ABDI (MTS)

FINNS'OPINIOS ON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY, NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY

THE ADVISORY BOARD FOR DEFENCE INFORMATION



Bulletins and reports November, 2018



Ministry of Defence

ISBN Nid.: 978-951-663-032-1 ISBN PDF: 978-951-663-033-8

Layout: Government Administration Unit, Publications

Helsinki 2018



FOREWORD

A survey commissioned by the Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI) explored the opinions of Finnish people on Finnish foreign and security policy as well as defence policy. The survey also included questions on factors affecting safety and citizens' sense of security, developments over the next five years and factors giving rise to concern. This year's survey also included a new question about the export of defence materiel. The survey consisted of 18 questions in total, one of which was asked for the first time.

Commissioned by the ABDI, the survey was carried out by market research company Taloustutkimus Oy. The study was conducted as a part of omnibus research in the form of personal interviews. Interviews were carried out with a total of 1,034 individuals. The majority of interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes, while 313 individuals were interviewed in reception halls. The target group of the study comprised the entire population between the ages of 15 and 79, with the exception of the Åland Islands. The sample was formed by quota sampling in which the target group's quotas were the distribution of age, gender, province and municipality. The interviews were conducted in 89 localities, 54 of which were cities and the remaining 35 other municipality types. The sample was weighted to match the target group. The weighted N values correspond to the population aged 15 to 79 in thousands (SVT 31 December 2017).

The interviews were conducted on 21 September–7 October 2018. The margin of error is ± 3.2 percentage points.

When interpreting background variables related to party affiliation, it must be taken into account that the margin of error regarding the large parties is smaller, which

enables the collection of more reliable information on these when compared to smaller parties whose supporters are numerically fewer in the sample.

Party affiliation was ascertained by asking the following question: "Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held now?" Of all of the respondents, 68 per cent (699 persons) revealed their party affiliation, while 32 per cent (335) declined to do so. In 2017, the corresponding numbers were 67 per cent and 33 per cent.

The report comprises a text section with illustrating figures that also present the time sequence of the questions asked in previous surveys. These illustrations were prepared by Taloustutkimus Oy. Some of the questions represent a continuous sequence since 1964. The questions were drawn up by the research and work branches of the ABDI. The research branch compiled the report for the work branch.

The data from this survey, like that of 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).

In Sweden, the 'Myndighet för Samhällsskydd och Beredskap' (MSB) conducts similar surveys. Their most recent report was published in January 2017 and can be accessed here: https://www.msb.se/sv/Produkter--tjanster/Publikationer-fran-MSB/Opinioner-2017--allmanhetens-syn-pa-samhallsskydd-beredskap-sakerhetspolitik-och-forsvar/

Also in Norway, the 'Folk og Forsvar' conducts annual surveys on security and defence policy; their most recent report was published in August 2018. It can be accessed here: http://www.folkogforsvar.no/meningsmalinger/meningsmalinger-2018

The survey reports published by the ABDI are in the public domain. When referring to them, reference must be made stating that the data come from a survey conducted by the ABDI.

Contents

Fore	eword	3
Intr	oduction	7
	Decrease in will to defend the nation	9
	Personal will to defend the nation remains strong	11
	Support for general conscription has declined from last year	11
	Current general conscription model still viewed as best for Finland's defence system	13
	General civic service sees an increase in popularity	14
	Women less confident in the management of foreign policy	14
	Support for military non-alignment remains unchanged	15
	Increased uncertainty about Finland's NATO membership	16
	Confidence over the future of the European Union remains unchanged	16
	Decrease in sense of insecurity	17
	Finland's participation in Nordic and EU defence cooperation increases the	
	security of Finland and Finns	18
	The European Union, the UN and the OSCE have positive effects on Finland's security	19
	Decreased confidence in the management of defence policy	20
	Support for export of defence materiel under current regulations	21
	Finland's defence cooperation viewed positively	22
	Military situation in Finland's surroundings not expected to change	22
	Decline in support for increased defence appropriations	23
	Climate change, international terrorism and the global refugee situation cause the grea	test
	concern	24
	Research Branch of ABDI in 2015—2019	26
	Branch-specific	26
	Chairs of the ABDI	26
	Corretariat of the ARDI	26

Introduction

The ABDI's opinion survey for 2018 reveals changes in the answers to many questions compared to the previous year. When it comes to certain questions, the changes are quite significant. This survey does not speculate on the causes of the changes. Future surveys will reveal the direction of development of the changes that are now visible.

