

The project, led by Marina Lindell and Kim Strandberg focuses on ideological and affective polarization. The project is funded by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS).

EUComMeet

The EuComMeet consortium connected citizens from five EU countries in participatory online spaces for a deliberative event spanning May 8th to June 17th. Nearly 400 participants discussed crucial topics, emphasizing the environment and climate change. The process occurred at local, national, and European levels, featuring synchronous video conference sessions and asynchronous sessions in chat forums. A unique aspect was the use of an open-access automated moderation platform. Researchers will analyze the impact on polarization, inclusiveness, and European identity in the coming months.

Re-thinking opinion change: the role of framing, communication dynamics and personality (2022–2027)

Academy Research Fellow Marina Lindell scrutinizes attitudinal and knowledge change in different experimental settings - depending on the framing of issues and group composition, and take into account communicative dynamics (speaking/acting/listening) and personality traits. The Citizens' Parliament will be analyzed within the scope of the project.

The Citizens' Parliament 2023

Randomly selected people from all over the country gathered in November for the first ever citizens' parliament in Finland to discuss four citizen initiatives regarding fuel- and drug policies. The Citizens' Parliament was organized by FutuDem researchers under the leadership of professors **Kimmo Grönlund** and **Kaisa Herne**. In addition, the team working on the project consisted of researchers **Janette Huttunen**, **Maija Jäske** and **Marina Lindell**, as well as **Isak Vento**, **Kim Backström**, and research assistants **Eva Aspnäs** and **Ellen Ijäs**. Moreover, 23 moderators were hired to lead the small-group discussions.

The Citizens' Parliament experiment was also a scientific study with three treatment conditions, and a control group. A total of 671 randomly selected Finns participated in the Citizens' Parliament. All participants received balanced background information in advance, engaged in moderated small groups, and posed questions to experts. Of the participants, 237 discussed online on a platform where a computer automatically moderated the conversations. The platform has been developed at Stanford University. At the same time, trained individuals moderated online discussions in small groups for 234 participants. Finally, 200 people gathered in Helsinki for discussions in small groups, each with a trained moderator. The discussions followed specific principles of deliberative democracy and were conducted according to the Deliberative Poll® model developed by Professor **James Fishkin** of Stanford University. All participants received a remuneration of 200 euros.

In total 30 000 Finnish individuals received an invitation based on random sampling, out of which 671 were eventually selected to participate. Everyone over the age of 18 living in Finland had the opportunity to receive the invitation. The goal of the Citizens' Parliament is to provide



well-thought-out perspectives that can support the decision-making of the parliament. Moreover, using the Citizens' Parliament, researchers can study whether a constructive and knowledge-based conversation about complex political disputes succeeds online in the same way as in physical meeting groups.

In the project, researchers are investigating whether the discussion context affects opinion formation, participants' level of knowledge, and their political views. The experiences of participants in the Citizens' Parliament in the three different contexts are also compared.

The groups' opinions on drug policy and fuel prices shifted in the same direction. Participants' opinions shifted to-

wards a more liberal drug policy and a more sustainable pricing of fuel. Support for drug consumption rooms and the legalization of cannabis increased. At the same time, support for a fairer fuel tax decreased. Support for abolishing the diesel fuel tax also decreased. Discussions where participants gathered physically at round tables led to slightly greater changes in opinions than the online discussions.

"When discussions follow specific deliberative principles, the context does not seem to play a significant role in terms of opinion change or participants' experiences of participation. Almost all participants were satisfied with the Citizens' Parliament," says Professor Kimmo Grönlund.

The goal of the Citizens' Parliament was to provide informed public perspectives that can support the decision-making in the Finnish parliament. FutuDem collaborated with the Finnish Parliament, Tampere University, Sitra (think-tank), and Stanford University.



