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**Gendered security discourses in Finnish news media
during the NATO discussion in 2022**

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<p>The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 prompted Finland to re-evaluate its national security and led to increased support for NATO membership. This study examines how Finnish news media portrays national security at the time of heightened sense of insecurity. The objective of the study is to explore and expose the nexus of security and gender within the NATO discussion context.</p> <p>Drawing on feminist security studies, this study views security as a gendered concept. It takes an interdisciplinary approach, integrating security studies, gender studies, and media studies. The thesis investigates the gendered nature of security by using traditional masculine and feminine values as tools in discourse analysis. Additionally, the thesis analyses whose voices are heard in the media.</p> <p>This case study focuses on the NATO discussion in Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti, and Yle from January to March 2022. The thesis comprises two parts from the perspective of methodology and data. The quantitative content analysis of 671 online news articles examines gender representation in the media, while the qualitative analysis of 70 opinionated online news media articles employs thematisation and Wodak's approach to critical discourse analysis.</p> <p>The findings of this study imply that the dominant notion of security in the media is narrow and masculine. The hegemonic notion of Finnish national security aligns with traditional masculinity, emphasising militaristic, physical, and rational characteristics. The analysis shows that growing insecurity appears to correspond with decreasing feminine notions of security. The study argues that the prevailing security discourse in the media is exclusive to the performances of militarised masculinity. Additionally, security is predominantly discussed by male voices in the media.</p> <p>Finally, this thesis argues that the dominant narrow, masculine, and militaristic notion of security is not contested in the media, thereby lacking a comprehensive understanding of securities and insecurities as well as inequalities. The study addresses a need for further critical research to examine the interrelation of national security, militarism, and gender in Finland.</p>			
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1. INTRODUCTION

"A changed security policy environment" was a phrase that emerged prominently in the Finnish news in early 2022. When Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022¹, its neighbouring countries were forced to re-evaluate their security policies, according to their distinct historical and geopolitical environments. Since its independence in 1917, Finland has reflected its national security considering the geopolitical position next to Russia or the Soviet Union.

After World War II, Finland adopted a policy of neutrality and military non-alignment that have been seen as practical for a small country next to a great power (Penttilä, 1994). Following these principles, in the 2010s, President Sauli Niinistö has described Finnish foreign and security policy by referring to "four pillars": national defence, Western integration, relations with Russia, and a rules-based international system (President of the Republic of Finland, 5.11.2018). The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 was perceived in Finland as undermining two pillars of security, the relations with Russia and international rules-based security architecture. Consequently, immediately after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was suggested as a new pillar of security for Finland.

1.1 NATO's changing role in Finnish security policy

In this thesis, I examine Finnish security discourses in three Finnish online news during the NATO discussion ensuing the Ukrainian invasion in January–March 2022. During this period, the public discussion witnessed a significant shift in the perspectives of citizens, security experts, and policymakers regarding Finland's NATO membership. In May 2022, Finland took a momentous step by formally applying for NATO membership. Drawing on the theoretical framework of feminist security studies, I quantitatively identify gender representation in the security news and qualitatively analyse gendered notions of security portrayed in the media. The primary research method in this media study is critical discourse analysis. By examining the media discourse surrounding national security discussions, I aim to reveal the nexus of security and gender, which may have been disregarded amid growing insecurity and support for NATO membership in Finland.

¹ Russia invaded and subsequently annexed the Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine already in 2014. The invasion started the Russo-Ukrainian War, first referred to as the Ukrainian Crisis. In this thesis, the Russian invasion of Ukraine refers thoroughly to the events in 2022 and the nationwide invasion starting on 24.2.2022.

Introducing NATO is essential for contextualising the analysis of this thesis. NATO is a military alliance formed in 1949 by several European and North American countries with common defence, crisis management, and security cooperation goals. Military cooperation and collective defence were the desire of several Western democracies in the aftermath of World War II. NATO membership entails alignment within a political and military alliance whose purpose is "to guarantee the freedom and security of its members through political and military means" (NATO, n.d.). The guarantee is generally linked to Article 5 of the NATO Charter, the NATO security clause. Article 5 states that an attack against one member state is interpreted as an attack against all (NATO, 2023). However, different member states may interpret Article 5 in somewhat diverse ways, as it has only been activated once – following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact in 1991, the discussion on whether to join NATO has been somewhat continuous in Finland. Since the Finnish EU Membership in 1995, Finnish foreign and security policy has been characterised by the "NATO option", meaning a non-aligned stance that neither confirms nor rules out the potential for NATO membership. Adopting the NATO option has been seen as a fundamental principle of Finland's security policy in the 21st century. Finnish support for NATO membership has been steadily below 30 % until, directly after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, support rapidly jumped to 60 % (EVA, 22.3.2022). This significant increase meant a substantial re-evaluation of the concept of security within the Finnish context. Consequently, the NATO membership discussion in Finnish national media provides a momentous platform for the feminist analysis of security in this study.

1.2 Research aim and research questions

As I followed the Finnish security news during the spring of 2022, both the perceptions of security and NATO as the warranty of Finland's security seemed remarkably consistent. From this starting point, I wanted to apply the viewpoints of feminist security studies into the context of Finnish media discussion on NATO. In this environment, gender might not initially appear to exist or be deemed relevant for discussion. I chose to approach the discussion from interdisciplinary perspectives, integrating the field of security studies with gender studies and media studies.

The dominant, hegemonic portrayals of security in the media have the power to influence our perceptions of security. Prevalent security perceptions shape our understanding of whose security is prioritised and which securities are taken into consideration, and thus subsequently

influence the decisions made in security policy (Wibben, 2011). Through a critical analysis of security discourses in the context of the Finnish NATO discussion, this thesis aims to reveal gendered power dynamics related to security and offer emancipatory knowledge that contributes to a broader understanding of inequalities and insecurities.

Security has been researched extensively from feminist approaches. Since the 1980s, international feminist scholars including Carol Cohn (1987), Cynthia Enloe (1989) and J. Ann Tickner (1992), and later in the 2000s, for example, Annick Wibben (2011) and Laura Sjoberg (2011, 2013) have conducted pioneering research on gendered dimensions of security. This thesis is specifically inspired by the famous question posed by Cynthia Enloe in her book "Bananas, Beaches, and Bases" (1989): Where are the women? Examples of recent work in the field of feminist security studies include "The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security" (2018), "The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security" (2019), along with a range of gender studies exploring topics such as environmental security (e.g., Detraz, 2015), agency and violence (e.g., Penttinen, 2018), and gender as a national interest at the UN Security Council (e.g., Basu, 2016).

In the Finnish context, security and security politics has been studied from a gender perspective by, for example, Arto Jokinen (2000), Teemu Tallberg (2009), Pirjo Jukarainen (2010) and Sirkku Terävä (2010). Additionally, critical military research conducted by Susanna Hast (2022, 2023), Noora Kotilainen (2022, 2023), and Leena Vastapuu (2023) provides valuable insights into militarism and militarisation in the Finnish context, which are relevant to this study. Some studies that touch on the topic of Finnish NATO discussion include Tuomas Forsberg's exploration of Finland's relationship with NATO (2002), Juho Rahkonen's investigation of the NATO membership discussion in the media (2006, 2007), Iro Särkkä's analysis of NATO rhetoric (2019). However, research focusing on the gender perspectives of security in the Finnish NATO discussion remains limited. Altogether, this critical study will contribute to the existing research on security and its gendered aspects.

The perception of Finland as a country internationally recognised for its high level of gender equality and gender rights creates certain tensions within the framework of this thesis. For instance, Finland has made significant commitments to promoting gender equality and other human rights in its foreign and security policy (Finnish Government, 2019). In recent decades, such feminist policies have represented a significant leap forward, visible especially in Nordic countries that are often regarded as the zone of feminist foreign and security policy. However, the seeming prominence of feminist policies does not diminish the importance of studying security from gender perspectives, even in Finland. The purpose of this thesis is not only to explore but also to critically

expose the gendered notions of security within an environment marked by a growing sense of insecurity, even mounting militarisation. How does gender intersect with the concept of national security in a country that is considered a model of gender equality?

This thesis is grounded in feminist security studies; hence the premise is that security *is* a gendered concept. The first research question seeks an answer to whose voice is heard in the security discussion. It guides to examine gender representation in the media. The second research question focuses on examining gendered notions of national security portrayed in the media, specifically through the lens of traditionally masculine and feminine values. Therefore, in this thesis I focus on answering the following research questions:

RQ1: Who participates in the media discussion on security, and who is left out?

RQ2: How are gendered notions of security present in the media?

The structure of the thesis is as follows: First, I begin with establishing the theoretical framework of feminist security studies in chapter 2. I review relevant literature on security and gender, media discourses, and media representation and outline the NATO membership debate in Finland as the case for this thesis. I will then move on to the research methodology in chapter 3. I introduce the research design, research material from the media landscape point of view, and the data collection processes. Also, in chapter 3, the methods of thematisation and critical discourse analysis are explained in detail. In chapter 4, I examine the findings of the gender representation coding in the security news and analyse the three main security discourses one at a time. In chapter 5, I further discuss the security discourses and empirically illustrate the prevalence of traditional gendered notions of masculinity and femininity by focusing on the NATO discussion. In chapter 6, I conclude this thesis by summarising the findings and advocating for integrating feminist approaches in security discussions.

2. FEMINIST APPROACH TO SECURITY AND MEDIA

This chapter examines the theoretical framework for the thesis. I introduce the concept of security in the field of international relations and security studies from a traditional and feminist standpoint. I present the key concepts of masculinity, femininity and gender as feminist tools for examining security. Then, I further explore literature on media discourses and media representation. At the end of the chapter, I introduce the context of the case study.

2.1 Security

The concept of security in this thesis is understood as national security. I draw on the definition that security is based on a human agreement, and security is understood and experienced in terms of concepts such as nation, sovereignty, class, and gender (Cohn, 2011). Security can also refer to a universal biological aspect of basic human needs such as food, shelter, and safety. While these biological needs are essential for overall security, they are not the primary focus of this thesis. Instead, the focus is on national security, which is perceived as a core value of a state (Tickner, 1992, p. 28).

2.1.1 Security in international relations

Security agenda locates in the field of international relations (IR), where multiple theories seek to explain how states operate within the international system (e.g., Buzan, 1991; Booth, 2005). IR theories can be divided into three main strands, realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The traditional understanding of the concept of security, in this thesis and in general, is based on how it is perceived in the realist approach (Tickner, 2018, p. 16). IR scholar Ken Booth (2005, p. 2) writes that security has been an important topic in IR since the discipline originated during the “tumultuous period of World War I”. At that time, many in the West sought to prevent future wars by understanding their underlying causes and promoting long-term peace. Booth (2005, p. 4) continues that security continued to be a major focus in IR after World War II and throughout the Cold War, occupying the attention of scholars studying the subject. The world was shocked by the violence of both World Wars, and scholars emphasised the importance of researching security because there cannot be a continuum of peace without understanding security and wars.

The emergence of security studies has been seen as a direct response to the pervasive presence of violence and aggression in the behaviour of humans and nations (e.g. Shepherd, 2012, p. 3).

It is pointed out that security requires insecurity to become meaningful because otherwise, it would be inconsequential (Wibben, 2011, p. 45). In other words, there is no concept of security without insecurity and surviving from insecurity. IR scholar Barry Buzan (1991, p. 21) defines security as a condition in which an actor is free from threats to its core values, which he identifies as survival, autonomy, and identity. According to Buzan's realist approach, security is thus "a condition of survival", and these core values are what actors seek to protect when they pursue security. However, it has been contested that surviving is not a synonym for security, only a condition, because one can survive without feeling safe (Booth, 2005, p. 22). In realist approaches, thus, the pivotal security issue is the threat of sovereignty: a power competition about who feels most safe.

In the literature, indeed, the realist approach to security almost unanimously refers to territorial survival. A feminist international relations theorist J. Ann Tickner (1992, p. 29), notes that for realists, "security is tied to the military security of the state". Militarism refers to the dominance of military values and practices in society and social institutions (Vastapuu et al., 2023, p. 1). Militarism is an ideology not necessarily recognised or identified in society, which is why militarism is also called an "unconscious ideology" (Åhäll, 2016, p. 161). The concept of unconscious ideology is the basis that helps us to understand the world around us, very often without noticing (Weber, 2014, p. 5). Militarism also assumes that only a state that protects itself with armaments and equips itself for war is just and capable (Kotilainen & Hast, 2022, p. 33). The process of militarism is called militarisation, which means consolidating military power and making a military in style (Åhäll, 2016, p. 159). The fundamental beliefs of militarism and the process of militarisation produce the idea of war where hierarchies and the existence of the enemy are inherent and not contested.

The realist approach to security reached its greatest domination during the long period of the Cold War era. Later the mainstream, realist conceptions of what secures peace have been challenged by the field of critical security studies (CSS). As with any critical theory, it challenges the orthodox conventions. CSS has established an independent approach to security that prioritises human emancipation and community rather than focusing solely on the interests of the state and territorial sovereignty. This approach goes beyond ensuring survival and explores the potential for a more fulfilling and meaningful existence. However, it should be noted that even critical security studies have been criticised from a poststructuralist perspective (Åhäll, 2016, p. 156).

Depending on the point of view, feminist security studies (FSS) is either positioned within the broader field of CSS or exists alongside CSS as a separate but interconnected approach with some overlapping aspects. First and foremost, CSS and FSS share the idea of challenging the mainstream ideas of security derived from realist, masculinised, statist and militarised thinking (Cohn, 2011). The critical approaches, CSS and FSS, see that the major flaws of the ideology of realism are the illusion of objective truth and ignoring human-centric focus. A broader posthumanist approach to security in IR shifts the focus from human to ecological thinking, for instance (e.g. Cudworth & Hobden, 2011). Critical ideologies offer alternative approaches to security that address these flaws and prioritise a more inclusive and holistic understanding of security. To borrow the words from Booth (2005, p. 6), “realism is a misnomer” – a theory with an iconic name but which is more precisely unrealistic realism.

2.1.2 Feminist security studies

FSS offers the central theoretical framework in this study. Inherently, FSS criticise that the notion of security is too narrow, and that the security research has been gender-blind, state-centric, and male-centred (e.g. Enloe, 1989; Tickner, 1992; Cohn, 2011; Shepherd, 2012). Already in the 1980s, Cynthia Enloe (1989), among other scholars, brought gender into the field, pointing out that international politics is a world that excludes women. Sjoberg (2011, p. 600) states that crossing between the disciplines of feminist studies and security studies, FSS “reformulates mainstream approaches to traditional security issues, foregrounds the roles of women and gender in conflict and conflict resolution, and reveals the blindness of security studies to issues that taking gender seriously shows as relevant to thinking about security”. To such an extent, FSS exists and is forced to be introduced as a reflection of the normative realist approach in IR.

In this thesis, I approach gender as a social and cultural construct distinguishing it from biological sex (Rossi, 2010, p. 27). I examine security through a “gender lens” to expose biased gender constructions and power relations. Feminist scholar Judith Butler (1990) defines cultural gender as a performance learned and internalised over time by the repetition of acts. FSS researchers are interested in exploring which gendered characteristics are selected and valued (Sjoberg, 2011). For instance, do women, femininities or emotional characteristics have a place in the discussion of national security? Referring to Enloe’s (1989) work, IR scholar Laura J. Shepherd (2012, p. 17) states that the merit of FSS is how it connects the societal dots, “complex

interrelationships”, of local, national, and global dimensions of security. Feminist perspectives on security redirect us at many levels to the complex roots of violence, domination and hierarchy that shape power. Through a gender lens, the field of FSS observes what is left unseen and made invisible in the security agenda (e.g., Tickner, 1992; Sjoberg, 2018).

In addition to the "gender blindness", the failure to recognise the role of gender in shaping security concerns and policies, there are other flaws in the dominant realist approach to security from the perspective of FSS. Realism is primarily concerned with the state's security and ability to protect its interests against external threats (Tickner, 2018, p. 16). The state-centric focus ignores the security concerns of non-state actors, such as marginalised groups, and fails to account for the impact of state policies on these groups. Moreover, security scholars have built theories and methods around men's lived experiences, as Sjoberg (2013) notes in the context of war stories. For this reason, security studies have been slow to recognise the gendered foundations, and IR remains a male-dominated field.

On the one hand, realism also lies in "doomed insecurity" because the approach to security is sceptical about the possibility of states ever achieving perfect security (Tickner, 1992, p. 29). As the etymology of the word "real" suggests, the realist worldview lies in the belief in conducting objective truth. This "real" notion of security generalises "security as everyone's security", although it is exclusive. Consequently, the feminist approach to security criticises the question of "whose security" is being considered (e.g., Enloe, 1989; Enloe, 2000).

Altogether these flaws cause the need for emancipation. Central to the critical approach to security, emancipation refers to the process of breaking free from oppressive systems and structures that limit one's agency, autonomy, and freedom (e.g., Booth, 2005). Emancipation thus challenges the dominant patriarchal and gendered power relations that shape security policies and practices. The aim of researching security from any approach, from the realist to the critical, is ultimately to achieve the common goal – security and peace.

2.1.3 Masculinity and femininity in security

According to Butler (1990), gender is the socially constructed binary that defines “men” and “women” as two distinct classes of people. Moreover, the making of gender is always part of “patriarchal assumptions about feminine and masculine” (Enloe, 1993, p. 70). It is important to note that masculine and feminine norms and values are not “inherent” to any gender, but, they are

“made” through socialisation and institutional practices (Enloe, 1989, p. 3). Another important consideration is that no universal standards for masculinity or femininity exist. The traditional categories of femininity and masculinity I use in this thesis rely on culture-specific and hegemonic structures. However, it should be noted that masculinities and femininities are not fixed or mutually exclusive categories (Butler, 1990). The existence of many forms of gender identities, from hegemonic and complicit to marginalised and hybrid, should be acknowledged even if they are not explicitly examined in this study.

