

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies



MASTER'S THESIS

2018

Mira Strang

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies

Mira Strang

**An energy-efficient Europe. Securing the
energy supply of Finland**

Master's thesis

Prague 2018

Author: Mira Strang
Supervisor: PhDr. Irah Kučerová, Ph.D.

Academic Year: 2017/2018

Bibliographic note

STRANG, Mira. *An energy-efficient Europe. Securing the energy supply of Finland*. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, 2018, 70 pages, Master's thesis. Supervisor PhDr. Irah Kučerová, Ph.D.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on analyzing the themes that arise from the Finnish energy discourse between the years of 2009-2018. Finland is completely dependent on Russian gas, but as a member state of the European Union (EU), it should consider reducing this dependence and moving towards a common energy policy as a key objective. The EU has struggled to project itself as a unified whole to the global community owing to the fragmented nature of its decision-making regarding the use and procurement of energy. This results in EU member states having bilateral energy relations with Russia. Energy policies differ depending on the member state, also the geographical location of a state plays a significant role. As energy consumption rapidly rises and climate change becomes increasingly evident, non-fossil sources of energy must be taken into use.

The development of technology along with the use of renewable forms of energy will further facilitate the battle against climate change. In order for the EU to succeed in one of its major objectives becoming independent in energy matters, it requires to further increase the internal cooperation between member states and to develop an even further consistent energy strategy. With the combination of the chosen theories together with examining the collected research data through discourse analysis, it was possible to answer the research questions. Finland not having enough energy resources of its own and having a great need for energy, it is clearly struggling between maintaining good relations with Russia and making sure the energy supply remains uninterrupted. At the same time, Finland is trying to comply with the EU energy policy.

Keywords

Energy security, Finland, Russia, The European Union

Range of thesis: 134,377 characters

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that she compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

In Zürich, July 31, 2018

Signature: Mira Strang

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor PhDr. Irah Kučerová, Ph.D for her advice, guidance and suggestions.

I would also like to thank the faculty members at the Institute of Political Studies for providing me the knowledge during the years of my graduate studies.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and dear friends in Finland and Switzerland for their support throughout the entire process.

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	5
2.1 CHOICE OF THEORIES	7
2.1.1 CLASSICAL GEOPOLITICS.....	9
2.1.2 CRITICAL GEOPOLITICS	15
2.1.3 REALISM	19
2.1.4 NEOREALISM	22
2.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	24
2.3 LIMITATIONS.....	25
2.4 AIM AND BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH.....	26
3 METHODOLOGY	27
3.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	27
3.2 SOURCES OF ANALYSIS	30
4 ENERGY SECURITY	31
4.1 THE EUROPEAN UNION.....	34
4.2 FINLAND.....	38
4.3 RUSSIA.....	42
5 ANALYSIS.....	46
5.1 CATEGORIES.....	51
5.2 THEMES.....	53
6 FINDINGS	55
6.1 FINNISH ENERGY DISCOURSE	57
6.1.1 BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL AND SECURITY ISSUES.....	59
6.2 FINNISH ENERGY DISCOURSE IN RELATION TO THE EU....	62
6.3 FINNISH ENERGY DISCOURSE IN RELATION TO RUSSIA....	65
7 CONCLUSION.....	68
8 TOPIC PROPOSAL.....	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	I

List of Abbreviations

AEBIOM	European Biomass Association
CFR	Council of Foreign Relations
COW	Correlates of War Project
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
ECCP	European Climate Change Programme
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEA	European Environment Agency
EU	European Union
HS	Helsingin Sanomat
ILO	International Labour Organization
IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NS1&2	Nord Stream Natural Gas Pipelines
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States of America
VTT	Technical Research Centre of Finland

1 Introduction

The European Union is the biggest energy importer in the world. More than half of the energy that is consumed in the EU is imported energy (Eurostat, 2018). Some of the EU member states are more dependent on imported energy than others, but in order for the EU to be able to function and to maintain its competitive status in the world, it constantly needs energy that it can consume. The European Union common energy policy consist of five main objectives:

“Ensure the functioning of the internal energy market and the interconnection of energy networks;

Ensure security of energy supply in the Union;

Promote energy efficiency and energy saving;

Promote the development of new and renewable forms of energy to better align and integrate climate change goals into the new market design; and

Promote research, innovation and competitiveness.” (European Parliament, 2015).¹

The European Union has to find ways to secure its energy supply, make sure that the energy is affordable and that the energy that is being consumed is sustainable. This is not an easy task, but the EU energy strategy that the EU has developed together with the member states is a way for the EU to succeed in the objectives (European Union, 2018). Even though one of the EUs goals is to decrease the use of fossil fuels, it is the largest importer of oil and gas and the demand will even further increase in the future. The EU focuses on shifting from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources such as biofuel, hydro, solar and wind power (European Commission, 2017).

¹ European Parliament. Article 194 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/68/energy-policy-general-principles> (Accessed 29 July 2018).

The availability of renewable energy solutions varies by each member state and by the geographical location of the state (EEA, 2018). To find a permanent solution that would enable member states to become independent from fossil fuels is another great challenge the EU has to tackle (AEBIOM, 2018).² The Kyoto Protocol together with the EU's own climate goals for year 2020 steer the development towards the common goals. The treaty commits EU member states to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 20% compared to the levels of the 1990s and this has to be reached by 2020.³ The goal for 2030 is to decrease greenhouse gas emissions a minimum of 40% compared to the levels of the 1990s. The emission levels have to be reached even though the consumption of fossil fuels will even further increase in the future (Ministry of the Environment, 2017).⁴

The largest supplier of fossil fuels into the EU is Russia. Especially natural gas and oil are the most common ones that are imported. Finland is one of the EU member states that is 100% depending on Russia for natural gas. Finland is also mostly using fossil fuels as an energy resource and since it has none of its own, it has to import them. Renewable energy has a minor role in Finland due to the geographical location of the country and due to the lack of own resources (Statistics of Finland, 2017). Other EU member states that are also neighboring countries of Russia are also 100% depending on Russian gas. Like Finland, the geographical location and a lack of own resources including a common history with Russia partly explain the dependency of imported energy from Russia. Russia has also not always been a reliable supplier of energy and has therefore lost trust among importing states.

² European Biomass Association, 2018. EU energy system: an increasing fossil fuel dependency. Available at: <http://www.aebiom.org/eu-energy-system-an-increasing-fossil-fuel-dependency/> (Accessed 05 March 2018).

³ EUR-Lex. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1409650806265&uri=CELEX:52010DC0639> (Accessed 29 July 2018).

⁴ Ministry of the Environment, 2017. Climate change mitigation. Available at: http://www.ym.fi/en-US/The_environment/Climate_and_air/Mitigation_of_climate_change (Accessed 6 November 2017).

Even today, the internal energy market of the EU remains fragmented and the decision-making of energy-related matters remain local (European Commission, 2018). A lack of a proper implementation of the common energy policy has led to asymmetry between the member states and what it can ultimately lead to is an imbalance in the area. A mutual dependence between Russia and especially neighboring EU member states prevails, but a solution has to be found in order to make sure that the EU can become self-sufficient in energy matters (The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2014). Somehow, this situation creates stability in the area, but a powerful state may gain a dominant position and therefore pose a threat for neighboring states that are dependent of it. As Russia has not always been a reliable energy supplier and has used energy as a political tool in the past, one of the goals of the EU is to be able to import energy from reliable partners and to make sure that the supply of energy remains uninterrupted (Centre for European Reform, 2009). As the main goals of the EU are to be able to have energy available whenever and wherever within the union to a competitive price, not forgetting the sustainability aspect of it, this remains as a constant challenge. So far, the EU has been importing energy from states that are rather unstable when it comes to the above-mentioned factors. Therefore, alternative solutions have to be discovered. One possibility could be to import fuels from states that are free from the instability aspect. However, then the transportation would very likely be harmful for the climate. As no reasonable alternatives or solutions has not been yet presented, this thesis will examine the local development of an EU member state and how well it corresponds to the EU energy strategy. Many of the neighboring countries of Russia are members of the EU today but are still depending on Russian energy. Because of the historical background and geographical location of those states, it is interesting to see what kind of approach is taken when it comes to energy matters.

This thesis will focus on the energy discourse in Finland. The thesis examines at how the EU energy policy is implemented in Finland and how Finland is complying with the EU common energy policy. The largest sources of energy that are used in Finland are nuclear energy, oil and wood. In addition to this, Finland is depending 100% on Russian imports of natural gas. All of these are fossil fuels and all of them need to be imported since Finland has none of the mentioned fuels domestically (Finnish Energy, 2018). This thesis will consider with the help of a discourse analysis what kind of direction Finland is taking when it comes to the EU common energy policy. Articles from Helsingin Sanomat will be the source of data. The timeframe that is looked at is between the years of 2009-2018. Using relevant theories such as Neorealism and Critical Geopolitics will help to determine why certain energy-related decisions are made in certain geographical areas. These methods enable the author to answer the research questions.

2 Theoretical framework

In order to be able to understand how the international system works, theories of international relations have been designed to describe, explain and help in order to be able to understand how models and mechanisms operate within the international system. There are three significant theories that attempt to provide a conceptual framework. These theories are realism, liberalism and constructivism. These theories are further divided into positivist and rationalist theories. Realism and liberalism belong to the positivist category, while the constructivist theory belong to the rationalist category (Burchill, 2001: 30, 55, 188). The study of international relations emerged after the First World War. Geopolitics is a theory that aim to explain the relationships between geographical realities and international affairs. Geopolitics explain a state's behavior, characteristics and interests. Geopolitics is also linked to realism that has similar characteristics where a single state is in a central role. For both geopolitics and realism, it is essential that the state has control over a certain area or a piece of land (Tuathail, et al., 1998: 1-3).

Critical geopolitics on the other hand is a critical vision of geopolitics. The aim of critical geopolitics is to reveal the political decision-making and the discourses that are been conducted along with the geopolitical knowledge. Critical geopolitics focus on the political discourses that arise from the practice of foreign policy making, not forgetting about the history (Dittmer & Sharp, 2014: 5). Communication and media are linked together with geography, it means that nation states are not the only ones that are a part of the analysis. This is why critical geopolitics are divided into formal, popular, practical and structural strands of geopolitical thought (Dalby, et al., 1996: 655-660). The critical geopolitical thought will be explained to detail in the chapters that are dedicated to each theory that will be used in this thesis.

These theories are the main theories that explain state behavior in international relations. They help in understanding the various factors that are related to the states involved in this thesis, including their geographical location. However, theories of IR pay very little attention to energy-related matters and energy security and do not go into detail in those matters. The chosen theories explain and support the behavior of the states in a sufficient way and are the major theories that have been used in IR from the very beginning. Especially critical geopolitics do not only consider state behavior as such, but also pays attention to the way how the geopolitical knowledge together with the political decision-making is made. This thesis is organized in a way so that first the theories will be explained, then moving on to the research methods and analysis. In the following chapters, the reasons for the choice of theories will be presented along with a detailed description of them.

2.1 Choice of theories

Realism and liberalism belong to the main positivist theories of international relations. Not only is realism a dominant theory of the discipline, it is also a theory that is focused on a states' self-help, statism and survival of it in the international system. Since energy-related matters belong to the segment of security, realism was considered being a suitable theory for this thesis. In the international system, the interests of powerful states play a key role since they can influence the rest of the world if they export energy via transit countries (Goodin, 2010: 302). Especially neorealism explains state behavior well in this context. According to neorealism, governments seek to gain power because power is something that provide security. Energy is related to economic power. Since energy is a part of security, the establishment of international organizations do not belong to the realist thought. Geopolitics focus on state behavior, and critical geopolitics go into detail with the discourse that is conducted in international politics (Schneider & Sindler, 2014: 37, 321-328).

Energy security in IR theories are often neglected, but the events of the 1970s energy crisis left its mark especially on states that were depending on oil and were faced with shortages of oil at the time. Those events lead to paying more attention to energy matters in IR theories. States were divided into energy producing states or states that were energy consumers. The realist theories however are still mostly focused on the security aspects. According to the Copenhagen School which is a part of security studies and based on the theories of Barry Buzan, security can be divided into five different categories: economic, environmental, military, political and the societal sphere. However, the Copenhagen School does not mention energy being a part of any of the categories. The Copenhagen School also mainly focuses on the anarchic and political structure of states, not taking other factors into consideration (Buzan, 1991: 148).

Both of the chosen theories are related to each other because the state lies in a central role when its behavior is concerned. The self-interest of a state and its power are the main drivers of the states' existence. It is obvious that several EU member states are depending on Russia for their energy. Especially states that are neighboring states of Russia, situated at the Baltic Sea. These states also include states that share a common history with Russia. The energy is being transported through that geographical area to other EU member states. However, the EU is attempting to get its member states to become more unified in the energy decision-making. This has not always been as successful as planned, and the energy union still remain fragmented. As many EU member states take matters into their own hands in the energy decision-making, the combination of the chosen theories together with a discourse analysis will explain the Finnish behavior in energy-related matters including what the overall tone of the discourse around the topic will be.

2.1.1 Classical geopolitics

Geopolitics is a discipline that aims to explain politics within a certain geographical area. In geopolitics, the world is seen as a structural whole and states have exclusive power within their own territories. Not only does geopolitics explain how the main actor, the state acts, but geopolitics also involve the conduct of domestic politics, the economic sphere of policy making and how the military organizations act. All of this could be described as the political power in relation to the geographic space. Geopolitics is a mix that analyses the history, social science and politics referring to geography. The interests of political actors are focused on a certain area (Agnew, 1998: 49). Geopolitics also explain how territorial powers are formed and experienced. Resources are often linked to the geographical space and the resources that are available in the area can either be taken advantage of or they can sometimes even be disadvantageous for a state. These resources can also include energy resources (Agnew, 2003: 173).