In this year's survey, two thirds of respondents or 66 per cent gave a positive answer concerning the will to defend the nation. This represents a decrease of six per cent compared to the previous year. The last time the rate of positive responses fell below 70 per cent was 29 years ago in 1989, when 67 per cent answered the question in the affirmative.

The current general conscription system is supported by three quarters of respondents, or 74 per cent. Compared to last year, support has dropped by seven percentage points. The most significant decrease in support could be seen among respondents aged 15–34. The last time such a result was obtained was in 2015.

For the third time now, the ABDI asked for respondents' views on general civic service for both men and women, which could be completed as civil or military service. More than half, or 55 per cent, viewed such a model as positive, while one third had negative views and the rest had no opinion. Since 2010, views on this model have become more positive.

Three quarters of respondents, or 75 per cent, feel that defence policy is managed well. Women's confidence in the way defence policy is being managed weakened by eight percentage points compared to last year, while men's confidence remained unchanged.

A total of 70 per cent have positive views on the handling of foreign policy. Women's confidence in the handling of foreign policy decreased by six per cent compared to last year, while men's confidence remained unchanged.

A total of 59 per cent have negative views of Finland's NATO membership, while the corresponding figure for last year was 62 per cent. One fifth of respondents, or 20 per cent, are in favour of Finland joining NATO; a year ago that figure was 22 per cent. One fifth, or 21 per cent, had no opinion on this question, compared to 17 per cent last year.

A new question this year concerned exports of defence materiel by Finnish companies. One half of respondents, or 49 per cent, felt that the export of defence materiel should continue in line with the current practices and regulations. Nearly one third of respondents (31 per cent) and more than a third of women (39 per cent) were in favour of more stringent criteria for granting export permits.

Two thirds, or 65 per cent, feel the European Union has a positive effect on Finland's security. The figure for the previous year was 60 per cent. Nearly the same number of respondents, or 64 per cent, feel the UN has a positive effect on Finland's security, compared to 61 per cent last year.

The greatest cause for concern among respondents was climate change, with nine out of ten respondents now expressing concern, compared with 75 per cent last year.

Decrease in will to defend the nation

Two thirds of respondents, or 66 per cent (72% in 2017), feel that if Finland is attacked, Finns must defend themselves by military means in all situations, even if the outcome is uncertain. This view was expressed by 70 per cent (79%) of men and 62 per cent (66%) of women.

Among respondents younger than 25 years of age, 49 per cent (66% in 2017) held this view, compared with 62 per cent (66%) of 25–34-year-olds, 69 per cent (73%) of 35–40-year-olds and 72 per cent (76%) of 50–79-year-olds.

Eighty percent (73% in 2017) of Centre Party supporters answered this question in the affirmative, as did 73 per cent (82%) of Finns Party supporters, 71 per cent (68%) of SDP supporters, 65 per cent (80%) of Coalition Party supporters, 55% (67%) of Left Alliance supporters and 36 per cent (65%) of Green Party supporters.

A total of 23 per cent (22% in 2017) of respondents answered the question in the negative, or 23 per cent (25%) of women and 22 per cent (19%) of men.

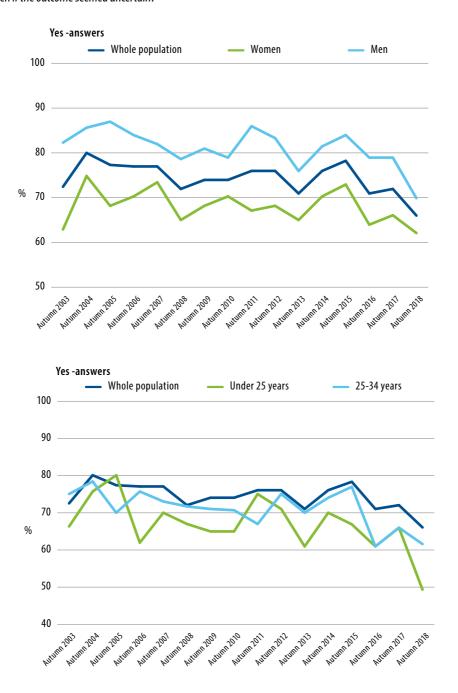
Thirty-eight per cent of respondents under 25 years of age (28% in 2017) held this view, along with 28 per cent (28%) of 25–34-year-olds, 19 per cent (23%) of 35–49-year-olds and 18 per cent (17%) of 50–79-year-olds.

Forty-nine per cent of Green Party supporters answered in the negative (29% in 2017), as did 30 per cent of Left Alliance supporters (24%), 24 per cent of Coalition Party supporters (18%), 21 per cent of Finns Party and SDP supporters (15% and 25%, respectively) and 15 per cent of Centre Party supporters (24%).

