

A POLITICAL ANOMALY

How the COVID-19 Crisis United the Finnish People

The COVID-19 pandemic has had an exceptional impact on how Finns view politics. Criticism of party-politics has declined, and instead a strong belief in the capabilities of democracy and a confidence in the Government and the Parliament have come to the fore.

This phenomenon is known as the ‘rally ‘round the flag effect’, *i.e.* citizens’ surge of support for decision-makers amidst a crisis shaking the very foundations of a society. The sentiment is most likely of a temporary nature, and criticism towards politics is likely to resume once the crisis ceases or assumes another form.

While confidence in politics has skyrocketed, citizens display the most trust towards the fundamental structures of the state: the police, the President, the defence forces, as well as the healthcare and education systems. Furthermore, the typically unsympathetic attitude towards bureaucrats has abated, and instead Finns show increasing confidence in both public officials and the information they provide.

- ◆ Citizens place the most trust in the police (85% trusts), the President (84%) and the healthcare system (81%).
- ◆ The Government enjoys the trust of 60 per cent and the parliament of 52 per cent of Finns. Trust in the Government has increased by 33 percentage points and even trust in the Parliament has seen an increase of 17 percentage points.
- ◆ Nine out of ten (89%) give their full support to the Government’s actions during the COVID-19 crisis.
- ◆ Entrepreneurs (65%) are the only private instance that citizens have complete trust in.
- ◆ Out of Finnish news sources, the public service broadcasting company YLE is clearly the most trusted at 72%.

The impact of COVID-19 on attitudes held by the Finnish people towards politics and political actors has been unprecedented. The Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA's Values and Attitudes Survey was conducted between 26 March and 3 April, at a time when the restrictions put in place by the Sanna Marin Government were at their strictest.

Finnish attitudes towards political parties, the political elite and public officials and experts are far less critical than usual. Equally, confidence in politics and political actors has increased considerably. Even citizens' perceptions of the functioning of the Finnish democracy has improved.

43 per cent of citizens consider Finnish democracy to work so well, that claims of citizens not having a say public affairs go without justification. (Figure 1). One third (33%) disagree.

A result leaning towards satisfaction is exceptional in the time series of results. In over 30 years of measurements, the proportion of those considering that democracy is working well has remained low (22 per cent on average), and a majority has always rejected an optimistic view of the functioning of democracy.

The observed shift in attitudes cannot be explained by customary fluctuations. This, in

turn, speaks of an exceptional consensus among citizens to ward off the common threat posed by COVID-19. This is a case of the so-called rally 'round the flag' effect, defined by the American political scientist John Mueller in his research in the 1970s.¹ According to Mueller, the popularity of the President of the United States has always increased in a time of crisis. Signs of the effect have now been detected in many countries in connection with the COVID-19 crisis.²

The decrease in the strong criticism towards political parties is a tell-tale sign of the above. Today, just one in two (51 %) consider that political parties have drifted further away from the problems of the common man (Figure 2). The same notion is rejected by 28 per cent of Finns. Despite the result not painting a particularly favourable picture of positivity towards political parties, when proportioned to the customary views of the Finns, it is out of the ordinary.

The share of those criticizing political parties has diminished by over twenty percentage points. Furthermore, the decline has occurred almost entirely within the 'I fully agree' response cate-

The change is an indication of rallying 'round the flag.'

FIGURE 1. 'Democracy works so well in Finland, that claims of citizens not having a say public affairs go without justification' (%)

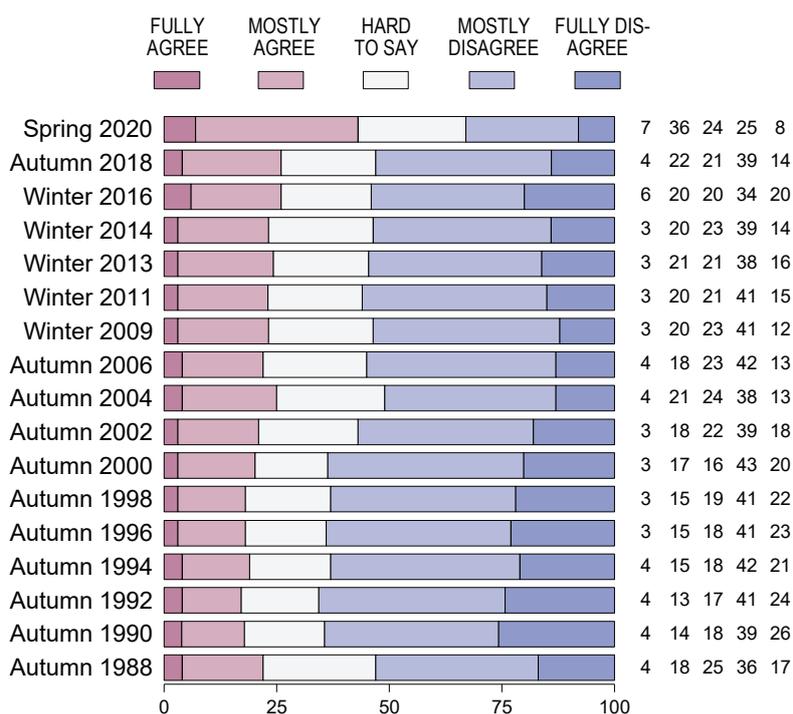
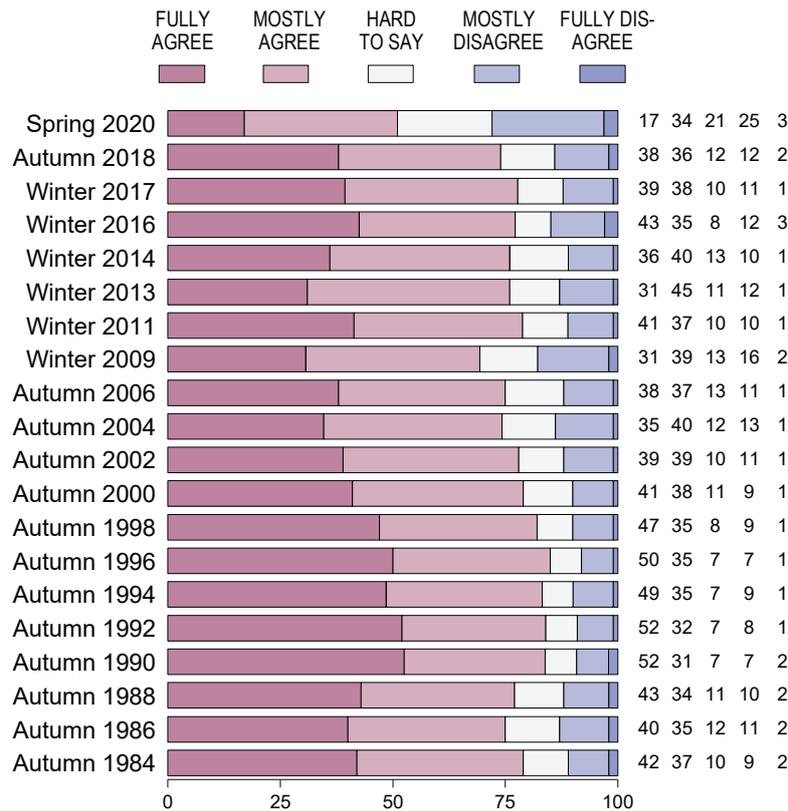


