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# Finnish Research on Foreign and Security Policy

## EVALUATION REPORT



ACADEMY OF FINLAND

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**Members of the Evaluation Panel:**

Professor Kalevi Holsti (Chairperson)  
Director Tarja Cronberg  
Professor Steve Smith

**Coordinator:**  
Docent Jouko Nikula

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# 1 Background

The Ministry of Education allocated in the late 1990's special funds to examine security policy issues through a research programme. As a consequence, a discussion began on the need to evaluate the scientific quality and societal relevance of research on foreign policy and security issues. The discussions also led to a decision to examine developmental needs.

The Board of the Academy of Finland and the Research Council for Culture and Society agreed to take on the project during negotiations in October 2000. The Academy set up a steering group to prepare the project. Representatives of the Research Council were Professor Marja Järvelä, who served as the chair of the steering group. The other members were Professor Terttu Utriainen and Professor Paavo Okko. The steering group agreed that an evaluation of the field should be undertaken from the institutional, rather than individual, standpoint. This meant that the evaluation was to be carried out on institutes, research organisations and departments at the universities.

The project was coordinated by the Finnish Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Helsinki. The evaluation was carried out by the international evaluation panel, chaired by Professor Emeritus Kalevi Holsti from the University of British Columbia, Canada, with Director Tarja Cronberg from Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Denmark and Professor Steve Smith from the University of Wales as the other members (Appendix 2,3,4).

## 2 Terms of Reference

The evaluation includes the following objectives:

- to survey the general state of the research field
- to assess the scientific quality of the research
- to identify development needs
- to assess the development of the research field in Finland
- to survey the standard of research and researcher training in the field in comparison to international development
- to study the societal relevance
- to propose further measures required to improve the standard of research.

The panel interpreted the term "foreign and security issues" quite broadly to include such subjects of human security, environmental security and more generally international relations and Finland's activities and roles in them.

### 3 Review Methods and Program Visits

Members of the panel received a large quantity of working papers, reports, conference proceedings, articles in scholarly journals, and other works, including monographs. We believe this is a reasonable sample of the work done in Finland since 1995 and provides us with an adequate basis for evaluating the overall quality of research in the areas of foreign and security policies. The materials were primarily in English (read by all panel members), Finnish (read by two panel members), with a small number in French (read by one panel member) and German. Most of the institutions also provided full bibliographies of all publications.

The panel visited the following institutions (Appendix 1): Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI), Research Institute for Social Sciences at the University of Tampere, the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Tampere, the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Turku, the Departments of Political History and Political Science at the University of Turku, the Department of Political History at the University of Helsinki, the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies at National Defence College in Helsinki, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (UPI), the Finnish Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Helsinki and the Department of Social Studies (International Relations) at the University of Lapland. In order to gain perspective on the connections between scholars and the policy communities, the panel also met with some members of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Although the itinerary and agenda of the evaluation panel had been conveyed to all interested institutions in Finland well in advance of our visit, we regret that we were not able to meet with three interested parties. In the first case, the professor did not appear at the university. In the second case, we were informed two hours before our scheduled meeting of its cancellation. In the third case we were informed the evening before our visit that the Professor would not be available. While we are unaware of all the reasons for these cancellations or non-appearances, we consider them unfortunate. Such lack of co-operation indicates to us a degree of indifference and complacency that would not be tolerated in other scholarly communities. On the other hand, we wish to convey our thanks and appreciation for those institutions that offered us their hospitality and that made some effort to have a significant number of their staff available for discussions.



# 4 Development of the Field in Comparative Perspective

Security and foreign policy studies, as part of the general field of International Relations, have developed theoretical and empirical content that goes far beyond the current affairs and policy advocacy so prominent in the 1930s and 1940s. Today there are major theoretical debates in the field, joined by scholars from most of Europe, including the Nordic countries, England, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan. The field is rapidly developing as well in India, Mexico, South Korea, Slovenia, Poland, Egypt, Southeast Asia, and Africa, although in these places theoretical and comparative studies are relatively few. Most of the output from these areas is descriptive and policy-oriented, and thus has little endurance or impact on scholarly debates elsewhere.

The field today is characterized by theoretical and methodological pluralism. No single theory or analytical framework, such as Realism, predominates as it did during the Cold War. The debates in the field are no longer confined to “what to know” questions, but include serious thinking about “how we know.” Epistemological training and understanding are thus important parts of the academic enterprise in the field.

The scope of the field has also expanded dramatically in the past decade. It used to be focused on questions of war, peace, security, and international order. Today, issues of gender, the environment, international law, and “human security” have broadened the academic and research agendas. As in most other fields, specialization is pronounced. Few scholars today are experts in all the subfields where important work is going on.

The field, finally, is internationalizing rapidly. Scholars from a variety of countries publish in periodicals that have global reach. While many continue to publish articles targeted primarily for national audiences (Korea and Japan are prominent examples), most scholars in the field develop publication strategies that will maximize their audiences both at home and abroad. The same types of comments apply also to the publication of books. Both commercial and university-based publishers increasingly seek to make sales throughout the world, but particularly in Europe, North America, Asia, and the antipodes.