The traditional Western understanding of gender is based on culturally determined binary oppositions. Joan Scott (1986, p. 42), a historian focused on gender, has suggested that such oppositions include public versus private, objective versus subjective, self versus other, reason versus emotion and autonomy versus nature. The first of each pair of characteristics is typically associated with masculinity, and the second with femininity. In this thesis, I deliberately use the traditional masculine–feminine dichotomy as a theoretical tool (not as an unfix reality) to analyse how gendered notions shape national security in Finland. At the same time, I acknowledge that applying traditional categories has limitations and is criticised by the poststructuralist feminist approach. For example, there is a possibility of maintaining, producing or reproducing binary oppositions in this thesis, even if I am intended to avoid that by critical approach.

I ground the analysis on the simplified division of "feminine security" and "masculine security". In contrast to traditional militaristic masculine security, feminine security lies in traditional feminine norms. It emphasises co-operation, collaboration, relationships and community over self or state, values of emotional intelligence, intuition, empathy and care, and a tendency towards inclusivity (Tickner, 1992, p. 7). Feminine security also considers the political dimensions from domestic to international (Shepherd, 2012, p. 17). Building on this broader understanding of security, FSS criticises the narrow traditional notion of security as territorial sovereignty. That ignores other vital aspects of security, such as economic, social, and environmental security, and tends to prioritise the state's interests over the well-being of individuals (Booth, 2005, p. 12). Consequently, FSS criticises masculine security for lack of non-military solutions, such as diplomacy, negotiation, and economic incentives (Tickner, 2018, p. 18) and failure to address the root causes of insecurity, including poverty, inequality, and human rights abuses (Shepherd, 2012, p. 18).

Similarly, “masculine security” builds on what is associated with masculinity, including aspects such as emphasis on competition, aggression, and domination, focus on self-interest, prioritisation of physical strength and power, and a tendency towards rationality and detachment

(e.g. Tickner, 1992, p. 6; Eichler, 2014, p. 82). Moreover, Butler (2004) states that violence is an essential part of the traditional ideal of the masculine gender; masculine is tied to the violent subordination of the feminine. Accordingly, masculine security emphasises hierarchy and control and valorises violence and militarism. Masculine security assumes that the state's security is contingent on military power and the capability to protect against external threats (Tickner, 1992, p. 29). These values reflect the realist approach to security, which reveals the intersection of realism with traditional masculinity.

Realist approach is linked to traditional “militarised masculinity” (e.g. Enloe, 2000; Eichler, 2014). According to scholar Maya Eichler (2014, p. 81), militarised masculinity inherently means that the soldier must be masculine, and the masculine must be a warrior. Militarised masculinity is culturally associated with men, but it should not be understood as a construction which is not only maintained by men. Enloe (2000, p. 263) illustrates that, for instance, women soldiers are required to sustain the culture of militarised masculinity as well. Moreover, Enloe (2017) notes that masculinity fuels wars and militarism and vice versa. Vastapuu et al. (2023, p. 2) continue that amidst an often unnoticed process of militarisation, there has been a tendency to prioritise masculine and patriarchal values, meanwhile relegating “soft” values and practices associated with femininity.

Moreover, militarism manifests itself as the opposite of masculinity and femininity (Kotilainen & Hast, 2022, p. 28). It means that the values of militarism and traditional masculinity are strongly intertwined and create a binary opposition to femininity which is traditionally not associated with militarism. Both militarism and masculinity tend to perceive violence as a solution to insecurity and idealise force, physical strength, and self (or state) over inclusivity. Traditionally, security has been associated with a strong form of militarised masculinity and peace with a type of femininity where women are seen only as victims needing protection (Tickner, 2018, p. 16).

The "glorification of the male warrior", as Tickner (1992, p. 40) calls the embodiment of militaristic masculinity, has been historically present in Finland's security and defence. Since the independence of Finland, the structure of the Finnish Defence Forces has widened the gap between men and women and placed women in the position of second-class citizens. During World War II, for example, the "militarised male image" maintained Finland's determination for battle, and an increasingly substantial equivalence between man and soldier was formed (Ahlbäck, 2010, p. 137). This image implies that the responsibility of defining, defending, and promoting the state's security interests is predominantly a man's affair (Tickner, 1992, p. 28).

Kotilainen and Hast (2022, p. 28) suggest that in Finland, militarised masculinity is still sustained by the universal male conscript army and by the commemoration of the war. The general conscription for men has been a central part of national identity in Finland, and alternatives have not been significantly considered (Jukarainen & Terävä, 2010, p. 13). Although there are non-men in the Finnish Defence Forces, the number of women who applied for voluntary conscription in 2022 was just under 1,600, which is less than 7 % of the about 23,000 who completed the service in the same year (Finnish Army, 9.3.2022; Finnish Defence Forces, 20.12.2022). Furthermore, the demand for militaristic masculinity is reflected in the fact that senior management in the Defence Forces is more male; for example, only around 3 % of the officers are women (Kouri, 2022).

The institutionalised male duty to protect has connected militarism to manhood and further to security. Since patriarchal power and militarism are intertwined, the soldier is not only male but also masculine in the Finnish universal male conscription. Moreover, the idealisation of men and masculinity is potentially why Finland's legislation concerning conscription is still blatantly unequal (Kotilainen & Hast, 2022, p. 37–38). It is important to note that this kind of demand for masculinity in security does not only exclude women but also marginalises masculinities and men who are not seen to represent militarised masculinity (Tallberg, 2009). Militarised masculinity does not explain manhood more than any other gender but gives an understanding of what values are dominating and demanded in the context of masculine security.

2.2 Media discourses and representation

The following section touches on how discourse and representation in the media are understood in this study. By introducing media studies literature on discourses and representation, I provide a theoretical basis for analysing gendered perceptions of security discourses in the media. I also introduce the Global Media Monitoring Project, which examines gender representation in media globally.

2.2.1 Discourses in media

Media as a public forum shapes our understanding of social norms, values, and ideologies. The discourses in media have the power to reinforce and challenge public opinion, influence political agendas, shape identities, and define what is considered “normal” in society (van Dijk, 2008;

Wodak, 2009). Relevant from the perspective of this thesis is to understand the role of media discourse, which means the process of interaction that is not direct or face-to-face (Talbot, 2007, p. 5-9). Media discourse is distinct from the concept of “text”, which, in turn, refers to the observable product of interaction in media (Ibid.). The term discourse is widely and sometimes confusingly, as Fairclough (1995) notes, used in various disciplines but in this thesis, I stick to the definition of media discourse specifically.

The power of media derives from the position that in modern democracies, media serve a vital function as a forum of the public sphere (Talbot, 2007, p. 3). Social theorist Jürgen Habermas (1989) defines the public sphere, in its simplest form, as the shared space in which public opinion and further policies can be formed. The public sphere is seen as the opposite of the private space: publicity and reason are stereotypically associated with masculinity, while privacy and emotion are associated with femininity (Dahlgren, 2009, p. 52). This further links the public sphere to the juxtaposition of traditional masculine and feminine values. The difference between the public and private sphere is, at its simplest, what should be seen and what should remain hidden (Arendt, 1958) – connected to the premise of this study.

One aspect of the power of media is what is decided to write about, give space, and another is how it is written (e.g., Richardson & Wearing, 2014). Scholars from a range of disciplines, including media studies, communication studies, sociology, and international relations, have analysed how media discourses shape perceptions of security threats and influence public opinion and policy. Media discourses have been explored from various security perspectives, including how practices of surveillance are discussed in newspapers in the context of national security, crime prevention, and privacy in the UK (Barnard-Wills, 2011), from the perspective of gender politics and security discourse in “post-conflict” Serbia (McLeod, 2016), and what discourse analysis reveals on political violence, new terrorism and gendered dimensions of Russian-Chechen history in newspapers (Gentry, 2016). Media discourses influence how great a social issue security is, which notion of security is hegemonic and what values are associated with it.

2.2.2 Representation in media

In addition to media discourses, media representation is a central theory to this study, which examines how and by whom security is discussed in the media. Paasonen (2010, p. 40) determines

that representation is simultaneously presenting, representing, producing and reproducing. It can be considered as an event in which concepts or people are associated with particular meanings.

As with discourses, representations always involve power. Power is bound up with how representation is an imperfect reflection of something that exists and always leaves something out (Paasonen, 2010, p. 41). Regarding media representation, different representations of security and gender thus produce limited single notions and exclude other realities. Representation is recognised as one of the central concepts of mid-twentieth-century feminist theory that derived from the activists' fight for women's increased representation in government and against sexualised and narrow images of women in media and popular culture (e.g., Disch, 2015, p. 781).

Representation is a question of what is represented and what is not, and who is allowed to produce representations. Representation can also be defined by the representative standing for a group or ideology (Richardson & Wearing, 2014, p. 7). In this sense, power is exercised by the producer of the representation, such as the media or individuals as new sources. Paasonen (2010, p. 41) notes that representation is particularly linked to the ideas that media both *produce* and *mediate*. Producing refers to the fact that representations do not simply reflect societal values and understandings but participate in shaping and circulating them – acting as a framework for understanding reality. Mediating describes how media, online media news in this study but in general also mediums from films and newspapers to advertisements, display and convey different images to the audience. (Paasonen, 2010, p. 41–43) In this sense, power is exercised by the producer of the representation, such as the media or individuals as new sources. My intention is not to examine precisely how the selected media, Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti or Yle, produce security or gender representations. Instead, I intend to examine broader cultural perceptions of prevailing security in the Finnish public sphere, for which the media as a public forum provides a valuable starting point.

Feminist scholars in the field of media studies argue that media is inherently gendered – as is the concept of security. Gender is in relation to the institutional context of media as well as the symbolic and representational practices (Richardson & Wearing, 2014, p. 18). Gender representation in media has been widely studied. To name a few examples of literature, female voices in the news are mapped in several contexts (e.g., Sjøvaag & André Pedersen, 2019), a recent study by Blair Williams (2022) explores gendered media representations of female political leaders, Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via have researched representation of gender, war and militarism (2010), including the representation of Bosnian “war babies” in the global print media” and Shepherd, in turn, has examined the intersections of gender and representations of violence in a number of

popular TV shows (2013). Through representation, media serves as a powerful tool for advocacy and change, as it can raise awareness about social issues, mobilise public opinion, and influence policy decisions (Disch, 2015). For example, research has shown that exposure to media that portrays women as overly sexualised or objectified can lead to negative attitudes and beliefs about women among both men and women (Galdi et al., 2014).

This thesis's methodological choice of critical discourse analysis also draws on representation since representation always involves language, and “discourse is a representation of some area of social life from a particular perspective” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 289). This research is designed to focus on feminist representation-related questions such as: Who gets to speak and be heard? How are power and privilege reflected in representations? By examining questions as such, I join the feminist researchers who aim to understand better the complexities of representation in media and its relationship to social inequality and gendered power imbalance. According to Wibben, asking feminist questions ultimately makes feminist security studies feminist (Wibben, 2011, p. 591).

2.2.2 Global Media Monitoring Project

Gender representation in the media has been studied from various perspectives in different countries. One of the most well-known projects researching gender representation is the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). GMMP (2020) focuses on gender in news, politics, sport, advertising, and entertainment worldwide. Since 1995, the project has collected and analysed data on a designated day every five years through the involvement of trained volunteers in over 100 countries. The GMMP, as the largest and longest-running research on gender in the world’s news media, is coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) and works in partnership with UN Women, UNESCO, and the Global Alliance on Gender and Media (GAMAG). The GMMP process involves participation from hundreds of civil society organizations, academic institutions, and individuals worldwide.

The project identifies trends and patterns in media representation of women and men in the news and seeks to raise awareness of gender bias in media (GMMP, 2020). In this thesis, I use the local GMMP Finland report as a comparison to examine the representation in the specific NATO discussion. The GMMP creates a solid base for my thesis since it aims to reveal the unheard and unseen voices as the theoretical framework of FSS and applies it in the news media, which offers

data for the security discourse analysis. Thus, the GMMP serves as a comparison and inspiration for this study.

The latest GMMP report in 2020 shows that women are under-represented in the news, with 33 % of them serving as news subjects and sources in Finland (Kjellman et al., 2021, p. 10–11). The percentage is slightly higher than in Europe, where 28 % of news subjects are women (Ibid.). Further looking at the function in the story, 35 % of the spokesperson and 26 % of the subjects of the topics are women in Finland. Also, in all seven topic categories, Celebrity, Arts, Media & Sports, Crime & Violence, Economy, Gender & Related, Politics & Government, Science & Health and Social & Legal, explicitly more male than female news subjects were featured in the Finnish news. (Ibid., p. 31)

In the smaller quantitative part of this study, I calculate the gender representation of the news sources by drawing inspiration from the GMMP. Furthermore, I also examine gender representation concerning expertise since studies show that men are more frequently featured as experts in Finnish news than women (Mannila, 2017).

2.3 Case study: The Finnish NATO membership discussion

The NATO discussion in Finnish media offers a specific case for this study. At the beginning of 2022, Finland was one of the six minority EU countries that were not part of NATO. Altogether there were 30 member countries in NATO at the time. The timeframe of this study, from January to March 2022, captures a drastic change in public opinion on membership in NATO and the sense of increased insecurity. The timeframe of this thesis begins with President Sauli Niinistö's New Year's Speech on 1 January 2022, where he stated that "security policy is emerging as a topic of discussion", "the post-Cold-War era is definitely over", and that "the conflict on the borders of Ukraine is on the verge of getting deeper" (President of the Republic of Finland, 1.1.2022).

In February, Finland identified more strongly with the changed security environment in Ukraine, and for the first time in history, a majority of Finnish citizens supported NATO membership (EVA, 30.3.2022). In March, around two-thirds of the population already favoured Finland's membership in NATO, up from one-quarter before the invasion (Forsberg, 2022, p. 16). In all opinion polls, the support was growing, and the support for NATO has been higher among men than women (Ruohonen & Vesala, 2022, p. 45), which is already an interesting detail of the gendered dimension of security discussion.

The case covers the following events:

Speculation about Finland's NATO membership (January 2022)

The Russian invasion of Ukraine (February 2022)

Growing support for NATO membership in Finland (March 2022)

Researchers consider the shift in public opinion in early 2022 to be unique. For instance, a researcher at the University of Helsinki, Johanna Vuorelma, said in an interview with Yle, "I can't think of a similar shift in public opinion of such significance" (Yle, 1.3.2022). The growth of support for NATO in the public discussion was so striking and unanimous that "debate" is not the most accurate word to describe this case. For this reason, I have chosen to describe this case study as "the NATO discussion". The significant change in NATO stances suggests that the perception of Finland's national security is a major topic. The NATO discussion case thus provides an important context for discourse analysis: what notions of security dominate, what notion of security is ignored, what measures increase security, and whose security is considered in the media.

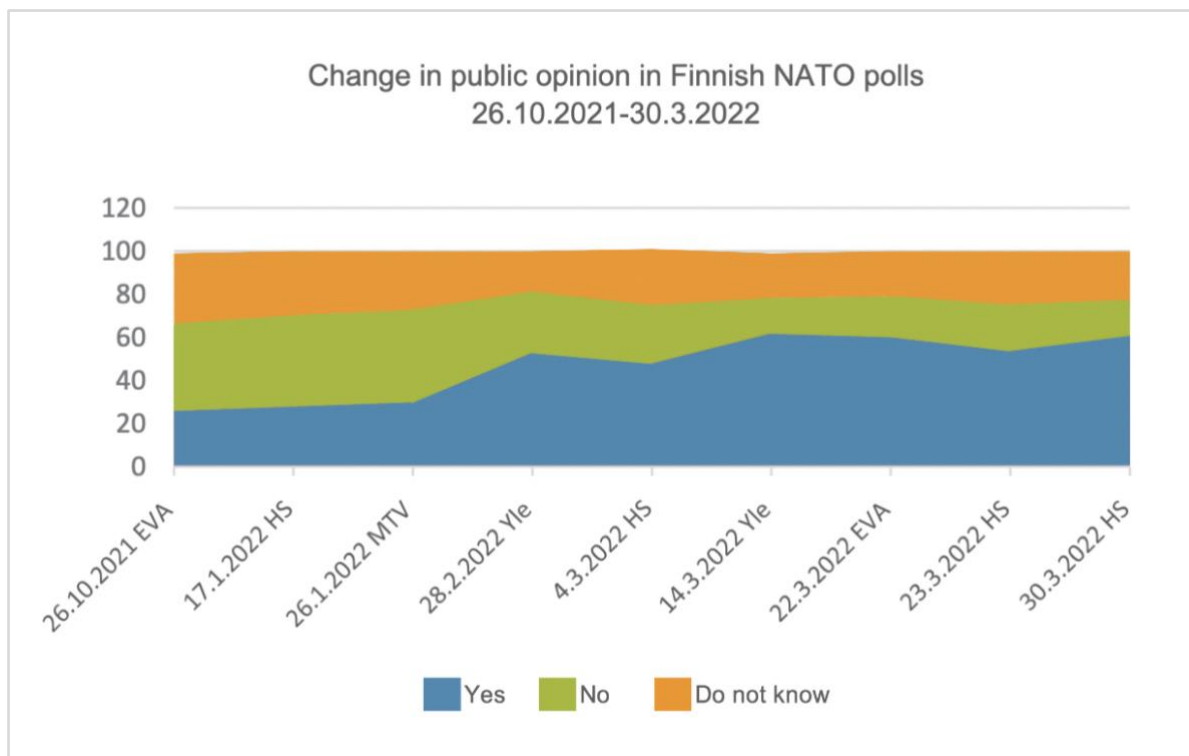


Figure 1: Change in public opinion on Finnish NATO membership in different opinion polls, 26.10.2021–30.3.2022. Reprinted from Suomen Nato-kevät (2022, p. 45).