FIGURE 2. 'Political parties have drifted further away from the problems of the common man' (%)



gory. The critical attitude has decreased considerably within all demographics, but the most notable shift has taken place among those voting for the current five governing parties (the demographic breakdown of all responses is available in EVA's Values and Attitude Surveys database 'Arvopankki' at www.eva.fi/arvopankki).

Fierce criticism towards political parties, politicians and the functioning of representative democracy has been the default attitude of the Finns. It has, at times, given rise to concerns of Finns turning their backs to politics.³ On the other hand, dissatisfaction with politics has never manifested itself as any specifically notable extra-parliamentary activities. Moreover, in the two latest parliamentary elections, voter turnout has again returned to a level of over 70 per cent.⁴ Finns' interest for politics has also clearly risen in recent years. (see p. 4).

The issue does not merely concern the decrease in critical and questioning attitudes. Confidence in political actors has quickly risen to a higher level than before (see box on pages 8–10), suggesting a strong mandate for their actions for the time being. The situation may, however, change rapidly as the COVID-19 crisis unfolds.

Politics rendered tangible

One explanation for the sudden change in attitudes towards politics is the exceptionality of the politics being practiced. The government's severe measures to contain the spread of the virus and to mitigate the damage caused by it, have rendered politics tangible. Normally, the effects of political decisions are slow to manifest themselves and only relate to the daily lives of a few. Now, the repercussions of the decisions have been instantaneous and clearly distinguishable. The objectives of the decisions have also been clear and, at least thus far, largely undisputed.

None of these three features, namely tangibility, speed and indisputability, have been typical to Finnish politics in recent years. Instead, politics has been characterized by being phenomenon-based, involving trench warfare relating to any reform projects, and by the upsurge of identity politics.⁵ A time out has been called in the game of day-to-day politics. The crisis requires immediate action.

Indeed, the people of Finland have practically given their unreserved support for the crisis-measures, even if they have been exceptionally severe.

Nine out of ten (89%) fully support the measures (Figure 3a). Those in opposition only make up a marginal six per cent.

None of the demographics display more than a minor desire to criticise the government’s actions, even though the resolutions were made in the midst of great uncertainty and the effects on the livelihoods of the Finnish people are estimated to be substantial.⁶

Citizens reject the notion that the government over-reacted under the pressure of public debate. Just 20 per cent believe that the discussion surrounding the COVID-19 epidemic is showing

signs of hysteria, causing decision-makers to take excessive action (Figure 3b). The vast majority (62%) reject this sentiment.

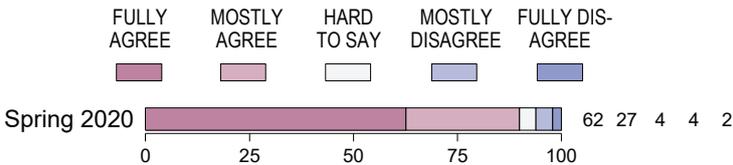
Interest in politics at its peak

Although COVID-19 has caused a rapid shift in attitudes, it does not fully explain why Finns’ attitudes towards politics have improved. In fact, citizens’ interest in politics has been on the rise for quite some time already.

Two thirds (65%) report that they are interested in politics and follow it actively (Figure 4).

FIGURE 3. Attitudes towards the government’s actions during the COVID-19 crisis

3a ‘Even if the government’s actions during the COVID-19 crisis have been exceptionally severe, I give them my full support’ (%)



3b ‘The discussion surrounding the COVID-19 epidemic is showing signs of hysteria and has caused the decision-makers to take excessive action’ (%)

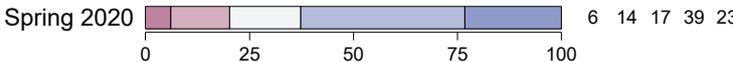
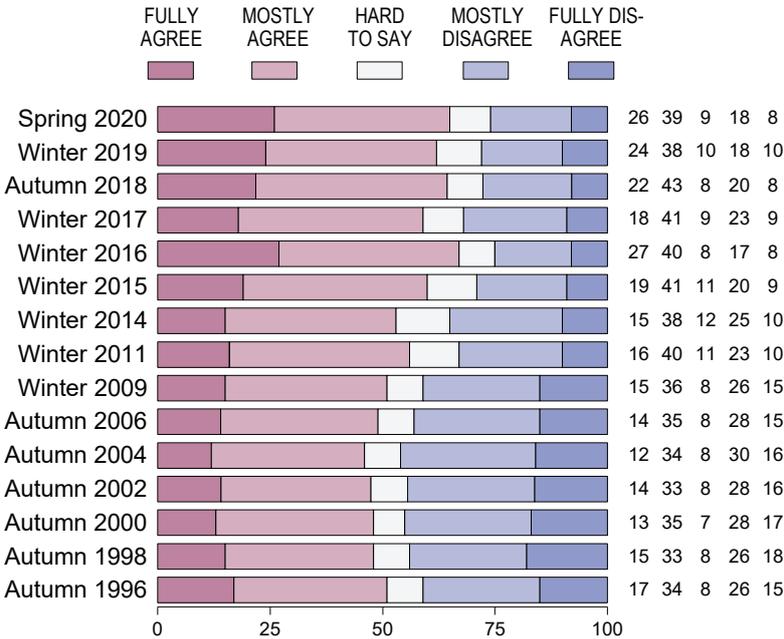


FIGURE 4. ‘I am interested in politics and follow it actively’ (%)



The proportion of those being relatively indifferent towards politics remains at one quarter (26 %). Changes in interest over the past few years have been minor, but a look at a longer time interval reveals a clear increasing trend.

