## INTRODUCTION TO THE SURVEY

The opinions of Finns about the foreign, security and defence policy of Finland were studied in the interview survey that was commissioned by the Advisory Board of Defence Information, ABDI (Maanpuolustustiedotuksen suunnittelukunta, MTS). In addition, respondents were asked to estimate the management of the foreign and security policy of the European Union and the tasks of the new European External Action Service. There were also questions about the factors having an effect on Finland's security and the sense of security as well as the development of security in the five years to come, preparedness for various threats and the situation in Afghanistan. There were a total of 26 questions of which four were completely new.

The survey was done by the market research company Taloustutkimus Oy on commission by the ABDI, and it was conducted in interviews as part of an omnibus survey. A total of 1017 persons were interviewed. The target group is the 15 to 79 -year-old Finns except for the province of Åland. Age, sex, region and type of municipality represented the quotas in the sample. Interviews were conducted in 90 places, of which 48 were cities and 42 were other type of municipalities. The sample was weighed according to the target group with the weighed numbers corresponding to Finland's population of 15 to 79 -year-olds in thousands.

The interviews were made between 24 September and 11 October 2010. The error of margin is $\pm$ three points two (3.2) percentage points.

When interpreting background variables related to party affiliation, it must be taken into account that the error margin is smaller for large parties. As a result, more reliable data can be collected on them than on the small parties who have fewer supporters in the survey. Both the graphics and the text provide data on the True Finns; earlier the data on them was included in the group "Others".

The respondents were asked, "If the general elections were held now, which party would get your vote?" $66 \%$ ( 668 people) revealed their political views and $34 \%$ ( 349 people) chose not to reveal it.

The report consists of text sections and illustrating figures which also show the time sequences of previous questions. The illustrations were prepared in Taloustutkimus Oy. Some of the questions form a comprehensive time sequence since 1964. The questions were drawn up by the Research Branch and the Work Branch of the Advisory Board of Defence Information. The report was drafted by the Research Branch.

Throughout the history of the surveys, the ABDI has co-operated with its Swedish counterpart, the National Board of Psychological Defence (Styrelsen för Psykologiskt Försvar, SPF) which has conducted similar surveys in Sweden since the 1950's. SPF merged with Myndigheten för Samhällskydd of Beredskap (MSB) which was established at the beginning of 2009 and now conducts similar opinion polls. The reports can be found at www.msbmyndigheten.se.

The data from this survey, like the previous surveys, are stored in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive at the University of Tampere (www.fsd.uta.fi). The ABDI's survey reports are available in Finnish, Swedish and English on the ABDI's home page, www.defmin.fi/mts.

The results of the survey are public and accessible by all. When using the results it should be stated that they are from the survey of the Advisory Board of Defence Information.

## PREFACE

This year there were several questions about military service. In addition to the time sequence question, opinions were asked about the civic service for men and women, voluntary conscript service for men, voluntary military service for women and liability to call-ups.

In the course of 2010 there was a great deal of discussion about the conscript service. Models that deviate from the current system have been put forward; for example by the peace organisation the Committee of 100 in Finland in July and by the Greens at the end of August. In autumn 2009, Defence Minister Jyri Häkämies set up a working group, chaired by Risto Siilasmaa, to assess the social effects of conscript service. The report of the working group was published on 28 September 2010, proposing that the current system of general conscript service should be kept.

Since 2001 the opinion poll of the ABDI has put forward a question about the conscript service; the proposed alternatives are keeping the current system, increasing selectiveness and introducing a professional army. In the recent years, 72 to $78 \%$ of the respondents have been in favour of keeping the current system, in other words the general conscript service for men. Increasing selectiveness is supported by 13 to $19 \%$, and 8 to $11 \%$ of the respondents are for the professional army.

For this question a major change has taken place compared to last year. The general conscript service is supported by $63 \%$ whereas in 2009 the Figure was $73 \%$. Increasing selectiveness is now supported by $27 \%$, compared to $16 \%$ in 2009 , and $9 \%$ are for introducing a professional army, compared to $11 \%$ in 2009.

The opportunity offered to women to do military service on a voluntary basis is supported by $94 \%$. $552 \%$ of the respondents took a negative view on the civic service for both men and women while $45 \%$ were for it.
$67 \%$ were in favour of Finland's military non-alignment whereas $27 \%$ support military alignment. $25 \%$ of the respondents were in favour of Finland seeking the membership in Nato while $68 \%$ were against this.

The opinions on Finland's military presence in Afghanistan were almost equally divided: 48\% thought that Finland should end its military presence in Afghanistan while $46 \%$ believed that Finland should continue its military presence.