Iro Särkkä (2019, p. 22–23), a Finnish researcher who has analysed the NATO discussion in Finnish media after the Cold War era 1990–2016, suggests that the Finnish media debate on NATO has been typically characterised by ideologically biased opinions which are either for or against the North Atlantic Alliance. Notably, the media has been one of the forces maintaining the polarised discussion despite its aims for objectivity (Ibid.). Särkkä’s insight brings background information for the analysis of this thesis but does not determine the conclusions – especially because the focus of this thesis is on the discourses of security during the specific time of NATO discussion, not on the arguments or rhetoric for or against Finland's NATO membership.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I present the research design and establish the methodological basis for this study. I introduce the online news media research material in more detail to establish the context for the media data. The chapter goes on to outline the systematic process of data collection in two sections: first, the data for the quantitative part of this study and then the data for the qualitative part of the thesis. I introduce the process of thematisation as well as critical discourse analysis in detail. At the end of the chapter, I will outline research ethical questions.

3.1 Research design

The foundation of this thesis lies in a qualitative analysis that incorporates a case study approach. A case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" that involves a detailed analysis of a single case (Yin, 2018, p. 50). The case of the NATO discussion provides an opportunity to develop in-depth knowledge of security in a specific context of insecurity. The case study is also compatible with the method of this thesis, as critical discourse analysis indeed emphasises the importance of context, time, and space.

Traditionally in case study research, formal designs are not a common practice (Yin, 2018, p. 46). In this thesis, the design is indeed loose but follows the holistic single-case design where the case is seen as part of the context (Ibid., p. 47). The contextual nature of the case study, however, entails limitations. My aim is to provide findings on gendered conceptions of security in a very specific security discourse, not to cover the concept of Finnish national security in its entirety.

Moreover, the research design in this thesis adapts the feminist methodology and does not take anything as "granted", "natural", "inherent", "inevitable", or "permanent" but is open to the analysis results and developing new ways of knowing (e.g., Tickner, 1992; Devault, 1999). Qualitative methods integrate well with feminist approaches since both are widely based on the same epistemological assumptions that there are multiple, socially constructed and situated truths and that variables are complex, intertwined and difficult to measure (e.g., Yilmaz, 2013). The epistemological stance means that subjectivity, my interpretation and understanding of the data, inevitably affects the research design as well as the results of the study. Qualitative research is a justified, flexible and holistic mode of analysis when analysing complex social phenomena such as gendered notions of security.

3.2 Finnish online news media

The data for the analysis is collected from Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti and Yle. The selected media belong to the four largest national digital media in Finland, only leaving out a tabloid Iltä-Sanomat due to overlapping in ownership (Media Audit Finland, 2022). Indeed, I chose to include media owned by three different actors to avoid news recycling or a narrow focus on only certain media companies, which is a constant concern in the Finnish media landscape (Ala-Fossi et al., 2023, p. 154). In this thesis, Helsingin Sanomat, owned by a leading Finnish multi-channel media company Sanoma Media Finland, and Iltalehti, owned by a private Finnish media business company Alma Talent, represent the private media sector, and Yleisradio as the Finnish national broadcast company represents the public media sector.

Helsingin Sanomat (HS) is the most-read news media in Finland, with an average weekly digital readership of around 1 million (Media Audit Finland, 2022). HS is considered as the most influential and respected newspaper in the country, and it has a reputation for being a high-quality source of news and analysis as well as a significant role in shaping public opinion on important issues in the country (Reunanen & Kunelius, 2021, p. 48). Iltalehti (IL), in turn, is the largest tabloid in Finland by digital distribution, with an average weekly digital readership of around 2,76 million (Media Audit Finland, 2022). Taxes fund national broadcast company Yleisradio (Yle) has a strong position in the Finnish public-media-driven media landscape. In 2021, Yle's TV, radio, online news, and other digital content reached 94 % of Finns every week (Yle, 2021).

Media represents a forum for public opinion formation and hence offers relevant data for the analysis of public security discourses. The media plays a key role in shaping public opinion on NATO membership and the perception of national security (Ruohonen & Vesala, 2022, p. 47). In this thesis, media security discourses are examined in the context of online news since Yle does not produce print news, and online news articles are relatively more accessible. In 2022, 77 % of Finns read newspapers and tabloids in print or digital format at least five times a week. Digital news content was read monthly by 59 % of the Finns. (Media Audit Finland, 23.9.2022) Online news is characterised by being relatively easily accessible free content and widely spread on social media platforms, potentially increasing the importance of news discourses in online media.

HS, IL, and Yle followed and closely reported the NATO membership decision during spring 2022. In the qualitative part of this study, I chose to focus on opinionated articles, such as

opinion pieces, editorials, features, columns, and comprehensive news articles with an analytical approach. Unlike traditional news reporting, which aims for journalistic objectivity, opinionated news articles offer perspectives beyond mere reporting, and the author's stance on a subject is more strongly expressed. Therefore, the represented notions of security in the opinionated articles may have a more significant impact on readers' perceptions of security.

3.3 Media data collection

This study is structured in such a way that it consists of a smaller quantitative part, a calculation of the gender and position representation in the media. However, in other respects, the analysis is qualitative. Next, I will separately introduce the data collection for the two parts.

3.3.1 Data collection for the quantitative analysis

For the quantitative part of this study, I collected 671 online news media articles. I coded this data by the gender representation of sources in the security news. Additionally, I categorised the gender representation to five interest groups and to leader groups.

The scope of the data collection covers the news discourses on security in the context of the NATO discussion over three months from January 2022 to March 2022 in HS, IL and Yle. The online news media search was framed by time and media, as well as by keywords, language and country. The database was retrieved with the help of artificial intelligence on Meltwater, which is a commercial media monitoring tool (retrieved 20.1.2023).

I retrieved the online news media articles by using the words NATO, security, and Finland. Thus, the search words support the case study and the topic of this research. The search was executed in Finnish with the words NATO, turvallisuu* and suom* which take into consideration plurals as well as language-specific word conjugations. The word Fin* (in Finnish: suom*) was added in a form that can imply either the word “Finland” or “Finnish”. Finnish and Swedish are both national languages in Finland. However, the data collection was intentionally limited to include only Finnish-language media articles. I made the choice based on my mother tongue, Finnish, and the limitations of the length of this study. In addition, only Yle, out of the selected media in this study, offers news also in Swedish.

This search offered a database of 795 articles automatically listed on an Excel sheet and organised by publication date. To polish the data, I read all the articles and manually excluded duplicates and news roundups since some articles were listed twice. For instance, there were the same articles under two different news sections (e.g. “politics” and “economy”) or sometimes mentioned twice by default of the automatic search. I also excluded articles that were referees of audio, TV programmes or podcasts, as the focus is designed to be on written online news articles. After the refinement, 671 online news articles remained for the coding process.

Coding means splitting and grouping the data, where similar parts are classified together, and the category is given a name that describes common characteristics (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 154). The online news article's date, media, headline, URL, and author were automatically listed. First, I systematically coded sources from the data by name and gender. In order to calculate only influential voices, a source was considered to be a person whose voice was clearly presented in the news article, for example, in the form of a quote or reference. Those who were only mentioned by name in the article were not coded. For example, mentioning participants in international meetings was not counted as a source. I counted and coded sources by all mentions when one person could be listed several times and by unique mentions, meaning each person is counted only once. From the data of 671 online news articles, 603 sources and 258 unique sources were coded.

I coded gender representation following the four categories of the GMMP: Female=1, Male=2, Other=3, Undefined=4. Regarding gender classification, it is essential to note that research usually lies on a binary assumption of gender (Kjellman, et al., 2021, p. 28). To highlight a non-binary categorisation of gender, I wanted to include the option of “Other”. The category option of “Undefined”, in turn, indicates that gender is a performance (e.g. Butler, 1990), leaving an opportunity that gender cannot necessarily be coded based on name and appearance without information from the person in question.

In addition to the gender classification, sources were divided into five interest groups that construct and maintain the NATO discussion. First, I coded the position of sources by their titles introduced in the news media articles and further coded them into interest groups based on these positions. The public debate on NATO membership and Finland's national security was categorised to be fuelled by Political Decision-Makers=1, Academic Elites=2, Military and Defence Experts=3, Citizens=4 and Media Representatives=5, reflecting the classification in the study of NATO debate by Iro Särkkä (2019) with my modifications specific to this study.

In the categorisation of this thesis, Political Decision-Makers hold titles such as Prime Minister, President or Foreign Minister. Academic Elites include titles such as Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Research Director of the University of Tampere or Emeritus Professor of Political History. Military and Defence Experts are sources with positions such as Secretary General of NATO, Chairman of the Conscript Union, Lieutenant Colonel or Chief of Naval Operations. Sources are labelled as Citizens if they were referred to as “citizens” or sources in the role of being “a Finn”, for instance. Media Representatives, in turn, are people forming opinions in the role, such as Correspondent or Editor-in-Chief, but not if they are the article's author.

Finally, I coded all sources separately according to whether they were in a leading position: Yes=1 or No=2. The leaders were counted among the five interest groups mentioned above, not as an equivalent interest group. I included sources with the positions such as leader, director, and chief, leading military ranks such as officer and captain, and ministers and politicians who belong to the highest government institution. Former leaders were classified based on their current position. Altogether, I carried out the coding in several rounds, and systematically cross-checked the data multiple times to ensure reliability.

3.3.2 Data collection for the qualitative analysis

The above-described data of the quantitative part served as the basis for the data of the qualitative part. I narrowed the data down from 671 to 70 articles with a focus on opinionated articles. Qualitative analysis is relatively inefficient and labour-intensive; consequently, the data is typically smaller than quantitative data (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 19). The limitations of qualitative research, the length and time required for a master's thesis, and my capacity as the researcher influence the scope of the qualitative data selected. Hence, I decided to include roughly 10 % of the online news media articles in the data of the critical discourse analysis.

To narrow down the data for the qualitative analysis, I started by reading the 671 articles. I excluded the most strikingly irrelevant articles from the perspective of security discourses – such as daily reports of events in the war in Ukraine, HS “50 years ago” historical articles or information about upcoming press events, and, importantly, articles that concerned the technical procedures of the NATO membership application solely. After this exclusion, there were 384 articles left. More in-depth reading followed, and I systematically read the articles and coded them into five different

predetermined types of news content: analyses, editorials, features, news articles, and opinion pieces. Because of the focus on opinionated articles, I started with the news articles as they represent the least opinionated type of content. Only comprehensive news articles with an analytical approach were included in the final data. Each content type category followed the news articles round, leaving 154 articles.

Then, the final round of narrowing down was targeted to balance the number of articles from the perspective of the months and media and the types of content. By a close qualitative examination based on the relevance of the research topic, again, the data was narrowed down to 70 articles that provide a considerable and balanced number of relevant online news articles. The shares were balanced by prioritising equivalent news from other media or excluding certain types of content if needed. My goal was to distribute the shares of the 671 articles evenly among the 70 articles while also ensuring that no single month, media, or content type was overly emphasised. The final data for the 70 articles is as follows: 16 articles in January, 26 in February, and 28 in March. The distribution by the media includes 32 articles from HS, 18 from IL, and 21 from Yle.

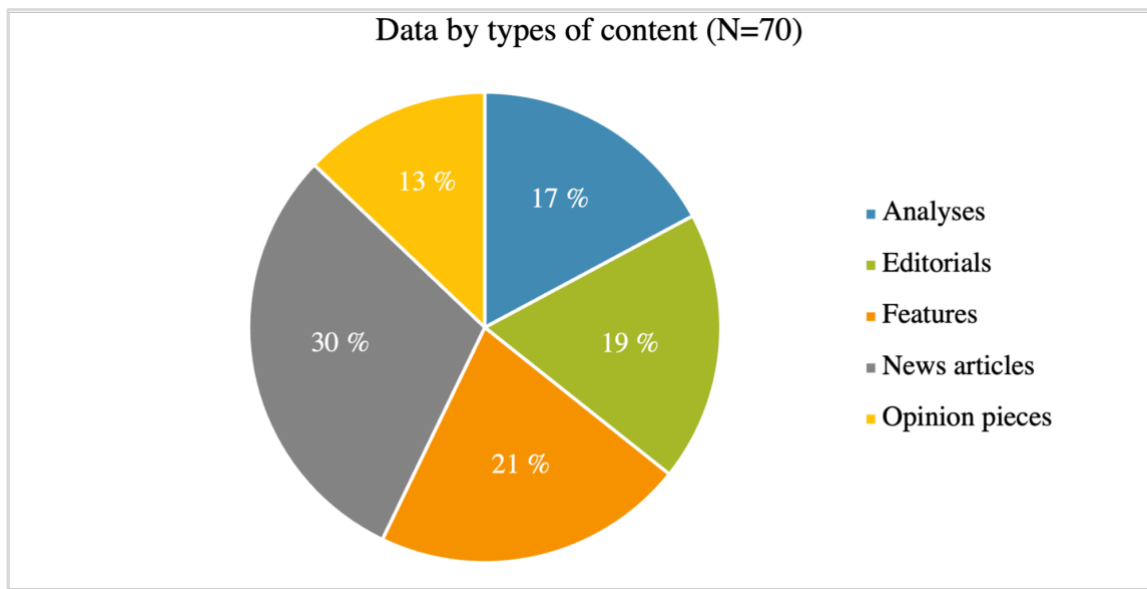


Figure 2: *Data by types of content.*

Figure 2 illustrates the shares of the types of opinionated online news content. Among the 70 articles, there are 12 analysis articles, comprising 7 columns and 2 commentaries that I categorised as analyses. There are 13 editorials, 15 features, and 21 news articles that provide a comprehensive and analytical approach to the security topic. Additionally, there are 9 opinion pieces, including 3

so-called op-eds and 6 opinion pieces written by readers. These 70 articles formed the data for the critical discourse analysis.

3.4 Structuring data through thematisation

I conducted thematisation in this thesis before the primary critical discourse analysis. Thematisation refers to identifying themes relevant to the research question (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 174). Therefore, thematising means organising and structuring the collected data. Thematisation provides a robust foundation for qualitative analysis and requires a connection between the data and theory (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 179). I started thematising by initially reading the 70 online news articles. At this point, I aimed to examine whether the selected narrowed-down data has the potential to answer the research questions.

After the initial readings, I revisited the framework of FSS to derive suitable themes from the data for the analysis. I decided to create themes based on the characteristics of traditionally feminine and masculine values as well as additional themes about whose security is considered and how Finland's security is represented. The process of thematisation in this thesis is rooted in the theoretical framework of FSS and is thus primarily deductive.

Accordingly, I created themes standing for "feminine security" as *democratic security*, *diplomacy and dialogue*, *inequality-related security*, *ecological security*, *social security* and *economic security*, and themes for "masculine security" as *hybrid or overall security*, *cyber and information security*, *military security* and *nuclear security*. Additionally, I added themes based on whether the discussed security is *(in)security of people* or *(in)security of nation*, and whether the security is *Finland's security alone* (e.g., non-alignment status and national defence) or *Finland's security together* (e.g., the EU or NATO).

I labelled the themes with colour codes and executed the thematisation of the media texts on Atlas.ti, an open qualitative analysis research tool. After the first round of thematising with the theory-driven themes, I decided also to create two more supporting themes deriving from the data rather than theory. These themes are *what increases security* and *what threatens security*. The last themes were included to understand the co-occurrence with feminine and masculine securities since most of the articles in the data approached security from these two perspectives.

After the process of labelling, I further organised the themes with the help of Atlas.ti tool. I examined the co-occurrence of the different themes, i.e. how often and in what ways the themes

were present in the same context. Then, from the perspective of the research questions, I combined the most relevant themes and their co-occurrences into discourse bases. For instance, the co-occurrence of the themes of *military security* and *what increases security* formed a significant base for critical discourse analysis.

3.5 Critical discourse analysis as the analysis method

The analysis in this thesis is organised into two sections: quantitative content analysis and primary critical discourse analysis. Quantitative content analysis is a method which includes systematic coding and sampling of content, testing for reliability, and performing analysis (Huxley, 2020). The quantitative content analysis part considers only the gender representation of news sources. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), in turn, is an interdisciplinary method that critically researches discourses by considering language as a social practice (Wodak, 2004, p. 187). To be more precise, critical discourse analysis is not an exact method but rather research a theoretical-methodological framework (Wodak, 2009, p. 32). Both quantitative content analysis and CDA are widely applied in media data.

The term discourse has a comprehensive academic reference. Broadly, discourse can be defined as socially constitutive and conditioned language in use (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). CDA emphasises the importance of analysing language in its social and cultural contexts, considers the analyst's position to be critically reflected and draws on critical theories of power and inequality (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 6–9). Fairclough and Wodak (1997, 258) write that unequal power dynamics are produced and reproduced through positioning and representation in discursive practises. Because discourse is socially constitutive, it “both sustains the social status quo and contributes to transforming it and since discourse is socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). A more feminist approach defines that the use of language may cause unequal structures between genders and between dominant and marginalised groups.