The appeal of politics grew considerably following the financial crisis and after the Finns Party started its ascend towards the victorious ‘Jytty’⁷ election of 2011. Alongside populism⁸, fascination with politics has been propelled by, *inter alia*, environmental policy⁹, the competitiveness crisis¹⁰, the refugee crisis¹¹, matters pertaining to identity and individual freedoms¹², as well as mounting ideological tensions in politics¹³. In recent years, EVA’s Values and Attitudes Surveys have not only polled the basic dimensions of the Finnish attitude climate, but also incorporated the aforementioned issues.

Credence for the reinvigation of politics can also be given to the discernible reinforcement of the presidential institution¹⁴, the accentuated role of constitutional rights and the constitution in politics,¹⁵ as well as the novel political tools for citizens: voting aid applications and social media, with its in-pocket access to political debate.

As a result of all of this, Finnish politics has undergone quite a transformation during the

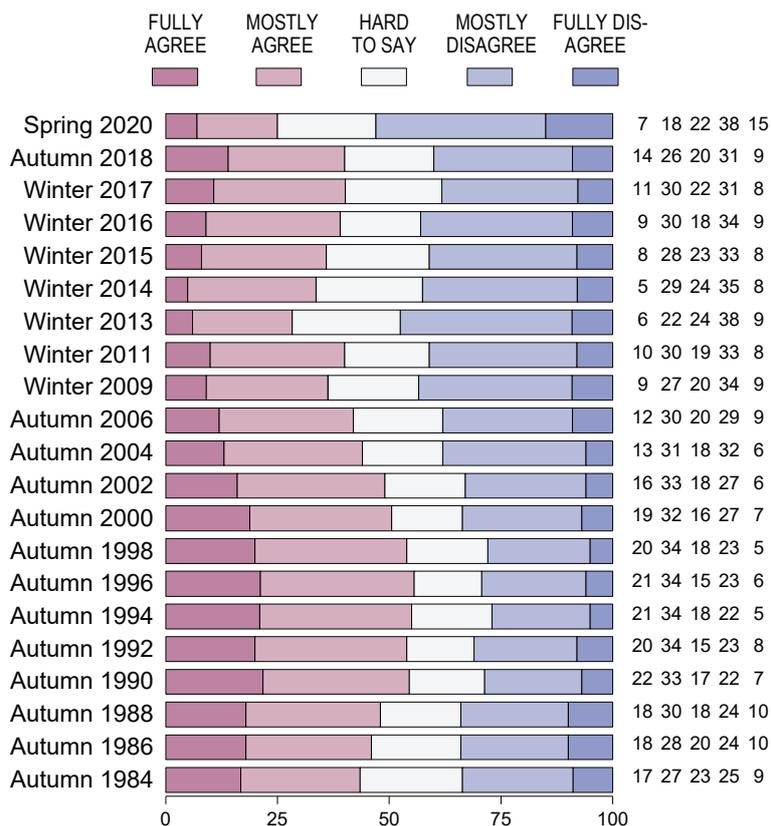
2000s. In terms of attitudes towards political parties, this has been reflected as a shift in the citizens’ personal relationship with political parties. Although general criticality towards political parties has remained fairly high (see Figure 2 above), a comparison with earlier years reveals a larger proportion of Finns have been searching for a political party they feel at home with. The phenomenon is illustrated in the trajectories of the time series measuring the issue after the turn of the millennium (Figure 5).

Today, a far greater percentage of citizens would appear to identify a political party they find suitable for themselves. One fourth (25%) claim that none of the political parties advocate issues they personally find important, but a majority (53%) rejects the claim. This result is unique in EVA’s 36-year history of Values and Attitudes Surveys.

The numbers indicate a clear larger-than-normal shift in attitudes. However, said attitudes are not unprecedented, as they exhibit a fairly close resemblance to those of 2013.

The most probable explanation for this shift is the uniting effect of the COVID-19 crisis. At the moment, parties advocate a common cause. However, as the COVID-19 crisis progresses and

FIGURE 5. ‘None of the political parties advocate issues I personally find important’ (%)



shifts towards the clean-up phase, parties will form diverging assessments of policymaking. As a result, voters might be more inclined to doubt their commitment to parties they are supporting for the time being.

On the other hand, finding one’s own political party may also have been backed by the fact that the Sanna Marin government is still in its early days. Ideologically speaking, the government is rather unified. Thus, both the supporters of the governing parties, and those supporting the opposition parties, have the possibility to align themselves with a party ideologically close to them. Furthermore, the electoral term is still at a stage in which conflicts have not yet had time to arise and electoral promises have not yet been broken.

Criticism towards the elite eases

In addition to affecting the functioning of democracy and political parties, the mending effect of the COVID-19 crisis also extends to politicians, who are seen in a more positive light than usual. 42 per cent of respondents consider the scolding of

the morality of politics in our country unfounded, because most of our politicians are honest and conscientious people (Figure 6a). Approximately one third disagree (32%).

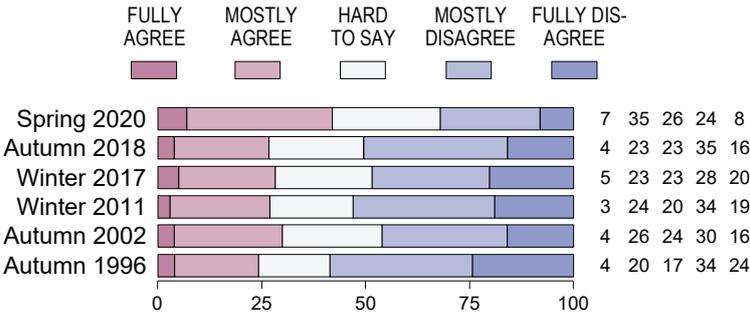
The response distribution is exceptionally favourable for politicians, although a majority is still refraining from praising politicians for their honesty. As a matter of fact, in the past quarter of a century, most Finns have deemed politicians to have low morals with only one year as an exception.