A total of 11 per cent (6% in 2017), or 14 per cent (10%) of women and eight per cent (2%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 1 and 2*)

Figure 2A and 2B: The will to defend the nation

"If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defendthemselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?"



Personal will to defend the nation remains strong

When asked 'Would you be ready to take part in national defence duties to the best of your abilities?' eighty-four per cent (87% in 2017) answered in the affirmative, or 89 per cent (90%) of men and 80 per cent (84%) of women.

A total of ten per cent (10% in 2017) answered in the negative, with 13 per cent (13%) of women and seven per cent (8%) of men expressing this view. Six per cent (3%) had no opinion. (*Figures 3 and 4*)

Support for general conscription has declined from last year

The current system of general conscription for men enjoys support from three quarters or 74 per cent (81% in 2017) of respondents, or 75 per cent (80%) of women and 72 per cent (81%) of men. Eighty-four per cent (88%) of those over 50 years of age feel this way, as do 75 per cent (76%) of those between 35 and 49, 58 per cent (71%) of those between 25 and 34 and 56 per cent (77%) of respondents between 25 and 34.

Ninety-one percent (97% in 2017) of Centre Party supporters answered this question in the affirmative, along with 81 per cent (84% and 77%, respectively) of SDP and Finns Party supporters, 77 per cent (84%) of Coalition Party supporters, 55 per cent (67%) of Left Alliance supporters and 51 per cent (67%) of Green Party supporters.

When asked if they would be in favour of more selective military service, 13 per cent answered in the affirmative (9% in 2017), or 13 per cent (9%) of men and 12 per cent (9%) of women. Of those younger than 25 years of age, 21 per cent (10%) support this model, as do 20 per cent (11%) of 25–34-year-olds, 13 per cent (10%) of 35–49-year-olds and seven per cent (8%) of respondents over 50.

Increased selectiveness is supported by 28 per cent (13% n 2017) of Green Party supporters, 21 per cent (16%) of Left Alliance supporters, 15 per cent (17%) of SDP supporters, 12 per cent (8%) of Coalition Party supporters, seven per cent (7%) of Finns Party supporters and three per cent (2%) of Centre Party supporters.

Nine per cent (9% in 2017) are in favour of switching to professional armed forces, with 11 per cent (8%) of men and eight per cent (9%) of women taking this view. Support for a professional army was expressed by 17 per cent (18%) of Green Party supporters, 16 per cent (16%) of Left Alliance supporters, eleven per cent (8%) of Finns Party supporters, eight per cent (8%) of Coalition Party supporters, six per cent (0%) of Centre Party supporters and three per cent (6%) of SDP supporters. Four per cent (1% in 2017) had no opinion. (Figures 5 and 6)

Figure 6A and 6B: General conscription

conscription"Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence providesmilitary training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selectiveconscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training? Or should we change over to a professional army?"



Current general conscription model still viewed as best for Finland's defence system

For the third time now, interviewees were asked what Finland's defence system should be based on. The alternatives are as follows: 1) the present-day system where men are subject to general conscription and women can serve on a voluntary basis; 2) general conscription for men and women alike; 3) voluntary military service for men and women and 4) fully professional armed forces.

More than half of respondents, or 59 per cent (65% in 2017), support the current conscription system, with 61 per cent (63%) of men and 57 per cent (66%) of women expressing this view. Of those over 50 years of age, 69 per cent (70%) feel this way, as do 60 per cent (65%) of respondents between 35 and 49 years of age and 45 per cent of both 25–34-year-olds and 15–24-year-olds (56% and 57%, respectively).

Of the supporters of the Centre Party, 82 per cent (87% in 2017) are in favour of the current system, along with 70 per cent (61%) of SDP supporters, 66 per cent (73%) of Coalition Party supporters, 60 per cent (68%) of Finns Party supporters 47 per cent (41%) of Green Party supporters and 34 per cent (55%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Seventeen per cent (16% in 2017) of respondents, or 18 per cent (15%) of women and 16 per cent (18%) of men, support conscription for men and women. The responses to this question did not vary significantly based on age group.

Thirty-four per cent of Left Alliance supporters (17% in 2017) are in favour of conscription for men and women, along with 16 per cent (28%) of Green Party supporters, 15 per cent (16%) of Coalition Party supporters, 12 per cent of Centre Party and Finns Party supporters (8% and 14%, respectively) and 11 per cent (15%) of SDP supporters.