Since I analyse the security discourses from the perspective of gendered structures, it is meaningful that the analysis draws on the work of Ruth Wodak. As a linguist, Wodak is one of the other significant contributors to the field of CDA, alongside researchers including Norman Fairclough and Teun A. van Dijk. Wodak (1996, 2001, 2004, 2005) is known for developing approaches to analysing the intersections of gender, power, ideology, and language in various social

and political contexts. She brings together insights into CDA and Feminist Discourse Analysis (FDA), considered one of the many subfields within CDA. The approaches share the same critical premises; however, FDA recognises specifically the role of gender and gendered interactions (e.g., Tilley, 2007). In this thesis, there is no significant separation of these analysis methods. Thus, when I refer to the method of CDA later in this thesis, there is a built-in default of emphasising gendered dimensions.

CDA is a methodology that is particularly attuned to transdisciplinary research and can be applied in various ways depending on the context (Fairclough, 2010, p. 251). Wodak (2009, p. 33) adds that CDA is especially transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary, not multidisciplinary because it aims to integrate theoretical approaches. Common features of different CDA approaches are that they are eclectic and problem-oriented ways of trying to understand the social problems and transparent structural relationships manifested in language (Wodak, 2004, p. 189; Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 10–31).

Importantly, as with any mode of qualitative analysis, discourse analysis cannot be neutral or universally objective. Van Dijk (1993, p. 270) argues that, indeed, the aspect of taking neither a neutral nor objective position is the point of CDA. Thus, the premise is that language use is not impartial or unbiased but instead socially constructed. CDA has faced criticism concerning the lack of coherence, concrete and consistency. However, the diversity of application and vast connection to different fields, from linguistics to sociology, are seen as volitional characteristics of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 32).

Wodak (2004, p. 189–191) emphasises three dimensions of CDA: 1) descriptive level, 2) intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and 3) socio-cultural practices. Thus, CDA highlights the need for close analysis of discursive practices such as vocabulary choices, the text's interpretation in relation to the political, historical, and societal context, and the analysis of social constructions and normative standards connected to the topic. Since CDA emphasises a larger context, I include supporting quotations from the media texts and connect the NATO discussion case to the societal background in the analysis of different “security realities”. Additionally, CDA highlights interdisciplinary (Wodak, 2004, p. 188) and shares the epistemological premises with the theoretical framework of FSS, which makes it a highly applicable method considering the research design of this thesis.

3.6 Research ethical considerations

In case studies as well as in qualitative research in general, it is crucial to consider the research in terms of construct, internal, and external validity, and reliability (Yin, 2018, p. 43). Together the objective is the trustworthiness of the research. In this thesis, I have adhered to validity and reliability by a certain degree of significance, systematicity, and transparency.

Construct validity requires a particular focus on sources of evidence and data collection in case studies (Yin, 2018, p. 43). In addition to carefully documenting the data collection, I offer detailed descriptions of the context of national security and the NATO discussion in Finland. I include multiple sources to support the context and the findings. In case study research, internal validity is harder to examine but can be considered as the reflection of subjective judgement (Yin, 2018, p. 44). As in qualitative research in general, I acknowledge that the findings in this study are based on subjective interpretations and the researcher's own epistemological beliefs (e.g., Collins, 1990; DeVault, 1999). Feminist scholars have advanced our understanding of knowledge production through "positionality".

The positionality that I follow and acknowledge in this thesis refers to how a researcher's social position and identity shape their perspective, assumptions, and values and further the role power plays throughout the research process (e.g., Collins, 1990; DeVault, 1999). Similarly, scholars of critical studies, including CDA, note that social, economic, and political motives drive the research and analyst's position (Meyer & Wodak, 2016). Due to the feminist and critical approach in this study, it is important to acknowledge my white Western position. Thus, the perspective of the study is emerging from my subjective and value-laden position, and this study is part of a dominant limited Western research canon in the field of international relations.

Furthermore, as a native Finnish speaker, I have translated the excerpts from Finnish to English, aiming for neutrality and accuracy. I acknowledge my translation choices and possible interpretations concerning the power of language since language is a powerful tool that is never neutral (Van Dijk, 1993). To increase trustworthiness, all the original online media text links of the data are part of the bibliography of this study. Alongside language, the representation of gender is central to this study and a substantial research ethical question. My objective is not to maintain a binary gender category that ignores the diversity of genders. However, I acknowledge the limitations of the binary gender category applied in this thesis: gender coding of news sources is rooted in the assumption of a binary gender norm (Kjellman, et al. 2021, p. 28), and the selected analysis tool of traditional feminine and masculine values is rooted in the gender dichotomy.

In case study research, external validity is linked to analytic generalisation, which refers to forming general statements based on the theoretical framework and the case (Yin, 2018, p. 38). For this reason, I have chosen to give answers to the “how” question alongside the “who” question in this thesis. The research questions explain the nexus of security and gender and, further, allow the analytic generalisation of the findings. Importantly, this case study is critically rooted in the existing literature. However, the analysis results of the selected opinionated online media articles should be considered context specific.

Finally, reliability refers to the factors that determine the reproducibility of the study (Yin, 2018, p. 46). I have described and documented the process of this thesis so that if a later researcher follows the same procedures as described, the later investigator will arrive at the same findings and conclusions. Altogether, I have adhered to good scientific practice throughout the process of conducting this thesis. This encompasses upholding integrity and accuracy in the research work, ensuring meticulous recording and presentation of results, conducting a thorough evaluation of the research process and its outcomes, and critically reflecting upon my interpretations.

4. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I present the quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. First, I offer an overview of the gender representation in the media by news sources, their positions and leading roles. Then I critically analyse the security discourses in relation to the theoretical foundation.

4.1 Gender representation in the media

The quantitative content analysis includes data of 671 online news media articles. The gender coding of sources is crucial for the first research question of this study since it helps to understand who has a voice in the security debate.

	Gender of all sources	Share of Total	Gender of unique sources	Share of Total
Females	159	26 %	64	25 %
Males	444	74 %	194	75 %
Others	0	0 %	0	0 %
Undefined	0	0 %	0	0 %
Total	603	100 %	258	100 %

Table 1: *Gender representation of sources by all mentions and unique mentions.*

I coded sources both by all mentions and unique mentions² but found that the difference between the gender shares was insignificant. For this reason, I will focus only on the category of “gender of all sources”. However, I want to point out that there are 603 sources in total and only 258 individual sources. A comparison of the numbers indicates that the same sources in the media dominate the security discussion. Consequently, there is a cumulation of power in constructing and shaping the notion of security in the media.

The numbers presented in Table 1 suggest bias in the gender representation of the sources in the data: 75 % of the sources are men in the NATO discussion. The dominance of men as sources is more substantial than what the GMMP report from Finland shows: women are under-represented, with 33 % of women as news subjects and sources, whereas in this case, the percentage is 26 %

² All mentions count multiple references to the same source, while unique mentions count each source only once, regardless of how many times they are referred.

(Kjellman et al., 2020). When considering security discourses, the imbalance of gender representation is a significant factor in terms of power. This division suggests that security discourses in the media are constructed more often from the viewpoints of men than women. Only one-fourth of the news sources in this data are women, which indicates that women have less voice in security affairs. Moreover, the gender representation of “the voices of national security” is entirely binary in this data. None of the news sources was coded non-binarily as Other or Undefined (Table 1) which indicates that the gender representation of sources in the security news is far from diverse. When there is gender inequality even between the simplified binary gender representations in the security discussion, the state of other, more complex subjectivities outside this research design should be attended.

I further divided sources into five interest groups by their position presented in the media. The grouping of sources into interest groups helps to gain a deeper understanding of who has a voice in the security news. I also consider the share of leaders to explore how position affects the possibility of participating. From Table 2 and Table 3, I left out the gender categories Other and Undefined since none of the sources was coded as Other and Undefined.

Interest Group / Gender	Political Decision-Makers	Academic Elites	Military and Defence Experts	Citizens	Media Reps.	TOTAL	Of which Leaders
Females	99	39	7	11	3	159	113
Males	203	134	85	11	11	444	244
<i>Females, share of group</i>	33 %	23 %	8 %	50 %	21 %	26 %	32 %
<i>Males, share of group</i>	67 %	77 %	92 %	50 %	79 %	74 %	68 %
Interest Group, total	302	173	92	22	14	603	357
	50 %	29 %	15 %	4 %	2 %	100 %	59 %

Table 2: Sources in interest groups by all mentions.

Interest Group / Gender	Political Decision-Makers	Academic Elites	Military and Defence Experts	Citizens	Media Reps.	TOTAL	Of which Leaders
Females	28	16	7	11	3	65	30
Males	66	57	49	11	10	193	75
<i>Females, share of group</i>	30 %	22 %	13 %	50 %	23 %	25 %	29 %
<i>Males, share of group</i>	70 %	78 %	88 %	50 %	77 %	75 %	71 %
Interest Group, total	94	73	56	22	13	258	105
<i>Interest Group, share of total</i>	36 %	28 %	22 %	9 %	5 %	100 %	41 %

Table 3: Sources in interest groups by unique mentions.

In all five interest groups, the share of men as news sources is higher or equivalent to women. The findings align with the observation that men are more frequently featured as experts in Finnish news compared to women (Mannila, 2017). The shares presented in Table 2 show that the male domination in all mentions range from 67 % up to 92 % in this case.

Because of the relatively small quantity of sources, interest groups of Citizens and Media Representatives do not offer significant findings about gender representation. However, from the perspective of the research question of who participates in the public discussion about security, the lack of citizens as sources is significant. The absence indicates that academic or occupational legitimacy is required in security affairs. In the media, citizens' opinions are heard mainly through opinion polls and citizens' initiatives (which are not counted as sources) and are most often presented as one unanimous group.

From the perspective of the research questions and quantity, interest groups of Political Decision-Makers, Academic Elites, and Military and Defence Experts offer the most interesting numbers. Even if the Marin government was female leading during the time of the media discussion in 2022, more individual men (70 %) form the dominant opinion on Finnish national security than women (30 %), as shown in Table 3. With these findings, I do not claim that female politicians would inherently do different security politics. Instead, the findings show that the share of gender representation in the media is unequal and indicates that security is seen more strongly as a “man’s affair” (Tickner, 1992, p. 28).

Also, the comparison between all and unique mentions (total in Table 2 compared to total in Table 3) reveals that male politicians are interviewed or referred to in security affairs more often than female politicians in the media. These findings also illustrate the importance of diverse gender representation in politics already in the first place.

Academic Elites such as researchers are also comprehensively referred to in the media during the NATO discussion. The vast majority of the Academic Elites are also men. The share of women is only 23 % (Table 2) which is below the 33 % Finnish average of females as news sources (Kjellman et al., 2020). Thus, within this group, gender representation is also unequal. Likewise, the numbers of Political Decision-Makers and the comparison of all and unique mentions regarding Academic Elites show that the same Academic Elites are news sources repeatedly in the media. Recurrence indicates cumulative power through representation.

The most pronounced dominance of male voices is among the interest group of Military and Defence Experts: only 13 % of Military and Defence Experts are women in the media (Table 3).

Looking at sources by all mentions unequal gender representation is even more blatant. In the media, 92 % of the Military and Defence Experts are men (Table 2). Further comparison of all and unique mentions reveals that only male Military and Defence Experts are interviewed or referred to more than once.

The shares of gender representation in Military and Defence Experts group suggest that gendered power dynamics are most unequal when security is linked to voices that represent military and defence expertise. Furthermore, the findings suggest a connection between male-dominance, militarism and national security which aligns with the criticism of FSS scholars (Enloe, 1989; Tickner, 1992; Eichler, 2014). However, it should also be noted that the share of Military and Defence Experts from all news sources is not more than 15 % in the media (Table 2).

Additionally, out of all sources, 59 % are in a leading position and out of unique sources, the share is 41 %. The percentages show that the media prioritise giving space to leaders in the security discourse (Table 2 and Table 3). Experts and leaders seem to get the most attention as news sources. It is connected to the gendered observation that, in general, studies show that men are featured as experts more frequently than women in Finnish news (Mannila, 2017). Also, the numbers indicate a trend of the leaders participating in the debate and being heard multiple times since the unique share is considerably smaller. Interestingly, only 29 % of the unique leaders are females, and less than every-third leader is female. The biased gender representation in leading roles possibly reproduces the image of security as a traditionally masculine affair.

Overall, the quantitative content analysis findings suggest that male voices dominate the security discussion in the media, and with larger volume, if military or defence expertise is in question. However, these findings should not be considered uncritically. The approach to gender representation in this study is not intersectional and thus ignores factors being part of the privilege as a news source. Intersections between gender and other factors, including race, class, disability and physical appearance, would be important to examine to understand the bigger picture of gendered power dynamics in the security discussion. It would be essential to continue the research by opting for a post-structural feminist approach beyond binary gender categorisation.

4.2 What increases Finland's security?

Next, I explore in detail what the derived security discourses comprise. Now I will move on to qualitatively examine the data of 70 articles. I will first write about an umbrella discourse about

how Russia is presented as a security threat in the media. Then I descriptively and critically analyse the three main security discourses through a gender lens. The critical discourse analysis relies on the discovery of traditionally feminine and masculine forms of security.

Based on thematisation, I decided to focus the analysis on the security discourses about *what increases security*. The theme of *what threatens security* unanimously suggests that Russia threatens Finland's security. The co-occurrence of *what increases security* with the themes of the masculine and feminine forms of securities, *Finland's security alone* and *Finland's security together*, offered more variation to be further analysed. From this viewpoint, I identified eight different security discourses named as follows in alphabetical order:

Credible deterrent

Diplomacy and dialogue

Enduring, stable and consensual security policy

Expertise on Russia and Putin

Independence and autonomy

Preparing for hybrid threats

Trust in the government and policy-makers

Western co-operation

Out of these discourses, I highlight three main security discourses for the final critical discourse analysis in this thesis: 1) Diplomacy Discourse, 2) Western Co-operation Discourse, and 3) Credible Deterrence Discourse. I chose to derive these three discourses because they dominate the data. However, the Credible Deterrence Discourse is the most dominant out of all discourses based on the recurrence in the data. Additionally, I considered the relevance of the discourses reflecting the theoretical framework and the research questions. In other words, based on the initial readings, I examined the possibilities of traditionally masculine and feminine notions of security. As this thesis aims to explore and expose how gendered notions of security are present in the media discourses, these three selected discourses offer a suitable foundation.

4.2.1 Russia as a threat to security

The prevalent umbrella discourse in the media during the NATO discussion is Russia as a security threat to Finland. The timeframe of the data in this thesis captures the Russian invasion of Ukraine,

which is a potential factor shaping or strengthening the media discourse. In this threat discourse, there is a stark division of West and East, even referred to as the “new Iron Curtain” contextual to the period of the Cold War from 1947 to 1991.

The Finnish media also repeatedly report that Russia is pursuing to expand its “sphere of influence”. The term reflects the history of international politics in the post-World War II era and stands as a severe threat to sovereignty. Regarding Russia, the "sphere of influence" can be understood as a reference to the utilisation of geopolitical and ideological strategies by the Soviet Union to expand its control in Eastern and Central Europe, along with other regions worldwide. By employing the term "sphere of influence," the media thus underlines Russia's role as a contemporary threat or adversary to Western nations, like how the Soviet Union was perceived in the past.

The media consistently writes how Finland’s security is threatened as “a part of the West” leaving no question that Finland is anchored in the West, not in the East. The media mentions that Finland is a member or works closely in different Western alignments, such as Europe, the EU, NATO, and JEF. However, “being in the West” is also grounded independently as a reflection of Finland's history, geopolitical location, or war in Ukraine. In an IL editorial on 15.3.2022, it is described how Russia threatens Finland's security due to the invasion of Ukraine:

[T]he fate of Ukraine has been a real eye-opener for Finns, as people wonder whether what happened in Ukraine could happen here. Russia's ruthless and criminal behaviour has destroyed two of the four pillars of Finland's foreign and security policy. Russia's actions have destroyed the international rule-based system and paralysed the UN, for example. In addition, Finland no longer has functioning relations with Russia. (IL, 15.3.2022)

The excerpt shows how the media discursively separates Finland from Russia as clearly as possible in the name of national security. The media texts share a common understanding of by whom the security threat is posed but vary in the way they address the actual security threats. The way how Russia is seen as creating insecurity ranges from political pressure and information attacks to all-out hybrid attacks, armed violence, and nuclear deterrence. What Russia is seen as threatening ranges from democracy and political and economic relations to the living conditions of people. In this umbrella threat discourse, the stance on security goes beyond only narrow state security and takes into consideration people and emotions. However, the human security approach is not as comprehensively present as the realist state-centric approach to security.

More generally, the umbrella discourse does not offer concrete descriptions of the threats posed by Russia. The discursive practice is to rather generally talk about “fear”, “threat” and “a changed security environment”. For instance, Yle writes in a news article on 8.3.2022: “Public opinion and politicians are more pro-NATO than ever. At the same time, the risks of joining NATO are the greatest since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Never since World War II have relations between Finland and Russia been so bad.” These sentences refer to the Winter War and Continuation War, wars between the Soviet Union and Finland in 1939–1944, after which many years of bilateral co-operation followed. Thus, the last sentence of the excerpt suggests that history is repeating itself, and a military threat is now posed.

Similarly, IL suggests in an editorial on 11.3.2022 as a reference to the invasion of Ukraine that “-- our security environment has changed radically for the worse as a result of Russia's actions, and there is no improvement in sight”. The geopolitical location, the 1,340 kilometres-long border with Russia, and history with the neighbour haunt Finland. Nonetheless, it is also repeatedly stated by government leaders and experts in the media that "there is no threat of war against Finland".