Picture on page 6, from the left: Professors Kimmo Grönlund, James Fishkin and Kaisa Herne

 **Kansalaisparlamentti**
Medborgarparlamentet

Other News

ECPR Standing Group on Democratic Innovations

Marina Lindell has been the convenor for the ECPR Standing Group on Democratic Innovations. The SG is led by a vibrant Steering Committee consisting of Marina Lindell, Azucena Moran, Hannah Werner, Michael Morrell and Jamie Pow. With more than 450 members, it is one of the largest Standing Groups at the ECPR. In 2023, the Standing Group endorsed the section *Resetting the Boundaries: from Democratic Innovations to Participatory (Self-)Governance* at the General Conference in Prague. The group also arranged a highly valued reception for Democratic Innovations scholars at the General Conference. Link: <https://ecpr.eu/Group/democratic-innovations>

Outgoing scholars

Kimmo Grönlund - University of Barcelona, April - June

Lauri Rapeli - Finnish Institute in the UK and Ireland, September-October

14th OECD Measuring Regulatory Performance Conference

Lauri Rapeli was an invited panel discussant in the 14th OECD Measuring Regulatory Performance Conference, held in the Finnish Parliament on 19-20 September.

Finland Turned Right - The National Election report of 2023

The FutuDem team published a report *Finland Turned Right: Voting and Public Opinion in the Parliamentary Election of 2023* in the wake of the Finnish Parliamentary Election of 2023. The report has 17 chapters. It was written by 16 authors, and was edited by Kimmo Grönlund and Kim Strandberg. You can download the open access report via the following link: <https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-12-4300-4>



Course on Analyzing Longitudinal Data with Professor Alexandru Cernat

Associate Professor Alexandru Cernat (University of Manchester) held a three-day course in analyzing longitudinal data for the researchers at Samforsk, while also consulting on research projects and how to collect longitudinal data.

Survey Research Seminar

A survey research seminar was held in Vasa for the Samforsk team in April 2023. The researchers working with the FIRIPO panels presented methodological research and were joined by Sebastian Lundmark (PhD) from the SOM Institute (Gothenburg University), who held a lecture on best practices in survey methodology.

Public Research Seminar in Political Science

A recurring event where colleagues present their latest research. Please contact coordinator Jonas Schauman (jonas.schauman@abo.fi) if you would like to present at our seminars. The presenters in 2023 were:

- Marina Lindell - Åbo Akademi University, *The deliberative type? The role of personality traits in experiences of public deliberation.*
- Anton Brännlund - Uppsala University, *The commoditization of populist anger: How political distrust drive demand for cryptocurrencies*
- Isak Vento - Åbo Akademi University, *Does social trust travel? Comparing resident and non-resident citizens from a high-trusting country.*
- Fredrik Malmberg - Mid University, *Incumbency, localness, or accumulation? A conjoint experiment on multiple-mandate holding.*
- Margarita Zavadskaya - The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, *Resistance at the Polls: Anti-Regime Voting under Russia's Hegemonic Authoritarianism, 2019–2021*
- Anton Brännlund - Uppsala University, *Pre-analysis plan for a survey experiment on crypto investments and knowledge about the consequences of crypto adoption.*
- Janne Tukiainen - The University of Turku, *Political representation and the evolution of group differences within parties: Evidence from 110 years of parliamentary speech.*
- Kimmo Grönlund - Åbo Akademi University, *Early results from the Citizens' Parliament.*



New FIRIPO Coordinator

My name is Vilppu Kuusipalo and I work as the project coordinator for the Finnish Research Infrastructure of Public Opinion (FIRIPO), where my duties include coordinating the research infrastructure, assisting in research assignments, communications and translations, among other things. I am widely interested in a variety of societal and cultural phenomena, which has led me to study history, political science as well as Scandinavian linguistics. I graduated from the University of Turku in 2020 with a master's degree in cultural history. In my thesis I analyzed how the ideals of public service television were put under scrutiny in a Finnish television sketch comedy in the 1990s, partly as a result of fast-paced changes in broader media culture towards the end of the 20th century.

➤ If you have any questions regarding FIRIPO, please contact Vilppu at vilppu.kuusipalo@abo.fi

Photo: Matias Jalmari

Samforsk 2023 in Pictures



Select Publications

Journal articles and other refereed publications

Christensen, H. S., Huttunen, J., Malmberg, F., & Silagadze, N. (2023). Unequal inequalities? How participatory inequalities affect democratic legitimacy. *European Political Science Review*, 15(1), 19–38.