In the nineteenth century, according to the geopolitical thought, the world was divided into different parts when the world was being conquered and measured. The conflict between the East and West caused the world to pay more attention to geography and geopolitical issues. A reason for geopolitics being popular today is because the theory deals with comprehensive visions of the world's political map. Geopolitics take into account the big picture and offer a way to see the world from a local and regional dynamic point of view, which can be integrated with the international system. Geopolitics look at different actors, elements and locations to act on a global chessboard (Tuathail, et al., 2003: 1). An American naval historian, Alfred Mahan (1840-1914) wrote about the importance of physical geography. He wrote how important the territorial mass and the physical features play a role in relation to the sea. The most important work of Mahan "*The Influence of Seapower Upon History*" was published in 1890 (Stavridis, J., 2017: 62-68).

Geopolitics can be divided into various discourses such as the cold war, new geopolitics, environmental and anti-geopolitics discourses. A table below shows the discourses together with the key intellectuals related to them with the dominant terminologies (Tuathail, et al., 2003: 5).

Discourse	Key intellectuals	Dominant terminology
Imperialist geopolitics	Haushofer, Mackinder, Mahan, Ratzel, Spykman	Landpower/Heartland, Lebensraum, Rimlands, Seapower
Cold War geopolitics	Kennan, Soviet and Western political and military leaders	Containment, First/Second/Third World countries as satellites and dominos, Western vs. Eastern bloc
New world order geopolitics	Bush, Fukuyama, Gorbachev, Luttwak, Leaders of G7, IMF, WTO	New political thinking, Statist geo-economics, US led new world order, Transnational (neo)liberalism, Rogue states
Environmental geopolitics	World commission on Environment and Development, Gore, Kaplan, Homer-Dixon, Renner	Sustainable development, Strategic environmental initiative, Coming anarchy, Environmental scarcity and security

Table 1, The discourses of geopolitics.

Another important contributor to the geopolitical theory was a German geographer, Friedrich Ratzel. In his book that was published in 1897, “*Political Geography*” he wrote about the importance of the relationship between territory and the population. The book was heavily influenced by Darwinism which was based on the ideologies of Charles Darwin, who was best known for his contributions to the science of evolution. In the book, the state was compared to a living organism that needed to constantly expand or otherwise face decay and death (Dittmer, 2010: 3).

Haushofer's book celebrated the German nation and German soil that were seen to be superior to any other. Later on, the book was associated with the thoughts of the German National Socialists. In general, this is the reason why geopolitics were associated with the Nazi foreign policy that had the goal of pursuing more living space "*Lebensraum*" for the German nation which was the main German geopolitical goal at the time. The goal was to acquire as much of land and soil as possible and to expand the German nation towards the East. In fact, seeking for more living space justified the expansion of Germany towards Eastern Europe. During World War I and II the rivalry between the British Empire and the German state was an event that played a key role and shaped geopolitics at the time. Also, in those times, the US emerged as a great economic and military power. The geopolitical landscape experienced a reshape, and Europe was left torn apart after the wars ended (Kelly, 2016: 51-52).

Halford Mackinder was a teacher of geography at Oxford University and began his career in 1887. Mackinder saw Russia as one geographical and territorial region and called it the "*Heartland*" which included also central Asia. Mackinder published an article called "*The Geographical Pivot of History*" in 1904 at the Royal Geographical Society in the UK. In Mackinder's theory, he divided the world into areas called The World Island, which consists of Europe, Asia and Africa. The British Isles and the islands of Japan belong to the offshore Islands -group. The outlying islands consist of the continents of North America, South America and Australia. The Heartland is located in the center of the world island, which is Russia. The Russian territory stretches all the way from the Arctic to the Himalayas and from the Volga river to the Yangtze river. As the Russian territory is so massive, Russia happens to hold an extensive amount of natural resources in the area and has control over those resources (Mackinder, 1904: 421).

Mackinder's greatest worry was the rise of the German empire on the European continent which were against all of his beliefs of the threat of balance of power where there is a misbalance between land and power and sea power. It was a goal of the British Empire to make sure that Germany would not become an ally with the heartland. A famous quote from Mackinder explain well his thoughts about the overall power distribution in the world:

“Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; Who rules the World-Island commands the World.” (Mackinder, 1919: 150).

However, Mackinder's theory dismissed the fact that the world was going to further develop. The greatest development of all was the technological development and how the world would be changing along with it. Air power was one of the greatest powers that Mackinder completely dismissed (Tuathail, 2003: 18).

The term “*geopolitics*” was not introduced until later. The actual term was originally introduced in 1899 by a Swedish political scientist called Rudolf Kjellén. Kjellén's work “*Staten som livsform*”, The State as a Living Form was influenced by Friedrich Ratzel, as Kjellén was a student of Ratzel. *Staten som livsform* was focusing on a single state acting as an independent geographical organism that has no connection to the will of any independent private individuals. This work has been considered as one of the most important works in geopolitics. The German Geopolitik was started by Kjellén that was then later adopted by Karl Haushofer in his Journal for Geopolitics that was used later on for propaganda purposes in Nazi Germany. Kjellén used geopolitics to indicate the different territorial aspects of a state (Agnew, et al., 2015: 221). The term geopolitics has been seen as a negative term since it has often been associated with German scholars before and during World War II.

The German Geopolitik consists of five key concepts:

1. *Reich*, is a territorial concept of “*Lebensraum*” and the strategic military shape.
2. *Volk*, is a racial conception of the state.
3. *Haushalt*, is a concept of being self-sufficient since international markets are troublesome.
4. *Gesellschaft*, is the cultural and social sphere of a nation.
5. *Regierung*, is the form of government whose army and bureaucracy would contribute to the coordination and pacification of people. (Cohen, 2003: 20-21).

The first German geopolitical thought was put together by Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) after World War I. Haushofer founded the journal called “*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*” in 1924 to stop the Treaty of Versailles that was a peace treaty that would bring World War I to an end. The treaty ended the war between Germany and the Allied Powers. Since Germany was striving for more “*Lebensraum*”, Germany was aware of that the best option would be to develop an alliance with the Soviet Union, which was according to Mackinders theory. Karl Haushofer discussed his geopolitical ideas with Adolf Hitler during his imprisonment in Landsberg in Bavaria, Germany (Werber, 2014: 111). In the last years of the Cold War, geopolitics were often described as a contest between the East and the West. In particular, between the Soviet Union and the United States. The West represented a community of democratic states that had a high standard of civilization compared to the East that was seen as a bunch of communist governments. The so called “*second world*” which was the East, was a contrast to the “*first world*” that was the West. New world geopolitics of the “*new world order*” was proclaimed during the Gulf Crisis in 1990-1991 by President Bush (Warner, 2013).

Theodore Roosevelt was the 26th President of the United States between the years of 1901-1909. Roosevelt was inspired by Alfred Mahan's "*The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*". It emphasized the fact that the most powerful nations in the world are the ones with the most powerful fleet. Since Mahan was a naval strategist and also a very respected and influential author, the theory gained much popularity in the US. With the help of powerful fleet, a nation could defend themselves and to be able to take care of their foreign relations as the theory suggests. Roosevelt used Mahan's original ideas for his naval strategy (The White House, 2006). Since President Roosevelt believed that having sea power was essential, this ultimately led to the construction of the Panama Canal. Roosevelt also saw the US being the most civilized and superior state in the hemisphere, it was justified that the US would be able to take the role of an "international police power" (Dalby, et al., 2003: 19).

Nicolas John Spykman 1893-1943, a professor of international relations at Yale University created a concept about the Rimland. Spykman was also one of the founders of the classical realist school in American foreign policy. Spykman actually criticized Halford Mackinder of claiming that Russia would be such an important area in the world. He also criticized Alfred Mahan. This was mainly due to the fact that Spykman saw Russia being an agrarian society in the West. Not only that, Spykman also saw that the industrialized part of Russia is based west of the Ural Mountains and it was already a challenge for Russia to transport anything elsewhere because of the geographical obstacles such as harsh weather conditions and a mountainous area. According to Spykman, the Rimland contains most of the world's population including a large share of the world's natural resources (Tuathail, 1996: 50). These are the main contributors and views to classical geopolitics. The following chapter will go into detail about critical geopolitics.

2.1.2 Critical geopolitics

The modern school of critical geopolitics distances itself from the traditional concepts of classical geopolitics that present for example the physical strengths and weaknesses that a state has. Critical geopolitics take into account how political actors safeguard their territorial-political interests. The geographical discourses are important in critical geopolitics (Schneider & Sindler, 2014: 321-328). In classical geopolitics, the realist thought is essential and shape the base for the theory. Critical geopolitics does not solely look at the geographical location of the states like the classical geopolitical theory does. This is what the criticism is based on, not focusing solely on the geography, rather looking at a state more from the constructivist point of view. This means that the main focus lies in the social construct and the networks of people. As classical geopolitics is based on the realist theory, it also emphasizes on the resources that a state has on a certain geographical area. Critical geopolitics focus on economic and technological dominance that a state may have.

In critical geopolitics, mutual dependence of states plays a key role. This can be in the form of for example energy trade, which this thesis focuses on. This is why critical geopolitical actors in policy making are taken into account. Critical geopolitics is connected to discourses that are been conducted in certain geographical areas. Therefore, a discourse analysis is a powerful tool for finding out what the actual discourse of certain topics of certain states are in the areas that are being researched (Tuathail, 1996: 190). According to Dodds, critical geopolitical writers have proposed a threefold division that is divided into formal, practical and the popular division. The formal division consist of academics and commentators that self-consciously invoke an intellectual tradition associated with geopolitics. The practical division on the other hand refers to policy-oriented templates used by political leaders in global politics. The popular division

includes the media and other forms of popular culture. Citizens use these channels to make sense of the events that happen around the world (Dodds, 2014: 41). The T below demonstrates the various divisions.

	Mass media Cinema Novels Cartoons ↓	Foreign policy Bureaucracy Political institutions ↓	Strategic institutes Think tanks Academia ↓
	Popular geopolitics	Practical geopolitics	Formal geopolitics
Geopolitical map of the world	↓ Spatializing of boundaries and dangers ↓		
Geopolitical imagination	↓ Geopolitical representation of self and others		

Table 2, Formal, practical and popular geopolitics.

A part of Russia lies on the European continent. Therefore, it needs to embrace the Western models of economic and social development. Russia also has a massive territory in Asia, which also has its own form of state and society. Russia is sometimes referred to as a so-called bridge between Europe and Asia. Depending on the time, one can be in a more dominant position than the other (Dodds, 2014: 43). Critical geopolitics is rooted in poststructuralism, which is influenced by critical theorists and philosophers from the 20th century. Poststructuralism has its roots in structuralism, which is a method of understanding the structures in social sciences to be able to understand the whole picture.

Critical geopolitics could be viewed as a poststructuralist approach rather than a theory since it cannot answer the problems that occur in geographical areas but look deeper into the meanings of what happens behind the scenes in international politics. The roots of structuralism lie in 1916 when the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure wrote a book called "*Course de linguistique générale*" which was considered as laying the foundation for the structuralist thought, but scholars associated with post-structuralism are Lene Hansen among others. Critical geopolitics really emerged in 1976 when the French geographer Yves Lacoste published "*La géographie ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre*", "*Geography is primarily for waging war*". In Lacoste's work, the key thoughts were that geography is a form of strategic and political knowledge. Very important when it comes to the military strategy and the exercise of military power. Lacoste has also founded a journal called "*Hérodote*" which is a French geopolitical journal (Atkinson, 2000: 268).

As mentioned, critical geopolitics can be divided into popular, structural, formal and practical geopolitics. In the popular geopolitical thought, the ideas are not only shaped by states, but also by elites and politicians. These ideas are then further communicated via entertainment channels that include games, internet, literature, movies, pop-music, tv among other channels of entertainment (Painter & Jeffrey, 2009: 209). According to Dodds (2009) it can be evident from some movies that Western states' send out messages to the world through them. Practical geopolitics on the other hand focus on the foreign policy actions that states make. Since critical geopolitics is focused on discourses of politics, practical geopolitics do not only look at the physical actions that are being made, but also at what the discourses are regarding these actions. When it comes to formal geopolitics, the term refers to a more traditional way of geopolitics. This means that the actors in formal geopolitics are actors within foreign policy or can be possibly academics or other professionals (Agnew & Tuathail, 1992: 192-194).

All of the above presented branches of critical geopolitics are linked to each other.

As classical geopolitics has its limitations, a version of geopolitics that take a deeper dive into the epistemological assumptions has emerged. The focus of critical geopolitics is to dig into the assumptions of the epistemology. The goal is to understand the various practices of world politics that goes into depth with the cultural background and possible biases of the different actors that are involved in the policymaking. There is no general orientation of critical geopolitical discourse analysis that would fit all of the research that is aimed to be made. The socio-economic factors including the various political agents that structure the world and the fusion between territory and identity plays a great role in critical geopolitics. The elites cannot be forgotten in the analysis and the importance of dividing the world into geographical and political spheres of world policy making (Dodds, et al., 2013).