Thirteen per cent (11% in 2017) of the respondents feel the best model would be voluntary conscription for men and women alike, with 14 per cent (11%) of women and 12 per cent (10%) of men sharing this opinion.

This view was expressed by twenty-one per cent of the Finns Party and Left Alliance supporters (22% and 12%, respectively), 16 per cent (17%) of SDP supporters, 15 per cent (5%) of Finns Party supporters, nine per cent (6%) of Coalition Party supporters and one per cent (2%) of Centre Party supporters.

Eight per cent are in favour of professional armed forces (7% in 2017), or 10 per cent (8%) of men and six per cent (7%) of women.

Three per cent of respondents (1% in 2017) had no opinion, or four per cent (1%) of women and one per cent (1%) of men. (Figure 7)

General civic service sees an increase in popularity

In 2008, 2010 and 2018, the ABDI asked the following question: "How would you feel if Finland switched to general civic service for men and women that could be completed as either civil or military service?"

More than half of respondents, or 55 per cent (45% in 2010), have favourable views of general civic service, with 56 per cent (45%) of men and 53 per cent (44%) of women answering in the affirmative.

Sixty-four per cent of Finns Party and Green Party supporters (48% and 48%) view this idea favourably, along with 58 per cent (41%) of Left Alliance supporters, 55 per cent (48%) of SDP supporters and 52 per cent of Centre Party and Coalition Party supporters (39% and 41%, respectively).

One third of respondents, or 32 per cent (52% in 2010), have negative views on this model; the figure was the same for men (51%) and women (53%).

A total of 37 per cent (58%) of Coalition Party supporters expressed negative views, along with 36 per cent (59%) of Left Alliance supporters, 35 per cent (56%) of Centre Party supporters, 33 per cent (49%) of Finns Party supporters, 31 per cent (48%) of SDP supporters and 30 per cent (51%) of Green Party supporters.

Thirteen percent (3% in 2010), or 14 per cent (3%) of women and 12% (3%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figure 8*)

Women less confident in the management of foreign policy

Seventy per cent of the respondents (73% in 2017) think that Finnish foreign policy is managed well, with 75 per cent (73%) of men and 66 per cent (72%) of women taking this view.

Of the supporters of the Coalition Party, 83 per cent (87%) think that Finnish foreign policy is managed well, as do 82 per cent (91%) of Centre Party supporters, 81 per cent (75%) of SDP supporters, 67 per cent (82%) of Green Party supporters, 59% (50%) of Finns Party supporters and 51 per cent (71%) of Left Alliance supporters.

A total of 21 per cent (20% in 2017) feel that Finland's defence policy is poorly managed; 21 per cent (18%) of women and 20 per cent (22%) of men. This view is shared by 35 per cent of Finns Party and Left Alliance supporters (42% and 28%, respectively), 18 per cent (3%) of Centre Party supporters, 17 per cent (8%) of Green Party supporters, 17 per cent (23%) of SDP supporters and 11 per cent (11%) of Coalition supporters.

A total of nine per cent (7% in 2017), or 13 per cent (10%) of women and eight per cent (4%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 9 and 10*)

Support for military non-alignment remains unchanged

More than half of the respondents, or 58 per cent (58 % in 2017), support Finland's military non-alignment, with this view expressed by 63 per cent (59%) of men and 54 per cent (58%) of women.

Among respondents older than 35 years of age, 63 per cent (60% in 2017) support military non-alignment, as do 53 per cent (60%) of 25–34-year-olds and 42 per cent (49%) of persons under 25 years old.

Seventy-one per cent (69%) of SDP supporters support military non-alignment, along with 69 per cent (69%) of Centre Party supporters, 67 per cent (68%) of Left Alliance supporters, 54 per cent (70%) of Finns Party supporters, 50 per cent (37%) of Coalition Party supporters and 41 per cent (52%) of Green Party supporters.

One quarter of respondents, or 25% (29% in 2015), support Finland's military non-alignment, with 27 per cent (32%) of men and 22 per cent (27%) of women taking this view.

This view is shared by 36 per cent (35% in 2017) of respondents under 25 years of age, 24 per cent (25%) of 25–34-year-olds, 23 per cent (29%) of 35–49-year olds and 22 per cent (29%) of respondents over 50 years of age.

Thirty-eight per cent (31%) of Green Party supporters support military non-alignment, as do 35 per cent (52%) of Coalition Party supporters, 25 per cent (24%) of Finns Party supporters, 24 per cent (19%) of Centre Party supporters, 18 per cent (26%) of SDP supporters and 16 per cent (29%) of Left Alliance supporters.