The outcome is similar when inquiring whether a politician’s word is trustworthy. Nearly one in two (48%) assess that the information politicians provide citizens is reliable (Figure 6b). Just over a fourth (27%) disagree. Looking back to the fall of 1984, one can observe a significant difference to today’s attitudes. Nevertheless, it is worth recognising the considerable time elapsed between the measuring points.

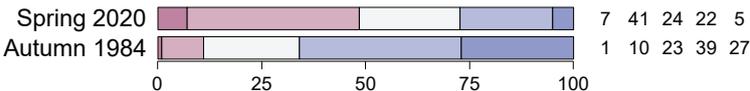
The attitudes of the people become far more critical when the framing is expanded from politicians to the elite of society in general. The majority (53%) consider the elite to merely advocate their

FIGURE 6. Attitudes towards politicians

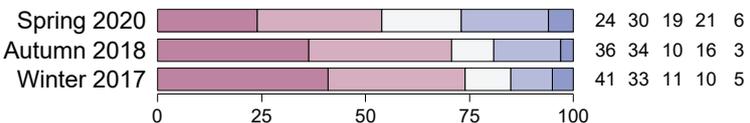
6a ‘The morality of politics in our country is being scolded for no reason, because most of our politicians are honest and conscientious people’ (%)



6b ‘The information politicians provide citizens is reliable’ (%)



6c ‘The elite of our society is merely advocating their own interests and is indifferent to the living conditions of ordinary Finns’ (%)



own interests and is indifferent to the living conditions of ordinary Finns (Figure 6c). Just over a third (27 %) disagree.

On the other hand, even the criticism aimed at the elite has subsided by over 15 percentage points as compared to the previous time it was measured. Differences in opinion across demographics remain quite large. Criticism is fairly widespread within all groups, but it is clearly higher among the less educated and with those finding themselves in poorer socioeconomic conditions. It is at its highest among the voters of the Finns Party (75 % agree).

No growing longing for a strong leader

The COVID-19 crisis has given rise to extremely positive attitudes towards politics.

This potent flare of national unity may well be temporary, and once its glow fades, the appreciation for politics may alter once again. The reference data gathered in EVA's Values and Attitudes surveys over the decades suggest that after crises, attitudes towards politics tend to revert quite rapidly close to their long-term average.

However, the COVID-19 pandemic, which started primarily as a health crisis, appears to be

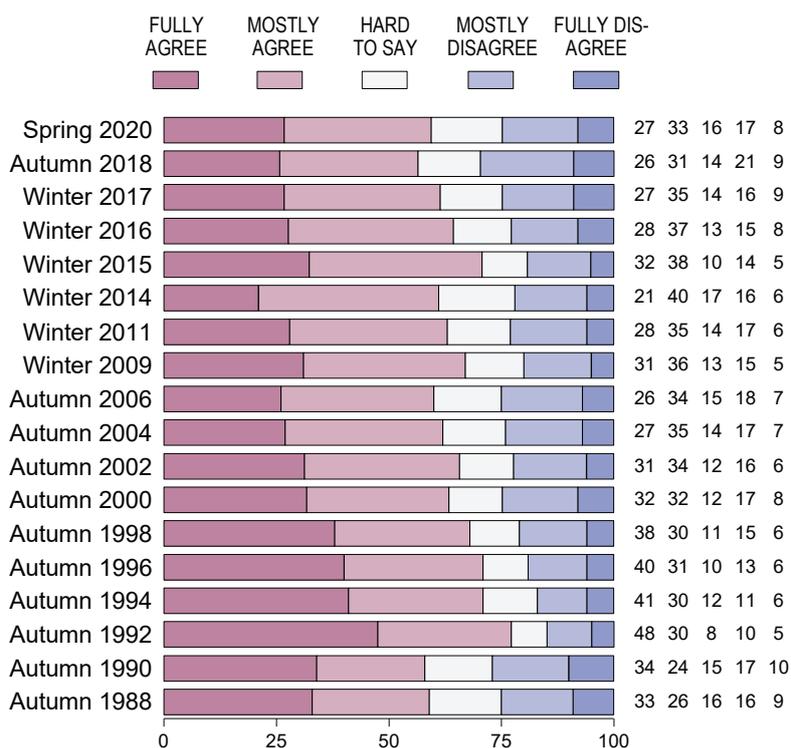
an exception to the rule. In previous severe crises, such as the recession of the early 1990's, the financial crisis of 2009, or the crisis that developed around competitiveness in 2015, the concern was first and foremost the economy.

A standard reaction of the Finnish people amidst a crisis, has been the growing longing for a strong leader. In the COVID-19 crisis, however, this phenomenon barely takes off. 60 per cent consider that our country needs strong leaders, capable of restoring law and order as well as respect for proper values in our society (Figure 7). One fourth reject this claim (25%).¹⁶

The longing for a strong leader has increased by a few percentage points from a couple of years ago. Nevertheless, the change remains minor compared to those detected in 1992, 2009, and 2015. Some of today's longing for leadership would, indeed, appear to be directed towards the entire democratic decision-making apparatus and the state, whose systems enjoy strong confidence (see the box on the next spread).

It is noteworthy, that Finnish citizens' trust in the President of the Republic is soaring. Five out of six (84%, see also the box on trust) trust the President. Indeed, it may well be that Finns feel our country already has a strong moral leader.

FIGURE 7. 'Our country needs strong leaders, capable of restoring law and order as well as respect for proper values in our society' (%)



THE COVID-19 CRISIS RESTORED TRUST IN POLITICS

Finns continue to place most trust in the police and the President of the Republic. However, the greatest shift in the citizens' trust concerns the Parliament and the Government.