While scholars can learn about the state of theoretical knowledge by “staying home,” they cannot contribute to its development by publishing only in books, reports, or national journals targeted solely to national audiences. In order to participate actively in the debates and to contribute to the development of knowledge, they must increasingly publish in the major international journals and with major commercial and university-based publishing firms. It follows that our evaluation of the state of research on foreign and security policies in Finland, encompassed within the broader framework of international relations, must rely on indicators of Finnish scholars’ participation within the global publishing and conference network.

There are about one dozen scholarly journals that are of international calibre. Their circulation, spread around the world, often exceed 3,000 per issue. If we assume that on

average 15 people read at least one article in each issue, then the readership of any issue is about 45,000 worldwide. The main journals include: *Review of International Studies* (UK), *International Studies Quarterly* (USA), *European Journal of International Relations* (Germany), *Cooperation and Conflict* (Norway), *International Organization* (USA), *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (USA), *Journal of Peace Research* (Norway), *Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy* (Slovenia), and *Alternatives* (USA). In addition, there are other policy or problem oriented journals to note. They would include *International Affairs* (UK), *International Journal* (Canada), *Revue française des affaires étrangères* (France), *Foreign Affairs* (USA), and the like. Although they are widely read around the world, we have not included them in our comparative analysis below.

The main scholarly organization for researchers in the field under review include the United States-based International Studies Association, whose more than 3,000 members include about 500 non-Americans, the Nordic International Studies Association, and the European Consortium for Political Research. NISA publishes the journal *Cooperation and Conflict*, whose editors have come from Sweden and Norway, but never from Finland.

In terms of numbers of programs, senior professors, and size of the scholarly community, the Nordic countries are roughly similar. In Sweden, there are three major international relations programs (usually within the context of departments of political science) in the universities of Uppsala, Stockholm, and Lund. There are international relations, security, and foreign policy programs at the Universities of Copenhagen and Aarhus, and at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, in Denmark. International Relations and security studies are taught in Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim. A major peace research institute (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, PRIO) is located in Oslo. In terms of institutional development, Finland matches its Nordic counterparts: the numbers of graduate programs, university departments, and research institutes is similar. Although we do not have data on personnel, we estimate that the number of scholars in the fields of foreign and security policies, peace research, and international relations is also comparable.

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# 5 The Standing and Influence of Finnish Scholars in the International and Nordic Scholarly Communities

We have employed a number of indicators to identify the extent of Finnish participation in the international, including Nordic, communities of research scholars in foreign and security policies, and international relations. These indicators also tell us something about the international and Nordic reputation and “visibility” of Finnish scholars in these overlapping communities. We have examined data on numbers of book and report publications available in foreign university libraries, memberships on editorial boards of international journals, citations of Finnish scholarship in international journals, and the rate of book publications. The data refer both to the total number of references to Finnish-authored works, and to comparative figures from Sweden and Norway.

Although raw numbers of publications do not always reflect the influence and impact of scholarship, they may serve as one rough indicator of research productivity and international or regional reputation. A more specialized indicator is the number of books available in foreign libraries. Table 1 lists the number of publications – mostly books – by five leading foreign/security and international relations scholars in Finland and Sweden that are available in a North American University Library. This particular library ranks among the top 30 (of more than 500) in Canada and the United States, so its collection would be reasonably complete.

**Table 1**  
**Books by 5 Leading Finnish and Swedish Scholars Available in a North American University Library**

Finland	Books	Annual Rate	Sweden	Books	Annual Rate
1975 through 1994	16	.8	1975 through 1994	25	1.25
since 1995	2	.33	since 1995	4	.66

Several conclusions appear in these data. First, judged by the availability of works in a North American University Library, Swedish scholars in the field disseminate their ideas and research more frequently than their Finnish counterparts. Second, the number and rate of book publications (published in English or another major European language) in the field has dropped dramatically in Finland since 1995 and less so in Sweden. The rate of Finnish authored book publication available in a foreign library for the 1975-1994 period is .8 annually, while for the period since 1995, the figure has dropped to .3. In Sweden, the rate has decreased from 1.25 books annually, to .66. The figures for Finland may be skewed negatively by the non-inclusion of books by Raimo Väyrynen, who left the country in 1993 to take a position in the United States. If his books are included for the period 1975 through 1994, then the Finnish total rises to 22 and the rate to 1.0. His departure represented a major loss of international and regional “visibility” for Finnish scholarship.

A second indicator of scholarly visibility is the library availability of books and research reports from the major research institutes or “think tanks.” For comparative purposes, we have selected the Tampere Peace Research Institute in Finland and the Peace Research International Organization in Oslo. Table 2 lists the number of their publications available in a major North American University Library.

**Table 2**  
**Research Reports Available in a North American University Library, TAPRI and PRIO, 1975-2001**

TAPRI Reports		PRIO Reports	
1975-1994	6	1975-1994	11
1995-2001	0	1995-2001	14
Total	6		25

The figures are starkly contrasting. While TAPRI appears to have stopped distributing its research output to North American universities, PRIO has rapidly increased its exposure to North American readers. These figures do not indicate a decline in research productivity – TAPRI has maintained a high output of research reports and occasional papers since 1995 – but only a withering of distribution to foreign readers. Using this indicator, TAPRI’s international visibility has declined significantly, while that of PRIO has been enhanced.