2.1.3 Realism

Realism is one of the most dominant theories of international relations. However, there are a wide variety of realist theories, but the main assumptions, elements and ideas remain the same. The key assumption for the realist theory is that the state lies in a central role, where it relies on self-help, statism and survival. Realism helps to explain why states maximize their interests in a hostile environment. Many of the contemporary realists say that they relate to the traditional realism that Thucydides, c. 460-c. 400 BC, Machiavelli, 1469-1527, Hobbes, 1588-1679 and Rousseau, 1712-1778 were a part of (Baylis, 2008: 90). *Raison d'État* or in other words, reason of state is a doctrine where security and the national interest of a state is ensured. This also includes preserving the health and strength of the state. As the key element of realism is based on human nature, as the human always is benign and competitive, a state can never unwind since it always has to find ways to survive. However, the survival of a state can never be guaranteed.

States that have more power tend to last longer in the international system and are also able to influence others because of the power that they have. Realists believe that for example an international institution cannot guarantee them any security and that they must only rely on themselves (Baylis, 2008: 90). There are four key elements that are the most essential in the realist thought. The first one is that the international system is anarchic, so there is no supranational world government that would be able to govern single states. The second one emphasizes on the fact that a state is in a central role when it comes to survival. The third one stresses the fact that states always act rationally. The fourth element focus solely on the state survival where the military and the power of it plays a significant role. Ultimately, the goal of a single state is to become a hegemon, but in fact what happens is that the states begin to balance in the international system because they always want to secure their survival (Goodin, 2010: 133).

The realist theory really emerged when many crises broke out in the world in the 1930s and 1940s. Many events occurred at that time that led to the realist theory becoming so popular. The failure of the League of Nations that was established to maintain world peace because of World War I was a perfect example of an international organization failing. This may have contributed to the popularity of the realist theory (Pevehouse, 2017: 54). In realism, a state is constantly struggling to gain more power. In order to be powerful, a state needs to be ready to start a war and in order to be able to do that, having military power is essential. There is no trust in international institutions. They do not guarantee states any safety (Wilkinson, 2007: 2-4). Additionally, realists believe that the international system is anarchic. This means that there is no supranational authority that would rule the world. It is only the decentralized actors that are responsible of their own safety in the international system (Nau, 2007: 20-21).

The largest actors in the international system are states. Since power is an essential factor in the realist theory, the power that the states have are based on materialism. The distribution of power identifies the following measures: size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence (Waltz, 1979: 131). This is how geography is involved and how the geopolitical theory becomes relevant in this matter. Some states have more natural resources than others and have a more productive land or are geographically based in a good location. Balance of power is also an essential factor since the system may be multipolar. States may form alliances in order not to let a single state become too powerful. Alliances need to be flexible and to be able to adopt to changes. A system can also be bipolar. In that scenario, there are only two powerful states that will not align with other states. The balancing then happens internally (Nau, 2007: 24-25).

As realism is based geography and self-help, it does not go so much into detail with state identity and social networks that are a great part of policymaking. Humans contribute socially in policymaking and the fact that states are depending on each other make a huge difference. This is important to note when talking about states that are depending on energy from other states or states that are transit states of energy. Russia is acting from a realist point of view and has been using energy as a political tool in the past. As NATO is expanding closer to Russia's borders, it is clear that a state would pursue to protect itself from external threats. However, states are in fact trying to avoid wars by balancing which then creates a mutual dependence in this case between Finland and Russia, also the EU. There are several bilateral relations that single EU member states have together with Russia. These include energy relations that each single EU member state has established with Russia.

2.1.4 Neorealism

Neorealism is a variant that has developed from realism in the recent years. It is a powerful theory that has shaped the discipline of international relations. In neorealism, the structure of the international system is important because it affects the behavior of all states. The cold war caused a unipolar world to become multipolar which according to neorealists, changed the international system completely. Neorealism explains world politics from a harsh point of view because state's security interests are the main interests the states strive for. States may never be sure of other states' interests and therefore a state should always be prepared to engage in war. The school of neorealism was founded by Kenneth Waltz in 1979. Waltz is a key contributor to the theory. Realism, compared to neorealism is heavily influenced by the second world war where human nature played a significant role. Waltz rejects the explanation that humans would be the influencers for wars (Schneider & Sindler, 2014: 37).

“While human nature no doubt plays a role in bringing about war, it cannot by itself explain both war and peace, except by the simple statement that man's nature is such that sometimes he fights and sometimes he does not.” (Waltz, 1959: 29).

Historically, neorealism is also closely bound to the East-West conflict. Neorealists tend to focus on the question despite the fact that so many states behave in the same way even though their political systems differ from one another. Waltz sees that anarchy is an essential component in neorealism and wars occur as a result of anarchy rather than wars being a result of human nature. This is why critics have attacked the defense of the cold war. Since the world has become globalized, the realist theory has become less important (Griffiths, 2008: 270).

Neorealism is based on Hans Morgenthau's classical realism and is also called structural realism. Classical realism neglects the major events in international politics opposite to the Neorealist thought. Neorealism focuses on the disorganized structure of the international system and it is rational for states to pursue power in order to be able to defend itself when needed. The neorealist approach explains well the situation between the EU and Russia. Russia is acting as a single state, and still today refuses to cooperate in international matters with other states. As Russia is pursuing to secure its self-sufficiency, it must trade energy with other states, but only because of its own benefit. As Russia is striving to have bilateral relations with single EU member states, it is making sure that the EU doesn't gain too much power, but so that Russia remains as the one that has control over energy and all the relations to single smaller states. However, also single EU member states tend to have bilateral relations to Russia.

2.2 Research questions

As mentioned, this thesis will examine the Finnish energy discourse and the themes that arise from the discourses by looking at the data that is being sourced from an online news database. This thesis will also examine if the Finnish energy discourse is leaning more towards following the EU energy policy, or if Finland is taking a more independent approach when making decisions in energy matters. The research questions are as follows:

- What are the main themes that arise from the Finnish energy discourse?
- How do these themes correspond to the EU energy strategy?

The data that is being used are mainly news articles that have been published between the years of 2009-2018. The reason for choosing this time period is because in 2009, the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute took place and the EU energy policy was established at that time. The gas dispute had a great influence on the EU. Therefore, it is relevant to look at what kind of decisions and discussions were conducted during that time. It was the authors personal interest to choose Finland as the key state for the research. Finland is a member state of the EU, but at the same time has established solid relations with Russia. Since the energy resources are not equally distributed in all areas of due to geography, even single states want to make sure that they have access to energy whenever and wherever it is needed, even if this means having bilateral relations to an energy supplying state.

2.3 Limitations

There are certain limitations to this thesis. The main focus of this research is on Finland and the discourses that arise related to energy including the EU and Russia. It is evident that each and every member state handle their relations to Russia in a different way, also in energy matters. This is related to the interests that states have which affect the relations they have with Russia. It is an important aspect how states present themselves in the media in this respect. What are the interests of single states when they depend on other states in energy matters? The data that has been used for the discourse analysis has been written in Finnish language. The reason for choosing to work only with data in Finnish language was simply because the most data has been published in that language. The scope of the research is also limited to the articles that have been published online in Helsingin Sanomat database. The reason for choosing an online database was because of the simplicity of getting hold of the data anywhere, anytime.

Other sources that has been used have been other public sources such as sources that have been published online by the EU. These include official reports and studies that are related to the topic of this thesis. This research would not have been valid without the use of secondary material such as academic literature. Literature related to theories that are applicable for this research have been used in a large extent. A wide range of publications from homogenous sources has also been used to make sure that the research will be as comprehensive as possible. Most of the research material, especially the theories of IR are mostly focused on research done in the US and originate from there. This must be noted since energy issues are not so widely discussed in the theories themselves. However, they can also be applied to research related to energy.

2.4 Aim and background of the research

The author is personally interested in energy affairs, especially when it comes to states that are depending on Russia as an energy supplier. Many single states in Europe are attempting to become independent from Russian energy. In some cases, by building alternative pipelines' or by building own energy ports could be solutions for becoming independent. Another alternative would be to import energy from other state's than Russia. It is evident that the closer a single state is located to Russia, the less foreign policy options the state has regarding energy. Finland is relying 100% on Russian gas. This could be considered as an economic battle that is based on geography. This thesis attempts to put together a conceptual foundation in order to be able to answer the research questions. As geopolitics offer a proper interpretation of the international system and the existing theories such as (neo)liberalism, (neo)realism and constructivism have certain limits, geopolitics has been chosen to support finding the answers to the research questions.

3 Methodology

A qualitative discourse analysis has been chosen as a method of analysis for this thesis. The reason for choosing this method is because it will allow an effective way of analyzing the various discourses that have been conducted around the topic. The discourses will be examined and the main themes that will arise from them will be analyzed. In the following chapters, discourse analysis as a research method will be presented, together with explaining how the data for this research was collected.

3.1 Discourse analysis

The word discourse is used in English to describe speech and writing. A discourse analysis can be seen as a broad theoretical framework. It can be used to make various kinds of research depending on the type of research that is being conducted. There are many different methods and techniques that can be used. The notion of “discourse” has to include not only an analysis of text in the strict sense of the word but is also frequently used to interpret wider cultural and socio-political processes (Sjölander & Gunnarson, 2011: 13). However, a discourse is a technical term in linguistics, a connected series of utterances, a text. Discourse analysis can be used in many disciplines but is not defined in the same way in all disciplines. A discourse analysis is based on the form of the discourse, the way that the people communicate about attitudes, beliefs and experiences. Ways that have become increasingly popular are the use of new digital media. It is also important to consider the affordances of different media. It is key to spot the similarities in the text, even if they would be hidden similarities. It is important to be able to find viewpoints that are different from the main assumption, that is how the discourse analysis gets its variance (Cameron & Panović, 2014: 153).

What is common with all discourse analyses is the different features of speeches and texts that are being analyzed. It is important to realize that you are looking for a social reality and how it is constructed in the text which is the actual discourse. There are no specific rules for how to conduct a discourse analysis. However, the most effective way to conduct a discourse analysis is to study the collected material thoroughly and to collect findings out of them. The use of citations in a discourse analysis is very important since they help with clarifying the context. The ability to analyze speeches and written text in a context is key. It is only through discourse that decisions are being made in international politics and therefore the actions can be justified.

“It is through discourse that leaders act, through the mobilization of certain simple geographical understandings that foreign-policy actions are explained and through ready-made geographically infused reasoning that wars are rendered meaningful. How we understand and constitute our social world is through the socially structured use of language”. (Franck & Weisband 1971).

Mary Kaldor has described that the Cold War has always been a discourse of conflict between “capitalism” and “socialism”. Kaldor emphasizes on the descriptions that involve geographic knowledge that are represented in international politics. It is a story between the democratic “West” and the “East” against the expansion of the East (Kaldor 1990: 30). For example, political speeches help us to understand the social construction of the world and what role geographical knowledge plays in that social construction. Discourses enable one to write, speak, listen and act meaningfully. Discourses enable the listeners or readers the chance to capture what they see or hear and to construct it into an organized whole (Tuathail & Agnew, 1992: 192).

For this thesis, the perfect method for analyzing the Finnish energy discourse was to use a discourse analysis that would reveal the attitudes and thoughts of relevant participants in the media. Therefore, the author has chosen to look at articles that have been published in the biggest newspaper of Finland. Statements of relevant participants can be made from for example news articles that have been collected electronically to a database online where all of the information is located. Facts that need to be acknowledged when making a discourse analysis is to be able to analyze a state's history, politics and other rhetoric that is happening concerning international politics. In the context of this thesis, the discourses can be looked from the viewpoint of if it should be a priority for the EU to consider energy security being amongst the biggest threats to the whole union? In any case, a research should be conducted in a subjective way including transparency, which the author is striving for in her research.

3.2 Sources of analysis

When selecting a source for collecting relevant data, it is important to know what kind of data shall be used and how much of it is relevant to be used. Testing is required in order to be able to choose the best options. A single platform for data collection was chosen for this research simply because the platform could be used online whenever and wherever. The chosen platform was also able to provide a comprehensive package of the data that was needed for this research including an option for the user to select the desired timeframe of the published articles. Other platforms were available, but they were not able to provide enough data that was needed, and they could only be used at a local library in Finland. The author tested various platforms during her visit in Finland but came to the conclusion that Helsingin Sanomat would be the best alternative for the data collection simply because of the reasons mentioned above. Helsingin Sanomat is also the largest newspaper in Finland, which also had an impact on the choice of the online database.

Other criteria for choosing the data provided online was the fact that the data could later also be analyzed electronically and with an electronic tool that would help with the classification of each of the articles. An electronic tool also facilitates the process when going through each article. This made it easier for the author to search for keywords that had been chosen after testing several of them. When the suitable keywords were chosen, it was easy to go forward from there. The distinctive patterns and co-occurrence of the various keywords are needed for a detailed qualitative analysis (Fairclough 2003: 6). An online database could also be accessed at anytime from anywhere which was a huge benefit when conducting research from several different locations.

4 Energy security

In this chapter, energy security will be examined along with to which extent it plays role in the national security of states. This also includes the natural resources a state has in order to be able to function in a modern economy of today. A lack of natural resources and the uneven distribution of energy supplies are always disadvantageous for any single state. Some energy resources are concentrated on certain geographical areas, which lead to other geographical areas to lack benefiting economically from energy including the security aspect of it. Energy is needed in order for a state to remain competitive in today's world. Since some states are great producers of energy, they might end up using energy as a political tool. Disruptions of the energy supply may also be threatened due to either natural disasters or political instability. Today, alternative energy sources such as renewable energy sources may be used along with fossil ones. However, this is not a solution that is equally available for all states.