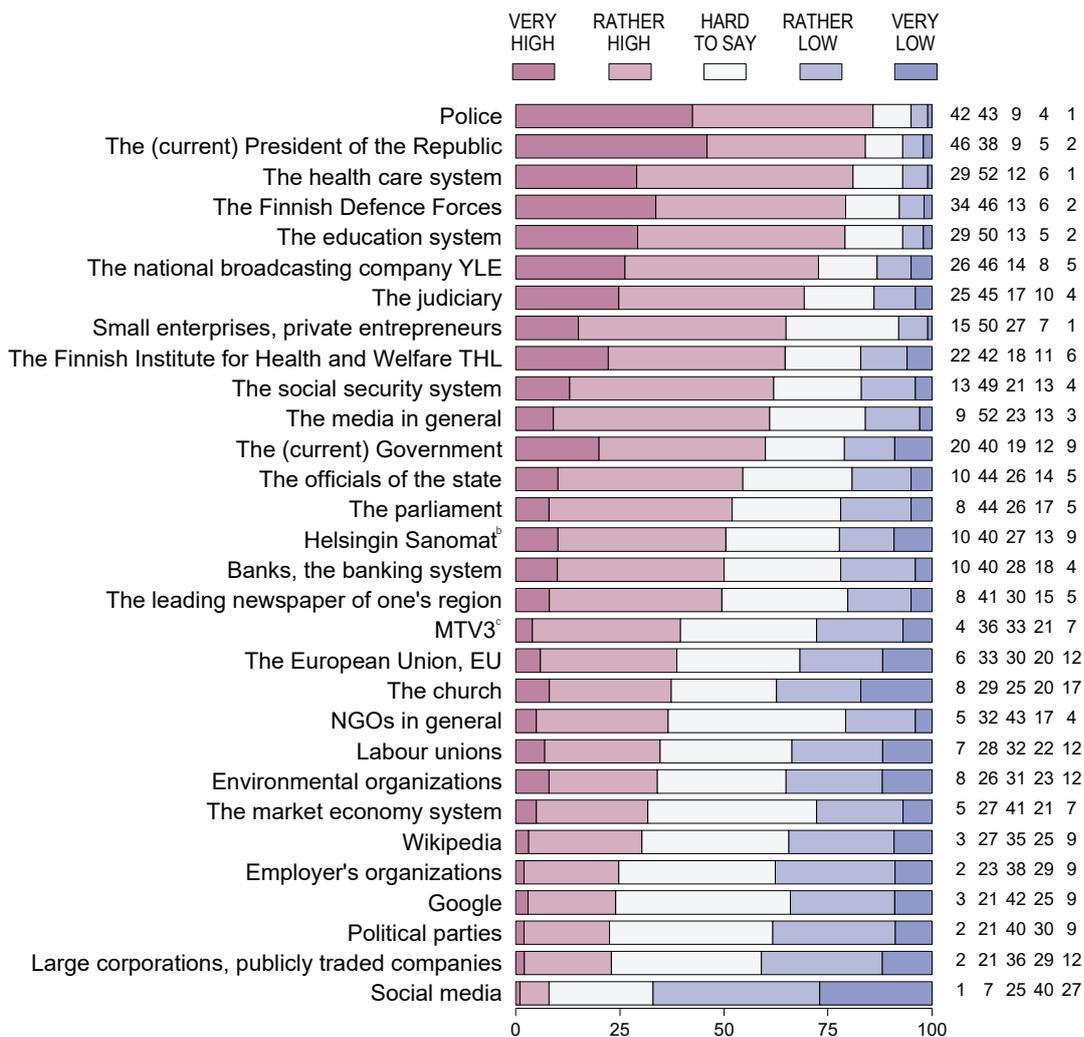
In its Values and Attitudes Survey, EVA examined how the COVID-19 crisis has impacted Finns' trust in 30 different institutions or actors influential in society. Changes in trust were considered in comparison to the previous measurement conducted in 2018.^a

The results show, that the institutions of parliamentary democracy, namely the Parliament and the Gov-

ernment, which in the previous measurement scored extremely low, have gained significant ground.

In other respects, the trust structure of Finnish society has remained stable even amidst the COVID-19 crisis. Changes in both the magnitude of trust (Figure 8) and in the mutual order between societal actors (Table 1) remain for the most part minor (the exact actor-spe-

FIGURE 8. How much trust one places in various actors of the society (%)



^a See Haavisto (2019a).

^b The largest daily newspaper in Finland.

^c The largest private broadcasting company in Finland.

cific changes can be seen in Attached figures 1 and 2 at the end of the publication).

EXCULPATION OF PARLIAMENTARISM

Currently, 60 per cent state that they trust the Government and a majority (52%) also trusts the Parliament. As for the Government, the figures have improved by more than 30

percentage points and the Parliament has also managed to generate an increase in its trust of nearly 20 percentage points. Distrust in the Government and Parliament has decreased by even more than trust has increased. The changes are exceptionally large, considering that the societal trust structure is generally very stable^d.

Table 1. Trust ranking of Finnish society in 2020

Rank in 2020	Change in rank 2018–2020		Change in trust enjoyed 2018–2020
1.	..	Police	▶
2.	..	The (current) President of the Republic	▶
3.	..	The Finnish Defence Forces	▶
4.	..	The health care system	..
5.	..	The education system	▶
6.	+2	The national broadcasting company YLE	▲
7.	-1	The judiciary	▶
8.	-1	Small enterprises, private entrepreneurs	▶
9.	..	The Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare THL	..
10.	..	The social security system	▲
11.	+1	The media in general	▲
12.	+16	The (current) Government	▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲
13.	+3	The officials of the state	▲▲
14.	+12	The parliament	▲▲▲▲▲▲
15.	-4	The leading newspaper of one's region	▶
16.	-3	Banks, the banking system	▶
17.	-3	Helsingin Sanomat	▶
18.	-3	NGOs in general	▶
19.	+1	MTV3	▶
20.	-3	The market economy system	▼
21.	+2	The European Union, EU	▶
22.	-1	Labour unions	▶
23.	-5	Environmental organizations	▼
24.	-2	The church	▶
25.	-6	Wikipedia	▼
26.	-2	Google	▼
27.	-2	Employer's organizations	▶
28.	+1	Political parties	▲▲▲
29.	-2	Large corporations, publicly traded companies	▲
30.	..	Social media	▶

Rankings according to average values. The order of societal actors scoring the same averages is decided by the differences in trust and distrust. The change in trust has been calculated as the difference between the averages of 2020 and 2018. One arrow signifies a change in the average of 0.10–0.19, two arrows a change of 0.20–0.29, three arrows a change of 0.30–0.39, and so on. An arrow pointing to the right signifies that the change is minor (under 0.10). The order between the actors differs from Figure 8 (on page 9), because the average firstly accounts for the trust and distrust shown, and secondly, also accounts for the strength of each (proportions of the "very high" and "very low" responses).

^d Trust in various societal actors is still substantially the same as it was in EVA's trust survey of 2009, see Haavisto & Kiljunen (2009) and Haavisto (2019a).

In the COVID-19 crisis, the upheaval of parliamentary politics even encompasses political parties, but manifests itself mostly as the diminishing of profound distrust, rather than an increase in trust. Now, approximately one fourth (23%) trusts political parties, although a clear majority (39%) continues to distrust.