Two-thirds or $67 \%$ were of the opinion that Finland should continue to assist in Afghanistan in particular by means of civilian crisis management and development co-operation. $77 \%$ were against using military force to suppress extreme group activities.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Changes in the attitude toward the conscript service ..... 3
One-third is for conscript service on a voluntary basis also for men ..... 5
General civic service continues to divide opinions ..... 5
Voluntary military service for women enjoys a wide-spread support6
Own willingness and motivation the most significant selection criteria ..... 6
Support for military non-alignment ..... 6
Join NATO? ..... 7
Finnish foreign policy is believed to be well run ..... 8
Foreign and security policy of the EU is thought to be quite well conducted ..... 8
The European External Action Service to promote security in Europe ..... 8
Conduct of defence policy ..... 9
Will to defend the country remains high ..... 9
Support both for increasing and cutting defence appropriations ..... 10
Faith in the Finnish defence capability has grown stronger ..... 10
Credible defence consists of many factors ..... 10
Majority would keep the size of reserves on the current level ..... 11
Military tasks for the Defence Forces in Finland and abroad ..... 11
Finland should stay to help in Afghanistan ..... 11
Finland's military presence in Afghanistan divides opinions ..... 12
Toward a more secure future? ..... 12
The positive influence of the UN and other actors on Finland's security has diminished ..... 13
International organised crime and the future of the Finnish welfare system cause most concern ..... 14
Membership in the European Union means more security for Finland ..... 15
Less preparedness for unmanageable migration,better preparedness for energy security15

## Changes in the attitude toward the conscript service

The ABDI has posed a question on the conscript service since 2001. The alternatives are: keeping the current system, increasing selectiveness and introducing a professional army. In recent years, $72-78 \%$ of the respondents have been for keeping the current system, or the general conscript service for men; 13 to $19 \%$ have been for increasing selectiveness and 8 to $11 \%$ have been in favour of the professional army.

The current model, which is based on the general conscript service for men, is supported by $63 \%$ ( $72 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents. The differences are not very big by age groups, between 64 and $61 \%$ (between 78 and $60 \%$ in 2009). Geographically speaking, most supportive to the current model are the respondents in Eastern and Northern Finland, 68\% (77\%) and in Western Finland, 66\% ( $74 \%$ ); least support is found in South Finland $57 \%$ ( $68 \%$ ). Among the supporters of the Social Democratic Party 70\% (77\%) are in favour of the current system; the corresponding Figure is $65 \%$ ( $74 \%$ ) for the supporters of the Coalition Party; $63 \%$ ( $84 \%$ )for the Centre Party; for the True Finns Party $59 \%$; for the Leftist Union 54\% (60\%) and for the Greens 53\% (58\%).

## More support to selective conscript service

$27 \%$ ( $16 \%$ in 2009) support selective conscript service; the Figure among men is $28 \%$ ( $17 \%$ ) and among women $26 \%$ ( $15 \%$ ). The differences are big when looking at this by age groups: among the 50 to 79 -year-olds $31 \%$ are of this opinion ( $14 \%$ ); among the 35 to 49 -year-olds $30 \%$ ( $15 \%$ ); among the 25 to 34 -year-olds $24 \%$ ( $22 \%$ ) and the under 25 -year-olds $16 \%$ ( $15 \%$ ). Geographically speaking the support is more even, between 28 and $24 \%$.
$41 \% ~(25 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Greens are in favour of the change to the selective model; $31 \%$ ( $18 \%$ ) of the supporters of the Coalition Party; $28 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; $18 \%$ ( $12 \%$ ) of the supporters of the Centre Party; $24 \%$ ( $13 \%$ ) of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and $16 \%$ ( $18 \%$ ) of the supporters of the Leftist Union.
The introduction of a professional army is supported by $9 \%$ of the respondents ( $11 \%$ in 2009), $12 \%$ $(11 \%)$ of men and $6 \%(10 \%)$ of women. The differences are bigger when looking at this by age groups: among the 50 to 79 -year-olds, $5 \%$ (5\%) support a professional army, among the 35 to 49-year-olds the Figure is $7 \%$ ( $12 \%$ ), among the 25 to 34 -year-olds the Figure is $13 \%$ (18\%) and among the under 25 -year-olds $20 \%$ (15) of the respondents are in favour of a professional army.
$28 \%$ ( $14 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Leftist Union are in favour of the change to the selective model; $12 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; $6 \%$ of the supporters of the Greens and of the Centre Party ( $14 \%$ and $3 \%$ respectively in 2009) and $5 \%$ of the supporters of the Coalition Party and of the Social Democratic Party ( $9 \%$ and $8 \%$ respectively in 2009) support a professional army.
The Siilasmaa working group was set up to assess the social effects of conscript service. There are a number of differences between the polling results before the publication of the report on 28 September and after the results were published. Before that date the support of a selective conscript service was $21 \%$ and afterwards $28 \%$. As for a professional army, $14 \%$ of the respondents supported a professional army before and $28 \%$ after the results were published. $64 \%$ were in favour of keeping the current system before and $62 \%$ after the results were published. It should be noted, however, that before 28 September there were 114 interviews and after it 903 interviews (Figures 1 and 2)

## One-third is for conscript service on a voluntary basis also for men

The Advisory Board of Defence Information polled for the second time the citizens' views on conscript service on a voluntary basis also for men and introducing the civic service for men and women. The questions were asked for the first time in 2008.