Another factor that will be included in this chapter is climate change and how it could be tackled or at least slowed down. A threat for the whole world is climate change that has emerged due to industrialization. Global warming has been caused by human activities that has been drastically changed. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is an international environmental treaty that has as the main objective to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. There are 197 parties including all UN member states that are part of the UNFCCC (The United Nations, 2016). The European Union has also committed to tackle climate change through the European Climate Change Programme (ECCP). The EU has put in place its own domestic actions that will reduce greenhouse gas emissions (European Commission, 2018). The Kyoto protocol also require states to cut their greenhouse gas emissions (CO₂) that caused by humans (UN, 2018).

It is essential to take into account the geographical location of Europe and especially Finland since Finland is a neighboring state of Russia. Finland is 100% depending on Russian natural gas. Other EU member states that are 100% depending on Russian gas are Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (International Trade Centre, 2018). All of these states are neighboring states of Russia and share a common history with Russia. As energy consumption will further increase in the future and climate change has to be taken into account, the use of renewable energy sources will play even a bigger role than before. According to the Technical Research Centre of Finland VTT, change and development in the field of energy is rather slow than for example other type of development. Energy efficiency also depends on numerous factors that may include physical laws, technical properties of materials, expertise and know-how issues among other obstacles (VTT, 2007: 20).

The EU has a long history with Russia as an energy supplier. Not only is EU depending on Russia as an energy supplier, but the Russian economy is also depending on the EU in order to be able to export (GPF, 2017). This creates a mutual dependence for both of the areas involved. Russia is keen on having a presence at the Baltic Sea because of convenient transport routes from the harbors further on to Western Europe and from there elsewhere in Central Europe. The gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine in 2009 left a permanent mark on the EU which led to the creation of the EU Energy Strategy which has elements in it that can be traced back to the events of what happened during the gas dispute. In the following chapters, a more detailed examination of the three key parties of this thesis will be presented along with a short basic introduction of each and every one. This will include the history, essential information and a description of the strategy that each and every party has regarding energy security.

It must be understood that there are major differences between the forms of energies that are being used in the world. For example, it is a challenge to store gas compared to oil. In order to be able to use gas, it is necessary to somehow have a link to the state that is providing it. This means that gas can easily be controlled by the providing state. This then further creates issues for a state that is depending on the gas. The state that has control over the energy may use it as a political tool as Russia has done in the past. Usually gas disruptions have been political, rather than a physical distribution problem which Russia has claimed them to have been. Not all states are able to produce as much renewable energy than others, this also creates an imbalance within the EU since there are so many different member states that have different relations with Russia. Some prefer keeping the relations bilateral. Every single member state has different energy resources of their own which has to be taken into account when policymaking in EU is conducted.

4.1 The European Union

Today, The European Union consists of 28-member states. The EU is not only an economic and political union, but it has also created the European Union Energy Policy. As the EU has committed to decrease greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2030 from the emission levels of the 1990s, the member states have to follow this objective. The EU has actively been negotiating in climate change conferences and presenting what kind of measures the EU can take in order to tackle climate change. According to the International Labour Organization ILO, renewable energy jobs, also known as “green jobs” create more jobs than jobs that are related to fossil fuels (ILO, 2018)⁵. There are five main objectives that drive the EU Energy Policy that are mentioned in Article 194 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

One of the key elements for establishing the European Union was the European Coal and Steel Union ECSC in 1951, which was in fact established to prevent further war and to have a centralized authority that would control and regulate the production of coal and steel. The European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom) was established in 1957. The purpose of establishing EAEC was mainly to create a nuclear power market in Europe that would provide energy to its member states and then sell the energy that was left over elsewhere (EUR-Lex, 2018)⁶. The gas dispute that happened between Russia and Ukraine in 2009 contributed to the creation of the EU energy union. The EU wanted to make sure that energy could not be used as a tool for manipulation (Heinrich & Pleines, 2014).

⁵ International Labour Organization, 2018. Green jobs and renewable energy: low carbon, high employment. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_250690.pdf (Accessed 08 May 2018).

⁶ EUR-Lex, 2018. Summary of legislation. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:31999D0352> (Accessed 10 May 2018).

The EU can set energy directives which the member states have to follow. The member states' own energy policies come second in ranking. Essential directives that the EU has established is the Renewable Energy Directive that will promote the use of renewable energy sources in order to prevent climate change (European Commission, 2018)⁷. Another important directive that will ensure that the EU will succeed in its efforts to reach the objectives it has set for itself is the Energy Efficiency Directive. This directive will help member states to reach their energy efficiency target by 2020. The measures that has to be taken are to save energy, to improve insulation in buildings and to make sure buildings will be energy efficient. The energy consumption should be monitored not only by individuals, but also SMEs and large companies. Different EU member states have different levels of primary energy consumption that needs to be adjusted according to the directive (European Commission, 2018).

In order for the EU to succeed in its energy policy goals, it needs to act as a whole in order to be able to take the cooperation to the next level. The EU has not been so successful in presenting itself as a whole integrated union in the past. Especially now when the United Kingdom decided to leave the EU invoking article 50 of the Lisbon treaty which gives the right for an EU member state to leave the union. This has caused a credibility gap for the EU and it has been questioned whether or not the EU is really serving its purpose. It can be concluded that the EU has not been successful in its efforts of creating a whole union since member states has taken initiatives in order to leave the union. The rest of the world has noticed these developments and certain conclusions may have been drawn out of that. The article states that any member state may decide to withdraw from the union in accordance to its own constitutional requirements (The Lisbon Treaty, Article 59, 2013).

⁷ European Commission, 2018. Renewable energy directive. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32009L0028> (Accessed May 10 2018).

The Early Warning Mechanism has been established between the EU and Russia in 2009 after the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute. This mechanism has been established for both parties in order for them to be able to inform each other about security of supply or demand of energy. The Early Warning Mechanism was signed in November 2009 by both the EU and Russia to ensure rapid communication and to prevent further supply interruptions of gas, oil or electricity. There are assigned contact persons on both EU and Russia to ensure that the issues are been communicated (European Commission, 2009).⁸ The 2009 gas crisis between Russia and Ukraine also revealed that Russia has better relations to certain leaders of some EU member states. Russia is also aware of the lack of a single consistent foreign policy (Clingendael Report, 2015).

The latest EU energy security strategy was published in 2014, where all of the imports and secure supplies were defined. The strategy reflects the fact that the EU is still divided in these matters, also when it comes to overall security (European Commission, 2018).

Due to the events of the gas crisis in 2009, in 2012 the European Commission began to investigate the contracts Gazprom had made between various states in central and Eastern Europe. It turned out that the wealthiest countries in Europe paid the least for Russian gas. Finland was one of the states that is paying less than many other EU member states for Russian gas imports. Russia has been offering energy for a discounted price for political reasons, which causes less harm than cutting the energy supply completely (NATO, 2017).⁹ However, none of the actual prices of the gas have been published and still remain a secret from the public. Some of the EU member states have decided not to publish any of

⁸ European Commission, 2007. Early Warning Mechanism. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/2009_11_16_ewm_signed_en_0.pdf (Accessed 28 July 2018).

⁹ NATO. Hybrid influence – lessons from Finland. Available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2017/also-in-2017/lessons-from-finland-influence-russia-policy-security/EN/index.htm> (Accessed 31 July 2018).

this information to the public (Eurostat, 2017).¹⁰ According to the Kremlin Watch Report of 2017, several EU member states including Finland have shifted their policies and concerns after Russia's aggression towards Ukraine (EPP, 2017).¹¹ However, it was especially the EU energy policy that was shifted alongside with the EU posing sanctions on Russia because of their military intervention in Ukraine. These shifts in policies automatically affect Finland since it is a member state of the EU and Finland wanted to back the sanctions that the EU posed on Russia.

¹⁰ Eurostat. Natural gas price statistics, 2017. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Natural_gas_price_statistics (Accessed 31 July 2018).

¹¹ EPP, 2017. Kremlin Watch Report. Available at: <http://www.europeanvalues.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/How-do-European-democracies-react-to-Russian-aggression.pdf> (Accessed 13 June 2018).

4.2 Finland

Finland is a part of the Nordic countries located in Northern Europe by the Baltic sea.

Neighboring countries of Finland are Russia in the east, Norway in the north, and Sweden in the west. Estonia is the closest neighbor in the south behind the Gulf of Finland.

Finland's capital Helsinki, lies on the shore of the Gulf of Finland in the southern part of the country. The metropolitan area of Helsinki has a population of around 1,4 million.

Finland is a sparsely populated country with only 5,5 million inhabitants that are mostly located in the southern and middle parts of the country. The surface area of Finland is 338,432 km² and has lots of inland water areas. During winter time, Finland is under a permanent snow cover and temperatures can drop as low as -30°C. The average temperature in the summer is around 20°C. Finland is a member state of the European Union, also a member of the Eurozone. Finland became a member of the EU in 1995. The Euro was adopted in 2002 (Infopankki, 2018).

Finland has been under Swedish rule for an uncertain period of time between the 13th century and 1809, which has led to Finland having two official languages today, Finnish and Swedish. Russians arrived in Finland in 1808 after the Napoleonic Wars. After the Finnish war in 1809, the Grand Duchy of Finland was established. At that time, Finland was a part of the Russian Empire and was ruled by the Russian Emperor as Grand Duke. In 1905, the Russian Revolution led to the creation of the Parliament of Finland. In 1917, the First World War caused Russia to collapse which then led to Finland becoming independent on the 6th of December 1917. The winter war started in 1939 when the Soviet Union invaded Finland because the Soviets wanted to obtain parts of Finnish territory which Finland did not agree upon. The winter war ended in 1940, when Finland surrendered areas of land from Karelia and Lapland to the Soviet Union (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017).

The biggest sources of energy in Finland consist of nuclear energy, oil and wood. Other forms of energy such as renewable energy is used in lesser extent. Finland is using mostly fossil fuels for its energy consumption and lacks them domestically. This means that Finland has to import energy and the amount is not small because the energy consumption per capita is the highest in the EU (Fingrid, 2018). Reasons behind Finland having such high energy consumption are because the industrial sector using a great amount of energy, the state has a high standard of living and a cold climate. These factors contribute to having high costs for heating. Long distances also have an effect. The total consumption of energy in Finland in 2016 was 371 TWh. Compared to other Nordic countries, as Finland has the highest consumption per capita, Norway comes second with its extensive hydropower production. Sweden, which is also relying on big amounts of hydropower is on third place and Denmark is the one consuming the least and is mainly producing coal and wind energy (Nordic Energy Research, 2018).

The goals of the Finnish energy policy are that the security of supply is met, that the energy comes to a competitive price and that the emissions are kept in accordance with the international protocols (VTT, 2007: 20). The security of supply is needed for maintaining the economy, defense and the population of the state and to make sure that Finland gets the energy it needs. In Finland, the Emergency Powers Act (1080/91) and the State of Defense Act (1081/91) ensures that the security of supply remains. The security of supply is also secured by the European Union's energy program that include maintaining a 90-day oil supply. There is also a demand that a five-month supply of imported fuels has to be able to be maintained (Kara, 2004: 85-86). Since Finland is a member state of the EU, it has to follow the climate policy targets that have been set. Taking into account the geographical location of Finland and the energy sources that Finland is able to use, this can be considered as an ambitious target.

The use of gas in Finland is mostly used for district heating and for producing energy. This is an important regarding the total amount of energy in Finland because of the lengthy winters and other areas that energy is used for. Natural gas is also widely used in industry and is seen as a clean form of energy since it does not produce emissions and does not need to be stored. The downside is, Finland has no own reserves of natural gas, nor does the European continent have enough gas. Mostly all of the natural gas has to be imported from Russia. Since Russia's share of the world's natural gas reserves adds up to 33%, it has a significant control over supplying gas to Europe (Statistics of Finland, 2018). This means that if the political situation would become unstable for some reason, Russia might stop to supply gas to Europe, and the gas supply would become disrupted. Russia has been using gas as a tool for blackmailing Europe before. This would be a crucial situation for Finland because of its gas dependency.

In Finland, there are four operational nuclear power units. Most of the Finnish nuclear power plants have been built in the 1970s and are using Soviet technology. Some of the nuclear fuel still comes from Russia. The fifth nuclear power station is currently under construction. One fourth of the energy that is consumed in Finland comes from nuclear power plants. The fuel that is being used in the plants come 36% from Russia, 34% from Sweden and 30% from other countries (Ibid). A great challenge that Finland has is the fact that it lacks an own proper energy strategy. There is no scheme on how to reach the goals that have been set by the EU including how the domestic resources can be improved. To be energy-efficient, to be able to use domestic energy and to be able to use systems that are already in place in a sufficient way would secure the energy supply of Finland. The focus should not only be on imported energy, but to be able to export it as well (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2018).

The relations that various EU member states have to Russia differs. In Finland, the views towards Russia vary significantly. There is an intensive dialogue between both parties and the cooperation is ongoing. In 1948, an Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance treaty was signed. The treaty ceased to exist in 1992, but it shows how the two parties have been cooperating (Finland.fi, 2018). President Urho Kekkonen of Finland has been for a long time considered being the main driver of the Finno-Soviet good relations (UKK Arkisto, 2018). The trade between Finland and Russia remains strong. The Pyhäjoki nuclear power plant project in Finland is partly covered by the Russian state company Rosatom and holds 34% of the shares of the nuclear power plant project (Fennovoima, 2018). Because of historical reasons, the relations between Finland and Russia remain strong and are considered as being important since total value of trade was EUR 9,1 billion in 2017 (SVKK, 2018).