**Table 3**  
**Finnish and Swedish Members on Editorial Boards<sup>1</sup> (number of mentions)**

Years	Finnish members on editorial boards	Annual rate	Swedish members on editorial boards	Annual rate
1975-1994	43	2.2	68	3.5
1995-2000	23	4.6	32	6.4
Total	66	3.6	100	4.9

These data suggest that unlike many of the other indicators of international stature, Finnish scholars continue to be represented on the editorial boards of major international periodicals in the field. The figures for Finnish scholars are lower than those of their Swedish counterparts, but not dramatically so. One question arises from these figures: if Finnish academics are regularly invited to participate on editorial boards, or in some cases as editors of major periodicals, why do they not mobilize more Finnish scholars to publish in those journals?

Another rough indicator of research visibility is the number of articles published in major international journals in the field. Table 4 reports findings.

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<sup>1</sup> Includes editors, editorial boards and international advisory boards

**Table 4**  
**Articles<sup>2</sup> in Leading International Journals on Foreign and Security Policy 1975-1994<sup>3</sup>, 1995-2000: Finnish and Swedish Authors**

Years	Finnish authors	Annual Rate	Swedish authors	Annual Rate
1975-1994	71	3.6	133	6.7
1995-2000	24	4.8	36	7.2
Total	93	3.7	169	6.8

During 1975-1994 Swedish researchers published almost twice as much as their Finnish colleagues. After 1995 the rate of publication in both countries has increased somewhat, although a high proportion of the articles - unlike the earlier period - has appeared in Nordic journals, *Cooperation and Conflict* and *Journal of Peace Research*.

A final indicator of international scholarly reputation is citations in research periodicals. For data, we have consulted the Social Sciences Citation Index. It indicates the frequency of citations and lists the publications in which those citations appear. While this source is not an exact indicator of scholarly contribution to the international research community, or to reputation, it has been found to correlate significantly with more direct indicators of scientific quality. The on-line expanded version of the Index lists publications in all languages, so it does not discriminate against scholars whose work appears primarily in minor languages such as Finnish or Swedish.

Table 5 summarizes our findings, again comparing five leading Finnish and Swedish scholars in the field. The data cover all references to these leading scholars in periodical publications appearing between 1990 and 2000.

**Table 5**  
**Citation of Works by Five Leading Finnish and Swedish Scholars, 1990-2000**

Finland		Sweden	
Total # of Citations	Ave. per scholar	Total # of Citations	Ave. per scholar
87	17	444	89

The figures demonstrate the significantly higher international profile and reputation of Swedish scholars of security and foreign policy compared to their Finnish counterparts. The ratio is more than 5 to 1. This distribution is partly skewed by not including the

<sup>2</sup> Journals analysed: *Alternatives*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Millennium*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Review of International Studies*, *Survey*

<sup>3</sup> *International Studies Quarterly* years 1984-2000; *Survey* years 1975-1989; *Review of International Political Economy* years 1996-2000.

citations to works by Raimo Väyrynen for the reasons cited above. However, even if we add his total citations (259), then the Finnish average increases only to 37, less than one-half of the Swedish scholars' average.

Using these indicators, we conclude that Finnish scholarship in foreign and security policies, including the broader framework of international relations, suffers by international and regional comparison. Indeed, there are grounds for concern because Finnish participation in the international scholarly community, via publications, actually has declined in the period 1995 to the present, compared to the period 1975 through 1994.

Whether it is books published, membership on editorial boards, the availability of research publications in libraries outside of Finland, or citations, Finnish participation in the international scholarly community has fallen off, in some cases dramatically. In a world where scholarship and reputation are increasingly measured by international rather than national standing, this state of affairs is a matter of some concern and needs to be addressed by the Finnish academic community.

## 6 Characteristics of the Field in Finland: Some Patterns and Anomalies

### A. Scope of Studies

Research in the general areas of security, foreign policy, and international relations covers a broad range of particular subjects. A large proportion of the publications we surveyed examined various aspects of Finland's foreign and security policies and problems within the national, regional, and European contexts. Finland's history, and its security, commercial, environmental and cultural activities within the Baltic region and in the north have been particularly notable subjects. Nordic issues and linkages are also prominent, as are studies of Finnish participation in European Union policies.

Regional studies concerning the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and in Asia broaden the spatial and geographical spheres of interest compared to earlier (e.g., 1970s and 1980s) concentration on Europe and the Soviet Union. While this growing range of regions is to be commended, most of the studies that deal with them are descriptive, non-comparative, and non-theoretical.

Historical studies focusing on Finland's foreign relations, its position during the Cold War, the foreign ministry, and relations between communist parties are very strong and make impressive contributions to historical knowledge. The work that embeds Finland's position in the Cold War context is also notable.

Some research at Tampere and Turku Universities is theoretically inspired. The purpose of this work is to develop new ways to study foreign policy, understood as actions and programs expressing cultural and ideological discourses. This is in marked contrast to the empirically based foreign policy analysis predominant in the United States. This type of work is significantly connected to similar research programs in other parts of Europe. Finland is in a sense a case study or proving ground for a different and original approach to foreign policy analysis. In the case of Turku (Political Science), the main theme of the research program is to develop a conceptual framework for examining the nature and consequences of globalization. This work, like that at the University of Tampere, is theoretically inspired.