Slightly more than one-third or $35 \%$ ( $31 \%$ in 2008) takes a positive view on the conscript service on a voluntary basis for men. For male respondents and female respondents the Figures are 38\% (30\%) and $33 \%(31 \%)$, respectively. For the under 25 -year-olds the percentage is 52 (33), for the 25 to 34 -year-olds 32 (32), for the 35 to 49 -year-olds 38 (32) and for the over 50 -year-olds 30 (29). There is a more positive view on this in Western and South Finland, 38 to $37 \%$ (31 and 36) than in Eastern and Northern Finland, 29\% (19).

Sixty-one percent ( $51 \%$ in 2008) of the supporters of the Leftist Union are in favour of this; fifty percent of the supporters of the Greens (64\%); thirty-six percent of the supporters of the True Finns Party; thirty percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party and of the Centre Party ( $24 \%$ and $19 \%$ respectively); and twenty-seven percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party ( $15 \%$ ) are in favour of this.

A negative view to conscript service for men on a voluntary basis was taken by $62 \%$ of the respondents ( $64 \%$ in 2008): sixty-five percent ( $61 \%$ ) of women and sixty percent ( $67 \%$ ) of men were opposed to it. (Figure 3)

## General civic service continues to divide opinions

Slightly over one-half or $52 \%$ ( $51 \%$ in 2008) took a negative view on the idea that general civic service for both men and women were introduced in Finland. Fifty-three percent (54\%) of the female respondents and fifty-one percent ( $47 \%$ ) of the male respondents took a negative view on this. As for age groups, the most negative attitude is among the 25 to 34 -year-olds, $58 \%$ ( $64 \%$ ) while in all the other age groups the negative attitude varies between 50 and $52 \%$ ( 66 to $43 \%$ ).

Fifty percent ( $62 \%$ in 2008) of the supporters of the Leftist Union are against general civic service; fifty-eight (55) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party, fifty-six (46) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party, fifty-one (39) percent of the supporters of the Greens, forty-nine percent of the supporters of the True Finns Party and forty-eight (57) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party are opposed to general civic service.

Forty-five percent (42\%) took a positive view on the general civic service; forty-five (42) percent of men and forty-four (39) percent of women were for it. Three percent of the respondents had no opinion (8\%). (Figure 4)

## Voluntary military service for women enjoys a wide-spread support

For the first time the ABDI polled the views on voluntary military service for women, on ending it, on the liability for call-ups and on women's liability to take part in civic service.

Most respondents, close to $94 \%$, took the view that women should have the opportunity to do military service on a voluntary basis. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents were against ending it; among women $90 \%$ and among men $84 \%$ were of this opinion.
As to women's liability to take part in civic service, $34 \%$ were for it and $63 \%$ were against it. There was no difference between female and male opinions. $42 \%$ of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party, $41 \%$ of the supporters of the Greens, $40 \%$ of the supporters of the Centre Party, $36 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party, $32 \%$ of the supporters of the Coalition Party and $24 \%$ of the supporters of the Leftist Union support women's liability to take part in civic service.

As to women's liability for call-ups, $27 \%$ were for it : $27 \%$ of women and $26 \%$ of men. $71 \%$ of the respondents are opposed to it. $33 \%$ of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party, $32 \%$ of the supporters of the Centre Party, $31 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party, 28\% of the supporters of the Greens, $26 \%$ of the supporters of the Coalition Party and $8 \%$ of the supporters of the Leftist Union support women's liability for call-ups. (Figure 5)

## Own willingness and motivation the most significant selection criteria

If the number of those in conscript training was cut from the current level, on what grounds should the selection be made? The respondent was invited to choose from among five different alternatives. A similar question was polled in 2007.

Own willingness/motivation was chosen by most respondents, $72 \%$ ( $72 \%$ in 2007). Appropriate physical and mental condition was chosen by $62 \%$ ( $60 \%$ ) and voluntary basis by $38 \%$ ( $32 \%$ ). "Fair selection from different parts of the country", $14 \%(20 \%)$ and the leaving certificate from the comprehensive school, senior secondary school or vocational training four percent (two percent) and drawing of lots one percent (two percent). (Figure 6)

## Support for military non-alignment

The ABDI has polled the question about military non-alignment/alignment since 1996. The support for military non-alignment has varied between 79 and 58 percent while the support for military alignment has varied between 34 and 16 percent.

Two-thirds or sixty-seven percent ( $61 \%$ in 2009) thought that Finland should remain militarily nonaligned. Military alignment was supported by twenty-seven percent (31\%). Six percent (8) had no opinion.

Ninety-six percent ( $83 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Leftist Union were for military nonalignment; seventy-five percent (68\%) of the supporters of the Greens; seventy-three percent of the supporters of the True Finns Party; seventy percent (70\%) of the supporters of the Centre Party; sixty-five percent ( $74 \%$ ) of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and forty-nine percent $(44 \%)$ of the supporters of the Coalition Party.

As to military alignment, forty-six percent ( $50 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Coalition Party were in favour of it; thirty-one (20) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; 25\% of the supporters of the True Finns Party; twenty-two percent (25\%) of the supporters of the Greens; twenty-two percent (25\%) of the supporters of the Centre Party and four percent (15\%) of the supporters of the Leftist Union. (Figures 7and 8)

## Join NATO?

One-fourth or $25 \%$ ( $28 \%$ in 2009) believe that Finland should seek membership in Nato. Membership in Nato is opposed by 68 (62) percent and seven (19) percent had no opinion.