The COVID-19 crisis does not fully account for the increase in confidence in politics. Presumably, the phenomenon is also attributable to the difference in the timing of the measurement. The previous trust survey was conducted in the fall of 2018, at a time when the Juha Sipilä government was in its final hours. The popularity of the government was low, and even the parliament was getting its share of severe critique for being contentious^e. Since the current government, led by Sanna Marin, is still in the beginning of its term, it never got the chance to implement and try its programme prior to the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis.

STATE APPARATUS THE MOST TRUSTED BY FAR

Despite their meteoric rise, the Government and the Parliament have no place in the top ten of the trust-barometer. It is the authorities, basic services, and the President that occupy the very top. Finns place the most trust in the police (85% trusts), closely followed by the President of the Republic (84%), the healthcare system (81%), the defence forces (80%), and the educational system (79%).

Only one institution representing solely the private sector has made it into the group of the ten most trusted actors – small businesses and private entrepreneurs (65% trusts). Of course, private businesses operate alongside public actors in our healthcare system, which enjoys high levels of trust in times of the COVID-19 crisis.

Thus, in a state of emergency, citizens rely heavily on the state. Yet, strictly speaking, trust in state institutions has not increased. It was already extremely strong. Move-

ment can mostly be seen in attitudes towards government officials, responsible for the execution of the COVID-19 crisis management. Trust in those in office has clearly increased, and now the majority (54%) trust them. Confidence is particularly placed with the Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), being at the epicentre of crisis management. THL is trusted by approximately two out of three respondents (64%).

TIMEOUT FOR DISTRUST

Out of the thirty actors included in the barometer, only a few are trusted less than previously, and even then, the changes are minor.

Trust in the media has largely remained unaltered. YLE is in a league of its own (72%), but one in two also trust the Helsingin Sanomat newspaper (50%) and regional newspapers (49%). MTV3 is lagging slightly behind (40%) but has improved its position from before. With political leadership having concentrated to the highest offices in our nation, confidence in national media has also somewhat increased. Confidence in regional newspapers, on the other hand, has decreased a little.

As the actions of politicians and public officials become increasingly pronounced, the rest of society is left with playing second fiddle. Trust in nearly all of the third or private sector actors included in the survey has dropped slightly. Trust in environmental organizations (34%) and the market economy system (32%) have declined the most. In the private sector, an exception are large corporations, who also occupy last place with 23 per cent trust. It is worth noting that the change is only due to distrust towards them somewhat subsiding.

The societal trust ranking, organized based on the average values of responses given in the trust query, summarises the detected changes in both trust and distrust, and illustrates what has changed: in the COVID-19 crisis, parliamentarism climbs the ladder with double digit numbers.

^e See e.g. Metelinen (2018), pp. 6–8.

Absolution for officials

In the examination of the trust structure of Finnish society (see box above), it is easy for focus to shift towards the changes within the structure: increases or decreases in the trust placed in various societal actors.

Investigating the changes overshadows the general increase of trust in the long run. Today, Finns place more trust in the societal actors mentioned in the survey than in 2009. Only two instances (regional newspapers and the social security system) display a larger-than-minor decrease in trust.

Of equal relevance with the observed changes is the prevailing notion of a status quo. To someone who does not know Finland, the distribution of responses may startlingly resemble the trust structure of a state at war. The defence apparatus, state-directed basic services, as well as the state's communication outlets enjoy near unwavering trust.

However, the trust enjoyed by institutions has not automatically extended to the decision-makers and public officials working for them. A typi-

cal Finnish attitude towards both politicians and bureaucrats has varied between criticism and flat out open disapproval.

The standard attitude of criticality is alive and well even amidst COVID-19. Nearly one in two (46%) consider that in modern society, officialdom has become the master, rather than the servant of people (Figure 9a). The notion is rejected by 28 per cent. The state of emergency has, however, muted the critics. In 2014, three out of four criticised the grasp of the officialdom. A reference result from 1984 suggests, that the critical attitude is of a rather permanent nature.

The attenuation of the critique directed at public servants is also discernible in relation to the other claims. Nearly two thirds (64%) estimate that the information public servants provide the citizens is reliable (Figure 9b). 15 per cent disagree. In 1984, only a fourth (23%) considered the information provided by public servants to be reliable (23%). The enormous growth of more than 40 percentage points is reminiscent of the estimations made regarding the reliability of information provided by politicians (Figure 6 above).

The reliability of public servants has now become relevant, as politicians in charge during the state of emergency have repeatedly said, that they are basing their decisions upon expert knowledge and the preparatory work of said public servants. At the core of providing information con-

cerning the COVID-19 crisis is the Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), whose assessments and guidelines the tackling of the pandemic has largely been based on.

A clear majority give the THL their support. Two out of three trust the THL (Figure 7 above) and nearly three out of four (73%) estimate that the information provided by the THL and other health authorities is reliable (Figure 9c). A mere 14 per cent disagree.

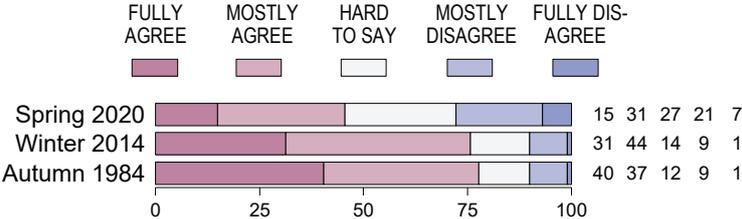
Information is power

Alongside legal provisions and the mandate entailed by their position, the power exercised by public servants is reliant upon knowledge and expertise. The magnitude of the factual power of public servants is contingent upon the degree of asymmetry of information, *i.e.* the extent to which the knowledge of the public servants concerning the subject matter being decided upon is superior to that of the decision-makers or the citizens that the decision relates to.¹⁷

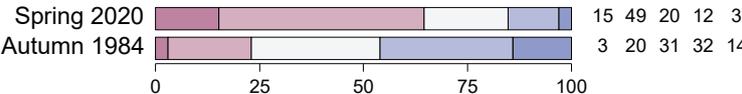
During the pandemic, this difference is on the rise, and citizens are cautious when it comes to assessing their own knowledge relative to that of the experts. Just over a third (35%) consider that recent events have shown that experts do not, in fact, know much more than common people (Figure 10a). However, the majority (51%) disagree.