4.2.2 Diplomacy Discourse

The Diplomacy Discourse dominated the media before the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In this discourse, security is seen as a process linked to peaceful dialogue building and understanding between all parties. The emphasis on diplomatic security-enhancing actions is prevalent in the rhetoric choices as well as attitudes on the discursive practice level in the Diplomacy Discourse. In an HS article on 20.2.2022, for instance, Foreign Minister Pekka Haavisto describes the guarantee of security on the Ukrainian border as a situation where "diplomatic solutions still have to be sought".

In an opinion piece in the HS on 12.2.2022, in turn, Ian Campbell from the US Embassy in Finland writes that Finland and the US can respond effectively to Russian aggression through diplomatic means and describes: "Finland's political leadership has spoken out in favour of de-escalation and peaceful solutions. The United States agrees and joins Finland in calling for diplomacy." However, in this opinion piece, diplomacy refers, above all, to the United States and NATO in an unabashedly positive tone.

Overall, the Diplomacy Discourse builds an image of Finland as a small country with a role in international relations as a peacemaker and bridge builder. Former Finnish Prime Minister

Alexander Stubb also replied in an interview with HS on 1.3.2022, referring to the fundamental national virtues: "For now, we just have to remain calm and moderate, which is quintessentially Finnish".

Based on this interview comment, the article describes how the "fundamental national virtues" of moderation, rational decision-making and peacefulness are needed in an "era of unrest". In these comments, the valuation of diplomacy and negotiation are traditional feminine values which emphasise non-military and non-violent solutions in the context of security. On the other hand, the rooting of diplomatic discourse in rational decision-making, emphasising the role of rationality, is seen as masculine in the traditional gender dichotomy (Scott, 1986; Tickner, 1992).

Maintaining a dialogue with Russia is an essential part of the Diplomacy Discourse. The discussion is linked to the idea, traditional in Finland, that avoiding the provocation of Russia works as a guarantee of Finland's security. In this sense, the real essence of the dialogue is tied to self-interest and state-centric masculine security. However, although the dialogue may be regarded as feminine, masculine features may be detected, as a genuine emphasis on interdependence and co-operation seems rather absent. For example, an HS editorial on 15.2.2022a states:

[R]ussia will use force if it considers it an advantage. Finland has a long-shared border with Russia, but otherwise, no special status. You must be prepared for everything – fear the worst but strive for the best. The best way to avoid war is still to continue the dialogue. (HS, 15.2.2022a)

This wording gives away that dialogue with Russia is seen as the only way to avoid war rather than to deepen co-operation. Moreover, the media emphasise President Niinistö's role as the head of state and as an expert on Russia relations. In the editorial (HS 15.2.2022a) and in the media more broadly, Niinistö is described as a "Putin whisperer" who maintains a dialogue with Russia and Putin even when other Western countries have lost confidence in diplomatic solutions. Niinistö's personal experience and history with Putin as simultaneously being a head of state for ten years is repeatedly highlighted in a proud tone in and by the media.

In addition, Niinistö himself has been referring to the spirit of dialogue, mutual trust, and diplomatic security as the "Helsinki Spirit" at international meetings. In his parlance, security is enhanced by "bringing disagreeing leaders to the same table, even with a minimum common denominator", as Yle describes in a news article on 29.1.2022a. This may be seen as a reflection of feminine security that seeks to promote non-violent solutions to conflicts.

Niinistö is presented in a positive light in the media. For instance, Yle writes on 7.2.2022 that "people in Säkylä [army reserve in Finland] praise the statements of Finland's state leadership":

[F]inland has been like a peace negotiator, Niinistö at least has tried to open up the discussion. The Prime Minister and Niinistö have perhaps had a bit of a go at each other through their statements. But it has been handled quite well, we have tried to find solutions diplomatically, [a member of an army reserve Sami] Kukkonen, sums up. (Yle, 7.2.2022)

Niinistö is given a special role in the media, which in a particular way, underlines both the masculine hierarchy and the paternal leadership of the country in an insecure situation. The President has a significant administrative role in foreign and security policy matters, and therefore, emphasising Niinistö's voice as a source in the security news is not surprising. However, it indicates the paternal role of the president and foreign policy leadership in Finland in times of crisis. Niinistö is also criticised, but this criticism concerns, for example, his being seen dithering in the decision-making process on NATO membership and his status is not questioned. On the contrary, responses to the changed security situation are expected in the public debate, especially from Niinistö, but also from PM Marin and other party leaders. As a conclusion of the gendered forms of security around Niinistö, it seems that Niinistö himself calls for non-military solutions connected to feminine security. However, the media construct the traditional masculine hierarchical positioning by giving space and emphasising his dominance in security policy decision-making.

Before the invasion, diplomatic relationships with Russia dominated the media discourse, as well as media more generally in Finland, as a means of enhancing security and the importance of peaceful dialogue was widely discussed. The invasion shifted the security discourse. However, even before the invasion, it was suggested that dialogue does not increase security as desired. For example, an editorial in the HS of 9.1.2022 describes: "Dialogue and mutual trade were hoped to bring Russia closer to the West, but that time has passed. The outlook for the future is bleak and uncertain." After the invasion, diplomacy with "everyone" was discussed more directly as a "futile" and "failed" attempt. On the day of the invasion on 24.2.2022c, HS writes more questioningly about the effectiveness of diplomacy: "In the end, the invasion was not a surprise, although diplomacy was pursued until the last moment to prevent it". Similarly, the next day 25.2.2022a, Yle writes in an analysis of how the effectiveness of diplomacy caused disappointment:

[I]n the past months, Finland as well as the Western countries, have leaned towards a diplomatic solution since there are no other viable options. However, in the past few weeks, some politicians and high officials have publicly or behind closed doors acknowledged that negotiations would be futile because the Russian state has already decided the outcome. The disappointment of Finnish officials was palpable in the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. (Yle, 25.2.2022a)

In the same context, "Finlandisation" is mentioned. The term refers negatively to the Soviet Union's influence on Finnish policy-making during the Cold War. The media's rhetoric choice to highlight Finlandisation thus suggests that diplomacy with Russia was no longer seen as a security-enhancing factor. On the day of the invasion, in an IL editorial Perttu Kauppinen refers to Finlandisation and seems to doom diplomacy with Russia:

"Many Finns still think that the best way to engage with a large and impetuous neighbour is to leave it alone. When Finland does not bully Russia with sanctions, or let alone by joining NATO, Russia will leave Finland alone. Finlandisation, this antiquated way of viewing the world, still characterises the reasoning of younger generation politicians."

Kauppinen continues to belittle dialogue and diplomacy with Russia as a security policy: "Russia's actions cannot be predicted by reason or prevented by compassion, let alone good personal relations and "Putin whispering". In an interview with Yle on 8.3.2022, Director of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute Kristi Raik summarises that Finland had lost the benefits of non-alignment status, i.e. the fact that it was easier to maintain good relations with Russia outside NATO: "Now there is nothing left of good relations with Russia". It is seen that security can no longer be achieved by pleasing Russia. These indications suggest a discursive shift from a comprehensive feminine conception of security rooted to a notion that is not based on diplomacy, dialogue, and other non-military solutions. Instead, after the invasion, the dominating media discourse suggests that notions of security that before sought understanding, inclusiveness and co-operation were no longer seen as effective or acceptable. Therefore, notions of security shifted to a narrow traditional masculine security, where militaristic means are regarded as a self-evident response to external threats. However, this is not explicitly stated in the media.

The Diplomacy Discourse embodies that as insecurity increases, feminine security is ignored. It should be noted, however, that this summary is simplified: the faith in peaceful

diplomatic means did not exactly disappear after the invasion, although it was challenged and criticised. For example, former Finnish PM Matti Vanhanen replies in an interview with HS on 4.3.2022 that "the most important thing now is diplomacy to end the war" when asked by the media about the change in Finland's security policy position following the Russian invasion. The demand for diplomacy implies that feminine security is required. However, Vanhanen's comments, and the media, build a multifaceted image of what security is.

The article cites Vanhanen's words: "Of course, we have to think about how we keep our own skin protected without throwing gasoline on the flames of war while everyone else is trying to put it out.". The latter comment reveals that the notion of security is tied to maintaining sovereignty and achieving self-interests rather than means such as including transnational co-operation and democratic values. Enloe (1989) and Tickner (1992), among FSS scholars, specifically criticise a narrow realist approach to security for valuing self over a community and connecting state-centric security as masculine. The demand for diplomacy, ostensibly feminine security, seems to become a tool for masculine security.

4.2.3 Western Co-operation Discourse

In the Western Co-operation discourse, Finland's security as a small country is seen to be increased by Western security alliances. In the media, Western co-operation is defined symbolically by sharing common values, such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. For example, Janne Riiheläinen writes in a YLE column on 3.3.2022 that when Russia invaded Ukraine, "the primal instinct of a pack animal was also awakened: security is stronger together". In the data of this thesis, security co-operation only with European countries and the United States is mentioned. The exclusiveness suggests the importance of relying specifically on Western co-operation, not any co-operation. Accordingly, in an IL article on 27.2.2022, Jari Hanska states that "as the fog settles around us and a new status quo emerges in Europe, it would be desirable that we are anchored in the West in every possible way".

Finland's security is presented as dependent on both bilateral co-operation and broader international co-operation, such as the EU and Europe, as well as the OSCE, JEF and NATO. Relying on others implies an emphasis on traditionally feminine norms and values. The Western Co-operation discourse includes a tendency towards co-operation, a focus on value and trust-based relationships, and an emphasis on interdependence. However, when the co-operation regards

military alliances, traditionally masculine values are intertwined with traditionally feminine values. Moreover, when the alliance's goal is militaristic, it could be seen that even co-operation-based security is masculine. Co-operation is seen as a vital complement to Finland's defence but not as a strategy to replace military defence. For example, Ari Hakahuhta writes in an Yle analysis on 17.3.2022 that when the relationship with Russia collapsed, and the international system suffered damage (emphasis mine), "what remained was our own credible defence *and* co-operation with Western countries, i.e., partnerships with Sweden, the United States and NATO, for example."

In this discourse stressing Western co-operation, democracy stands rhetorically synonymous with security: when democracy deteriorates, security is also seen to decline. Russia is continuously presented as a threat to democracy in the media. Especially after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, it becomes even more prevalent by presenting Ukraine as a symbol of European democracy. Simultaneously, the mission of Western countries is presented as defending both democracy and security in the media. Western democracies stand in unity against Russia and for Ukraine in the rhetoric. Consequently, the HS editorial of 24.2.2022c states:

[F]or Russia, going to war was already a loss in a way. It did not get its claims regarding the sphere of influence. It did not succeed in breaking up Europe or the unity of the Western democracies. - - "The war in Europe will hopefully clarify for all EU countries what Europe is all about. The idea of European integration was born from the ashes of World War II. Its purpose was to secure peace by making war impossible. This idea of co-operation was also offered to Russia, but Russia chose otherwise. Now EU countries must stand together in defence of their common values. (HS, 24.2.2022c)

The excerpt shows how democracy is stated directly and included as one of the shared values of the West. From a gender perspective, the much-reiterated interpretation that democracy is a synonym for security is ambiguous. On the one hand, democracy is stated to secure peace and to find non-violent preventive actions for conflicts, escalation, and war. Democratic values intersect with traditionally feminine values; both call for inclusivity and equality, addressing the root causes of security in the sense that building democracy shares eradicating insecurity, poverty, inequality, and human rights abuses. Democracy presented in the media also emphasises common good over self-interests which is at the core of comprehensive feminine approaches to security. On the other hand, it is necessary to examine at what cost democracy is promoted. Within the Western Co-operation discourse, it is widely suggested that military solutions are acceptable in order to protect

democracy. Therefore, paradoxically, it seems that the aim for feminine non-violence justifies the means of masculine militarism in this security discourse.

The democracy rhetoric finds its place firmly in the EU. In the media, Finland's position as a member of the EU is represented as a factor contributing to security. Membership in the union is noted to be something Ukraine did not have, suggesting that without the EU, Finland could be in the same insecure situation as Ukraine. The EU is mentioned in the media as an aspect of security in itself, and more specifically, the security provided by the EU is linked to such aspects as "a strong EU capacity to act" and "the EU operating collectively". These aspects refer to a union based on shared values and economic alliance rather than military alliance, and where security is understood more broadly. In an interview with HS on 15.3.2022, Kimmo Kiljunen, Member of Parliament, points out that the EU is about "cohesion security":

[W]e [Finland] are members of the European Union. Membership is more than just military security or whether or not the EU's safeguard Article 42.7 is in effect. It is about cohesion security, which comes from common assessments, currency, freedom of movement and a common internal market and legislation. If this whole is attacked and the EU does not fight it together, it would be the end of the EU and close to the end of the world. (HS, 15.2.2022)

In the excerpt, Kiljunen suggests that fighting for security does not necessarily require militaristic means or violence but unity in other forms. However, several contrary statements rely on the essence of the EU's mutual defence clause Article 42.7. The Article is debated but, in the end, leaves room for common EU military defence, stating that "if a Member State is the victim of an armed aggression on its territory, the other Member States have an obligation to assist by all means in their power" (EUR-Lex, 2023). Furthermore, "deepening EU defence co-operation", "EU crisis management capabilities and defence co-operation" and "EU military co-operation" are presented as respectable security-enhancing factors for Finland in the media.

Simultaneously, EU defence co-operation is also criticised for insufficiently guaranteeing security. IL 27.2.2022 writes after the Russian invasion that "it has only now dawned on many that there are no similar security guarantees outside NATO. With the EU, such common security and solidarity have certainly been built up, but it does not have the same military strength as NATO is the European security solution." The debate concerns whether the EU's military defence is enough instead of whether security requires a threat of violence or not. Hence, even the critique is built into

the assumption that extensive militaristic co-operation is necessary to ensure Finland's security. This reflects the uncontested status of militaristic masculine security in the media.

In addition to the EU, the solidarity of European countries more broadly is seen as a security-enhancing entity for Finland. Sweden is presented as the most important bilateral partnership and strategic partner for Finland's security. For example, in an Yle article on 7.2.2022 Sweden's military presence in Gotland in the Baltic Sea is portrayed positively regarding Finland's security. Furthermore, the discursive choices such as "joint military exercises" and "a unified wartime plan" reveal how the security-increasing co-operation with Sweden centres on rather narrow militaristic masculine security than comprehensive feminine co-operation.

HS opinion piece on 11.2.2022, written by Finnish Petteri Orpo and Swedish Ulf Kristersson, describes the bilateral relationship's importance: "We share the same fundamental values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We have every reason to continue to promote close co-operation on security and defence policy issues – especially in challenging times." They group security with the defence, which indicates unquestioned valorisation of militarism and building credible threat of violence against the common enemy. On the discursive level, however, militaristic violence is not directly or transparently addressed but wrapped in soft and more feminine-held words, including "co-operation", "freedom" and, yet again, "democracy".

Notably, co-operation with the United States is put on a pedestal in the media. Maintaining bilateral relations and membership in NATO are both seen as pivotal questions for Finland's security. The interdiscursive level of the media articles repeats the words that have been used to strengthen the relationship between; the U.S. is an "important partner" for Finland in security affairs (Kronlund, 2017, p. 14). The United States is seen as the Western pillar that provides security for Finland first and foremost through the credible military threat. In a news article of 30.3.2022, IL describes how "NATO membership is believed to improve Finland's security" based on the citizen poll results. The IL editorial of 3.2.2022 describes that "for the last 50 years Finland has sought to ally itself with other democratic countries in Europe", and that security now requires broader Western co-operation, i.e., membership of the "security alliance" NATO. Despite calling it "security" co-operation in the media, the focus is on military co-operation. The word's usage reveals how the notion of security is narrow and militaristic.

The HS editorial of 18.3.2022 with the headline "Finland's place is in NATO" suggests that military alliances increase Finland's security by default, and the question is only about the right timing:

[W]hen the Finnish leadership is now weighing up Finland's security solutions, there are other elements in the assessment besides NATO membership. They are all needed, from strengthening our own military capabilities to deepening defence co-operation. The European Union also has its credibility at stake in the new situation. However, Finland's key questions include the right timing for military alliances. (HS, 18.3.2022)

The lack of alternatives for military security and the uncontested need for deepening defence and military co-operation underpin the premise of this discourse; the different forms of co-operation are ultimately based on narrow militaristic, realist and masculine-dominated security. Overall, the data suggest that extensive co-operation with the West is an inevitable and unquestionable part of Finland's security. An article in HS 15.3.2022 sums up the masculine and realist presumption of the Western Co-operation Discourse: "Finland alone would be in a vulnerable position than in a situation where it has the collective protection offered by the military alliance". The more comprehensive understanding of security co-operation, such as securing a secure environment transnationally for marginalised groups, is neglected in the media during the NATO discussion.

4.2.4 Credible Deterrent Discourse

Out of all the discourses I derived from the data, the Credible Deterrent Discourse is the most prominent based on the occurrence. This discourse defines security as physical military defence through Finland's national defence and military alliances. First and foremost, Finland's national defence is presented as thoroughly solid and credible in the media. For instance, an article by HS on 6.3.2022b writes that President Niinistö sees it essential "to strengthen Finland's already strong national defence further". Generally, in the Credible Deterrence Discourse, the image of credibility is assured by highlighting military means such as a "large reserve", "general conscription", and "training of skilled warriors".

The Finnish Defence Forces personnel are frequently interviewed about Finland's preparations in the changing security environment. They are presented generally as "security preparations" but refer mainly to military acts which reveal the hegemonic position of militaristic security in the discussion. In a Yle interview on 7.2.2022, Chief of Staff of the Finnish Defence Forces Matti Honko asserts that security provided by the army can be trusted without worry. Honko refers to a credible threat of military violence which Finland has built: "We train skilled fighters,

and this has not changed. We are certainly aware of where the world is going, and we are ready for anything. Do not fret.” Although "skilled fighters" do not discursively define gender per se, there is an embedded socio-cultural assumption in the statement about “male warriors” (Tickner, 1992, p. 40) due to conscription being obligatory only for men in Finland. Considering that less than 5 % of these mentioned “skilled fighters” are women (Finnish Defence Forces, 23.1.2023), security is merely seen as a man’s duty to protect.