Twenty-eight percent ( $29 \%$ in 2009) of men and twenty-two (26) percent of women are in favour of membership in Nato. Region-wise, there is most support in Southern Finland, twenty-eight (33) percent. Twenty-three (23) percent of the respondents in Western Finland and twenty-one (24) percent of the respondents in Eastern and Northern Finland support membership.

Among the supporters of the Coalition Party, forty-eight percent (52\% in 2009) are for joining Nato; $27 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; twenty-two (15) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; fifteen (21 and 23 respectively) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party and the Greens; and four (8) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union are for Nato.

Among the supporters of the Leftist Union, ninety-four percent (92\% in 2009) are against membership in Nato; seventy-eight (68) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; seventy-four (69) percent of the supporters of the Greens; seventy-three (74\%) of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; 68\% of the supporters of the True Finns Party; and forty-six (40) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party are against Nato membership.

This question has been polled in the ABDI surveys six times since 2005. The support for membership in Nato has varied between 28 and 25 percent, and the opposition against it has varied between 68 and 60 percent. (Figures 9 and 10)

## Finland should not seek membership in Nato because

Respondents do not want Finnish military to be sent to foreign wars
This year the questions about why Finland should not or should join Nato were polled for the third time. The respondents could choose three the most important criteria from among seven options.

The most important single reason given was that Finnish soldiers would be sent to abroad to take part in foreign wars: fifty percent ( $48 \%$ in 2008) chose this option. Other major reasons were the following: it is better for Finland to stay outside the conflicts of great powers, forty-four (39) percent; membership in Nato would increase Finland's defence budget, thirty-eight (32) percent; the influence and control of the United States in Nato is too big, thirty-five (38) percent; ultimately Finland is responsible for defending itself, thirty-one (26) percent; membership in Nato would increase the threat from Russia toward Finland, twenty-nine (45) percent; and membership would not increase security for Finland, twenty-six (30) percent. (Figures 11 and 12)

## Finland should seek membership in Nato because

## Nato membership would improve Finland's defence capability

The most important single reason given for Nato membership was that it would improve Finland's defence capability, thirty-eight percent ( $35 \%$ in 2008). The next most important reasons were: membership would increase the security of Finland, thirty-six (25) percent; the Finnish Defence Forces do not manage to defend Finland on their own, thirty-three (36) percent; it is useful for Finland to take part in Western organizations, thirty-three (27) percent; Finland would be involved in deciding on Nato operations, thirty-one (30) percent; membership in Nato would provide military security against Russia, twenty-three (31) percent; and Finland could make savings on military expenditure, sixteen (16) percent. (Figures 11 and 12)

## Finnish foreign policy is believed to be well run

Four out of five or $80 \%$ see Finnish foreign policy as extremely well or rather well run. Compared to last year the result is the same ( $81 \%$ in 2009 ). Among the supporters of the Coalition Party, ninety-four percent ( $92 \%$ in 2009) believes foreign policy is well run; eighty-three (81) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; eighty-nine (82) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; 79\% of the supporters of the True Finns Party; seventy-seven (91) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; and seventy (63) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union hold this view.

Fifteen percent ( $16 \%$ in 2009) consider that foreign policy is rather badly or very badly run. Among the supporters of the Leftist Union, twenty-seven (37) percent; $20 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party, eighteen (9) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; thirteen (18) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; seven (14) percent of the supporters of the Greens; and five (seven) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party hold this view. (Figures 13 and 14)

## Foreign and security policy of the EU is thought to be quite well conducted

Two-thirds or sixty-five percent ( $62 \%$ in 2007) think that the foreign and security policy of the EU is well conducted. Sixty-eight (65) percent of women and sixty-two (61) percent of men hold this view. Seventy-three (69) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; seventy (50) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; sixty-nine (62) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party; sixty-five (65) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; sixty (70) percent of the supporters of the Greens; and $59 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party hold this opinion.

On the other hand, twenty-seven percent ( $33 \%$ in 2009 ) think that the foreign and security policy of the EU is badly conducted. $37 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; thirty-two (32) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; twenty-eight (49) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; twenty-six (33) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party; and fifteen (28) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party hold this view. (Figures 15 and 16)

## The European External Action Service is to promote security in Europe

The EU is currently building its own external service. It is still to degree open what exactly are the core tasks of the High Representative of the EU (foreign minister) and the External Action Service. The respondents were asked to choose the four most important tasks from among 14 given tasks.

The number one task clearly was promoting security in Europe (60\%) followed by preparedness for managing various crises ( $41 \%$ ); preventing wars and threats of war in various parts of the world ( $38 \%$ ); and defending globally the interests of the EU member states (36\%).

These were followed by preparing for natural catastrophes ( $29 \%$ ); supporting developing countries ( $27 \%$ ); strengthening the role of the EU in international politics ( $24 \%$ ); and solving the hunger problem in the world (23\%).