4.3 Russia

Russia, officially the Russian Federation, is a federal state located in Eurasia. The Russian Federation was established in the beginning of the 1990's when the Soviet Union collapsed. The capital city, Moscow, is located in the European part of Russia. Russia consists of 83 federal subjects. Neighboring countries of Russia are Finland, Norway, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, China, Mongolia and North Korea. Russia is also the largest state in the world, with a 17 million square meters of surface area with 9 different time zones. Therefore, Russia stretches to almost all corners of the world. Russia is a large part of Asia and 40% of the surface area lies in Europe. It also has a population of 139 million, but the population density is low due to the large surface area. There are a wide variety of different ethnicities within Russia, altogether 160 that include indigenous groups. The population density is the highest on the European side.

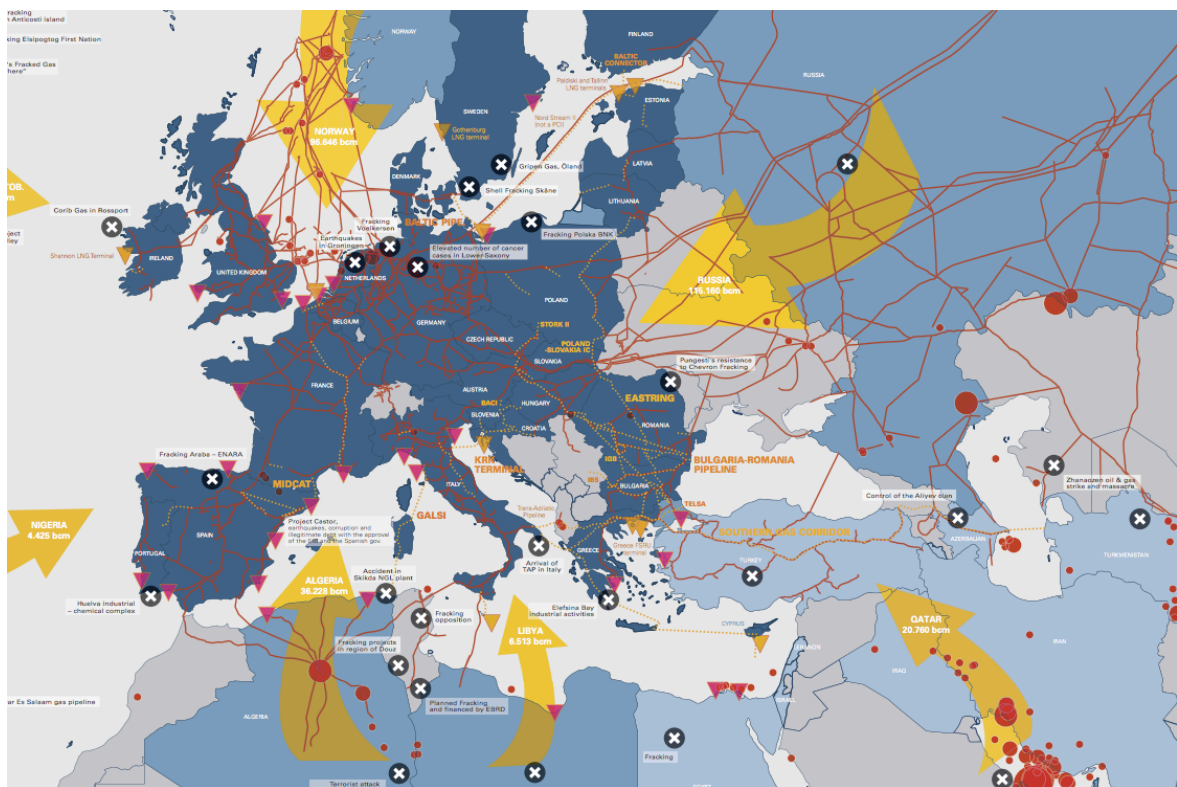
Russia has the world's largest energy and mineral reserves, having the largest gas reserves in the world. Russia also possesses a lot of coal and oil (The World Factbook, 2018)¹².

Russia is also a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and is known for having detonated nuclear weapons. Since Russia is a permanent member of the UNSC, it has an important role in international security matters, also taking part in conflict resolution around the world. In 2002, a commission was established between Russia and NATO in order to make sure that all of the parties have the same goals (UN, 2018). A few events have led to Russia having bad foreign relations which has also lead to Russia getting sanctions. Some of the latest events have been occupying Crimea, the Russo-

¹² The World Factbook. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html> (Accessed 23 April 2018).

Georgian war, their own political system and human rights management among others (COW, 2018).

Russia admires strength and therefore does not respect military weakness. The Russian military consists of ground, navy and air forces. The Russian military is the 5th largest in the world and they also produce their own military equipment (CFR, 2018). NATO got closer to Russia in 2004, when Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined. Russia is in control of the heating of the Baltic states and the better the relations with Russia are, the less a state pays for the imported energy (Marshall, 2009: 15). In 2008, Russia was the second biggest producer (12,3% of the world's production) and exporter of oil (256 Mt). Russia was also the biggest producer (21% of the world's production) and exporter of natural gas. In 2006, 65,2% of Russia's export earnings came from energy (EIA, 2018).



Picture 1, Gas Map of Europe. (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2017).

Gazprom, that was founded in 1989 is extracting, producing, transporting and selling natural gas. The government of Russia owns the majority of the company. Gazprom is delivering gas to 25 European countries and the majority of Russian gas in Europe is sold on 25-year contracts (Gazprom, 2018). Most of the oil and gas comes from Siberia that are being distributed through the pipeline system to Europe. Countries that also have energy resources are Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These countries are neutral, whereas Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan are not because their economies are tied to Russia. This is the case also with east-Ukraine which has caused problems. When it comes to Russia having access to the sea, Sevastopol is the only warm-water port that Russia has. Because of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine, EU has posed limited sanctions on Russia. As Ukraine is not a member of NATO, the West needs to act when problems occur (EU Newsroom, 2014).

Russia points out in its own energy strategy that it is a responsible energy superpower that can be relied on when it comes to supplying energy. Russia is also aware of the fact that energy is important for their own economy and they need energy exports in order to make sure that their own energy facilities are maintained with the help of the income from exports. An interesting measure that the Russian energy strategy also refers to becoming more independent from the energy exports to the EU. Therefore, the plan is to move the energy production to northern parts of Russia (Energy Strategy of Russia, 2010). Even though Russia has made these statements claiming it is a reliable energy supplier, it has not been reliable at all times. The Ukraine case has proved that, also the fact that the poorest countries in Europe pay the most for Russian gas, which again refers to Russia not treating EU member states equally.

The gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine in 2009 damaged the reputation of Russia as a gas supplier which led to the EU wanting to renew the gas pipelines of Ukraine. Russia was not pleased about EU's plans since the move would have drawn Ukraine closer to the EU and that would not have been the best interest of Russia. The Russian foreign minister has stated that this would be an unfriendly act by the EU (Reuters, 2009). These are good examples of how Russia is continuing using energy as a political tool and getting what it wants by setting obstacles. The 2014 Russian military intervention in Ukraine caused the EU to pose sanctions on Russia. The restrictive measures were meant to be a response to the crisis in Ukraine (Council of the European Union 2014).

5 Analysis

In this part of the thesis, the aim is to present what kind of changes the Finnish energy discourse has gone through between the years of 2009-2018. This is almost a 10-year period and in the beginning of this particular time period, the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute resulted in gas supply disruptions in several European states. The aim is also to provide answers to the research questions. The data that will be used for this research will be collected from the biggest newspaper in Finland called Helsingin Sanomat. The reason for choosing Helsingin Sanomat as the main source for the data is because Helsingin Sanomat is a newspaper that can be read online, and there is a possibility to conduct a search between a time period according to your own preference. In the online database, it is also possible to choose the main category of the article search such as: economics, foreign affairs, politics, including many others. The first online-platform of Helsingin Sanomat was opened in 1996 (Helsingin Sanomat, 2018).

The Finnish media consists of broadcast, online and print formats which include newspapers, magazines, radio and television. In 2012, there were over 300 newspapers in Finland, Helsingin Sanomat being the biggest newspaper with the largest circulation (Cupore, 2018). When it comes to press freedom, Finland has been among the top five most free states according to the World Press Freedom Index (RSF, 2018). After exploring different alternatives for finding online content, the author decided to use Helsingin Sanomat for collecting the data for this research. The author tried to find an alternative solution for sourcing data such as using Elektra in Finland that provides Finnish scientific publications online in electronic form. However, it was only possible to use Elektra locally at a library in Finland which the author was not able to do since she does not live in Finland. The original plan was also to only use data provided in English, but that was not possible either since the research would have remained too narrow.

Based on these reasons, the author decided to use data that was available in Finnish language. By using the national language of Finland which the author has knowledge of, it was also easier to observe the social processes behind the written text which has to do with the parties involved with the published material. According to Fairclough (1997: 67), the media has a discursive and linguistic influence on publications. Fairclough also states that by the help of a discourse analysis, it is possible to gain insights on social and political inequality, power abuse and domination (Fairclough, 1995: 46). These insights are important to be noted from the collected data and to then further to be analyzed in the findings-section of this thesis. Various discourses are always parallel to each other and do not present themselves as separate sets. A discourse analysis is a method for reflecting reality and in order for the reality to not seem too disorganized, single events are being simplified by the media (Van Dijk, 2006: 374).

In the following chapters, the aim is to present in an explicit manner, what the Finnish energy discourse consist of. What are the main themes that arise from the Finnish energy discourse and how well do those themes correspond to the EU energy strategy? As mentioned, the author did not have access to the databases that Finnish libraries were able to offer locally. Therefore, the author had to solely rely on material that could be sourced online. For this reason, certain limitations were present when conducting the research such as being able to use only the biggest newspaper in Finland, versus using all of the newspapers that can be found in Finland equally. Also, the language had to be considered. The author made the search from the online database by using Finnish language and has translated the used keywords used in the research directly to English. The author had to conduct test searches by using various different keywords before being able to find the most essential ones.

After finding the essential keywords and conducting the search, the author was then able to divide the results into various categories which are called themes. It became clear also in the test phase that some themes clearly stood out more than others. The various themes will be presented later on in this chapter, and they will be analyzed more into detail. Even if the data was divided into clear categories in this thesis, it does not mean that the discourses were presented as clearly in the collected data. The division of the themes has been done simply because it is easier for the reader to make sense of the main areas of the various topics. Since an online database was used, it was positive for the author to be able to use it anywhere at any time. The downside with this method is that the database is not accessible for everyone, not only based on the language, but also due to the fact that the database is not accessible free of charge. The author had to register for the service and pay a fee for using it.

Since the database could be operated by using keywords, the author conducted test searches in order to be able to find the most essential topics. The keywords that yielded the relevant content was then used for the research. Before starting to collect any data, the author conducted several test searches in order to find the most suitable keywords. At first, the data was collected and looked at by reading through the relevant articles. After having looked at the collected data from a quite shallow perspective, the author divided the collected data into different themes. The analysis began taking into account the certain themes that arose from all the collected data. The data was then categorized under the themes that were the most significant for the research. The author wanted to use a software in order to make the categorization of the themes easier. A qualitative data analysis software called ATLAS.ti was used for this purpose. The software made it easy for the author to sort the collected data into the various categories by the help of the chosen keywords.

ATLAS.ti was also easy and quick to use. Not only was the categorization of the keywords important, but also the knowledge of who was behind the publication of certain articles and what the main target groups of the articles were. In other words, the authors of the articles. The keywords that did not match with the search yielded content that was not related to the topic of this research. These topics were topics that were related for example to the development of electric machines, various forms of energy such as food energy or energy for other use or just simply the use of the word “energy”. These topics were obviously out of the scope of this research. The most optimal keywords that were used also during the test phase were: “energy”, “energy policy”, “European Union”, “Finnish energy policy”, “Finland”, “Russia”, etc. Also, keywords such as “fuel” and “power” were used. The articles that were yielded were published between the years of 2009 and 2018. The search results were then narrowed down to more specific themes.

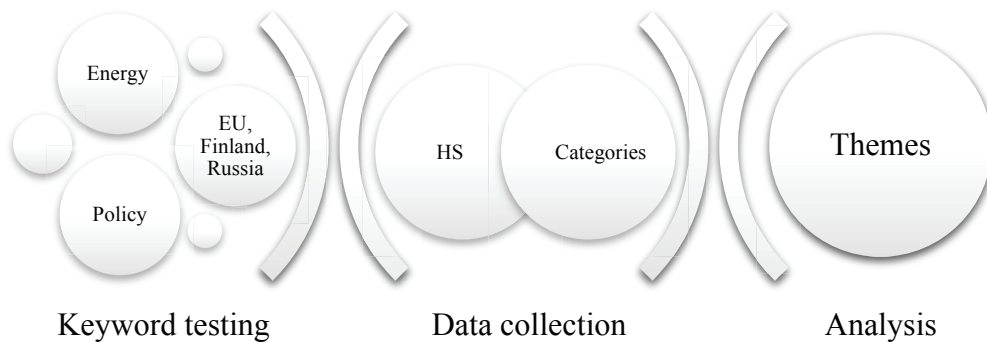


Figure 1, The Process of the Data Collection.

The table below shows the keywords used in Finnish when conducting the search in the online database of Helsingin Sanomat. On the left side of the column, the keywords used in Finnish are presented. On the right side, the equivalent translation to English is shown.