A total of 17 per cent (12% in 2017), or 24 per cent (16%) of women and ten per cent (9%) of men, had no opinion. (Figures 11 and 12)

Increased uncertainty about Finland's NATO membership

When asked if Finland should seek NATO membership, 59 per cent (62% in 2017) answered in the negative, with 62 per cent (63%) of men and 56 per cent (61%) of women expressing this view.

Seventy-eight per cent (81% in 2017) of Left Alliance supporters answered in the negative, as did 73 per cent (70%) of Centre Party supporters, 65 per cent (73%) of SDP supporters, 61 per cent (72%) of Finns Party supporters, 48 per cent (49%) of Green Party supporters and 43 per cent (41%) of Coalition Party supporters.

One fifth of respondents, or 20 per cent (22% in 2017) feel that Finland should seek NATO membership, with 25 per cent (26%) of men and 16 per cent (18%) of women responding in the affirmative.

Of the Coalition Party supporters, 37 per cent (44% in 2017) support membership in NATO, as do 23 per cent (15% and 26%, respectively) of SDP and Green Party supporters, 19 per cent (10%) of Finns Party supporters, 17 per cent (20%) of Centre Party supporters and six per cent (16%) of Left Alliance supporters.

One fifth of respondents, or 21 per cent (17% in 2017) had no opinion, with 28 per cent (22%) of women and 13 per cent (12%) of men taking this view. (Figures 13 and 14)

Confidence over the future of the European Union remains unchanged

The ABDI asked interviewees about their confidence in the future of the European Union in its 2005, 2016, 2017 and 2018 surveys. This year, more than half of respondents, or 58 per cent (58% in 2017), indicated that their support for the

European Union had remained unchanged, with 60 per cent (58%) of women and 57 per cent (58%) of men expressing this view.

This opinion was shared by 69 per cent (61% in 2017) of Green Party supporters, 66 per cent (58%) of SDP supporters, 65 per cent (62%) of Centre Party supporters, 62 per cent (58%) of Coalition Party supporters, 48 per cent (62%) of Left Alliance supporters and 37 per cent (45%) of Finns Party supporters.

One third, or 34 per cent (37% in 2017) of respondents feel that their confidence in the future of the European Union has weakened, with 36 per cent (38%) of men and 33 per cent (37%) of women expressing this opinion. This view is shared by 53 per cent (53%) of Finns Party supporters, 44 per cent (37%) of Left Alliance supporters, 32 per cent of Centre Party and Coalition Party supporters (38% and 33%, respectively), 29 per cent (34%) of SDP supporters and 25 per cent (33%) of Green Party supporters.

Four percent (3% in 2017) feel their confidence in the future of the European Union has strengthened, with five per cent (4%) of men and three per cent (2%) of women taking this view.

Three per cent (1% in 2017), or four per cent (2%) of women and two per cent (1%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figure 15*)

Decrease in sense of insecurity

Around half of respondents, or 49 per cent (60% in 2017), believe that Finland and Finns will be living in a more insecure world over the next five years when compared to today. This view was held by 56 per cent (68%) of women and 42 per cent (52%) of men.

Some differences could be seen between different age groups, with middle-aged and older respondents viewing the future as somewhat less secure than younger ones. A total of 54 per cent (58%) of respondents between 35 and 49 years of age view the future as insecure, as do 52 per cent (61%) of respondents aged 50–79 years, while 48 per cent (63%) of respondents aged 25–34 years and 33 per cent (56%) of those younger than 25 expressed this view.

Just under one fifth of respondents, or 18 per cent (14% in 2017) view the future as more secure, with 20 per cent (18%) of men and 15 per cent (10%) of women expressing this view. This view is shared by 26 per cent (16%) of respondents under 25 years of age, 19 per cent (22%) of 25–24-year-olds, 17 per cent (10%) of 50-79-year olds and 12 per cent (16%) of 35-49-year olds

Just under one third of respondents, or 31 per cent (25% in 2017) saw no difference compared to the present, with 35 per cent of men (29%) and 27 per cent of women (20%) giving this response. (*Figures 16 and 17*)

Finland's participation in Nordic and EU defence cooperation increases the security of Finland and Finns

Starting from 2004, the ABDI has asked a question listing 15 different factors for the respondents to assess based on whether they believe that they improve or weaken the security of Finland and the Finnish people or have no effect at all.

Factors that are believed to improve security are the following: Finland's participation in Nordic defence cooperation; 81 per cent of respondents (83% in 2017) felt it increased security, one per cent (1%) said it decreased security and 12 per cent (13%) said it had no effect.