The following were seen as less important: developing co-operation between the EU and Russia (19\%); assisting EU citizens in different parts of the world (19\%); attending to great power relations (18\%); supporting the United Nations (17\%); representing the European values world-wide (15\%); and developing co-operation with the United States (5\%). (Figure 17)

## Conduct of defence policy

Three out of four or $76 \%$ think that the Finnish defence policy has been well conducted in recent years; last year the figure was $85 \%$. Eighty-nine percent ( $92 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Coalition Party; eighty (90) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; seventy-seven (84) percent of the supporters of the Greens; 75\% of the supporters of the True Finns Party; seventythree (89) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and fifty-seven (67) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union hold this view.

One-fifth or $19 \%$ think that the defence policy has been badly conducted ( $11 \%$ in 2009). Forty (24) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; $24 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; twenty-three (15) percent of the supporters of the Greens; twenty-two (9) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; seventeen (seven) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; and eleven (six) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party hold this view. (Figures 18 and 19)

## Will to defend the country remains high

Seventy-four percent ( $74 \%$ in 2009) believe that, if attacked, Finland should defend itself militarily even if the outcome were uncertain. Seventy-nine (81) percent of men and seventy (68) percent of women hold this opinion. Of the opposite opinion are one-fifth or twenty (22) percent; twenty-five (27) percent of women and fifteen ( $16 \%$ ) of men.

When looking at age groups, the will to defend the country is highest among the 50 to 79 -year-olds, seventy-nine percent ( $79 \%$ in 2009); seventy-four (76) percent of the 35 to 49 -year-olds and seventy-one (71) percent of the 25 to 34 -year-olds feel this way. The will to defend the country is lowest among the 15 to 24 -year-olds, sixty-five (65) percent.

As far as political opinions are concerned, the will to defend the country is highest among the supporters of the Coalition Party, eighty-six percent ( 80 in 2009); $81 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; seventy-nine (86) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; seventy-eight (78) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; sixty-six (65) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; and fifty-seven (66) percent of the supporters of the Greens are for defending the country. (Figures 20 and 21)

## Support both for increasing and cutting defence appropriations

Half of the citizens, fifty percent (59\% in 2009), believe that the current level of defence appropriations must be preserved. Fifty-five (63) percent of women and forty-four (55) percent of men hold this view. Increasing defence appropriations is supported by one-third or thirty-one (27) percent of the respondents; thirty-five (33) percent of men and twenty-seven (21) percent of women. Cutting defence appropriations is supported by seventeen (12) percent; nineteen (12) percent of men and fifteen (13) percent of women.

Increase for defence appropriations is supported by almost one-half, forty-eight ( $35 \%$ in 2009) of the supporters of the Coalition Party; $33 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; thirty (35) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; twenty-nine (31) percent of the supporters of the Social democratic Party; twenty-six (17) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; and twenty (12) percent of the supporters of the Greens hold this view.

Cuts for defence appropriations are supported by thirty-nine percent ( $28 \%$ in 2009 ) of the supporters of the Leftist Union; twenty-five (20) percent of the supporters of the Greens; twentytwo (four) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; seventeen (eight) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; $16 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; and nine (9) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party. (Figures 22 and 23)

## Faith in the Finnish defence capability has grown stronger

Just over one-half, fifty-two percent ( $46 \%$ in 2008) believe that Finland has extremely good or quite good chances to defend itself if Finland were involved in a war fought with conventional weapons. Fifty-four (50) percent of men and forty-nine (43) percent of women hold this view. Fifty-seven (57) percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party; fifty-four (62) percent of the supporters of the Centre Party; $53 \%$ percent of the supporters of the True Finns Party; fifty-three (29) percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; fifty (42) percent of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and thirty-eight (34) percent of the supporters of the Greens hold this view.

Forty-six percent (52\% in 2009) regard the chances as quite bad or extremely bad; forty-nine (54) percent of women and forty-four (50) percent of men hold this view. (Figures 24 and 25)

## Credible defence consists of many factors

The question on a credible defence has been polled since 2007. This question includes 13 different factors whose effect the respondent evaluates on the scale of very much or quite a lot, rather little, very little or no effect.

According to 96 percent ( $96 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents, good relations with neighbouring countries have very much or quite a lot of effect on a credible defence. This was followed by the quantity, quality and maintainability of defence materiel, 91 (87) percent; the defence of the entire country, 90 (89) percent; modern weapon systems, 89 (83) percent; the citizens' will to defend the
nation, 88 (86) percent; the level of defence appropriations, 87 (82) percent; general conscription for men, 85 (84) percent; the size of the reserve, 77 (74) percent; regular refresher exercises, 69 (68) percent; Finland's participation in the Rapid Reaction Force of the EU, 59 (54) percent; Finland's participation in international peace support and crisis management operations, 58 (55) percent; Nato interoperability in command systems and weaponry, 57 (57) percent; and the national service for women on a voluntary basis, 46 (42) percent. (Figures 26-28)

## Majority would keep the size of reserves on the current level

Citizens were polled, for the first time, on their views on the strength of wartime troops in the reserve. The current strength is 350000 troops; should it be kept on the current level, cut down to some extent, to a considerable extent, or increased compared to the current level?