FIGURE 9. Attitudes towards public authorities

9a 'In Modern society, officialdom has become the master, rather than the servant of people' (%)



9b 'The information that public servants provide citizens is reliable' (%)



9c 'The information provided by the THL and other health authorities is reliable' (%)

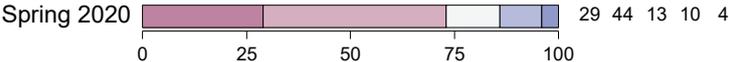
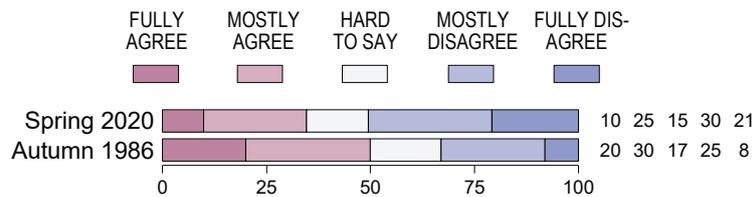
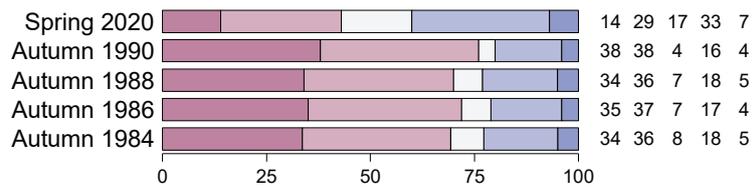


FIGURE 10. Attitudes towards expert knowledge

10a 'Recent events have shown that experts do not, in fact, know much more than common people' (%)



10b 'Citizens' opinions have little impact on the decisions made in society' (%)



For comparison, in 1986 half of the nation estimated that experts do not, in fact, know much more than ordinary citizens.

What makes this particular reference year interesting, is the nuclear disaster that occurred in Chernobyl, Ukraine, in the spring of that same year. Akin to the pandemic, this incident also placed Finns subject to an invisible but potentially perilous health hazard.

While the viral threat prevails, citizens estimate their own knowledge to be thin, resulting in minimal opposition even in the face of severe measures. Just over four out of ten (43%) are of the opinion that citizens' opinions have little impact on the decisions made in society (Figure 10b), and slightly fewer are of the opposite view (40%).

Once again, attitudes during the COVID-19 crisis stand out as exceptional. The difference in the attitudes towards top-down guidance is substantial compared to the years of 1984 through 1990, an era when society and the economy were undergoing sweeping reforms.

How the survey was conducted

The results are based on responses provided by 2060 persons. The margin of error of the results, at the level of the entire population, amounts to 2–3 percentage points in either direction. The data was gathered between 26 March and 3 April 2020. The respondents represented the population of the entire country in the age bracket of 18 through 70. The data was gathered via the Taloustutkimus internet panel and weighted to represent the population on the basis of age, gender, place of residence, education, profession or position, industry and political party affiliation. Further statistical analysis of the data was conducted by Yhdyskuntatutkimus Oy, who also devised the result graphics. The results and their more detailed demographic specifications are available on EVA's website. EVA's Values and Attitudes Surveys has been conducted since 1984. The results are available for viewing at www.eva.fi/arvopankki.

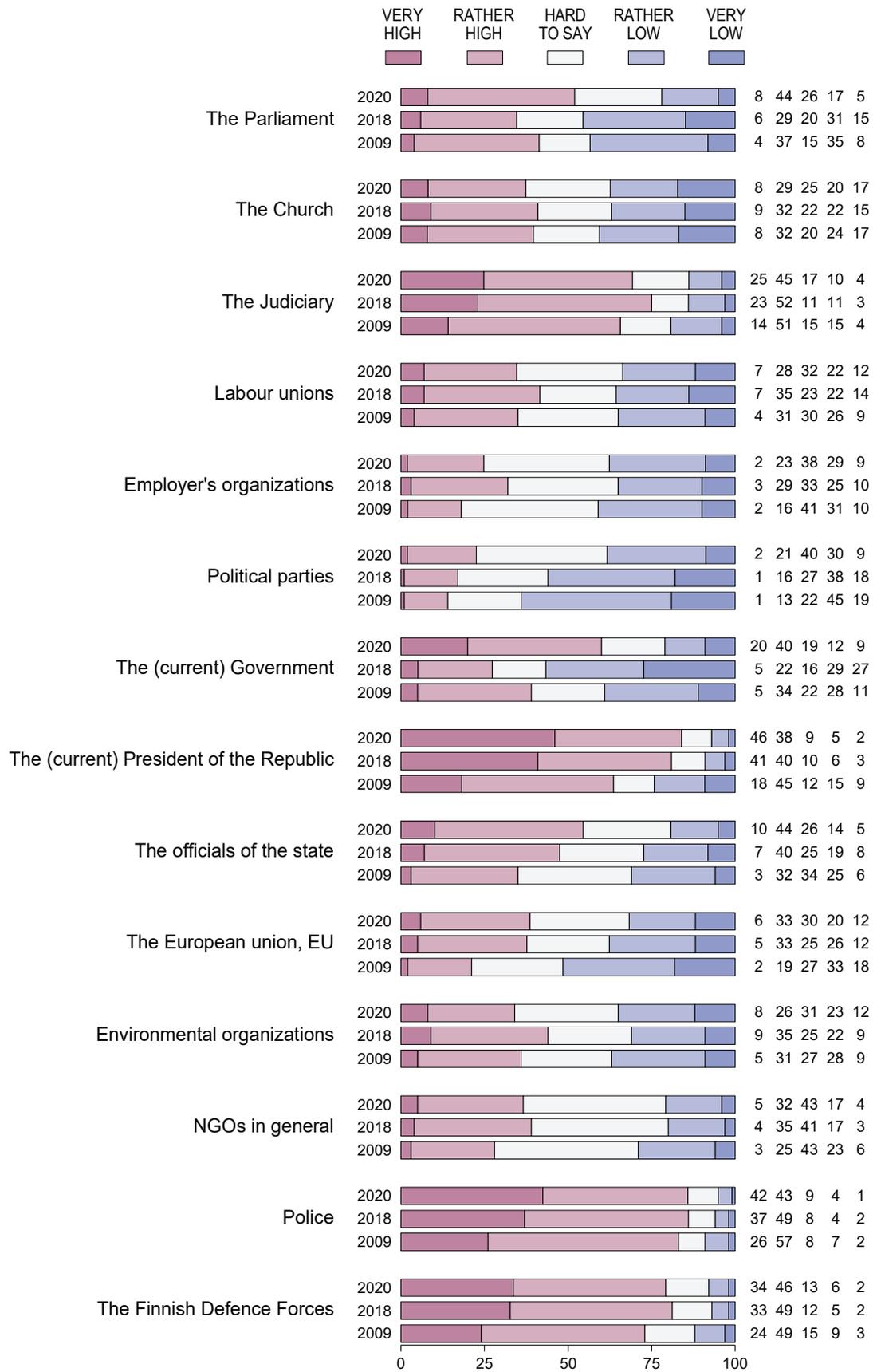
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- 1 Mueller (1970).
- 2 Guardian (2020).
- 3 See e.g. Ekholm & Kiljunen (2001), pp. 36–38 or Kiljunen & Torvi (2003) pp. 13–15.
- 4 Suomen vaalitutkimusportaali (2015).
- 5 See Siltamäki (2020).
- 6 See Haavisto (2020a).
- 7 'Jytty' can be translated as 'the bomb' or 'the bang'. The chairman of the Finns Party, Timo Soini, used the word to describe the surprise victory of the party in the 2011 parliamentary elections.
- 8 See Apunen, Fukuyama, Haavisto, Ylisalo & Zakaria (2017).
- 9 See Metelinen (2019).
- 10 Haavisto (2013) pp. 37–48.
- 11 See Haavisto (2019b).
- 12 See Haavisto (2018a).
- 13 See Haavisto (2020b).
- 14 See Haavisto (2018b) and Metelinen (2018).
- 15 See e.g. Wahlroos (2018).
- 16 The differences in opinion between different demographics become partly substantial. The longing for a strong leader increases linearly with the age of the respondent, and the movement is the highest among the Liike Nyt (86%) and Finns Party (84%) voters. It is at its lowest among those voting for the Left Alliance (31%), the Green Party (35%) and students (34%).
- 17 See e.g. Wiberg (2014) pp. 48–51.