Finland's participation in organising the European Union's defence cooperation; 72 per cent (70%) said it increased security, four per cent (6%) said it decreased security and 17 per cent (20%) said it had no impact.

Finland's membership in the European union; 62 per cent (62%) felt it increased security, nine per cent (11%) said it decreased security and 25 per cent (25%) said it had no effect.

Finland's increasing international economic interaction; 59 per cent (52%) said it had a positive effect on security, six per cent (6%) felt the effect was negative and 29 per cent (37%) felt it had no impact at all.

Finland's participation in international crisis management duties; 50 per cent (51%) felt it increased security, 10 per cent (9%) felt it decreased security and 34 per cent (36%) felt it had no effect.

Finland's military non-alignment; 46 per cent (46%) felt it had a positive impact, 17 per cent felt (16%) felt the impact was negative and 25 per cent (30%) felt it had no impact.

Finland's possible NATO membership; 25 per cent (29%) said would increase security, 40 per cent (42%) felt it would decrease security and 19 per cent (17%) felt it would have no effect on security.

Increasing share of foreign ownership in the Finnish economy; eight per cent (8%) felt it increased security; 62 per cent (49%) felt it had a decreasing effect and 22 (37%) felt it had no impact. (Figures 18, 19, 20 and 21)

The European Union, the UN and the OSCE have positive effects on Finland's security

Interviewees were asked to assess the effects of the EU, the OSCE, China, NATO, Russia, the United States and the UN on Finland's security. The question was asked for the seventh time this year, and for the first time, respondents felt that the European Union had a more positive impact on Finland's security than the UN. Respondents' views on the impact of both the EU and the UN have become more positive since last year.

When asked if the European Union had a positive effect on Finland's security, 65 per cent (60% in 2017) agreed with the statement, while 14 per cent (16%) felt it did not impact security at all and 12 per cent (13%) felt the impact was both positive and negative. Five per cent (3%) viewed the European Union's impact as negative.

When asked about the effects of the United Nations (UN) on Finland's security, 64 per cent (61% in 2017) said they were positive. One fifth of respondents, or 19 per cent (23%), felt the UN had no impact on Finland's security, while eight per cent (9%) felt the impact was both positive and negative, and one per cent (3%) viewed it as negative.

When asked about the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe OSCE, 47 per cent (44% in 2017) felt it had a positive impact on Finland's security, while one fifth or 21 per cent (26%) did not see any impact and 20 per cent (11%) felt its impact was both positive and negative.

Regarding the effects of NATO on Finland's security, 26 per cent (25% in 2017) felt they were negative, 26 per cent (30%) viewed them as both positive and negative and 24 per cent (24%) felt they were positive. A total of 13 per cent (13% in 2016) felt NATO had no impact on Finland's security.

When asked about the impact of the United States on Finland's security, 32 per cent of respondents (35% in 2017) felt it was both positive and negative, 27 per cent (22%) viewed it as negative, 18 per cent (16%) viewed it as positive and 14 per cent (21%) did not feel the United States had any impact on Finland's security.

Concerning the impact of Russia, 39 per cent of respondents (37% in 2017) viewed it as negative, 30 per cent (31%) felt it was both positive and negative, 13 per cent (14%) viewed it as positive and 11 per cent (13%) felt Russia had no impact on Finland's security.

Just over one third of respondents, or 35 per cent (44% in 2017), felt that China had no impact on the security of Finland, while 21 per cent (22%) viewed its impact as both positive and negative. Sixteen per cent (11%) felt China had a negative impact and 12 per cent (13%) felt its impact was positive. (*Figures 22 and 23*)

Decreased confidence in the management of defence policy

Three quarters of respondents, or 75 per cent (79% in 2017), feel Finland's defence policy is managed well, with 78 per cent (79%) of men and 73 per cent (81%) of women taking this view. Eighty-one per cent (74%) of those between 35 and 49 years of age feel this way, as do 79 per cent (86%) of those over 50 years of age, 67 per cent (74%) of those between 25 and 34 and 65 per cent (78%) of respondents younger than 25.

Of the supporters of the Centre Party, 93 per cent (87% in 2017) feel Finland's defence policy is well managed, along with 85 per cent of Coalition Party and SDP supporters (90% and 79%, respectively), 67 per cent (83%) of Green Party supporters, 61 per cent (76%) of Finns Party supporters and 50 per cent (76%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Fourteen per cent (13% in 2017) of respondents feel Finland's defence policy is poorly managed, with 16 per cent (16%) of men and 11 per cent (10%) of women expressing this view.