Two-thirds or sixty-six percent of the respondents think that the reserve should be kept at the current level. Seventy-two percent of women and fifty-nine percent of men hold this view. 74\% of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; 65\% of the supporters of the Greens; $64 \%$ of the supporters of the True Finns Party; 63\% of the supporters of the Centre Party; $62 \%$ of the supporters of the Coalition Party; and $56 \%$ of the supporters of the Leftist Union hold this view.

One-fifth or $20 \%$ are for cutting the reserve to some extent; twenty-three percent of men and sixteen percent of women. Twenty-four percent of the supporters of the Coalition Party; $22 \%$ of the supporters of the Centre Party; $21 \%$ of the supporters of the Greens and of the True Finns Party; $20 \%$ of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and $14 \%$ of the supporters of the Leftist Union hold this view.

Six percent are for cutting the reserve to a considerable extent; ten percent of men and two percent of women. Twenty-four percent of the supporters of the Leftist Union; $10 \%$ of the supporters of the Greens; 7\% of the supporters of the Coalition Party; 4\% of the supporters of the Social Democratic Party; and $2 \%$ of the supporters of the Centre Party hold this view.

Two percent of the respondents think that the level of wartime troops in the reserve should be increased. (Figure 29)

## Military tasks for the Defence Forces in Finland and abroad

The military task of the Defence Forces is to safeguard the territorial integrity of Finland; this view was held by ninety-seven percent ( $95 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents. Two-thirds or sixty-nine (61) percent thinks that participation in defending the EU is one of the military tasks of the Defence Forces. One-fourth or twenty-six (33) percent take a negative view on this: thirty (39) percent of men and twenty-four (27) percent of women.

More than a half, fifty-six percent ( $49 \%$ in 2009) believe that participation in preventing crises and security threats in various parts of the world belongs to the military tasks of the Defence Forces. Forty percent take a negative view on this: forty-five (50) percent of men and thirty-five (40) percent of women. (Figure 30)

## Finland should stay to help in Afghanistan

Two-thirds or $67 \%$ believe that Finland should not stay away from Afghanistan (67\% in 2009), whereas $29 \%$ were of the opposite opinion ( $27 \%$ in 2009).

## Support to civilian crisis management and development co-operation

What should Finland do in Afghanistan? Seventy-seven percent of the respondents believe that Finland should contribute to the building of civic society; equally many, seventy-seven percent ( $82 \%$ in 2009) think that Finland should assist in the building of a democratic administration. Seventy-four (81) percent believe that Finland should support economic and social development and contribute to organizing education and training through development co-operation. Furthermore, sixty-seven (65) percent think that Finland should take part in training the Afghan police force; contribute to stabilizing the conditions in the country through military crisis management, fifty-six (55) percent; and participate in training the Afghan armed forces, fifty-three (43) percent.

## Negative response to suppressing extreme groups with military force

A total of $77 \%$ of the respondents take a negative view on suppressing extreme groups with military force ( $72 \%$ in 2009); eighty-one (72) percent of women and seventy-four (72) percent of men took this view. Sixteen (20) percent of the respondents gave a positive response; twenty-one (23) percent of men and twelve (17) percent of women were of this opinion. (Figure 31).

## Finland's military presence in Afghanistan divides opinions

For the first time respondents were asked whether Finland should continue having a military presence in Afghanistan or should it be ended.

The opinions were almost equally divided: $48 \%$ think that Finland should end its military presence in Afghanistan whereas $46 \%$ think that it should continue.

As far as men are concerned, $50 \%$ are in favour of Finland ending its military presence whereas $47 \%$ of women are of this opinion. Older age groups are more often in favour of this: among the 50 to 79 -year-olds, $55 \%$ took this view whereas in other age groups 42 to $45 \%$ of the respondents were of this opinion. Among the supporters of the Leftist Union $73 \%$ are in favour of ending military presence in Afghanistan; the corresponding figure for the True Finns Party is $56 \%$, for the Social Democratic Party $50 \%$, for the Centre Party $43 \%$, for the Greens $42 \%$ and for the Coalition Party $29 \%$.

As for continuing Finland's military presence in Afghanistan, 67\% of the supporters of the Coalition Party are in favour of it. The corresponding figure for the Centre Party is $53 \%$, for both the Social Democratic Party and the Greens 49\%, for the True Finns Party 37\% and for the Leftist Union 25 \%. (Figure 32)

## Toward a more secure future?

Two-fifths or forty-one percent ( $40 \%$ in 2009) believe that in the next five years Finland and Finns experience the world to be more insecure than today. Almost one half of women, forty-eight (49) percent and thirty-five (32) percent of men hold this view.

More than one-fourth or twenty-seven percent ( $28 \%$ in 2009) believe the world to be more secure: thirty-two (33) percent of men and twenty-two (23) percent of women hold this view.

Less than one-third, thirty percent ( $30 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents do not believe the situation is going to be any different in the future: thirty-two (35) percent of men and twenty-nine (26) percent of women. (Figures 33 and 34)

## The positive influence of the UN and other actors on Finland's security has diminished

The ABDI has asked four times about the influence of the UN, the EU, the OSCE, Nato, the United States, Russia and China on Finland's security. Compared to the results last year, the respondents think that all of them exert less positive influence on Finland's security than before.