Keywords	
Finnish	English
Suom(en/i) energia politiikka	Finnish Energy Policy
Euroopan Unioni	European Union
Venäjä	Russia
Rejected keywords: Energia, Kaasu, Uusiutuva, Ydin	

Table 3, Keywords used when sourcing the data.

The table above shows the keywords that were successful when sourcing the data. The rejected keywords are shown in the column below the successful ones. The keywords at the bottom were rejected since they gave too many search results and were not specific enough. The articles that were not directly related to the research topic, e.g. articles that had to do with pollution, were excluded from the data. Also overlapping search results were excluded. The breakdown of the search results was done in a comprehensive manner so that topics that had to do with e.g. climate change versus topics that had to do with environmental issues were not mixed with each other and that they contained the right information. The right type of information had to be sought from the topics that have nuances with similar topics. Another reason for rejecting certain articles was if it was not possible to identify the author of the article or if the article was purely an opinion article. Some of the articles were simply opinion polls, that were also not relevant for this research. Articles that were outside the scope of Finland, EU and Russia, were also excluded.

5.1 Categories

When the keyword search was finalized, it was possible to conduct the search in the online search engine by using different categories. These categories were predetermined by Helsingin Sanomat. The relevant categories for this research were: domestic affairs, economy, foreign affairs and politics. The other categories such as career, culture, home, sport, among other irrelevant categories were excluded. However, also in the relevant categories came up articles that were not directly relevant to the research topic. The online search engine had very modest features, so the search was only possible to be made according to the categories that could be pre-selected from the navigation bar. The whole search was conducted based on the keywords that were tested and then chosen for yielding the most relevant search results.

Categories					
Keywords	Domestic affairs	Economy	Foreign affairs	Politics	Sum
European Union energy	80	296	266	31	673
Russia energy	211	513	313	99	1136
Finnish Energy Policy	36	56	24	32	148
Sum	327	865	603	162	1957
Sum of rejected articles	259	812	550	132	1753
Sum of accepted articles	68	53	53	30	204

Table 4, Number of articles by category and keyword.

The table above shows how many articles the search yielded from each category. As mentioned earlier, not all of the search results could be used for this research. The reason for this is because very often the articles did not relate to the research. Those articles were e.g. articles that had to do with heating during wintertime or articles that had to do with energy such as energy that comes from nutrition. The search yielded most articles from the domestic affairs -category. Economy and foreign affairs yielded an equal number of articles and the ones in the political-category came last. These articles will later on be divided into more specific themes that the analysis is based on. With the help of the search function of Helsingin Sanomat, 1957 articles were able to be found from the database. This amount also includes the number of articles that were rejected. It also has to be noted that most of the articles were overlapping several themes. The number of articles that were accepted was in total 204.

5.2 Themes

When the test phase was conducted, and when the keywords were selected, the keywords were then divided into different categories. Then it was time to divide the search results into relevant themes. These themes include the most frequent themes that arose from the collected data. In order to be able to correctly identify the theme of the article, it was necessary to read through each article.

Themes								
	Economic	Environment	FIN-EU Cooperation	FIN-RU Cooperation	Political	Security	SUM	%
2009	3	7	1	4	1	7	23	11,27
2010	2	6	-	2	3	2	15	7,35
2011	3	2	-	-	1	1	7	3,43
2012	3	2	3	-	2	-	10	4,90
2013	3	1	3	3	5	-	15	7,35
2014	5	6	7	10	23	7	58	28,43
2015	10	2	4	5	13	4	38	18,62
2016	2	7	1	2	8	5	25	12,25
2017	4	2	-	-	1	2	9	4,41
2018	-	-	-	1	2	1	4	1,96
SUM	35	35	19	27	59	29	204	100

Table 5, Number of articles per theme and year.

The table above presents the division of the various articles by theme. The percentage of each theme is presented in the column on the right.

The author has divided the results according to the most popular themes that the data collection yielded. Later on, the results of the findings will be discussed in a chapter that is completely dedicated to the findings. The author has also divided the various discourses into different chapters after according to the themes. However, the popularity of the various topics seems to vary according to the year when the article was published. The most relevant articles related to this research were published during the 2009 Ukraine gas crisis and in 2014 during the military invasion of Russia into Ukraine. It is clear that the political concern continued during the following year which explains the number of articles that were published during that time. When taking a quick look at the table above, it is clear that political aspects of security are the most important in the Finnish energy discourse. The economic situation and the environmental aspects of are also a great part of the energy discourse.

6 Findings

Between the timeframe of 01.01.2009-22.07.2018, 1957 articles were able to be sourced in total from the Helsingin Sanomat news database (hs.fi, 2018). As Helsingin Sanomat has a predetermined search categorization, the search was made by utilizing the most relevant categories. These categories included domestic affairs, foreign affairs, economy and politics. Categories that were excluded from the search were career, home, sport among other irrelevant categories. Some of the searches resulted in overlapping articles, these articles were not taken in consideration twice. Some of the articles may have contained two or more of the same themes, this was also taken into consideration when the division was made. Articles that had to simply do with e.g. heating were excluded, also articles that were related to states outside of the EU and Russia were also excluded. In total, 1753 articles did not belong to the scope of the research and were therefore excluded from the research.

From the predetermined categories in Helsingin Sanomat, the main themes that arose were collected and measured by the number of articles and by the year that the article was published. The results of the searches are presented in table 5 on page 53. The main themes that arose from the collected data were articles related to Finnish politics, economy and environment in connection to energy. The cooperation between Finland and the EU were in a minor role, compared to the cooperation that Finland had with Russia. The result could be based on the ongoing energy projects. The dominant theme varied by the year of the publication of the articles. It became clear that during 2009 when the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute was ongoing, more articles were published at that time. However, the number of articles reach a clear peak year 2014, when the Russian military intervention in Ukraine began. The majority of the articles during that time were related to politics or security.

The main contributors to the Finnish energy discourse in Helsingin Sanomat are single politicians, political parties, large energy companies and institutions related to research. Single politicians and political parties are bound to their own political ideologies and policies. These contributors are very often in a dialogue with various stakeholders in the field of energy and are always balancing between maintaining good relations with Russia and trying to follow the common goals of the EU Energy Strategy. Very often, it is questioned on which side does Finland stand in these matters? Are they taking their independent way or are they cooperating with the EU towards reaching the common goals? Is an open dialogue with Russia the best way to handle the relations between the states? The views about Russia vary from positive to negative, but there seems to be some sort of suspicion present in the discourses concerning Russia. Overall, Finnish decision-makers pay visits to Russia on a regular basis and vice versa.

The state cannot dictate what is said in the media because of the freedom of press in Finland (Infopankki.fi, 2016). This is very noticeable in the way that the discourses are carried out. This also means that the published articles cannot be biased. The statements of Finnish politicians are clear, and the media does not hesitate to present the events exactly the way that they have been carried out. Everyone can express their opinions freely. This also is a reflection of Finnish customs where fairness, honesty and punctuality together with the freedom of speech are well appreciated (This is Finland, 2010).

6.1 Finnish energy discourse

It becomes clear from the Finnish energy discourse that Finland is depending on Russia, not only in energy matters, but also economically. Russia is almost constantly present in the Finnish energy discourse and an important part of it. As Russia is a long-term trading partner of Finland, bilateral relations have developed over time. The chief director Esa Härmälä from the energy department of the ministry of employment and economy stated that Finland could give up Russian energy but to a high price. He does not want to comment the matter from a political perspective but wants to evaluate various options from a technical perspective (HS, 27.04.2014). However, Finland is already engaged with Russia in energy matters, even in new projects such as the Fennovoima nuclear power plant -project. This is a clear sign of the fact that Finland is too engaged with Russia in these matters and there would not be an easy or quick way out to become independent regarding energy.

The EU has mainly been against engaging with Russia in energy projects which becomes obviously clear already when looking at the main objectives of the EU Energy Strategy. As Finland has low capabilities of producing energy itself, not to mention the lack of renewable energy sources, this creates difficulties when Finland is trying to choose the right energy solution. Gas and nuclear energy seem to be the energy that are going to be used in Finland also in the future. In several of the articles, Russia is seen purely as a business partner and a state that Finland is benefiting from economically. From time to time, Russia is seen as a real threat to Finnish security, especially since Finland is not a member of NATO. Despite of all of the various views that come up in the Finnish energy discourse, Russia is soundly involved in the Finnish energy discourse. Most of the Finnish energy discourses are political, and the political tone cannot be avoided when energy is concerned.

Finland is not only involved with Russia in energy matters historically and in future energy projects. Finland is also involved in gas projects that are in collaboration with other EU member states, this could be considered taking a step towards not being at least directly involved with Russia in energy matters. In 2014, it was announced that Finland and Estonia would build 2 new liquified natural gas terminals in the Gulf of Finland. This also reflects the behavior that Finland does not only want to cooperate with Russia in energy matters, but also with other states to ensure its energy supply. It was also stated by the Finnish Minister of Economic Affairs Jan Vapaavuori that the project would get support both from the Finnish government, as well as the EU (17.09.2014).

6.1.1 Between environmental and security issues

As it becomes clear from the sourced data, the general discourse in Finland during the 2009 Russia-Ukraine gas dispute evolved around environmental and security issues. In 2009, the Foreign Minister of Finland, Alexander Stubb stated that *“Finland will continue to consider becoming a member of NATO and there are justified reasons for it.”* Energy shortages is one of the main reasons, but the Foreign Minister also points out that Russia has not become more threatening than before (HS, 24.01.2009). The Green Party of Finland was concerned over Russia’s navy being the one responsible for the supervision of the Nord Stream natural gas pipeline through the Baltic Sea between Germany and Russia. The Finnish Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb responded to the concerns with a suggestion of increasing the cooperation in energy matters with the EU. The pipeline project was never discussed with other EU member states, especially the ones that are neighboring states of Russia (HS, 03.09.2009).

Later during the same year, the Finnish government authorized the building of the Nord Stream pipeline. The project became justified since it was seen as environmentally friendly according to the Finnish government (HS, 05.11.2009). Security continues being a great part of the Finnish energy discourse in 2014, when the Russian military intervention in Ukraine begins. The Finnish parliament was discussing the Fennovoima nuclear power plant project where the Russian Rosatom would deliver the reactor. A quote from Oras Tynkkynen, a member of the Green Party:

“Rosatom is not a normal Russian company, it is the former Soviet Ministry of Atomic Energy, which is responsible for Russia's nuclear service, that is a Putin-owned enterprise, whose tasks include verbatim Russian geopolitical interests.”

Others were concerned about the Fennovoima-project too. Jukka Gustafsson from the Social Democrat party stated:

“Putin has been a cheeky and unpredictable power-maker, but economic and technological cooperation with Russia is important. It is what is in the general good of society.”

Finnish Prime Minister Alexander Stubb responded to these statements by saying that he has noticed prejudices and even “russophobia” and he regrets that all of these elements are being integrated when trying to find the right energy solution for Finland. Also, other statements were made such as “Russia will not be eliminated by hating Russia” said Juha Vätäinen from the Finns Party. The Finnish Prime Minister also considers the new nuclear power plant being a step away from the Russian energy dependency Finland suffers from. The chairperson of the Green Party of Finland Outi Alanko-Kahiluoto stated that “The equipment, fuel and technology will come from Russia” (HS, 15.10.2014). Mauri Pekkarinen from the Centre Party of Finland stated that the amount of energy that is being imported to Finland amounts to billions and billions of euros. He also wanted to remind of the fact that there are already two “Russian” operational nuclear power units in Finland. He also compared the Finnish energy cooperation to the one Russia has with Germany. The Finnish Fennovoima -project is much smaller in his eyes (HS, 17.09.2014). These discourses indicate that there are mixed opinions about Russia as an energy supplier. As mentioned, mixed opinions arise depending on if nuclear energy or gas is concerned. In 2016, when the Nord Stream 2 (NS2) -project becomes relevant, it was announced that former Finnish Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen is a part of the project in the role of a consultant. He was said to be the one that is opening doors for the NS2 -project. The former Prime Minister refuses to give long interviews about Nord Stream, but states in a brief email that the NS2 -project is only commercial, not political (HS, 19.04.2016). Happy news was received in July 2016 when the EU Commission granted an 88,5 million investment support for a Biorefinery located in the northern part of Finland. The

investment support was meant for producers of renewable energy (HS, 22.07.2016). Later the same year, the EU Commission published a legislation that would help to develop the energy markets in the EU member states and to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions. From the Finnish point of view, it's a relief since according to the calculations of the EU Commission, the demand for biofuels will be up to tenfold in the 2020s, which would be a "big commercial opportunity" for Finland (HS, 30.11.2016). Since Finland is still involved in forestry, it was good news to hear that a by-product of the forest industry could be considered as a renewable energy source. This also eliminated some of the pressure of Finland succeeding in the reduction of emissions.

6.2 Finnish energy discourse in relation to the EU

The Finnish government has been investing a lot on renewable energy projects on their own. That has caused a big gap in the government budget and therefore Finland is eager to cooperate with the EU especially when it comes to renewable energy projects, since the EU can offer assistance and financial support. Again, the discussion was at its liveliest during 2014 when the EU posed various sanctions on Russia because of the Ukrainian crisis. The discourses remained rather political during that time. During year 2014, Finland became worried about what the impact of the sanctions would mean for the Finnish economy. Despite the worries, Finland wanted to stand with the EU and stick to the sanctions the EU would pose on Russia. Finland also wanted to make sure that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine would come to an end as soon as possible. In 2014, the Ukrainian crisis was in the center of attention. The Ukrainian crisis further increased the EU from decreasing the import of Russian energy (Skuld, 2018).