This view was shared by 28 per cent (21% in 2017) of Left Alliance supporters, 27 per cent (21%) of Finns Party supporters, 11 per cent (8%) of Green Party supporters, 10 per cent (17%) of SDP supporters, seven per cent (9%) of Coalition Party supporters and three per cent (6%) of Centre Party supporters.

A total of 11 per cent (7% in 2017), or 16 per cent (9%) of women and ten per cent (5%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 24 and 25*)

Support for export of defence materiel under current regulations

This year's survey included a new question about the export of defence materiel manufactured by Finnish companies.

Half of respondents, or 49 per cent, felt that the export of defence material should continue in line with the current practices and regulations, with 59 per cent of men and 38 per cent of women taking this view.

This was the opinion of 62 per cent of Centre Party supporters, 58 per cent of Finns Party supporters, 57 per cent of SDP supporters, 55 per cent of Coalition Party supporters, 46 per cent of Green Party supporters and 19 per cent of Left Alliance supporters.

Slightly less than one third, or 31 per cent, feel that the criteria for granting export licences should be stricter, with 39 per cent of women and 23 per cent of men taking this view.

Forty-eight per cent of Green Party supporters, 40 per cent of Left Alliance supporters, 30 per cent of Centre Party supporters, 28 per cent of SDP supporters, 26 per cent of Coalition Party supporters and 13 per cent of Finns Party supporters were in favour of stricter criteria.

Five per cent of respondents, or eight per cent of men and three per cent of women, felt that all companies should be permitted to export defence materiel. This view

was shared by 18 per cent of Finns Party supporters, 10 per cent of Coalition Party supporters, eight per cent of Left Alliance supporters, two per cent of Centre Party supporters and one per cent of both SDP and Green party supporters.

Six per cent of respondents felt that the export of defence material should be prohibited altogether, with seven per cent of women and four per cent of men expressing this view. This opinion was shared by 21 per cent of Left Alliance supporters, nine per cent of SDP supporters, seven per cent of Finns party supporters, two per cent of Coalition Party supporters and one per cent of Centre Party supporters. No Green Party supporters were in favour of prohibiting all defence material exports.

Nine per cent of respondents, or 14 per cent of women and five per cent of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 26 and 27*)

Finland's defence cooperation viewed positively

Ninety-five per cent of respondents (94% in 2017) have a positive view on military cooperation with all Nordic countries. Ninety-four per cent (94%) have a positive view on cooperation with Sweden.

Nine out of ten respondents, or 90 per cent, have a positive view of Finland's military cooperation with the European Union (89% in 2017).

Fifty-five percent (61%) of respondents take a positive view on military cooperation with NATO, while 35 per cent (32%) have a negative view.

The same number, fifty-five per cent (59%) of respondents, take a positive view on military cooperation with the United States, while 36 per cent (35%) view it negatively. (*Figures 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32*)

Military situation in Finland's surroundings not expected to change

The last time the ABDI asked interviewees about the military situation Finland's surroundings over the next ten years was in the 2016 survey. Now the question was asked for the seventh time.

Nearly half of respondents, or 48 per cent, feel that the military situation in Finland's surroundings over the next ten year will remain about the same as it is now (48% in 2016), with 52 per cent of men (54%) and 45 per cent (43%) of women taking this view.

This opinion was shared by 59 per cent of SDP supporters (50% in 2016), 54 per cent of Coalition Party supporters (50%), 53 per cent of Finns Party supporters (40%), 48 per cent of Green Party supporters (53%), 47 per cent of Centre Party supporters (47%) and 37 per cent of Left Alliance supporters (56%).

Forty-one per cent of respondents (44% in 2016), or 47 per cent (49%) of women and 35 per cent (40%) of men, felt the situation would become more threatening over the next ten years. This view was expressed by 52 per cent of Left Alliance supporters (31% in 2016), 44 per cent of Centre Party supporters (47%), 41 per cent of Coalition Party supporters, 40 per cent of Green Party supporters (42%), 37 per cent of Finns Party supporters (51%) and 33 per cent of SDP supporters (49%).

Six per cent of respondents (5% in 2016) felt that the military situation in Finland's surroundings would become less threatening over the next ten years, with nine per cent of men (5%) and four per cent of women (5%) expressing this view.

Ten per cent of Finns Party supporters felt this way (8% in 2017, along with eight per cent of Centre Party and Left Alliance supporters (5% and 11%, respectively), six per cent of Green Party supporters (2%), five per cent of SDP supporters (1%) and two per cent of Coalition Party supporters (3%).