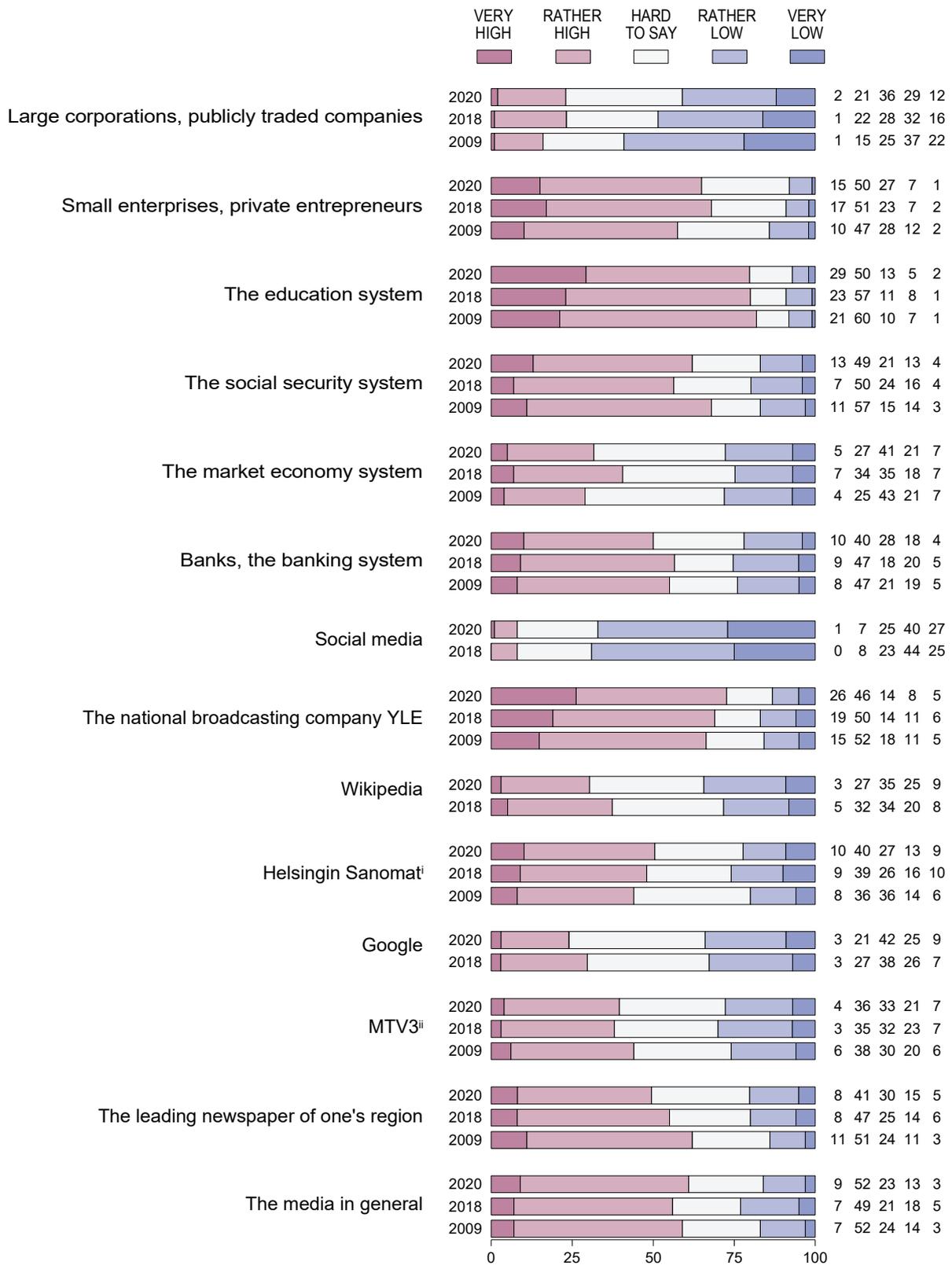
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Attached figure 1 Trust in societal actors in 2009, 2018 and 2020 (%)



Attached figure 2 Trust in societal actors in 2009, 2018 and 2020 (%)



ⁱ The largest daily newspaper in Finland.

ⁱⁱ The largest private broadcasting company in Finland.

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