The relations between the EU and Russia began to tighten in 2014. This became also evident during the EU summit when the EU was desperately seeking for alternatives for Russian energy. The summit focused on how to decrease greenhouse gas emissions and how to decrease the energy dependency that EU has. Finland was together with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Bulgaria in the center of attention since all of these states depend fully on Russian gas. A liquified natural gas terminal would be possible to be setup in the Finnish city of Inkoo, but at the moment, the only gas pipeline that comes to Finland is from Russia. The Finnish Prime Minister Jyrki Katainen stated that some budget could be invested in cleantech.¹³ Also biofuels would be something that should be explored Katainen says. But the legislation regarding biofuels are not up to date (HS, 23.03.2014).

¹³ Cleantech is referred to as clean technology. Cleantech.org. What is clean technology? Available at: <http://www.cleantech.org/what-is-cleantech/> (Accessed 31 July 2018).

In 2015, the EU began to tighten its regulations regarding Russia. The European Parliament decided that all energy projects with Russia shall be cancelled. The Finnish government had already decided to grant Fennovoima the license to start to build plant (HS, 18.09.2014). The chairman of the Finnish Green Party, Ville Niinistö became concerned about how the Finnish nuclear power plant project together with Rosatom would affect the relations between EU and Finland. The nuclear power plant that project that Hungary was planning together with Rosatom was declined by the EU because of the nuclear fuel deliveries that Hungary would later on be receiving from Russia. The case would be similar with Finland, which would receive the fuel for the plant from Russia. Niinistö stated that all of the values are also tradable for the government (HS, 05.08.2015). In an article from 15.08.2015, Niinistö states that the Fennovoima -project has a clear geopolitical connection to Russia.

During 2015 when the EU decided to tighten the regulations regarding Russian energy came at a bad time for Finland since it was already well engaged with Rosatom in the Fennovoima power plant -project. Many of the Finnish politicians were concerned about what kind of message Finland would send out by engaging in such projects. Despite all of the concerns, the project got accepted and could move forward. In September 2015, Maroš Šefčovič was visiting single EU member states to find out what the general opinion in energy matters is. During his visit in Finland, he met the Finnish Prime Minister and the Minister of Economic Affairs. The goal of the visit was to make sure member states would diversify their energy sources. Šefčovič presents the possibility of using liquified natural gas. According to the Professor of Russian Energy Policy Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen, Finland has been reluctant for EU becoming more involved in the energy decision-making. He also states that many Finnish politicians are of the opinion that there is no need for an energy union (HS, 24.09.2015). In 2015, The EU commission states that they would want member

states to inform the EU in the future about any contracts that are being made regarding gas with states that are not EU member states.

“According to the EU Commission, it is hard to change contracts that have already been signed.” (HS, 26.02.2015).

The Finnish Minister of Economy Jan Vapaavuori thinks that it is important for the EU Commission to get knowledge of the contracts that are been made. The biggest reason being to get possible support from the EU. He also thinks that single member states should have the freedom to enter into agreement independently. Depending on which political party is concerned, EU is seen as a partner, especially when it comes to supporting renewable energy projects. Some parties see EU as something that is trying to get in between the bilateral relations that Finland and Russia have between each other.

6.3 Finnish energy discourse in relation to Russia

The instability of 2009 caused Finland to worry about energy shortages from Russia. Therefore, NATO was frequently mentioned during that year and it was often pondered whether or not Finland should become a member of NATO. However, in many of the articles, various experts didn't consider Russia as a threat towards Finland. Other areas that were frequently discussed were cooperation between Finland and Russia in energy matters. Finnish politicians seem to often visit to Russia where cooperation is the main subject of the discussions. Overall, Finland is always making sure to maintain good relations with Russia. In the following narratives, energy is either a major or a minor part of the discourse. Other areas of the discussions are cooperation, economic affairs, security and other minor subjects. The discourses vary from positive to negative and vice versa.

However, the collected data reveals that the discourses are mostly political.

Alpo Juntunen, a docent and researcher of the Department of Defense from the National Defense college stated in 2009, that *"Russia is no threat to Finland"*. Juntunen also said that Russia is seeing Finland in a positive light (HS, 06.03.2009). In 2010, it was wondered why a Finnish Consulate General was going to be opened in Murmansk in Russia, when in other locations Finland have been closing down embassies. The Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander Stubb stated that *"Russia is a significant neighbor and partner for Finland"*. The main focus was on the future of the arctic areas and Finland wanting to be a part of future projects in the area (HS, 20.10.2010). In December 2010, Finnish Prime Minister Mari Kiviniemi visited Russia where cooperation in energy was discusses. According to the article, the Finnish and Russian Prime Ministers meet each other twice a year and the meetings are usually focus on economy and trade. During this meeting, the focus was also on Finns learning Russian instead of Swedish near to the border of Russia, which made Vladimir Putin enthusiastic (HS, 11.12.2010).

In 2012, an article is concerned about the Finnish “*Finlandization*”¹⁴ when it comes to the energy policy of Finland. The Foreign Minister of Finland, Erkki Tuomioja stated that the Nord Stream natural gas pipeline -project could not be categorized as being a political nor a security issue. This statement was made even if it has been clear that Russia has used energy as a political tool in the past (HS, 13.10.2012). Year 2013 brings the Fennovoima nuclear power plant discussions out. An article dated 04.09.2013 from Helsingin Sanomat states that the new nuclear power plant will be built in Pyhäjoki by the Finnish Fennovoima and the Russian Rosatom. In October 2013, it was announced that Rosatom would finance a large portion of the Fennovoima power plant. Rosatom would also own 34% of the power plant. Katja Andrejev from the Green Party of Finland stated that Finland cannot afford this type of risky investments (HS, 08.10.2013).

In some of the discourses it becomes clear that some Finnish politicians would prefer to keep the energy relations between Finland and Russia bilateral. On the other hand, it is believed that Russia only has geopolitical interest in engaging in energy projects in Finland. In late 2013, the chairman of the Finns Party Timo Soini was of the opinion that Finland should definitely take care of their relations to Russia by themselves. He especially disliked the fact that Finland is been controlled too much by the EU all the way from Brussels. Soini was especially concerned about the crisis between Russia and Ukraine and was of the opinion that Finland should solely have engage in bilateral discussions about it with Russia. *“I don’t like the fact that our foreign policy is being made in Brussels. We should always have a bilateral connection to Russia”*. Timo Soini, HS. (HS, 31.12.2013).

¹⁴ Finlandization, Suomettuminen, Finnlandisierung is a process where a more powerful state makes the smaller state tolerate the foreign policies of the state that has more power. The smaller state also gets to keep its independency and own political system. Kaplan, R., 2015. Asia’s Cauldron. USA: Random House Trade Paperbacks.

In 2014, Finnish Prime Minister Alexander Stubb expressed his concern about the sanctions that were posed on Russia by the EU. According to Stubb, Finland was in favor of the sanctions because it was able to negotiate the parts that would hit the Finnish economy the most (HS, 08.09.2014). In October, the discussion continued with the Prime Minister Alexander Stubb stating that “russophobia” is present in the Finnish parliament since especially the Green Party was extremely concerned about the Fennovoima nuclear power plant -project. *“Rosatom is only a device manufacturer. Fennovoima is a Finnish company with a Finnish management. The power plant will be located on Finnish soil”*. The Finnish Prime Minister was not too concerned about Russia being involved in the project (HS, 14.10.2014).

In 2016, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Finland for the first time after the 2014 Russian military intervention in Ukraine. The former Finnish Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen praised the way President Sauli Niinistö is maintaining the close relations towards the East (HS, 02.07.2016). Cooperation with Russia in energy matters were a great part of the Finnish energy discourse especially during the year 2014. This explains why there was a peak in the political discourse in 2014. Also, the sanctions that EU posed on Russia made Finland worried about what kind of impact they would economically have on Finland since Russia is an important trading partner.

7 Conclusion

It is evident that not only Finland, but many other EU member states are depending on Russian gas. Relations to Russia vary from one EU member state to another due to historical reasons and the geographical location. Many of the EU member states have well-established bilateral energy relations with Russia and when it comes to Finland, also trade relations with Russia remain strong. The ultimate goal of the EU is to present itself as a consistent whole in energy matters, but it has not succeeded so far. Another important part of the EU Energy Strategy is to decrease the dependency it has on Russia as an energy supplier. Due to climate change, other means of energy are being explored such as the use of renewable energy. Not all member states have the possibility to increase the use of renewable energy due to the lack of resources. For the time being, Finland has to rely on Russia as an energy supplier. Finland has also engaged in projects that Russia will be a part of until the unforeseeable future.

During almost a ten-year period, a lot of political changes have taken place in the world. The events of 2009 made Russia lose its credibility as an energy supplier, that caused also the EU to revise their Energy Strategy. Russia was accused of using energy as a political tool. Also, the 2014 military intervention of Russia in Ukraine caused lots of reputational damage. As a result of the 2014 events, the EU posed sanctions on Russia that had a major economic impact on Finland. Despite knowing the impact that the sanctions would cause, Finland wanted to support the EU in those measures. The Fennovoima Nuclear Power Plant -project negotiations with Rosatom were ongoing during these intense events and it caused plenty of discussion in the Finnish government. Different political parties in Finland have a different understanding of Russia as an energy supplier, and this caused disagreements in the Finnish Parliament. Politicians were concerned about what kind of values Finland was going to present to by engaging in energy projects with Russia.

It is not easy for Finland to be dealing with a monopoly in energy matters. Since Finland is connected only to one source when it comes to gas, it has had quite free hands to act on its own in the decision-making in that area. Finland is considered to be a neutral state and does not at the moment have intentions to enter into any military alliances. This thesis examined the Finnish energy discourse with the help of critical geopolitics and a discourse analysis. With the help of the theories and research method, it was simple to reveal the political decision-making and the discourses that were conducted along with the geopolitical knowledge of Finland. Critical geopolitics focus on the political discourses that arise from the practice of foreign policy making, not forgetting about the history (Dittmer & Sharp, 2014: 5). It became clear that Finland wants to ensure its energy supply by cooperating with Russia. Both of the parties are in a favorable position since they are depending each other.

Finland also pays a lot of attention to maintaining good relations with Russia and is making sure that the main focus lies in the social construct and the networks of people, which also the critical geopolitical thought is based on. Finland needs Russia for energy, and Russia needs someone to sell the energy to. Finland is acting rather from the perspective of self-interest and engaging in bilateral energy relations with Russia. As Finland has very little energy resources of its own, it is the best for it to act as it does in energy matters. Self-interest is key, and in this case keeping the relations stable not forgetting the dependency, it is a way of surviving in the international system. Finland can gain when engaging in energy affairs with Russia, but it does so also from the EU since various support can be granted for renewable energy projects. It can be noted that Finland has not made significant changes to their energy policy after the 2009 events. However, they have been following EU policies regarding the sanctions posed on Russia.

Finland is a state that has a long and complicated history with Russia. While being a part of the West and trying to maintain good relations with Russia, it may be tricky in today's world. The main themes of the Finnish energy discourse are related to politics, but also the economy and environment are a part of the discourse. When it comes to the cooperation between Finland and EU versus Finland and Russia, Russia is the one that the cooperation is done with the most. This has to do with economics too, since Russia is a significant trading partner of Finland. If this were to be changed so that the cooperation would be more focused on the EU, a consistent energy strategy has to be developed by the EU and other energy suppliers than Russia have to be considered. The EU would also have to provide constant support to the member states. Energy is something that cannot be separated from politics. Energy is connected with the economy, foreign relations and security.

8 Topic proposal

Proposed topic: An energy-efficient Europe. Securing the energy supply of Finland

Topic characteristics:

This thesis will focus on the energy discourse of Finland. Finland is depending on Russia for its energy supply and as a member state of the European Union, Finland is supposed to follow the Eu Energy Policy. One of the goals of the EU is to present itself as a whole when it comes to energy relations and to develop a common energy policy among the member states which has been challenging at times. Reasons for this are that the internal energy market of the EU is rather scattered, and the implementation of the EU Common Energy Policy is also challenging. One of the main goals of the EU energy policy is to decrease the energy dependency it has on Russia. On the other hand, Russia is depending on EU for its energy exports. The aim of this thesis is to find out what the energy discourses are like in Finland especially when it comes to forms of energy it is mostly depending on. The EU energy strategy also includes the climate targets set for 2020. Finland shares a common history with Russia including trade relations which remain strong even today.

The aim of the thesis is to find out what the energy discourse is like in Finland. The major energy sources for Finland are gas and nuclear among other minor sources. The thesis will also focus on current and coming projects that will be commenced in Finland in the near future. With the help of critical geopolitics, it will be possible to define what the main factors are when decision-making is done in Finland regarding energy matters. Critical geopolitics also help to explain the mutual dependence energy creates in the geographical area. Mutual dependence creates stability in the area, but a powerful state may be in a dominant position and can therefore be seen as a threat. Critical geopolitics also help to explain why certain political decisions are made in certain areas. Neorealism on the other

hand helps with considering how national interest plays a role when decisions in energy related matters are been made. As sources for the discourses I am going to use discussions, news articles and other material that has been published around this topic between the periods of 2009-2017. The reason for choosing this time period is because 2009 was the year when the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute began and that was also the year when the EU began to refine its energy strategy. Combining the theories with examining the material with the help of a discourse analysis, will enable me to find answers to the research questions and to the subject that is been investigated.