The publications we consulted thus cover a wide range of topics. In some cases, researchers employ various theoretical instruments and perspectives – mainly borrowed from debates ongoing elsewhere in Europe and North America – to a series of problems such as security, environmental security, sustainable development, conflict resolution, gender, regional cooperation, geopolitics, and the like. Overwhelmingly, this work “borrows” theoretical constructs from abroad and does not critically examine them or seek to engage in debate about them. This work, in brief, is derivative rather than theoretically creative.

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### B. Methodologies

If we examine the entire body of works submitted to the panel, it is clear that Finnish authors are seldom methodologically self-conscious. Most employ standard historical, narrative and descriptive formats. Many are interpretative and, in the case of policy advocacy, select evidence to sustain positions. The strong emphasis on empirical evidence and careful research design – typical of Finnish-authored works in the 1970s – seems to have disappeared. We note in this regard, that most Political Science departments in Finland do not include courses on methodology and research design. Students seem to learn mostly through intuition and copying rather than through instruction and practice. In Tampere, however, methodology in the traditional sense has been replaced by instruction in critical and post-modern theories coming from fields not directly connected to security and foreign policy analysis, or to international relations in general. Some of this work is theoretically significant and holds some promise for comparative analysis. But it is too early to make any firm evaluations of the intellectual payoff of these newer approaches.

Studies that employ comparative methodologies are particularly notable by their absence (see below). Most studies that concentrate on Finland implicitly assume that the country and its situation vis-à-vis its neighbours and the international system in general are unique. The extensive debate about, and development of the field of comparative foreign (and security) policy analysis in North America during the 1980s seems to have made no impact in Finland. None of the readings submitted to the panel employed an explicit comparative methodology. Since this is a major avenue for theoretical development, it is hard to understand why it has no adherents in the Finnish scholarly community.

Formal quantitative studies are also notable for their absence. Textual and discourse analysis seem to have replaced the systematic gathering of empirical evidence based on foreign policy actions and activities. In this respect, Finnish scholars seem to be in step with the anti-positivist mood that surrounds foreign and security policy scholarship in many other countries. But as in other domains, Finnish scholars are mostly borrowing from others rather than contributing to the development of post-modern and constructivist methodologies (one Finnish scholar currently in residence in England is the only major exception).

### C. Publications and Research Dissemination

The members of the panel were struck by the proportion of items submitted to it (and listed in various bibliographies) that are ‘in house’ studies. They are mostly papers and reports written by scholars affiliated with the various institutions. They go through formal or informal review processes within the institution, and are then printed and provided with a distinct cover. Finnish research institutions count these as “publications,” whereas in many other countries they would not be considered as such because they have not benefited from “arms length” and anonymous peer review. We note also that local university presses publish many doctoral dissertations. A minority of works are published abroad as chapters in edited volumes, and even a smaller number appear as articles in high quality international periodicals, or as monographs published by high quality firms that advertise and sell internationally.



The panel questions the intellectual and social utility of so many “in house” publications. They appear to have a very small readership. More important, the institutions do not seem to have any strategy for disseminating them. Dissemination appears to be episodic, informal, and unsystematic, frequently limited to a few other Finnish scholars and sometimes to selected foreign experts. Only a few foreign libraries receive them. The work thus does not enter the realm of international research. Working papers and reports, if they are to have any scholarly standing, need to be disseminated far beyond a few local specialists, and friends and family members of the author. We received no explanation why so many occasional papers and research reports were not developed into articles for publication in major international journals.

#### D. Language Issues

Most of the publications that were directed toward an exclusively Finnish audience were published in one or both of the local language. This is appropriate. A significant number, however, were published in English as well, presumably to expand the potential readership. But given the evidence in the paragraph above, dissemination of such work to English-reading audiences abroad does not seem to take place in any systematic way. We noted, moreover, that in a few instances works of very high quality that would appeal to a broad international readership were not translated into English. In brief, there does not seem to be a correlation between the language of publication and the intended audience. As with the question of dissemination, Finnish scholars need to give much more thought to appropriate language and publication strategies.

#### E. Scholarly Co-operation

The panel characterises Finnish scholars in the field under review as a collection rather than as a community. There is little evidence of institutional cooperation and collaboration. Although some institutions have hosted international conferences, they rarely collaborate with their Finnish counterparts to enable them to fund higher calibre meetings. They do not meet together to discuss their common problems and nor do they undertake joint research projects. There is some evidence of poor personal relations and a studious determination by Finnish scholars not to involve themselves in each other's affairs. Given the small geographic distances involved, the lack of institutional collaboration is puzzling.

#### F. External Links

Most scholars in Finland have connections with specialist counterparts abroad. They attend the meetings of international scholarly associations, and many participate in various informal and formal networks. Finnish scholars in the field are for the most part well informed about intellectual debates and developments abroad. However, formal collaboration in the form of joint research projects, co-authored studies, or explicitly comparative analyses is notable by its rarity. Outsiders seem to regard Finnish scholars as spokespersons of a distinct Finnish perspective on various international issues (as for example, a typical title that would read: “The Developing European Security Complex: a Finnish View”). Much more rare is an authoritative analysis by a

Finnish author of generic problems in international relations, one that is not identified as representing a distinct “Finnish perspective.” There is some evidence that because Finnish scholars tend to represent themselves as having a distinct national perspective, others come to believe it as well. This implicitly reduces the possibilities of Finnish participation in genuinely international theoretical debates and scholarship that transcends time and location.