The Credible Deterrence Discourse also provides extensive descriptions of the range of warfare portrayed as protecting Finland. However, violence related to the use of armaments is not efficiently highlighted, contested or even addressed. Speculation about the Ottawa Treaty, the Anti-Personnel Landmines Convention, is a highly glaring example of the unquestioned valorisation of militaristic violence in the name of security. Finland joined the Nobel Peace Prize-winning treaty in 2012 due to landmines causing civilian casualties and thus severely violating human rights. Nonetheless, the article by HS on 6.3.2022b speculates on "abandoning the Ottawa Treaty which bans the use of anti-personnel mines" as practical measures without bringing up why anti-personnel mines are banned.

An article by IL on 7.3.2022 also points out the public support for the statement noting that a citizens' initiative³ to withdraw from the Ottawa Treaty was submitted in Finland after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Furthermore, Commander of the Finnish Defence Forces Timo Kivinen, interviewed in the IL article, comments that anti-personnel mines are not even needed, as they have been replaced by "hundreds of thousands of anti-tank mines" and "multiple rocket launchers", which can be used for long-range mine warfare. Kivinen highlights the warfare capacity and unquestioningly suggests that equivalent deterrence of violence is required to replace the “lost” military warfare of anti-personnel landmines.

The glorifying portrayal of warfare ranges to naval mines, too. In an IL article of 21.12.2022, Chief of Naval Operations Janne Muurinen describes that the primary weapons of the Finnish Navy are anti-personnel missiles and naval mines: “Naval mines not only prevent the enemy's surface ships and submarines from operating. They also protect the Navown maritime traffic, which runs outside the mine risk areas as planned”. The unquestioned need for more substantial military capacity seems symbolic and populist in a security situation where experts simultaneously state that “there is no threat of war against Finland” and no practical need for armament. The media, however, seemingly convince the audience that security means strong military deterrence in

³ In Finland, the Citizens' Initiative Act permits Finnish citizens to submit their legislative agenda to the Eduskunta by collecting more than 50,000 names (Finnish Parliament, n.d.).

Finland. Considering the gendered dimensions, such uncritical “militaristic performance of security” (Vastapuu et al., 2023, p. 11) is linked to hegemonic masculinity. In the context of security, hegemonic masculinity takes for granted the masculine military power and the “male warrior” ability to defend against external threats through violence (Eichler, 2014, p. 81). The Credible Deterrence Discourse thus connects males, masculinity, and violence to the narrow notion of militaristic security.

Although the security threat posed by Russia is described in rather abstract terms, such as "deterrence", Finland's preparedness is described in a detailed fashion in terms of weapons in the media. At the descriptive level, military and defence experts use extensive military vocabulary and language in a pronounced rational, technical, and formal manner. It is a characteristic of the Credible Deterrence Discourse, of which Kivinen and Muurinen are examples. The multifaceted characterisation of military capability and rational technostrategic military language strengthens the credibility of relying on traditionally masculine values. As Scott (1989, p. 43) states, rational language is connected to masculinity and seen as an exclusive binary to femininity.

In the media, it is also repeatedly pointed out that financial investments in national defence and armament are on the increase. In an interview with HS on 1.3.2022, former Finnish PM Alexander Stubb adds that Finland's security is rooted in the recent agreement to purchase F-35 fighter aircraft⁴: “I would still see that the whole framework of our foreign, security, and defence policy strategy is the credible independent defence. There are not two words that we haven't done the right thing. After all, without Russia, we would not have just bought 64 F-35 fighters." The comment gives a high-level justification for the significant military investments that Finland has made during the past years. Meanwhile, Finland is the second most violent country for women in the EU (EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). Defence funding as a vital security investment is a clear valuation of militaristic and masculine security over alternative security affairs. For instance, the domestic level is not considered, but the feminist approaches consider it as necessary (Shepherd, 2012, p. 17).

In an analysis for Yle 17.3.2022, Ari Hakahuhta explains how the escalating security situation has accelerated investments in militaristic security: “There will be more weapons, more training, and more soldiers. On an annual basis, we are probably talking about hundreds of millions of euros in additional funding.” The call for an increase in the defence budget refers to a notion of security which is state-centric, glorifies violence, and is thoroughly masculine. Stating the need for

⁴ The Government of Finland agreed to purchase 64 F-35 aircraft on 10 December 2021 due to the HX Programme bidding competition launched in 2015 (Finnish Air Force, 10.12.2021).

additional funding, the purchase of weapons and the training of soldiers, as an unquestioned fact, embodies the prioritisation of “hard” masculine security. For the Defence Forces, alternative ways to ensure security on a broad scale exist, but in the media, the dimension of discursive practice produces and reproduces the importance of armed forces and internalised images of male soldiers using the weapons.

In addition to convincing the powerfulness of national defence, security is notably presented to be dependent on credible deterrence by military alliances. The alliances also require symbolic and concrete security investments. The discussion focuses primarily on NATO membership, potentially also due to the specific NATO context of the data. More specifically, the discussion in early 2022 captures a redefinition of Finland’s security policy that has previously relied on strong national defence and on the “NATO option”, but not on actual membership. President Niinistö’s New Year’s speech received much media attention since he made audacious statements on security policy. In an IL editorial on 1.1.2022, Lauri Nurmi highlights the following words on Niinistö’s speech: “Finland’s room to manoeuvre and freedom of choice also include the possibility of military alignment and of applying for NATO membership, should we ourselves so decide.” Accordingly, in an IL editorial on 28.3.2022, Juha Ristamäki criticises longstanding MP Paavo Väyrynen and states that the old security policy is not anymore strong enough to secure Finland’s sovereignty:

"According to Väyrynen, we have "both a credible deterrent and a strong security guarantee". By this, Väyrynen means "our independent defence", whose ground forces are "among the strongest in Europe". Väyrynen is right that we have a credible deterrent, not a parade march to get here. But it is not a guarantee of security if Russia considers that its interests require it to attack Finland."

Military deterrence by NATO is portrayed as an unquestioned necessity for Finland’s security. In the media, security is suggested to mean that Finland is “highly NATO compatible”. The catchphrase has been characteristic of Finnish foreign and security policy discussion for several years and is now repeatedly highlighted as an overall desired possibility of NATO’s military support. Compatibility refers to Finland following NATO standards on the political, economic and warfare levels. Standardised military equipment such as calibres and fighter aircraft, military infrastructure and military logistics are explicit references to the militaristic notion of security. However, political and economic levels also include investments and militaristic security

prioritisation. By presenting being “highly NATO compatible” positively, the media offers a dominating role for masculine security and valorises violence and militarism. At the same time, the lack of non-military options and comprehensive feminine security in this discourse is striking. Sanna Ukkola writes in an IL column on 3.3.2022 that only membership in NATO ensures Finland's security:

[W]e no longer have any choice but to get ourselves a security guarantee as quickly as possible. Otherwise, we are facing, at best, many fearful, scaly years of Finlandization – and, at worst, an invasion by the superpower Russia, with no one to come to our aid. Finland and Ukraine are siblings who are alternately hit in the face with an iron fist by a drunken father. Now it is Ukraine that is being beaten. It is up to us to decide whether to pick up the phone and call the police or to cower in the corner in fear. (IL 3.3.2022)

The emphasis in the data is on opinionated, subjective articles, and the column by Ukkola is on the more provocative end of the spectrum of media articles. Ukkola suggests that Russia would invade Finland if we do not join NATO, “call the police”. The trust in the police is high in Finland, and in the article, NATO is equated symbolically with the police. NATO is suggested to be an actor with institutional legitimacy and credible deterrence and is physically equipped to act if security so requires. In another IL article on 27.2.2022, Jari Hanska describes more straight-forwardly that NATO would provide security for Finland through military deterrents:

[B]esides membership in the European Union, the most significant potential anchor [for us, for Finland] is the military alliance NATO. Only it seems to provide a genuine military deterrent to a dictator dreaming of Soviet glory days. (IL 27.2.2022)

A general perception is created in the media that Finland's security is high, if not only dependent on NATO's Article 5, i.e., the obligation to help defend an ally under an armed attack. Security is presented as dependent on physical supremacy by NATO. In an article by Yle on 8.3.2022, researcher Kristi Raik states, "NATO's deterrent effect is powerful". In the same article, it is unquestioningly noted that “the biggest benefit of NATO for Finland, according to the researchers, would be security guarantees and access to the protection of the nuclear umbrella”. The media article appeal to the fear of the Finnish public by stating that “Ukraine has not had this security, and the threat of world war and nuclear weapons has prevented the West from sending troops to help Ukraine”. The media interdiscursively connects Ukraine's invasion to the situation and history of

Finland, which shares a border with its eastern neighbour and portrays nuclear deterrence as necessary for maintaining sovereignty.

Thus, the hegemonic notion of security in the media follows the traditionally masculine realist approach. Presented as truth by legitimate sources, it is directly suggested that the threat of territorial sovereignty posed by Russia needs to be responded to with the strongest possible threat of military violence, nuclear weapons. An IL editorial of 28.3.2022 also equates Finland symbolically with Ukraine and suggests that without a nuclear deterrent, Finland's security is not guaranteed:

[T]he war in Ukraine has shown that the most vulnerable countries are those not part of an alliance premised on nuclear deterrence. In the case of Finland, Russia will be able to use the same blackmail tactics as in Ukraine, unless Finland is protected by NATO's Article 5. (IL, 28.3.2022)

Only one article in the data questions nuclear weapons as part of Finland's security. In an HS opinion piece on 17.3.2022, Kati Juva states that "I do not see NATO's nuclear umbrella as a factor contributing to Finnish or European security" and that "the spread of NATO's nuclear umbrella to Russia's borders could hamper efforts to reduce the threat of nuclear war". Otherwise, in the Credible Deterrence Discourse, the notion of security is uniformly based on how to build the most credible threat of violence and destruction, including the nuclear threat. The feminist approach emphasises the importance of holistic security, while masculine security emphasises hierarchy and control and the value of violence and militarism.

Nuclear security is based on the highest level of the international security hierarchy, where a credible armed threat is an indispensable asset and the key determinant of the power hierarchy. To actualise nuclear deterrence would violate human rights and mean destruction, but despite this, the security debate does not emphasise the welfare of individuals, living conditions or ecological impacts. When the media refers to security, it most times means war preparation by default — the prevalent notion of security rests on a narrow, realist, and masculine prescription.

5. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this thesis was to analyse who has a voice in the media discussion and what kind of security notions were dominant before the Finnish decision to apply for NATO membership. In this chapter, I discuss the findings of both quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Ultimately, I consider how the values traditionally seen as feminine and masculine prevail in connection to the securities.

The media discourses implicate a clear prioritisation of "hard", masculine values-based security over "soft", feminine values-based security. I argue that the gendered notions of security are present in the media discussion especially through the militarisation of security. Security is presented to be based on physical deterrence, military institutions and militarised power in the media. FSS scholars, among them Enloe (1989, 2017), suggest that militarism fuels masculinity, and the nexus of militarism and masculinity is traditionally embodied in the realist approach to security. Therefore, in the discussion, I address the hegemonic position of masculine values in the notion of security primarily through embodiments of militarisation.

5.1 Hegemonic security and militarised masculinity

Tickner (1992, p. 29) states that the understanding of security is "heavily dependent on characteristics that we, in the West, have come to associate with masculinity". Following Tickner, I argue that the hegemonic notion of security in the media during the NATO discussion 2022 is based on traditionally masculine values. Furthermore, I argue that the gendered notion of security is present in the Finnish media discussion through the normalised position of *militarised masculinity* (Enloe, 2000; Eichler, 2014). Looking at how security is referred to in the media texts, it seems that masculine military power is a synonym for Finnish national security.

Militarism is an uncontested part of security in all three analysed security discourses, not only in the Credible Deterrent Discourse that first and foremost highlights the militarised dimension of security. Depending on the discourse, the hegemonic position of military security is either completely transparent (Credible Deterrent Discourse) or provides an underlying motivation for various other security means, such as dialogue and alliances (Diplomacy Discourse and Western Co-operation Discourse). The narrow notion of security is presented in the media as an objective fact and is hardly questioned or critically approached. The uncontested understanding of security as

military security is connected to FSS scholars' criticism of the realist approach to security. For instance, Tickner (1992, p. 29) states that what realists consider "objective" in the international system is profoundly gendered. Similarly, the findings of this thesis suggest that the "objective" security in the media is gendered and narrow. Militarised masculinity as the normative security in the media is an "unconscious ideology", following Åhäll's (2016, p. 161) definition of militarism.

Following Tickner (1992), it seems that the dominant discourse on security in Finnish media is male-dominated, masculine, and fits the paradigm of militarised masculinity. The findings of this thesis are that militarised masculinity is prevalent in all three discursive dimensions in the security discussion, following Wodak's (2004) critical discourse analysis: 1) at the descriptive level in the word choices (e.g. skilled warriors, strong national defence, credible nuclear deterrence, Finlandisation, NATO option), 2) at the intertextual and interdiscursive practices (e.g. references to the Cold War, Finland's geopolitical and historical situation, adopting the language of militaristic institutions) and 3) in socio-cultural practices (e.g. referring to military security when discussing "security", uncritically presenting armed violence as a necessity, considering security as a "male duty" to protect, relying on the national universal male conscription, overrepresenting of the militarised male image as a credible source in the news).

In the media during the NATO discussion, the association of the Finnish military institutions with security is a socio-cultural context that includes a demand for militarised masculinity. Both the media and the news sources present that the most vital and most credible security is based on armed defence, including national defence, the maintenance of diplomacy and international alliances. This thesis's findings align with Kotilainen and Hast's (2022, p. 33) notion: militarism assumes that only a state that protects itself with armaments and equips itself for war is just and capable.

One of the key findings in this thesis is that violence related to militarism is not effectively contested in the media. Military violence is either obscured from the public discussion or presented simply as an unquestioned necessity for Finland's security. Membership in NATO, the bilateral military defence with Sweden and increased budgets for the Defence Forces, among other militaristic means, are unquestionably presented as positive, security-enhancing factors.

Especially the praising of NATO's Article 5 and the speculation of the Ottawa Convention are striking examples of uncontested military violence. Article 5 is ultimately based on nuclear deterrence, and the speculation of renunciation violates human rights and international armament control conventions. The Credible Deterrence Discourse suggests that, without Article 5, Finland could face a similar invasion from Russia as Ukraine did, lacking the support of NATO

membership. Paradoxically, in the Diplomacy Discourse, the “effectiveness” of dialogue and diplomacy is still questioned, while the violence of military security is not. Human rights should not be measured by effectiveness but, instead, regarded as an intrinsic value.

One way to reveal militarised masculinity in society is by examining the allocation of the state budget towards warfare expenditures (Enloe, 2004, p. 217–232). The media uncritically presents warfare investments and a variety of armament as excellent, effective and self-evident contributors to Finland's security. Access under NATO's Article 5 is presented in the media as an achievement worth significant political effort. In addition, for example, the December 2021 F-35A fighter aircraft deal worth 8.4 billion euros (Yle, 10.12.2021) is referred to as a successful strategic decision and increased funding for the defence forces as a necessary investment in the changed security environment in the media. These socio-cultural attitudes in the media texts reveal that "hard" masculine and militaristic security is more unquestionably eligible for funding than "soft" security, which involves feminine values and more directly affects women. The media discussion is connected to a more widespread glorification of war and warfare identified in Finland (Vastapuu et al., 2023, p. 7).

Focusing narrowly on masculine security, the media gives less space for diplomacy, dialogue and other non-militaristic security means. Alternatively, I argue that the non-militaristic means are presented with an underlying assumption of the power of militia. For instance, in the Diplomacy Discourse, even when President Niinistö emphasises peaceful dialogical security, the media tends to construct a hierarchy of masculine values and a paternalistic leader in the president, as is required in the military institutions. This indicates how deeply the masculine hierarchical order of military institutions has become ingrained in the concept of security. Also, in the Western Cooperation Discourse, securing territorial sovereignty with militaristic means is presented as a priority. Therefore, in the media, security is seemingly understood based on the narrow realist and masculine-held notion of security, as Enloe (1989) and Tickner (1992), among others, have criticised.

The demand for masculine and militaristic security is also supported in the media by presenting the voice of citizens as unanimous. Through opinion polls and citizens' initiatives, the media produces an image that all Finns are of the same opinion on security. The people's voice is mainly present in the media when there was growing support for NATO membership or, for example, for breaking away from the Ottawa Treaty banning landmines. More diverse opinions and experiences of security by citizens are marginalised in this data.

Despite its uncontested position in the media, military security does have alternatives. For instance, security could be approached from the perspective of insecurity beyond Finland's borders, including insecurity at home, as armed security is not the solution to all aspects of comprehensive security. However, security in Finland has been increasingly built on warfare. In the same year as the discussion analysed in this thesis, in 2022, Finland's military spending increased by 36%, reaching 4.8 billion dollars or 1.7% of its GDP. The increase was the most significant annual increase in military spending for Finland since 1962, according to SIPRI (2023). The significant growth was primarily driven by purchasing weapons, such as the F-35 combat aircraft, which accounted for about one-third of Finland's total military expenditure in 2022. However, due to NATO membership, Finland has committed to meeting NATO's target of spending 2.0% of its GDP on defence by 2023. (SIPRI, 2023)

Military security can mean insecurity for others and neglect of other security issues. Meanwhile, the economic situation is even tighter in Finland, with the debate in the aftermath of the interest rate crisis in 2022 about inadequate state funding. Vastapuu et al. (2023, p. 12) point out that, for example, the necessary amount of money to prevent gender-based violence is “never found” since it is not considered a significant security threat in Finland. Gender inequality as a security matter is not prioritised despite Finland being the second most violent country for women in the EU (EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014).