Research questions:

- What are the main themes that arise from the Finnish energy discourse?
- How do these themes correspond to the EU energy strategy?

Working hypotheses:

- In Finland, the discourses regarding energy are mainly anything else than political
- In Finland, Russia is seen as a partner rather than a threat
- Cooperation in energy matters with Russia is common in Finland

Methodology:

For this research, I am going to use a qualitative research method. For this I am going to use discourse analysis as a method for analyzing the discourses that have been conducted around this topic.

Bibliography

- Agnew, J., et al., 2003. *A Companion to Political Geography*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Agnew, J., et al., 2015. *Political Geography*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Agnew, J., 1998. *Geopolitics. Re-visioning world politics*. Routledge.
- Baylis, J., et al., 2011. *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Burchill, S., et al. 2005. *Theories of International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: <http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf> (Accessed 11 April 2018).
- Buzan, B., 1991. *People, States & Fear*. Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Cameron, D., Panović, I., 2014. *Working with Written Discourse*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Centre for European Reform, 2009. *Just another gas crisis?* Available at: <http://www.cer.eu/insights/just-another-gas-crisis> (Accessed 05 March 2018).
- CIA, 2018. *The World Factbook*. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html> (Accessed 23 April 2018).
- Cleantech.org. *What is clean technology?* Available at: <http://www.cleantech.org/what-is-cleantech/> (Accessed 31 July 2018).
- Clingendael Report, 2015. Available at: https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2015/eu_russia_rapport/1_the_eus_russia_policy_a_critical_appraisal/ (Accessed 17 June 2018).
- Cohen, S., 2003. *Geopolitics of the World System*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- The Correlates of War Project, 2018. *Data Sets*. Available at: <http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets> (Accessed 23 April 2018).
- Council of the European Union, 2014. *EU restrictive measures in response to the crisis in Ukraine*. Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/ukraine-crisis/> (Accessed 30 July 2018).
- Council on Foreign Relations, 2018. *The Russian Military*. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/background/russian-military> (Accessed 01 May 2018).
- Cupore, 2018. *Center for Cultural Policy Research*. Available at: <https://www.cupore.fi/fi/?Itemid=221> (Accessed 08 July 2018).
- Dalby, S., et al., 1996. *Writing critical geopolitics*. Elsevier.

Dittmer, J., 2010. *Popular Culture, Geopolitics and Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Dittmer, J., Sharp, J., 2014. *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*. Routledge.

Dodds, et al., 2013. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical Geopolitics*. Routledge.

Dodds, K., 2014. *Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Dodds, K., Atkinson, D., 2000. *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*. Routledge.

EIA, 2018. Russia. Available at:
<https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=RUS> (Accessed 01 May 2018).

Energy Strategy of Russia, 2010. Available at:
<http://www.energystrategy.ru/projects/docs/ES-2030> (Accessed 08 May 2018).

EPP, 2017. Kremlin Watch Report. Available at: <http://www.europeanvalues.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/How-do-European-democracies-react-to-Russian-aggression.pdf> (Accessed 13 June 2018).

European Biomass Association, 2018. EU energy system: an increasing fossil fuel dependency. Available at: <http://www.aebiom.org/eu-energy-system-an-increasing-fossil-fuel-dependency/> (Accessed 05 March 2018).

European Commission, 2018. A fully-integrated internal energy market. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/energy-union-and-climate/fully-integrated-internal-energy-market_en (Accessed 30 January 2018).

European Commission, 2007. Early Warning Mechanism. Available at:
https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/2009_11_16_ewm_signed_en_0.pdf (Accessed 28 July 2018).

European Commission, 2018. Energy Efficiency Directive. Available at:
<https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-efficiency/energy-efficiency-directive> (Accessed 10 May 2018).

European Commission, 2018. Energy Security and Energy Union. Available at:
<https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-strategy-and-energy-union> (Accessed 13 November 2017).

European Commission, 2017. Energy Security Strategy. Available at:
<https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-strategy-and-energy-union> (Accessed 13 November 2017).

European Commission, 2017. Energy Strategy and Energy Union. Available at:
<https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-strategy-and-energy-union> (Accessed 01 May 2018).

European Commission, 2018. First European Climate Change Programme. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/eccp/first_en (Accessed 08 May 2018).

European Commission, 2018. Imports and secure supplies. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/imports-and-secure-supplies> (Accessed 12 June 2018).

European Commission, 2018. Renewable energy directive. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32009L0028> (Accessed May 10 2018).

European Environment Agency, 2018. Renewable energy in Europe – 2017 Update: Recent growth and knock-on effects. Available at: <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/renewable-energy-in-europe> (Accessed 05 March 2018).

EUR-Lex, 2010. Energy 2020 A strategy for competitive, sustainable and secure energy. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1409650806265&uri=CELEX:52010DC0639> (Accessed 29 July 2018).

EUR-Lex, 2018. Summary of legislation. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:31999D0352> (Accessed 10 May 2018).

European Parliament. Article 194 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/68/energy-policy-general-principles> (Accessed 29 July 2018).

EU-Russia Energy Dialogue, 2011. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/2011_eu-russia_energy_relations.pdf (Accessed 13 June 2018).

European Union, 2018. Energy. Available at: https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/energy_en (Accessed 05 March 2018).

European Union, 2014. Newsroom. EU sanctions against Russia over Ukraine crisis. Available at: https://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/eu-sanctions-against-russia-over-ukraine-crisis_en (Accessed 25 July 2018).

Eurostat, 2018. Energieerzeugung und – einführen. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Energy_production_and_imports/de (Accessed 05 March 2018).

Eurostat. Natural gas price statistics, 2017. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Natural_gas_price_statistics (Accessed 31 July 2018).

Fairclough, N., 1995. Media Discourse. London: Edward Arnold.

- Fairclough, N., Wodak, R., 1997. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, SAGE.
- Fairclough, N., 2003. *Analysing Discourse*. Routledge.
- Fennovoima. Available at: <https://www.fennovoima.fi/hanhikivi-1/aikataulu> (Accessed 24 June 2018).
- Fennovoima, 2018. Owners. Available at: <https://www.fennovoima.fi/fennovoima/omistajat> (Accessed 15 July 2018).
- Fingrid: Kulutus ja tuotanto. Available at: <https://www.fingrid.fi/sahkomarkkinat/kulutus-ja-tuotanto/> (Accessed 01 May 2018).
- Finnish Energy, 2018. Electricity generation. Available at: https://energia.fi/en/energy_sector_in_finland/energy_production/electricity_generation (Accessed 05 March 2018).
- Finland.fi, 2018. Facts, stats and info. Available at: <https://finland.fi/category/facts-stats-and-info/> (Accessed 24 June 2018).
- Franck, T.M., & Weisband, E., 1971. *World Politics: Verbal Strategy Among the Superpowers*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Gazprom, 2018. Europe. Available at: <http://www.gazprom.com/about/marketing/europe/> (Accessed 01 May 2018).
- Geopolitical Futures. Energy Exports: A Source of Russian Power. Available at: <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/energy-exports-source-russian-power/> (Accessed 25 July 2018).
- Goodin, R., 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Griffiths, M., et al., 2008. *International Relations, The Key Concepts*. Routledge.
- Heinrich, A. & Pleines, H., 2014. *Export Pipelines from the CIS Region*. Ibidem-Verlag Stuttgart.
- Helsingin Sanomat, 2009-2018. Articles. News Database. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/haku/>
- Helsingin Sanomat, 2018. Historiakooste. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/extrat/10v/10v.html> (Accessed 08 July 2018).
- Infopankki.fi, 2018. Basic information about Finland. Available at: <https://www.infopankki.fi/en/information-about-finland> (Accessed 01 May 2018).

- Infopankki.fi, 2016. Media in Finland. Available at: <https://www.infopankki.fi/en/information-about-finland/basic-information-about-finland/media-in-finland> (Accessed 24 July 2018).
- International Labour Organization, 2018. Green jobs and renewable energy: low carbon, high employment. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_250690.pdf (Accessed 08 May 2018).
- International Trade Centre, 2018. Imports. Available at: <https://www.trademap.org/Index.aspx> (Accessed 08 May 2018).
- Kaldor, M. 1990. After the Cold War. New Left Review.
- Kaplan, R., 2015. Asia's Cauldron. USA: Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Kara, M., 2004. Energia Suomessa. Tekniikka, talous ja ympäristövaikutukset. Edita.
- Kelly, P., 2016. Classical geopolitics: A New Analytical Model. Stanford University Press.
- The Lisbon Treaty, 2013. Article 50. Available at: <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-European-union-and-comments/title-6-final-provisions/137-article-50.html> (Accessed 11 May 2018).
- Mackinder, H., 1919. Democratic Ideas and Reality. Constable and Company Ltd.
- Marshall, T., 2009. Prisoners of Geography. KCMG OBE.
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (2018): *Energy efficiency*. Available at: <http://tem.fi/en/energy-efficiency> (Accessed 01 May 2018).
- Ministry of the Environment, 2017. Climate change mitigation. Available at: http://www.ymp.fi/en-US/The_environment/Climate_and_air/Mitigation_of_climate_change (Accessed 6 November 2017).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017. Main Outlines of Finnish History. Available at: <https://finland.fi/life-society/main-outlines-of-finnish-history/> (Accessed 23 April 2018).
- The National Library of Finland, 2018. Arto. Available at: <https://www.kansalliskirjasto.fi/en/> (Accessed 07 July 2018).
- NATO. Hybrid influence – lessons from Finland. Available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2017/also-in-2017/lessons-from-finland-influence-russia-policy-security/EN/index.htm> (Accessed 31 July 2018).
- Nau, H., 2007. Perspectives on International Relations. CQ Press.
- Nordic Energy Research, 2018. The Nordics: Energy consumption by sector. Available at: <http://www.nordicenergy.org/figure/energy-consumption-by-sector/> (Accessed 01 May 2018).

The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2014. Reducing European Dependence on Russian Gas: distinguishing natural gas security from geopolitics. Available at: <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/NG-92.pdf> (Accessed 03 March 2018).

Painter, J., & Jeffrey, A., 2009. Geopolitics and anti-geopolitics. Sage.

Pevehouse, J., & Goldstein, J., 2014. International Relations. Pearson.

Reuters, 2009. Russia raps EU over Ukraine gas talks. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-ukraine-gas-russia/russia-raps-eu-over-ukraine-gas-talks-idUSTRE52P3O920090326> (Accessed 13 June 2018).

Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2017. Global Gas Lock-In. Bridge to Disaster. Available at: https://www.odg.cat/sites/default/files/global_gas_lock-in.pdf (Accessed 25 July 2018).

Rosatom, 2018. Projects. Finland. Available at: <https://www.rosatom.ru/en/investors/projects/> (Accessed 24 July 2018).

RSF, 2018. Ranking. Available at: <https://rsf.org/en/ranking> (Accessed 08 July 2018).

Schneider, S. & Sindler, M., 2014. Theories of International Relations. Routledge.

Sjölander, A., & Gunnarson, J., 2011. Tracking Discourses. Nordic Academic Press.

Skuld, 2018. Insight: Russia Sanctions. Available at: <https://www.skuld.com/topics/legal/sanctions/russia/insight-russia-sanctions/> (Accessed 06 July 2018).

Statistics of Finland, 2017. Energy. Available at: http://www.stat.fi/til/ene_en.html (Accessed 6 November 2017).

Statistics of Finland, 2018. Energian hankinta ja kulutus. Available at: https://www.stat.fi/til/ehk/2016/04/ehk_2016_04_2017-03-23_tie_001_fi.html (Accessed 01 May 2018).

Stavridis, J., 2017. Sea Power: The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans. Penguin Press.

SVKK, 2018. Suomen ja Venäjän välinen kauppa. Available at: <https://www.svkk.fi/suomen-ja-venajan-valinen-kauppa/> (Accessed 25 July 2018).

This is Finland, 2010. A Guide to Finnish Customs and Manners. Available at: <https://finland.fi/life-society/a-guide-to-finnish-customs-and-manners/> (Accessed 24 July 2018).

Tuathail, G., 1996. Critical Geopolitics. Routledge.

Tuathail, G., et al., 1998. The Geopolitics Reader. Routledge.

Tuathail, G., et al., 2003. *The Geopolitics Reader*. Routledge.

Tuathail, G. & Agnew, J., 1992. *Geopolitics and discourse: Political geographical reasoning in American foreign policy*. Elsevier.

UN, 2016. Framework Convention on Climate Change. Available at: http://unfccc.int/files/essential_background/background_publications_htmlpdf/application/pdf/conveng.pdf (Accessed 08 May 2018).

UN, 2018. KP Introduction. Available at: <https://unfccc.int/process/the-kyoto-protocol> (Accessed 08 May 2018).

UN, 2018. Permanent and Non-Permanent Members. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/> (Accessed 23 April 2018).

Van Dijk, T., 2006. *Discourse and manipulation*. SAGE Publications.

VTT, 2007. *Energy Use. Visions and Technology Opportunities in Finland*. Edita.

Waltz, K. 1959. *Man, the State, and War*. Columbia University Press.

Waltz, K., 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York, Random House.

Warner, G., 2013. *Geopolitics and the Cold War*. Oxford.

Werber, N., 2014. *Geopolitik zur Einführung*. Hamburg.

The White House, 2006. Theodore Roosevelt. Available at: whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/theodore-roosevelt/ (Accessed 2 April 2018).

Wilkinson, P., 2007. *International Relations. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.