Although the panel did not formally examine the numbers of foreign students in graduate programs in Finland, we noted that in our interviews not a single student from outside of Finland participated. Given the healthy funds available under the Erasmus programme, and the trend in major universities throughout Europe and North America to attract students from abroad, Finland compares poorly. The lack of exchange students and professors attests to the general standing of the Finnish academic community in foreign and security studies. Finland has not become an attractive place for foreign students to pursue advanced studies in the field.

## G. Constraints on Scholarship

We do not have a full explanation for the patterns of Finnish scholarship outlined in the paragraphs above. There are undoubtedly aspects of the Finnish academic culture that are relevant. These include the structure of the academic hierarchy, promotion procedures, tolerance for, and even encouragement of low quality work, salaries, the public demand for expert knowledge, the compulsions to engage in policy debates, lack of employment and work opportunities, and the large amount of contract research—particularly for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs—that often takes scholars away from “pure” research into the domain of public policy. We did not have the time or resources to explore all of these issues, but we wish to draw attention to some of them. Our list of constraints is more modest, but in all but one case, they have a negative impact on the quality of research in the fields of security and foreign policy.

### Money

To our surprise, we found that Finnish scholars on the whole have reasonable access to research funding, including travel to international conferences. When asked, most of the respondents indicated that they had sufficient funding for their research enterprises and that the potential sources of such funding were expanding in the country. The one exception was TAPRI which, compared to the era when it was an independent research establishment, has suffered severely in the funding reductions imposed by the University of Tampere. It has had to reduce its programmes substantially and hence the number of researchers.

### Language and Translation Issues

Most of the scholars we met were fluent in English, and some in one or more other languages. Most write well in English, but consider that in order to submit their work for publication at home or abroad in that or other foreign language, they must have their writing “checked.” This practice imposes a very high cost, running from 80 to 100 Fmk. per page. A forty page manuscript, which is average for a book chapter or scholarly

article, thus costs about 3600 Fmk (600 Euros) to review. A typical monograph costs in the range of 27,000 Fmk (4500 Euros). These costs constitute a serious disincentive to publish outside of Finland or to write any material in English or other major foreign language and thus place Finnish scholars at a significant competitive disadvantage compared to their anglophone counterparts. Finnish graduate students who have earned their doctorate in a foreign English-language institution do not have to bear these costs, but they represent a small proportion of the collection of scholars in Finland. The majority faces a serious constraint in this regard.

### Research Support

While research funds seem to be readily available in Finland, the method of competition for and allocation of funds is not neutral. We heard repeatedly from younger scholars that they do not apply independently for funds from the Academy of Finland because that organization privileges senior scholars. This means that junior scholars must participate in the research agenda of their superiors, even if the subjects they cover do not particularly interest them. Junior scholars believe they cannot obtain funding – apart from group projects – to pursue their individual research interests. We were also told that the Academy of Finland uses a science paradigm for research support. It favours group projects over individual enterprises. This practice is in many cases inappropriate for security and foreign policy studies (including history) and international relations in general. In most countries, research in these areas is individual. The attempt to create research “groups” within institutions is often artificial and does not represent the actual intellectual activities of scholars. We believe the application of the science model of group research in the field under review is in most cases inappropriate and hinders individual creativity.

### Library Resources

The panel did not have time to investigate the major collections in security policy, foreign policy, and international relations in Finnish university or institute libraries. However, in doing research for some of the empirical parts of this report, we found that most of the university and institute library collections did not contain some of the core periodicals in the field. Indeed, we were surprised to learn that while the organizations had full stocks of in-house research reports and background papers, they did not have many of the periodicals that are essential to keeping informed on major developments and research in the areas under consideration. This state of affairs needs to be addressed as an important component of any plan to improve the quality of research and teaching in Finland.

### The Academic Hierarchy

The old European pattern of a single senior professor within each institution also hinders research creativity and professional security. There are too few permanent academic positions within Finnish universities. There seems to be enough money, but a lack of positions for those who have their PhD. There is need to secure some kind of continuity after the PhD. It is when establishing a career after the doctoral degree that young researchers are often most productive. It is also the time when it is important to

establish international connections and networks. In the current Finnish system young scholars hoping to find permanent positions often feel compelled to write papers predominantly for Finnish audiences, periodicals and conferences. The avenues for obtaining recognition are predominantly national rather than international.

Talented researchers typically obtain 1-5 year contracts that provide little of the security that is necessary for undertaking major research projects. We understand that many of these contracts are extended more or less automatically upon completion of term. This may provide more security, but it is inconsistent with the concept of merit appraised through peer review and open competition for positions. Some day Finnish scholars will have to face the fact that periodic review - even of senior professors - is an essential element for guaranteeing high quality scholarship.

We note, finally, that the current Finnish academic structure financially rewards departments on the basis of the numbers of Masters and PhD students they graduate, but does not provide adequate career opportunities for those graduates. The long-term results will further erode Finnish scholarship in the field. Graduating students with few career opportunities are likely to leave the country, contributing ultimately to a "brain drain."