The growing emphasis on military security present in the media is generally a worrying trend that has been visible long before the war in Ukraine, according to peace experts in Finland (Committee of 100 in Finland, 25.4.2022). However, as Tickner (1992, p. 127) notes, military-defined security does not necessarily ensure, and sometimes might even decrease, the security of individuals. Moreover, demilitarised regions, such as Costa Rica, with a population roughly the same size as Finland's, lead us critically reflect on the hegemonic role of militarised masculinity in Finnish security discussion.

5.2 Male voices and the image of male warriors

As the numbers of the media representation analysis show, 75 % of all news sources in the data sample are men. It supports the CDA findings of this thesis that security is still mainly regarded as a man's affair. It seems that women or femininities are not considered as capable or credible as men to discuss what enhances Finland's security in the public forum. Quite the contrary, the over-

representation of men as news sources and recognised experts is striking, the notion of security is thoroughly masculine, and the narrow militaristic understanding of security is not contested. Answers as such reveal the state of gendered militarisation in society (Enloe, 2004, p. 217–232), and the findings, in this case, indicate normalised and gender-biased militarism linked to security within Finnish society.

The findings of the quantitative content analysis complement the findings of the critical discourse analysis: militarised masculinity dominates the understanding of security, and additionally, this security is most often presented by male voices. According to Enloe (2004, p. 217–232), the over-representation of men’s voices and the exclusion of women and “wrong men”, men outside of the performance of militarised masculinity, from the discussion is also a sign of militarism. During the NATO discussion, the over-representation of men in the media is evident based on the coding – out of all news sources, 74 % are men. As representation is a two-way process, both public discourse and the sources it encompasses produce and reproduce the association with men, militarism, and masculinity to security. The news sources as representatives in the media (Richardson & Wearing, 2014, p. 7) significantly validate what notion of security is most valorised, prioritised and normalised. In this case, predominantly men have the power to determine the “security reality” (Paasonen, 2010, p. 41–43) in the public media discussion.

In the data of this case, well over half of the news sources in the media are also in leading positions. Hence, individuals in leading positions in Finland, with their amplified voice and power within the media, bear greater responsibility for grasping the concept of comprehensive security. In a broader context in Finland, Plan International Finland’s Head of Domestic Operations and Advocacy Karoliina Tikka (Plan International, 2023) points out an even greater need for leadership as crises increase and anti-gender movements strengthen. She says that "values cannot be put aside to be promoted later; it is in crises that values-based leadership is measured". The numbers of gender representation analysis show that the majority of leaders are men (68 %) in the news. The male-dominated representation further maintains an image where male leaders determine Finnish national security. However, despite the gender of the news sources, the sources in an influential position should consider the gendered dimension of security in a critically constructive way.

In the media, the over-representation of male experts is not a result of a “natural” order but rather a socially biased positioning. More diverse gender representation in security affairs should be possible in Finland. For instance, at the time ruling Marin government’s female representation was highlighted (Finnish Government, n.d.), and there are more women with tertiary-level education

than men in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2021). However, the sources classified as Policymakers and Academic Elites are significantly more often male voices in the data of this thesis.

Also, for instance, the Finnish military institution emphasises the role of women in its communications. For instance, they communicate that the number of women volunteers is increasing (Finnish Defence Forces, 30.12.2022) and highlight the positive experiences of female conscripts (Finnish Army, 13.12.2022). The communication tends to convey the image that the Finnish army is not a place only for men despite the universal male conscription. However, the media's representation of Military and Defence Experts indicates a striking connection between men and militarism in security affairs. The findings show that up to 92 % of the news sources in this group are men. The findings align with the notion by Jukarainen & Terävä (2010, p. 10), that men are over-represented in the security sector and in decision-making in Finland. They further note that the gendered bias is a “general challenge to the legitimate institutions of a democratic country”.

In the media, the dominant masculine notion of security is embodied in the “male warrior” concept. Following the term by Tickner (1992, p. 28), the image of “male warrior” means that “the task of defining, defending, and advancing the security interests of the state is a man’s affair”. The findings of this thesis reveal that the dominant notion of security in the media includes an embedded idea that masculine and militaristic men protect everyone else from security threats. As Eichler (2014, p. 81) says, the warrior remains “a key symbol of masculinity.” Even if the notions by Tickner are over 30 years old, the gendered roles symbolically prevail through the militaristic and narrow notion of security in the media discussion.

The “male warrior” idea lives in the Finnish media discussion. The symbolic “male duty protect” in the security discussion is linked concretely to the universal male conscription in Finland. At the descriptive level in the media, the image of a “male warrior” is embodied in simple word choices. For instance, by using the Finnish word for conscript (“varusmiespalvelus”), which includes the word “mies”, “man”, the media maintains the image of “male warrior”. Due to the conscription obligatory only for men, the references to “skilled fighters”, “the ability to defend Finland” and the references to the capacity of Finnish militia in the media also include an embedded assumption of males, as analysed in the Credible Deterrence Discourse.

Furthermore, they are not only soldiers or conscripts but experts who fit the image of “male warriors” in the media. It is vital to examine this “militaristic performance of security” (Vastapuu et al., 2023, p. 11) in light that male voices dominate as news sources. The experts in the security articles might mention dimensions such as economic security, transnational dialogue or security of

supply but, almost without exception, uncritically emphasise and prioritise military security. Vastapuu et al. (2023, p. 5-6) note that militarised masculinity is associated with credibility and asserting expertise with a militaristic habitus. In the data, the news sources determining what security are remarkably experts such as Commander of the Finnish Defence Forces Timo Kivinen, Major General (retired) Pekka Toveri, Chief of Naval Operations Janne Muurinen and Researcher of FIIA Jyri Lavikainen. They perform the learned and internalised gender (Butler, 1990), militarised masculinity, through the use of language that is held rational and through military vocabulary, for instance. They show credible military expertise when discussing security, as analysed within the Credible Deterrence Discourse.

At the same time, there are only a few, if any, sources representing non-militaristic or feminine security. In all three analysed discourses, the sources speaking for security topics such as domestic violence, the inequities within security institutions, environmental security considerations, or pacifist and anti-militarist peace fail to receive substantial representation in the media, depriving them of significant voices. According to Tickner (1992), FSS endeavours to expose and challenge these gender power relations. The internalised norm of “male warriors” and expert embodiments of “masculine performance of security” reveals the gendered dimension of security discussed in the media. The exclusion of non-militaristic voices is an example of the built-in gender power in the security discussion – men who perform militarised masculinity have more power in security affairs in the public discussion.

5.3 Rational and strategic military language

Alongside the portrayal of the “male warrior”, the dominant notion of security is presented as masculine due to the ideal of rationality endorsed within the media. According to Vastapuu et al. (2023, p. 6), normalised rationality is central to the logic of militarism. The news sources in the media use “techno-strategic” language (Cohn, 1987). They emphasise military security's strategic, tactical and operational dimensions, making the discussion hard to contest. There are detailed descriptions of the variety of warfare, the effectiveness of different types of mines in the use of the Finnish military and the presentation of fighter aircraft with exact model numbers, as analysed closely in the Credible Deterrent Discourse. Also, there is an emphasis on reasoned, non-emotional decision-making, described as a “quintessentially Finnish” way to operate as analysed in the Diplomacy Discourse.

These examples of “hard” values and rational language connected to masculinity prevent us from asking important questions about the changed security environment and its root causes. Consequently, Shepherd (2012, p. 18) and other scholars in the field of FSS criticise the realist approach to security for its failure to address the root causes of insecurity, including poverty, inequality, and human rights abuses. Tickner (1992, p. 29) also notes that emphasising rationality in national security is a manifestation of biased masculinity. Valorising rational strategic language obscures the fact that insecurities cause people to feel a range of emotions, such as anxiety, fear and compassion, and that the people most affected by security threats are the most vulnerable.

Moreover, because of the high status of rational language, the media discussion on security and NATO application leaves the most remarkable space and power to those who master complex rational speech, such as the experts performing militarised masculinity. Creating media space for rationality is a spiral of social conventions that marginalises women in the security discourse. Since the Finnish military institutions are male-dominated, and security is mainly discussed rationally and strategically manner and understood predominantly as armed defence, only a few women, compared to men, have the vocabulary and credibility to participate in the security discussion in the media in Finland. The dominance of masculine rationality in security affairs is especially exclusive for women when considering this thesis's findings, yet again, that it is mainly men who employ rational, discursive practices. If the objective of FSS is to expose what is made invisible (e.g., Enloe, 1989; Sjoberg, 2018), the hegemonic position is one way to illustrate this: security outside of rational rhetoric is made invisible.

To avoid drawing misleading conclusions, I want to emphasise that men are inherently neither militaristic (Eichler, 2014, p. 81) nor rational, and I do not claim so in this thesis. Instead, my argument centres around the notion of security discourse within the media during the NATO discussion in 2022 primarily revolved around traditionally masculine values that men predominantly performed. As noted by Eichler (2014, p. 82) generally, militarised masculinity often perpetuates a hierarchical opposition to women and femininities, reinforcing unequal gendered power relations. This case illustrates the cultural construction of militarised masculinity as the dominant notion of security; however, it is not a natural or unfixed category.

5.4 Increasing insecurity and decreasing feminine security

Critical analysis reveals that the concept of security is becoming increasingly narrow as the perceived threat to security increases. Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022,

feminine security was diminished within the media. The change is especially prevalent in the Diplomacy Discourse and Western Co-operation Discourse. The data of this thesis also show that the invasion accelerated growing support for NATO membership. Consequently, the closer Finland moved to the decision to apply for NATO membership, the more dominant the position of narrow militaristic security became.

It seems that increasing insecurity leads to decreasing feminine security. It is connected to the findings presented above as well as to the notion by Vastapuu et al. (2023, p. 12); they suggest that if a militarised understanding of security is prevailing, "soft" security issues, such as intimate partner violence and sexual violence, will be ignored and pushed far into the future. Military security is presented as a solution to growing insecurity. However, history shows how an accelerating warfare build-up leads to greater insecurity rather than increased security (Vastapuu et al., 2023, p. 21). Militarism cannot solve security issues such as domestic violence or the global security threats following climate change and ecological crises, nor it tackle inequalities.

In other words, the findings of this thesis indicate that militaristic security is prioritised at the expense of other forms of security in the Finnish media. FSS scholars, including Enloe (1989, 2000), Tickner (1992), and Sjoberg (2010, 2011), specifically criticise hegemonic security of being traditionally masculine; for valuing self over a community, being state-centric over promoting equality and ignoring the violence connected to masculine security. As there is uncontested violence related to militarised masculinity present in the media, the findings of this thesis also reflect Butler's (2004) notion that the masculine is tied to the violent subordination of the feminine. In a broader context, peace organisations in Finland are proposing that as the security situation in Europe changes, resources in Finland should be directed towards peace-building and maintaining a co-operative approach to security rather than military expenditure (Committee of 100 in Finland, 25.4.2022).

The findings are inconsistent with the reputation of Finland as an international diplomatic peacemaker. Also, the findings do not support non-militaristic security measures that are widely regarded as a Finnish way of operating in the international security environment. This reputation is part of the interdiscursive level of the Diplomacy Discourse before the invasion. Finland, as a Nordic country, is claimed to execute feminist foreign and security policy. Also, at the time ruling Marin government programme directly stated that "Finland will pursue a human rights-based foreign and security policy" and that "the central aim of security policy is to systematically promote gender equality and the full materialisation of girls and women's rights" (Finnish Government, 2019). During the NATO discussion, such "soft" and feminine security issues seem invalid, naive or

unnecessary. The hegemonic media representation of security and the limited voices heard in the discussion contribute to this dismissal.

Beyond the media discussion, there are similar notions in the Finnish context. For instance, the Evaluation of the Third (2018–2021) Finnish National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security states that although Finland has a high profile internationally on gender equality and peace and security issues, equality issues are still clearly marginalised in security policy decision-making and military crisis management in Finland (Plan, 2023). Also, the Plan International report (2023, p. 12) notes that gender equality issues were not given space in Finland's NATO application process. Considering the findings of this thesis in relation to the preparation of the Finnish NATO application,⁵ the Finnish national media did not mention women's and girls' rights, gendered dimensions or gender equality objectives during the NATO discussion.

The discourse analysis demonstrates that feminine values or feminist policies are disregarded and harnessed for military security. It seems that the rhetorical aim for feminine non-violence justifies the means of masculine militarism in the media. For example, the Diplomacy Discourse presents how Finland seeks to avoid war through diplomacy and dialogue but simultaneously seeks to "save its own skin" which is more about a state-centric approach to maintaining territorial sovereignty. Moreover, the preservation of sovereignty in the case of Finland is connected to various militaristic means in the media articles, including "a strong national defence", victorious history in the Winter War and military alliances. The realist power competition about who feels most safe (Tickner, 1992; Booth, 2005; Cohn, 2011) determines security in the media.

In the Western Co-operation Discourse, co-operation namely represents feminine security. However, all presented alliances are primarily based on armed defence. On the discursive level of the Western Co-operation Discourse, democracy also becomes a synonym for security. Democracy shares traditionally "soft" values, but the democratic values are harnessed to justify masculine security and armed violence as a security provider. Finland's security policy includes promoting human rights, the rule of law, democracy, peace, freedom, tolerance and equality (Finnish Government, 2019). However, the opinionated media articles do not highlight non-military solutions, such as democracy, diplomacy, negotiation, and economic incentives. Prioritisation of physical strength and power is far from the non-violent means of security and the broad understanding of security that feminine security calls for.

⁵ Report on Finland's Accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Finnish Government, 15.05.2022).

Additionally, feminine-held emotional rhetorics cover or soften the violence related to militarism. The Western Co-operation Discourse illustrates, for instance, how violence is obscured by using vocabulary referring to “soft values” including “co-operation”, “freedom”, and “democracy”. In the media during the NATO discussion, the dominant notion of security is tied to maintaining sovereignty and achieving self-interests rather than means such as transnational co-operation and democratic values. From a gender perspective, traditionally feminine values are occasionally visible in the media, but the analysis reveals that militarised masculinity prevails internalised under the surface level in. However, FSS invites us to consider a comprehensive conception of security that also considers non-normative, militaristic, state-centric, and violent security (Sjoberg, 2011). Therefore, feminine and masculine security does not need to be mutually exclusive.

Moreover, since this thesis focuses on media analysis, it must be noted that media is not only a neutral platform. The media's power lies in its ability to serve as a public forum (Talbot, 2007, p. 3), which according to Habermas (1989), is a common place where public opinion and further policies can be formed. The domination of rational militaristic language maintained by the three media justifies traditionally masculine security and tends to suggest that other forms of security are naive. It seems that women are redundantly pushed into a marginalised position and not regarded as respectable subjects in the security discussion in the public sphere.

The media has the power to decide what is seen, who is heard, and how security is approached by the public (e.g., Richardson & Wearing, 2014). Although the link between the analysed media discussion and the actual NATO application process may be ambiguous, a more comprehensive and critical media representation of security can potentially influence security policies, such as Finland's NATO application. Moreover, Wodak (2009) states that politics and media depend on each other; they interpenetrate, showing the importance of media coverage to security politics. Marginalising critical voices in security topics should be seen as an ideological decision by the media.

6. CONCLUSION

According to Sjoberg (2011, p. 602), the purpose of doing research in the field of feminist security studies is “to raise problems, not to solve them; to draw attention to a field of inquiry, rather than survey it fully; to provoke discussion, rather than serve as a systematic treatise”. In this chapter, I will conclude with the findings of this study suggesting that the dominant notion of security portrayed in the media is narrow, militaristic and masculine.

The findings of this thesis suggest that security is still seen as a “man’s affair”, as it was when the FSS research started to rise in the late 1980s. However, the dominant notion of security does not only exclude women and femininities but also men and masculinities outside of the militarised notion.

6.1 Summary and contributions of the study

The findings of this thesis draw attention to the gendered notions of security in the Finnish national media regarding the NATO discussion from January to March 2022. My argument contends that the media's prevailing understanding of security is narrow and aligns with traditional masculinity, embodying armed, physical, rational, and violent characteristics by default. I have shown that the prevailing security discourse in the media is exclusive to the performances of *militarised masculinity*.

The default masculinity in security affairs is supported by the findings that the NATO discussion in the media is predominantly for male voices. The gender representation analysis shows that, in this case, 74 % of all news sources are men. The biased gender representation is most striking among the military and defence experts as news sources, of which only 8 % are women in the media.

In this case study, I have focused on opinionated online news media articles in three Finnish media, Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti, and Yle. Therefore, the findings suggest how security is perceived, experienced and internalised in the public sphere in Finland. I decided to carry out the study utilising the theoretical framework of feminist security studies, which locates in the academic canon of the international relations field and specifically recognises security as a gendered concept. I conducted a systematic case study comprising two parts that complement each other: 1) quantitative content analysis on the gender representation of the news sources and 2) critical

discourse analysis focusing on the gendered dimensions of security in the media, specifically examining the traditionally masculine and feminine values. In this thesis, I followed Wodak's approach to CDA: I analysed the media texts interdisciplinary, considering the descriptive, interdiscursivity, and socio-cultural practices levels.