Geissel, B., Michels, A., Silagadze, N., Schauman, J., & Grönlund, K. (2023). Public Deliberation or Popular Votes? Measuring the Performance of Different Types of Participatory Democracy. *Representation*, 1–23.

Gherghina, S., & Saikkonen, I. (2023). Partisanship and Tolerance for Clientelism: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Romania. *Political Studies*, 0(0).

Huttunen, J., & Saikkonen, I. (2023). Are the Young Undemocratic? Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment. *Representation*, 59(4), 707–723.

Karv, T., Backström, K., & Strandberg, K. (2023). Consultative referendums and democracy - assessing the short-term effects on political support of a referendum on a municipal merger. *Local Government Studies*, 49(1), 151–180.

Kestilä-Kekkonen, E., Sipinen, J., Rapeli, L., & Vadén, S. (2023). The role of political engagement of parents in reducing the gender gap in political self-efficacy. *European Journal of Politics and Gender* (published online ahead of print 2023).

Kirbiš, A., Mattila, M. & Rapeli, L. (2023). Physical health conditions and political participation in Europe: the moderating effects of age. *Comparative European Politics*.

Korvela, P.-E., & Vento, I. (Accepted/In press). Suspicious Minds: Towards a Typology of Political Distrust. In E. Lagerspetz, & O. Pulkkinen (Eds.), *Between Theory and Practice: Essays on Criticism and Crises of Democracy* (Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century). Springer.

Koskimaa, V., Rapeli, L., & Himmelroos, S. (2023). Decision-makers, advisers or educable subjects? Policymakers’ perceptions of citizen participation in a Nordic democracy. *Governance*, 37(1), 261–279.

Lindell, M., Näsman, M., Nyqvist, F., Björklund, S., Nygård, M., & Hemberg, J. (2023). The role of ethnolinguistic identity, vitality and trust in perceived language climate change: the case of Swedish speakers in Finland. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.

Lindell, M. (2023). Internal dynamics at work. In M. Reuchamps, J. Vrydagh, & Y. Welp (Eds.), *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies* (pp. 257–270). De Gruyter.

Lindell, M. (2023). Puntaroivat kävelyt. In M. Oksanen & H. Vogt (Eds.), *Huomisen huomaava demokratia - Pitkäjärjenteisen politiikan mahdollisuudet*. Vastapaino.

Lindholm, A., Rapeli, L., & von Schoultz, Å. (2023). Does it pay to think about the future? Future orientation, ideology, age and vote earning among political candidates. *International Political Science Review*, 0(0).

Lindholm, A., & Rapeli, L. (2023). Is the unhappy citizen a populist citizen? Linking subjective well-being to populist and nativist attitudes. *European Political Science Review*, 1–17.

Rapeli, L. (2023). Illusion of knowledge: is the Dunning-Kruger effect in political sophistication more widespread than before? *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*.

Rapeli, L. (2023). Voter myopia reassessed. In M. MacKenzie, M. Setälä, & S. Kyllönen (Eds.), *Democracy and the Future: Future-Regarding Governance in Democratic Systems* (pp. 215–231). Edinburgh university press.

Setälä, M., Christensen, H. S., Leino, M., Strandberg, K., Bäck, M., & Jäske, M. (2023). Deliberative Mini-publics Facilitating Voter Knowledge and Judgement: Experience from a Finnish Local Referendum. *Representation*, 59(1), 75–93.

Saikkonen, I., & Christensen, H. S. (2023). Guardians of Democracy or Passive Bystanders? A Conjoint Experiment on Elite Transgressions of Democratic Norms. *Political Research Quarterly*, 76(1), 127–142.

Silagadze, N. (2023). Referendums, Political Parties and Policies in Europe. *Politics of the low countries*, (1), 3–6.

Silagadze, N., & Jetoo, S. (2023). The Plastic Vote: Referendum As A Governance Tool To Combat Plastic Pollution. In G. Krantzberg, S. Jetoo, V. I. Grover, & S. Babel (Eds.), *Plastic Pollution: Nature Based Solutions and Effective Governance* (pp. 207–217). Taylor & Francis.