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# 7 Overall Evaluation of Scholarship

It is difficult to provide an overall evaluation of contemporary scholarship on security and foreign policy issues in Finland. As in most countries, scholarship takes place within institutional contexts having quite different purposes. It is also intended for different audiences. We have summarized some of these purposes and audiences in Table 6, below:

**Table 6**  
**Types of Foreign and Security Policy Research in Finland**

Type of Work	Purpose(s)	Primary Audience(s)	Estimated % of Total Research	Estimation of Quality and Endurance
Reports, background analyses, narratives on contemporary issues	Convey information, background; provide context for current events; analysis of current events	Finnish policy community; "attentive" public; media, legislators, bureaucracy	65 percent	Poor to good; short endurance, information is soon dated
Policy analysis and advocacy; interpretation of global, regional, and national events and trends	Inform and educate national audiences; advocate policy positions	Finnish policy community, attentive publics, media, other specialized scholars	20 percent	Fair to good, but low endurance
Historical and contemporary scholarly descriptive studies. Emphasis on facts	Add to general historical and contemporary knowledge	Attentive Finnish public and specialists; foreign specialists and 'niche' scholars	10 percent	Fair to excellent; considerable amount has enduring value as historical evidence
Theoretical and comparative analysis; questions of 'how to know'; analysis of generic international problems	Contribute to and advance theoretical and epistemological knowledge; conceptual development	National and international scholarly community	5 percent	Good to excellent; enduring contributions to theoretical knowledge transcending local and regional issues

The table is based on examination of printed materials that were submitted to the evaluation panel.

One of the functions of institutions of higher education and research institutes is to inform the national audience and to take positions on policy issues debated in the public domain. They may also provide information for policy-makers. Many of the materials of this type were competent by international standards. Finnish scholars and experts in research institutes provide useful information and background on a wide range of issues. Most of these materials are designed for local audiences, although a few are disseminated abroad, representing the 'Finnish view' on regional and European issues. While the overall quality of this material is fair to good, it has limited endurance – events and trends soon overtake their conclusions – and it does not make a significant contribution to theoretical scholarship. It seldom adds to our understanding of generic problems in international and global politics. The panel estimates that approximately two-thirds of the material it reviewed belongs in this category. Compared to other

countries, this proportion is high. When we add the publications that are primarily policy analysis and or advocacy (approximately 20%) rather than scholarship, the picture that emerges is that Finnish scholars and research institute personnel are overwhelmingly preoccupied with issues of a local nature. This is even the case when publications are written in English: their intended audience is predominantly local and national. Notably lacking in this work is a comparative and theoretical dimension. Much of the work assumes the uniqueness of Finland's situation, thus precluding comparison with other countries. And Finland is seldom used as a case study to illuminate any of the major contemporary theoretical and epistemological debates. This inward-looking pattern of intellectual work stands in stark contrast to scholarship in the other Nordic countries, and to countries that have a long and strong tradition of international relations studies, such as England, Germany, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The remaining 15 percent of work either adds in important ways to the historical record, or is theoretically oriented scholarship. Its purposes include comparative analysis, conceptual development, articulation and critiques of theoretical schema, and adding to theoretical and epistemological debates. It also includes adding to our storehouse of authoritative historical knowledge, based on original research employing exacting methodological standards. This historical work, even though it may focus on Finnish problems, is often embedded in larger historical enterprises, such as the important work on the history of the Cold War. The work is targeted for international audiences and is often published in the highest quality international periodicals, and sometimes as monographs published by major international firms. Other work has high theoretical content and is designed to endure. In some cases, it is less theoretical, but it addresses generic international problems such as globalization, human rights, gender, the environment, and international peace and security. Many of these works are of good to excellent quality and will have endurance. That is, they can be read within the next ten years or so with considerable intellectual payoff.

Our overall position is that the proportions between the categories are skewed toward the first two. Finnish scholars and their counterparts in research institutes devote too much intellectual capital and funding to the public education and policy advocacy functions. In some cases, we were told that this type of work is often less informed than the knowledge commonly available to government officials. Its main audience is thus the attentive public that wants "expert" opinions on a variety of foreign and security policy problems and issues. It is also targeted to fellow specialists. This work seldom has any enduring impact on the international scholarly community. We repeat that the responsibilities of scholars in international relations, security, and foreign policies include public education and, sometimes, policy advocacy. But that is not their primary purpose. Based on our review of the materials submitted to the committee, it seems that public education and policy advocacy have become the major *raison d'être* of Finnish scholars. This problem needs to be addressed.

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# 8 Development Needs and Researcher Training

The key point we wish to stress is that the Finnish research community needs to look at what is happening internationally, so that it does not get left behind in the training and development of young scholars. We noted in particular the absence of any rigorous researcher training, and this would result in Finnish graduate students being at a considerable disadvantage on the international academic job market. The norm in North America and in the United Kingdom is for extensive research training. In the UK, for example, PhD students have to spend their first year doing research training courses in quantitative methods, qualitative research methods, research design, legal and ethical issues, philosophy of social science and philosophy of history. In the last year the Economic and Social Research Council in the UK has made it compulsory for their funded PhD students to do a one year Research Master's degree before embarking on the PhD.

This is because they concluded that the UK was slipping behind North America, in terms of the training given to PhD students, specifically in the area of quantitative research methods. The training offered to Finnish PhD students is nowhere near comparable to this, and it is interesting to note that more than one person we met, when asked about where to advise bright Finnish students to go for their PhD work, said 'abroad'.