I derived three main security discourses from the media data for this study. I named them Diplomacy Discourse, Western Co-operation Discourse, and Credible Deterrence Discourse. The analysis revealed that militarism and masculinity significantly shape the security discussion in the media. I exemplified that security is defined predominantly by militaristic means such as maintaining strong national defence, augmenting funding for national defence, entering the umbrella of nuclear deterrence, employing regulated landmines, addressing diverse armament, and participating in joint military operations. Masculine security dimensions are also prevalent in the media through the symbolic image of the "male warrior" – security is seen as a male duty to protect, as a man's affair, and it is dominantly connected to male representation. At the discursive level, security is grounded on rational, techno-strategic and militaristic language in the media.

An important observation presented in this thesis is that the media does not challenge the dominant notions of masculinity, militarism, or the over-representation of men in the context of security. Militaristic measures are portrayed as unquestionably essential for ensuring Finland's security. Furthermore, violence related to military security is not critically approached within the NATO discussion in the media. On the contrary, the analysis reveals that the uncontested dominant position of masculine military security is even strengthening after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. However, these portrayal choices are underpinned by ideologies and value systems and maintain a patriarchal gender power hierarchy. However, I want to note that the context of this case study is unique, and applying the same research design to a different timeframe would possibly yield significantly divergent outcomes.

The findings of this thesis indicate a dearth of feminine security representations. Alternatively, I analysed that feminist values are rhetorically harnessed for military security. It appears that growing insecurity corresponds with decreasing comprehensive feminine security. These findings contradict Finland's feminist security policy and international reputation as a diplomatic peacemaker – the feminine image which is also endorsed in the media in this case. However, the security discourse in the media during the NATO discussion fails to address significant aspects of feminine security, including non-militaristic security, inequality-based security, and domestic security.

The findings suggest that security affairs are not seen as an area for women but neither for alternative masculinities nor femininities. Thus, the famous question by Cynthia Enloe (1989) remains relevant in the context of security over 30 years later: Where are the women? Adding to that question, I am tempted to include: And where are the femininities? A notion of security rooted in militarised masculinity excludes women and marginalises men who do not conform to militarised masculine norms (Tallberg, 2009). The findings of this case study thus suggest that the security discussion is most of all built for those actors who fit in the performance of militarised masculinity and is exclusive for the rest.

6.2 Limitations and further research

This thesis provides a ground for the gendered notions of security in the context of the Finnish NATO discussion. The interdisciplinary findings of security studies, gender studies and media studies offer different opportunities to conduct future critical research.

In this study, I grounded the critical discourse analysis on the traditional binary gender categories. Additionally, in this thesis, I coded gender representation based on the assumption of appearance, which interpretation may be affected by my internalised binary assumptions. Thus, the findings of this thesis expose the gendered power hierarchy *binarily*. It has to be acknowledged that due to these research choices, I am not free of maintaining the binary gender categorisation of men-women and masculinity-femininity. For instance, Eichler (2014, p. 83) importantly notes that if we maintain the gendered dichotomy of “masculine protectors” and “feminine protected”, we are simultaneously legitimising unequal gender relations and justifying the utilisation of military force.

This study should be seen as a step that exposes the first layer of gender inequality. The first layer is the binary and traditional gender category in the masculine-held field of security. In this case study, reflecting the traditional gendered values helped expose the hegemonic position of militarised masculinity and the over-representation of men in the security news. A deeper layer would be an analysis beyond the binary gender dichotomy with a post-structural feminist approach. It would be essential to conduct further study by paying attention to many masculinities and femininities beyond the binary gender category.

Additionally, it would be important to analyse intersections between gender and other factors, including race, class, disability, and physical appearance, to understand the bigger picture of power hierarchies in the security discussion. Nevertheless, I want to stress that when gendered

power imbalances and inequality persist even when conducting a study by using simplified traditional and binary gender categories, it indicates that there is still a considerable path to traverse in order to achieve an equitable notion of security within the Finnish public sphere. Further non-binary and intersectional approaches to security would be necessary, especially in Finland, where security is characterised by universal male conscription and a normalised position of militarised masculinity.

While Finland has embraced a feminist foreign and security policy, this media study indicates that the practical implementation of feminist principles in security may be limited. To comprehend the ramifications of militarisation and challenge the prevailing dominance of men and militarized masculinity in security affairs in Finland, there is a need for critical and constructive approaches. Accordingly, Kotilainen and Hast (2022) have emphasised the importance of conducting critical military studies in Finland to foster a broader and more inclusive exploration of gendered military power.

At the time of writing, Finland is joining NATO in 2023. What notion of security, and whose security, does Finland seek to promote, both as a representative of alliances and as an independent actor in international politics?

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APPENDICES

The titles and references of the media articles are attached by the media in chronological order in the original language. The articles comprise the data of 70 online news media articles. The data was collected from Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti and Yle from 1.1.2022-31.3.2022.

Helsingin Sanomat

1. HS 1.1.2022. Presidentti Niinistö tarjosi puheensa kylmimmän kommentin mutkan kautta. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008512674.html>
2. HS 9.1.2022. Putinin vaatimukset ovat järjettömiä – silti Venäjän kanssa on pakko yrittää neuvotella. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008520552.html>
3. HS 15.1.2022. Turvallisuus-poliittinen asemamme kaipaa kirkastamista ulkomailla. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008535217.html>
4. HS 20.1.2022. Tekikö Marin virheen Nato-komenttien kanssa? Asiantuntijat arvioivat pääministerin Reutersille antamaa haastattelua. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008553783.html>

5. HS 24.1.2022. EU-maiden ulko-ministerit koolla jännitteisessä tilanteessa – myös Suomi päätyi mukaan Ukrainan asevienti-kysymykseen. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008554651.html>
6. HS 2.2.2022. Lavrovin kirje: Venäjä syyttää länsimaita Etyjin sopimusten laiminlyömisestä ja vaatii kaikkia maita vastaamaan Venäjälle omasta puolestaan, ei blokkeina. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008582309.html>
7. HS 6.2.2022. Venäjä ajaa maita hakemaan turvaa Natosta. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008578420.html>
8. HS 11.2.2022. Vaikeat ajat edellyttävät Suomen ja Ruotsin läheistä yhteistyötä. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008587019.html>
9. HS 12.2.2022. Nyt tarvitaan diplomatiaa eikä sotaa – ja totuutta valheiden sijaan. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008600976.html>
10. HS 15.2.2022a. Sodan uhalla pelataan kovaa peliä, mutta vuoro-puhelua on vain jatkettava. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008613182.html>
11. HS 15.2.2022b. Venäjän hyökkäys Ukrainaan toisi suurvaltojen konfliktin aivan Suomen porteille: ”Ei mikään rauhan meri”. <https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000008611657.html>
12. HS 16.2.2022. Puolustusvoimien turvallisuustasoa ”ei vaan huvikseen nosteta ja lasketa” – Mitä tiistaina tehty päätös tarkoittaa? <https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000008617971.html>
13. HS 20.2.2022. Venäjän hyökkäyksellä Ukrainaan olisi ainakin pari suoraa vaikutusta Suomeen, arvioi ulko-ministeri Pekka Haavisto HS:lle. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008629170.html>
14. HS 24.2.2022a. Presidentti Niinistö: Nyt on syytä olla varuillaan. <https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000008635521.html>
15. HS 24.2.2022b. Miksi Venäjä hyökkäsi Ukrainaan, ja miten se vaikuttaa Suomeen? HS kokosi vastauksia keskeisiin kysymyksiin. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008638672.html>
16. HS 24.2.2022c. Putin valitsi sodan. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008639720.html>
17. HS 28.2.2022. Suomen turvallisuudelle on vain kaksi vaihtoehtoa. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008646160.html>
18. HS 1.3.2022. Rauhattomuuden aikakausi. <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000008647318.html>

19. HS 4.3.2022. Puhemies Vanhanen tiivistää Nato-keskustelun vaikeuden: ”Miten säilytämme oman nahkamme ilman, että heitämme bensaa sodan liekkeihin?”.
<https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000008653657.html>
20. HS 6.3.2022a. Suomalainen Ukraina-rukous. <https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000008631498.html>
21. HS 6.3.2022b. Millä tuolilla Suomi istuu? <https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000008614567.html>
22. HS 9.3.2022a. Suomen talouskasvu edellyttää Nato-jäsenyyttä.
<https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008664382.html>
23. HS 9.3.2022b. On aika ratkaista Nato-keskustelua vaivannut mystifiointi.
<https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008668428.html>
24. HS 10.3.2022. Ajoitus on nyt Suomen turvallisuuden ydinkysymys.
<https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008670093.html>
25. HS 14.3.2022. Venäjän hyökkäys sai täti-ihmiseksi itseään kutsuvan museon-johtaja Paula Koukin hakeutumaan pistooli- ja kivääri-kurssille: ”Ei hitsit, nyt tai ei koskaan”.
<https://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000008669117.html>
26. HS 15.3.2022. Kimmo Kiljunen vastusti aiemmin tiukasti Suomen Nato-jäsenyyttä – nyt hän painii ainakin kahden vastakkaisiin suuntiin vetävän argumentin kanssa: ”Herkkä, herkkä, herkkä asia” <https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000008680352.html>
27. HS 17.3.2022. Jonakin päivänä kauhun tasapaino voi pettää. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008687022.html>
28. HS 18.3.2022. Suomen paikka on Natossa. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008688715.html>
29. HS 20.3.2022. Kaikille pakollinen kriisikoulutus ratkaisisi asepalveluksen ongelman.
<https://www.hs.fi/visio/art-2000008694142.html>
30. HS 27.3.2022. Suomi on taas osa Euroopan suurta peliä, ja siinä piilee vaara.
<https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008689778.html>
31. HS 29.3.2022a. Suomen turvallisuustilanne on muuttunut radikaalisti.
<https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000008705632.html>
32. HS 29.3.2022b. Putinin sota vaikuttaa myös Suomeen. <https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000008715670.html>

1. IL 1.1.2022. Analyysi: Viittaako Niinistö kiiruhtamisen ajalla Nato-jäsenyyden hakemiseen? - uudenvuodenpuhe on merkki uudesta ajasta. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/fc0b4b95-a97f-40c4-b8de-1e384472ef0a>
2. IL 3.1.2022. Ville Niinistö: EU-puolustusyhteistyön tiellä eteemme tulee vääjäämättä harkinta Naton jäsenyydestä. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/74ee8ce7-c94d-48cf-b77a-7652191bf2d5>
3. IL 18.1.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Suomi on osa länttä, ja siksi myös puolustus pitäisi rakentaa osana läntistä liittoumaa. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/843c4d40-6e3f-467c-b23d-16e8e7238095>
4. IL 20.1.2022. Supo: Suomessa on nyt yhtä paljon vakoojia kuin kylmän sodan aikana. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/2933d56b-8157-4c0e-8ddd-f81813b73c0d>
5. IL 21.1.2022. Merivoimat valmiudessa: Tässä on Suomen pääase Ahvenanmaan puolustamiseksi. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/85c68823-5f13-45ec-8b0f-a37b48768ca1>
6. IL 2.2.2022a. Kaikki Etyj-maat eivät saaneetkaan Venäjän kirjettä – Teija Tiilikainen: kyse hybridioperaatiosta, joka kohdistuu Suomeenkin. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/ulkomaat/a/2c2e7dfb-f2a9-4bbe-82f1-934fe32bc0c6>
7. IL 2.2.2022b. Kommentti: Niinistön puheessa syyttävä sormi osoittaa suoraan Venäjään. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/34be83c1-43cd-4424-8832-bd9320ec26fe>
8. IL 3.2.2022. Suomalaiset ovat valmiimpia liittoutumaan – Halosen aika jäänyt taakse. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/9d3c650e-f916-44a6-8375-d91ab64f8d56>
9. IL 7.2.2022. Tuomioja haukkuu Nato-kannattajat disinformaation levittämisestä. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/66086475-5abc-4b05-97f6-e250d002b588>
10. IL 24.2.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Suomalaisten on aika herätä – Putinin Venäjä on uhka myös meille. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/d372b0f1-b01f-4e90-a99d-63db3caacb80>
11. IL 27.2.2022. Näkökulma: Suomen liittoutumisen aika on käsillä, jotta emme taistelisi ukrainalaisten tavoin yksin. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/ef88f300-31d8-4532-9027-ca1c6d622b02>
12. IL 1.3.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Tällä kertaa se on kansa, joka tunkee Natoa presidentti Niinistön kurkusta alas. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/5c5b5043-24f1-4f20-a058-e32abefa3f1f>
13. IL 3.3.2022. Kolumni: Jos Venäjä hyökkää Suomeen, olemme yksin – Natoon on pakko liittyä. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/64bf8385-b451-4c8a-bdbb-8efef1f2c74e8>

14. IL 7.3.2022. Puolustusvoimain komentaja jalkaväkimiinoista: ”Suomi edelleen suluttamisen eurooppalainen suurvalta”. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/071e41bd-2d54-4791-9d15-2d1efe2989dc>
15. IL 11.3.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Hallituksen ja presidentin pitää olla kuskin paikalla Nato-ratkaisussa. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/b32c8cda-c0fe-4980-bb33-954f695e30ae>
16. IL 15.3.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Putin saattaa jäädä historiaan presidenttinä, joka vei Suomen Natoon. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/eed3cb41-87d7-4e1d-9e12-dd3513978894>
17. IL 28.3.2022. Pääkirjoitus: Nato-jäsenyyttä kavahtava Väyrynen maalaa kuvaa Suomesta, jota ei enää ole. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/paakirjoitus/a/bca2ae48-41ce-4d66-8748-160d5e300f55>
18. IL 30.3.2022. Evan kysely: Suomen ja Venäjän erityissuhde on myytti. <https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/fef504b5-aacb-4562-b61c-9c0cc291c11d>

Yle

1. Yle 9.1.2022a. Tällaista etupiirijakoa Venäjä yrittää ensi viikon neuvotteluissa – tutkija: Venäjä toistaa Suomen suhteen samoja virheitä kuin Neuvostoliitto. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12261383>
2. Yle 9.1.2022b. Puolustusministeri Kaikkonen: Venäjän vaatimat turvatakuut eivät vaikuta Suomen liikkumatilaan Naton suuntaan. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12263432>
3. Yle 21.1.2022. Suomalaisten puskema koillisväylähanke hyytyi venäläisten käännettyä kelkkansa – seuraavaksi mereen lasketaan valokuitukaapelia amerikkalaisten kanssa. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12268002>
4. Yle 22.1.2022. Kylmää kyytiä. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12279032>
5. Yle 29.1.2022a. Putinin ajatusten tulkki. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12291949>
6. Yle 29.1.2022b. Pitkäaikainen puolustusministeri Jussi Niinistö: Nato-jäsenyyden hakemista pitäisi alkaa valmistella ilman kansanäänestystä. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12293317>
7. Yle 1.2.2022. Yle kysyi asiantuntija-arvioita Venäjän kirjeestä – Ulkopoliittisen instituutin Aaltola: Venäjä hakee nootilla rakoja eri maiden väliltä. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12297290>
8. Yle 7.2.2022. Venäjän toiminta pistää pohtimaan – näin tilanteesta ajattelevat varusmies, everstiluutnantti ja reserviläinen. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12300282>
9. Yle 10.2.2022. Janne Rysky Riiheläisen kolumni: Onko yhteisymmärrys Suomen ulko- ja turvallisuuspoliikasta mennyttä? <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12307504>

10. Yle 21.2.2022. Informaatiosota on jo käynnissä – mitä jokaisen tulisi tietää kyberhyökkäyksistä? Lue tästä asiantuntijan vastaukset tärkeimpiin kysymyksiin. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12324705>
11. Yle 22.2.2022. Venäjän tunkeutuminen Ukrainaan huono asia Suomelle – Asiantuntija: Jos noin voi tehdä yli 40 miljoonan kansakunnalle, pienempiäkin helpompi uhata. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12328657>
12. Yle 25.2.2022a. Analyysi: Pettymys, järkytys, mutta ei yllätys – Suomi kohtasi Venäjän muutoksen. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12333184>
13. Yle 25.2.2022b. Presidentti Sauli Niinistö valmistautuu sotilasliitto Naton hätäkokoukseen – Itämeren turvallisuus kiinnostaa Natoa. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12333530>
14. Yle 28.2.2022. Mikä muuttuisi puolustusvoimien arjessa, jos Suomi olisi Nato-maa? <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12330047>
15. Yle 3.3.2022. Janne ”Rysky” Riiheläisen kolumni: ”Olisi pitänyt liittoutua”, on nyt suosittu katumusvirsi – samalla unohtuu, miksi ei liittouduttu. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12338997>
16. Yle 6.3.2022. Joe Biden lupasi apua, mutta ei ilman vastalahjaa – Mika Aaltola kertoo nyt, mitä Suomi ja Yhdysvallat tavoittelevat. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12345947>
17. Yle 7.3.2022. Kansallinen turvallisuus on suuressa murroksessa, ja siksi suomalaisten kannattaa varautua nyt kyberhyökkäyksiin, varoittaa suojelupoliisin päällikkö. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12347280>
18. Yle 8.3.2022. Venäjä voisi häiritä Suomen Nato-tietä monella tavalla – tutkijat: Liittoutumattomuuden hyödyt mennyttä. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12348550>
19. Yle 17.3.2022. Analyysi: Suomi varautuu pikavauhtia Venäjän laajamittaiseen ilkeilyyn – Nato-pohdinnan varjossa valmistaudutaan hybridi- ja kyberuhkiin. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12361690>
20. Yle 23.3.2022. Nytkö se alkaa? 7 hybridiasetta joilla Venäjä voi painostaa suomalaisia, jos aiomme liittyä Natoon. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-12372342>