## UN

Two-thirds or sixty-four percent ( $77 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents believe that the UN exerts a positive influence on Finland's security. Sixty-eight (74) percent of men and sixty-one (80) percent of women were of this opinion. One-fifth or twenty-two (15) percent think that the UN exerts no influence on Finland's security. Eleven (5) percent think that the influence of the UN is both positive and negative while one (one) percent believes that the influence is solely negative.

## $E U$

Fifty-seven percent (69\% in 2009); sixty-two (72) percent of men and fifty-three (66) percent of women believe that the EU exerts a positive influence on Finland's security. Roughly one-fifth, nineteen (12) percent think that the influence is both positive and negative. Fifteen (13) percent believe that the EU exerts no influence at all on Finland's security while seven (4) percent think that the influence of the EU is solely negative.

## OSCE

Less than a half, forty-six percent ( $55 \%$ in 2009) think that the OSCE exerts a positive influence on Finland's security. Twenty-five (24) percent believe that it has no influence on Finland's security. Fifteen (10) percent of the respondents see the influence as both positive and negative while two (2) percent sees it as solely negative.

## Nato

One-fifth or twenty-one percent ( $28 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents think that the influence of Nato on Finland's security is positive; twenty-seven (32) percent of men and fifteen (24) percent of women. Also twenty-one (22) percent think that the influence is negative. One-fourth or $26 \%$
believe that Nato has no influence at all of Finland's security. Twenty-eight (22) percent of the respondents see the influence of Nato as both positive and negative; thirty-three (26) percent of women and twenty-two (18) percent of men.

## The United States

One-third or thirty-three percent ( $32 \%$ in 2009) hold the view that the United States exerts no influence at all on Finland's security. Similarly, thirty-three (28) percent see the influence as both positive and negative. Seventeen (11) percent regard the influence as negative and fourteen (25) percent as positive.

## Russia

Forty percent ( $33 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents believe that Russia exerts both positive and negative influence on Finland's security; forty-three (36) percent of women and thirty-six (30) percent of men hold this view. About one-fourth or twenty-eight (27) percent of the respondents think that the influence is negative. One-fifth or twenty (19) percent believe that Russia exerts no influence on Finland's security. Nine (16\%) percent believe the influence on Finland's security is positive.

## China

Roughly one-half or fifty-four percent (54\% in 2009) think that China does not influence security in Finland. One-fifth or twenty-two (18) percent believe that the influence is both positive and negative. Eleven (11) percent think that the influence is solely negative while seven (10) percent think it is solely positive. (Figures 35 and 36)

## International organised crime and the future of the Finnish welfare system cause most concern

The ABDI has polled six times the question whether certain phenomena and actors worry a lot, to a degree, little or not at all. There are 23 different phenomena and actors in the list; most of them have been included each time.

Apart from the weapons of mass destruction, the state of the environment and the use of natural resources have caused most worry in recent years. This year most worry were caused by: international organized crime, seventy-nine percent ( $66 \%$ in 2009) ; the future of the Finnish welfare system, seventy-eight (71) percent; the use of the Earth's natural resources, seventy-six (85) percent; the state of the environment on the Earth, seventy-three (87) percent; and the employment situation in Finland, seventy-one (81) percent.

These were followed by: the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, seventy-one percent ( $67 \%$ in 2009); international terrorism, seventy (76) percent; global warming, sixty-three ( $76 \%$ ); crisis on the financial markets, sixty-two (54\%); prospects of the Finnish economy, sixty (68) percent; and cyber attacks, sixty (65) percent.

The list also includes the following: the use of nuclear power for energy production in Russia, fiftynine percent ( $69 \%$ in 2009); the number of small-calibre weapons in Finland (a new question) 56\%; the spread of communicable diseases, fifty-three (55) percent; increasing number of immigrants in Finland, fifty-one (46) percent; natural catastrophes 50\%; development in Russia, forty-nine (48) percent; situation in Afghanistan, forty-eight (54) percent; globalization of economy, forty-six (45) percent; situation in the Middle East, forty-six (52) percent; terrorist action in Finland, forty-five (41) percent; the effect of preventing terrorism on the human rights and freedoms, forty-four (52) percent; and the use of nuclear power on energy production in Finland, thirty-seven (43) percent. (Figures 37-42)

## Membership in the European Union means more security for Finland

Since 2004 the ABDI has polled six times the question whether various phenomena and factors increase or diminish Finland's security. The question lists 13 different phenomena or factors which for the most part have been the same each year.

Factors connected to the European Union are clearly seen as increasing the security of Finland and Finns. This view has gained even more ground on last year.

Over two-thirds, seventy-one percent ( $58 \%$ in 2009) hold the view that membership in the EU increases Finland's security. This was followed by Finland's participation in establishing a European common defence, sixty-nine ( $61 \%$ ) and participation in the Rapid Reaction Force of the EU, fifty-one (41\%); and Finland's increasing international economic activity, fifty-two (61) percent.