This picture supports one of our main contentions, namely that the Finnish system is not keeping up with developments elsewhere, and this must result in the standing of Finnish academic work declining further in the years to come. A similar picture emerges from the policies associated with employment for those who have completed their PhDs. It seemed to us that they do not have the base on which to build an academic career. They have to go into post-doctoral positions, all of which are temporary. This makes it essential for them to 'develop an aura' by publishing on a series of local topics so that they are in the best position to get any posts that do become available. The time and work needed to publish in internationally recognised outlets is therefore seen as better spent publishing lots of material in Finnish or for the local market.

We believe that the absence of permanent positions harms the career development of the best young Finnish scholars, in that the incentive structure hinders their publishing in the best international outlets. In the North American and UK contexts it is the firm base offered by a permanent position that gives scholars the time to work on publications for top-quality outlets.

# 9 Societal Relevance

Let us start by stressing that we entirely understand and support the need for Finnish scholars to publish in Finnish and/or Swedish and in English for the national attentive public. Finnish scholars have an obligation to contribute to the debates over foreign and security policies within Finnish civil society. If they do not write about international relations in Finnish, who will? Yet we think that the research community needs to get the balance right. In our view too much energy and time is spent on the immediate, on the policy relevant, and on “Finland and..” type of publications. In other words, we propose that socially or policy relevant research should be undertaken from a theoretically informed basis. Too much work in Finland is published that is unrelated and uninformed by the major debates in the literature, a picture that contrasts unfavourably with that in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Social relevance and engagement with the cutting edge of international research are not alternatives. They should be complementary so that the research community delivers both goals. In short, our worry is not about too much social relevance per se, but about the fact that too much socially relevant work is not engaged with the wider debates in the field. Finnish research on the whole does not compare favourably with international standards.

Overall, we found the quality of Finnish research on foreign and security policies (broadly conceived) to be of highly uneven quality. There are some excellent works, particularly in the area of political history, and some research projects that are theoretically informed and that do meet the standards of international scholarship. But there is a great deal of work that is highly topical, soon dated, and thus of little scholarly consequence. We believe there are too many in-house reports, background papers, and narrow topics that make little, if any, contribution to scholarship. Policy-oriented work is a prominent part of the Finnish academic scene, but if it “lags” behind the common pool of knowledge of policy-makers, its social and political contribution may be negligible. We saw very few examples of Finnish contemporary scholarship in the field that is in any way pathbreaking or notable by international standards. Taking a longer-view perspective, significant Finnish contributions to scholarship have actually declined from their status twenty or so years ago. This is despite the fact that today there are more scholars in the field than in previous eras.



# 10 Recommendations

## Internationalization of Finnish Foreign Policy and Security Research

1. Finnish scholars should increasingly pay attention to topics that are relevant to the international research context. Priority should be given to more generic and theoretical problems as opposed to research based on local and contemporary interest. In concrete terms the last category of research in table 6 should be increased to at least 25 %.
2. The Finnish research community should, in continuation to point 1., orient their work for publication in core and major periodicals and books with an international reach and audience. In particular, efforts should be intensified to make the high quality research available to university libraries abroad.
3. Institutes should expand their networks with similar organizations abroad and develop systematic programmes for student exchange, guest professors and researchers as well as exchanges of high quality publications.

## Researcher Training, Funding and Employment Opportunities

4. University Departments should emphasize questions related to training graduate students. More emphasis should be placed on training graduate students in research design and methodology, including courses on quantitative and qualitative research methods. The graduate curriculum should furthermore include courses in the philosophy of social sciences and history. These courses should be included as mandatory requirements for the completion of a PhD degree.
5. The Academy of Finland should consider reviewing its funding practices in order to enhance the opportunities for individual scholars in general and younger scholars in particular. Special attention should be given to the consequences of employing practices such as large consortia and a scientific paradigm.
6. Many of the problems encountered seem to be related to lack of employment opportunities for young scholars (lack of theoretical research, in house publications etc.). The Ministry of Education should address the imbalance between graduate degrees granted and the employment of young scholars in academic positions.
7. The directors of research institutes and departments should consider ways to increase cooperation within Finland in research projects, conferences, graduate training and programmes for visitors. Efforts should be made to create a more coherent community of research and to establish stronger links to the Finnish Political Science Association.

## Publication Policies

8. Finnish scholars should develop coherent publication and dissemination strategies and coordinate the language of publication with intended audiences. As pointed out above, increased attention should be paid to publishing in peer reviewed journals and by international publishers.
9. Research results should be published, whenever practicable, in both Finnish and/or Swedish, and in a major international language, so that the work can become part of the international storehouse of knowledge. The Academy of Finland, universities or other relevant units should take steps to promote the necessary practices and related funding for language editing and translations.
10. A review should be carried out of the periodical holdings of university libraries and institutes in the field of security and foreign policy analysis. On the basis of this review the relevant organizations should seek funding to assure that the libraries have a full collection of all the core periodicals in the field.