Strandberg, K., Lindell, M., Christensen, H. S., Oskari Leino, M., & Setälä, M. (2023). Citizens’ Intertemporal Perspectives on Municipal Mergers and the role of Deliberation for these. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 31(3), 704–718.

Söderlund, P., & Grönlund, K. (2024). Can a change in the leadership of a populist radical right party be traced among voters? The case of the Finns Party. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 1–24.

Tuominen, L. S., Wikström, M., Helanterä, H., Karell, P., Pusenius, J., Rapeli, L., Ruha, L., Vuorisalo, T., & Brommer, J. E. (2023). Factors promoting hunting groups’ sustainable harvest of moose in a co-management system. *Scientific Reports*, 13, Article 21076.

Vento, I. (2023). Explaining Project-Based Policy Implementation: Multiple Governance Framework and Causal Mechanism. In M.

Fred, & S. Godenhjelm (Eds.), *Projectification of Organizations, Governance and Societies: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Implications* (pp. 203-220). Palgrave Macmillan.

Weckman, A. (2023). Public opinion and NATO: How different security environments influence the support for NATO in Finland. *Nordic Review of International Studies*, 1, 5–25.

White, A., & Saikkonen, I. (2023). Public policy and elections in authoritarian regimes: Evidence from the policy on native languages in Russia. *Journal of Public Policy*, 43(3), 427–446.

Ylisalo, J., Katariina, K., Leino, M., Siren, R., Rapeli, L., & Setälä, M. (2023). Acceptability of mandatory vaccination: A survey experiment on the effects of thresholds and justifications. *Political Research Exchange*, 5(1).

Other publications

Amadae, S. M., Wass, H., Mika, H., Tukiainen, J., Weckman, A., & Laine, M. (2023). Top gear security: Finns’ expectations for NATO membership.

Amadae, S.M., Wass, H., Eloranta, J., Forsberg, T., Hentunen, M., Käihkö, I., Laine, M., Lehtinen, J., Tukiainen, J., Valkama, L., Vuorelma, J., Weckman, A. (2023) Guarantees for multifold security concerns: Finns’ expectations for security and defense policy in in the lead-up to the 2024 presidential elections.

Grönlund, K., & Stranberg, S. (2023). Finland Turned Right: Voting and Public Opinion in the Parliamentary Election of 2023. Samfors, The Social Science Research Institute, Åbo Akademi University.

Lundmark, S., & Backström, K. (2023). Predicting Survey Nonresponse with Registry Data in Sweden between 1992 to 2022: Cohort Replacement or a Deteriorating Survey Climate? (pp. 1–46).

The Samforsk team

- Kimmo Grönlund** | Professor, Director
- Lauri Rapeli** | PhD, Director of Research
- Marina Lindell** | PhD, Research Fellow
- Inga Saikkonen** | PhD, Academy Research Fellow
- Kaisa Herne** | Professor, Senior Research Fellow
- Nanuli Silagadze** | PhD, Postdoctoral researcher
- Janette Huttunen** | PhD, Postdoctoral researcher
- Vilppu Kuusipalo** | FM, Project Coordinator FIRIPO
- Kim Backström** | PhD Candidate
- Albert Weckman** | PhD Candidate
- Jonas Schauman** | PhD Candidate, Project Assistant
- Isak Vento** | PhD, Researcher
- Andreas Eklund** | PhD, Project Researcher
- Lachlan Paterson** | PK, Project assistant
- Hanna Holmbäck** | PK, Project Assistant
- Eva Aspnäs** | PM, Project Assistant

Find out more

For more information about Samforsk please visit our webpage at www.abo.fi/en/samforsk

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University

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neet kannabiksen
käyttäjille langetettuja
rangaistuksia.

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teollisiin tarkoituksiin, ei
niiden väärinkäytön
mukaan huumerikoksen

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Samforsk Åbo | Fänriksgatan 3A | 20500 ÅBO | Samforsk Vasa | Strandgatan 2 | 65101 VASA