Factors related to Sweden are not seen to have much influence on Finland's security. Two-thirds, or sixty-seven percent ( $71 \%$ in 2009) believe that the military non-alignment of Sweden has no influence on Finland's security. Sixty-two percent think the same about the abolition of general conscript service in Sweden. Fifty-eight (58) percent think that the possible Nato membership of Sweden does not influence Finland's security. One-fifth or twenty (16) percent see the influence as positive and eighteen (16) percent as diminishing Finland's security.

Fifty percent ( $55 \%$ in 2009) think that the possible EU membership of Turkey does not influence the security of Finland and Finns. One-third or thirty-four (27) percent estimate that it diminishes Finland's security while nine (9) percent believe that it increases Finland's security.

The military alignment of Finland is seen more as increasing security, forty-one percent ( $38 \%$ in 2009) than diminishing security, twenty (21) percent. Thirty-five (34) percent think that the possible Nato membership of Finland increases security while twenty-seven (32) percent hold the opposite view. One-third or thirty-two (27) percent think that this does not influence security.

Increasing foreign ownership in the Finnish economy is seen as a factor that diminishes security the most: forty-nine percent ( $56 \%$ in 2009) hold this view. Thirty-nine (35) percent think that it has no influence and nine (5) percent think that the influence is positive. (Figures 43-46)

Less preparedness for unmanageable migration, better preparedness for energy security

This year citizens were polled for the third time on how well Finland is prepared for different threats. There are 11 different threats in the list and this year natural catastrophes were added to it. Compared to last year, it is estimated that there is less preparedness for environmental threats, unmanageable migration, communicable diseases, major accidents and international organized crime.

About one-half or fifty-three percent ( $48 \%$ in 2009) believe that Finland is poorly prepared for unmanageable migration. Forty-four (49) percent hold the opposite view.

Fifty-two (58) percent of the respondents think that Finland is well prepared for international organized crime. Forty-five (38) percent hold the opposite view.

Forty-six percent think that Finland is poorly prepared for natural catastrophes (the new question) while one-half or $50 \%$ think that Finland is well prepared.

Forty-nine percent ( $49 \%$ in 2009) of the respondents think Finland is well prepared for the climate change while $47 \%$ hold the opposite view. The percentages are exactly the same as last year. As to environmental threats, preparedness for oil disasters, transport of dangerous substances and storms is now seen as good by $60 \%$ while in 2009 the corresponding figure was 75 . Thirty-eight percent think now that preparedness for them is poor while last year the corresponding figure was 20.

Fifty-eight percent (58\% in 2009) believe that Finland is well prepared for cyber attacks; thirty-four (32) percent hold the opposite view. Over one-half or fifty-five (57) percent believe that Finland is well prepared for terrorism while thirty-nine ( $36 \%$ ) hold the opposite view. Fifty-three (47) percent think that Finland is well prepared for political pressure; thirty-six (39) percent hold the opposite view.

Seventy percent ( $82 \%$ in 2009) think that Finland is well prepared for major accidents while twenty-six (9) percent think that Finland is poorly prepared. Seventy (73) percent believe that preparedness is good for an armed attack while twenty-six (21) percent are of the opposite opinion.

Eighty percent ( $78 \%$ in 2009) believe that Finland is extremely well or quite well prepared for energy security. Less than one-fifth or seventeen (20) percent hold the opposite view. As before, seventy-nine (89) percent think that there is good preparedness for communicable diseases and epidemics while twenty (9) percent hold the opposite view. (Figures $47-49$ )

## ABDI Research Branch 2007-2011

| Chair | Tatja Karvonen, M.Ed. |
| :--- | :--- |
| Vice-chair | Jukka Manninen, Secretary of International Affairs |
| Members | Juha Eskelinen, M.A., Lecturer <br> Jari Haapiainen, Secretary of International Affairs <br> Markku Haranne, Director <br> Maija Hurri, Editor <br> Jan Koskimies, Personal Assistant of Member of Parliament <br> Tuomo Valve, Director <br> Heta Välimäki, Chairwoman |
| Experts | Timo Härkönen, Head of Government Security (Prime Minister's <br> Office) <br> Outi Holopainen, Head of Unit (Ministry for Foreign Affairs) <br> Jorma Hentilä, Editor <br> Risto Mäkelä, Lieutenant Colonel (Finnish Defence Forces) <br> Erkki Teikari, Docent <br> Unto Vesa, Researcher |
| Secretariat | Heli Santala, Secretary General <br> Emma-Leena Kemppainen, Assistant Secretary General |

ABDI Chairs 2007-2011
Chair
Lauri Kaira, Director
Vice-chairs Aila Paloniemi, Member of Parliament
Reijo Laitinen, Member of Parliament

## ABDI (MTS)

Advisory Board for Defence Information, ABDI (MTS), is a permanent parliamentary committee set up by the Government. Administratively it is in the Ministry of Defence.

ABDI conduct surveys on the opinions and attitudes of Finns regarding security policy and factors affecting them.

Advisory Board for Defence Information (MTS)

Address: MTS

> Ministry of Defence
> BP 31
> 00131 Helsinki

Telephone:
Secretary General +3589 $\underline{16088162}$
Assistant Secretary
General
+358916088163
e-post: mts@defmin.fi