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### Appendix 1: The schedule of the evaluation visits

Time	07.00-09.00	09.30-11.30	12.00-12.45	13.00-15.00	16.00-18.00	19.00-21.00
Date						
Tuesday 13.11.2001	Arrival to Helsinki	Arrival to Helsinki	Arrival to Helsinki	Arrival to Helsinki	Arrival to Helsinki	1 <sup>st</sup> meeting
Wednesday 14.11.2001	Travel to Tampere	Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI)	Lunch	Tampere University, Department of Political Science and International Relations	Travel to Helsinki	Finnish Centre for Russian and East European Studies
Thursday 15.11.2001	Travel to Turku	Turku University Jean Monnet-Centre	Lunch	Turku University, Department of Political History	Turku University, Department of Political Science	Travel to Helsinki
Friday 16.11.2001	Helsinki University, Department of Political History	Parliament, the Foreign Affairs Committee	Lunch	The National Defence College, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies	Helsinki University, Department of Political Science	
Saturday 17.11.2001						
Sunday 18.11.2001					2 <sup>nd</sup> . Meeting	
Monday 19.11.2001	Flight to Rovaniemi	University of Lapland, Department of Social Studies, International Relations	Lunch	Flight to Helsinki	Ministry for Foreign Affairs (16 – 17.30)	Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA) (18.00 – 20.00)
Tuesday 20.11.2001	Departure	Departure	Departure	Departure	Departure	Departure

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### Appendix 2

#### Biographical Statement / Tarja Cronberg

Tarja Cronberg, b. 1943, is currently the Director of COPRI, the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute in Copenhagen. She is Dr.techn from Lund University and has a Dr.merc degree from the Copenhagen School of Economics and Business Administration. She has written extensively on military technology and the conversion of military industries after the Cold War. During 1990-1995 she was the director of a research programme at the Danish Technical University studying the transformation of military technologies and industries in a comparative perspective in the Los Angeles Area in the U.S. ( in co-operation with Standford University, CISAC) and in Perm in Russia ( in co-operation with the Perm University).

Her previous work includes research on the information society, technology assessment, public understanding of science and technology and technology in everydaylife. She has been the chairman of COST A4 Social Shaping of Technology, member of the Social Science Research Council and the Council of Technology (both in Denmark) and member of the committee on Information Society under the Norwegian Research Council. She was during 1995-2001 the Director of the Regional Council of North Karelia.

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### Appendix 3

#### Biographical Statement / Kalevi J. Holsti

Professor Holsti was born in Geneva, Switzerland and received his PhD degree from Stanford University in 1961. He has been a professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada since 1962. Holsti is the author of seven books and numerous articles and book chapters on international relations, security studies, and international theory. His most recent book *The State, War, and the State of War* was published in 1996 by Cambridge University Press. He is currently writing a volume on institutional change and international politics.

Holsti has been a visiting professor in the United States, Australia, Japan, and Israel. In 1984 he was elected president of the Canadian Political Science Association, and two years later, president of the International Studies Association, the world's largest academic organization in the field. Holsti has visited Finland on numerous occasions, including a one-year stay in 1959-1960 as a Fulbright Scholar.

In 1984, the Governor-General of Canada appointed Holsti a member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian International Institute for Peace and Security. One year later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1997 his university named him University Killam Professor, only the seventh to be so designated since the founding of the university in 1919.

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### Appendix 4

#### Biographical Statement / Steve Smith

Steve Smith is Pro Vice Chancellor (Academic Affairs) and Professor of International Politics at the University of Wales Aberystwyth, which he joined in 1992. He was previously Professor of International Relations at the University of East Anglia, and has also taught at the State University of New York (Albany), and Huddersfield Polytechnic. Since 1986 he has been the founding editor of the Cambridge University Press 'Studies in International Relations' series. From 1995-2000 he was a member of the SSRC/MacArthur Committee on International Peace and Security. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the British International Studies Association since 1980, and has served on the Executive Committee (1991-1992) and was then Vice-President (1992-1993) of the International Studies Association (USA). He has recently been elected to be President of the International Studies Association in 2003-2004, only the third non-North American to be so honoured in the 54 year history of the ISA. He is currently a member of the Governing Council of the American Political Science Association section on International Politics and International History. He is an editorial board member of seven major journals. In 2000 he was elected to be an Academician of the Social Sciences (AcSS). In 1999 he was awarded the Susan Strange Award by the International Studies Association for his contribution to intellectual diversity in the study of international relations. He is the author of some 80 academic papers and chapters in major international journals and edited collections, and he is the author/editor of 13 books, including (with Martin Hollis) *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (OUP, 1990), (edited with Ken Booth) *International Relations Theory Today* (Polity/Penn State, 1995), (edited with Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (CUP, 1996) and (edited with John Baylis) *The Globalization of World Politics* (OUP, 1997, second edition, 2001). These four books have sold over 75,000 copies. His research interests involve the theory of security studies, contemporary international theory, and foreign policy analysis.



*The scientific quality and societal relevance of research done on foreign and security policy in Finland since 1995 has been evaluated by an international panel. Foreign and security issues were interpreted broadly to cover human security, environmental security, and more generally, international relations and Finland's activities in them. The evaluation showed that the quality of the research is of uneven quality. In the future, priority should be given to more generic and theoretical problems compared to research based on local and contemporary interest. More emphasis should also be placed on researcher training. The evaluation panel strongly recommends internationalization of Finnish foreign policy and security research. The Finnish research community should pay increased attention to publishing in international peer reviewed journals and to expanding their networks with similar organizations abroad.*

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Orders:  
Academy of Finland  
P.O.Box 99, FIN-00501 Helsinki, Finland  
Phone +358 9 7748 8346, Fax +358 9 7748 8372  
viestinta@aka.fi  
www.aka.fi