Four per cent (2% in 2016) had no opinion, with the same figure obtained for both women and men. (*Figures 34 and 35*)

Decline in support for increased defence appropriations

Forty percent (47% in 2017) of the respondents support increasing defence appropriations, with 48 per cent of men (51%) and 34 per cent of women (44%) expressing this opinion.

Sixty-one per cent (55% in 2017) of Finns Party are in favour of increasing appropriations, as are 49 per cent (60%) of Coalition Party supporters, 45 per cent (60%) of

Centre Party supporters, 41 per cent (41%) of SDP supporters, 28 per cent (32%) of Green Party supporters and 20 per cent (28%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Forty per cent (40% in 2017) are in favour of keeping defence appropriations at the current level, or 46 per cent (41%) of women and 34 per cent (38%) of men.

This view was held by 53 per cent of Centre Party supporters (37% in 2017), 47 per cent (42%) of SDP supporters, 45 per cent (48%) of Green Party supporters, 37 per cent (34%) of Coalition Party supporters, 35 (53%) of Left Alliance supporters and 21 per cent (35%) of Finns Party supporters.

A total of 12 per cent (8% in 2017) would decrease the amount of defence appropriations, with 15 per cent (9%) of men and nine per cent (7%) of women expressing this view.

Thirty-three per cent of Left Alliance supporters (17% in 2017) are in favour of decreasing the amount, along with 22 per cent (13%) of Green Party supporters, 10 per cent of Coalition Party and Finns Party supporters (5% and 6%, respectively), six per cent of SDP supporters (13%) and two per cent (3%) of Centre Party supporters.

A total of seven per cent (5% in 2017) of respondents, or 10 per cent (8%) of women and four per cent (3%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 36 and 37*)

Climate change, international terrorism and the global refugee situation cause the greatest concern

The ABDI has been asking interviewees about factors causing concern since 2004. The list has varied somewhat, but some of the factors have remained the same every year. A new factor added to this year's survey was fake news reporting directed at Finland. The list consisted of 15 different phenomena or factors. In sum, it can be stated that respondents' concerns about nearly all of the factors have increased since the 2017 survey. The strongest increase in concern could be seen when interviewees were asked about cyber threats (+16%), climate change (+14%) and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (+14%).

Factors causing much or some concern:

- Climate change (global warming) 89 per cent (75% in 2017)
- International terrorism 88 per cent (81% in 2017)
- The global refugee situation 87 per cent (83% in 2017)
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction 82 per cent (68% in 2017)
- Political extremist movements 82 per cent (72% in 2017)
- Threats against information networks (cyber threats) 79 per cent (63% in 2017)
- Racism 78 per cent (69% in 2017)
- The situation in the Middle East 77 per cent (the situation in Syria in 2017 64%)
- Social inequality in Finland 76 per cent (67% in 2016)
- The security situation in the Baltic Sea area 76 per cent (64% in 2017)
- Developments in the United States 72 per cent (63% in 2017)
- Developments in Russia 71 per cent (63% in 2017)
- The employment situation in Finland 71% (71% in 2017)
- State-sponsored fake news reporting directed at Finland 62 per cent (new item in this year's survey)
- Development in the European Union 52% (52% in 2017)

(Figures 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42)

Research Branch of ABDI in 2015–2019

Chair Harriet Lonka, PhD

Deputy Chair Unto Vesa, Researcher Emeritus

Members Soili Haverinen, Doctoral Student of Theology

Anna Jungner-Nordgren, Public Relations Secretary Johanna Kelhu, Parliamentary Secretary, MSocSc Sari Rautio, Director of Unit as of 24 June 2018

Lieutenant Colonel Niclas von Bonsdorff, Director, Public Relations

and International Affairs as of 6 September 2018

Antti Koskela, Expert in Economic Affairs

Esko Kurvinen, CEO

Anni Lahtinen, Secretary General

Juha Mäenpää, Vocational Special Needs Teacher

Timo Perälä, Senior Inspector

Jussi Salonranta, Analyst

Jenna Simula, Parliamentary Assistant, BBA

Heli Viiri, Doctor of Agriculture and Forestry, Special Researcher

Branch-specific

Experts Teija Mankkinen, DSocSc, Head of Research and Development

Teemu Tallberg, PhD, Professor of Military Sociology

Chairs of the ABDI

Chair Sofia Vikman, MP

Deputy Chair Petteri Leino, Special Adviser to the Minister of Defence

Deputy Chair Markku Pakkanen, MP

Secretariat of the ABDI

Heli Santala, Secretary General

Markus Kinkku, Assistant Secretary General

Figure 1. The will to defend the nation

"If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defend themselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?"

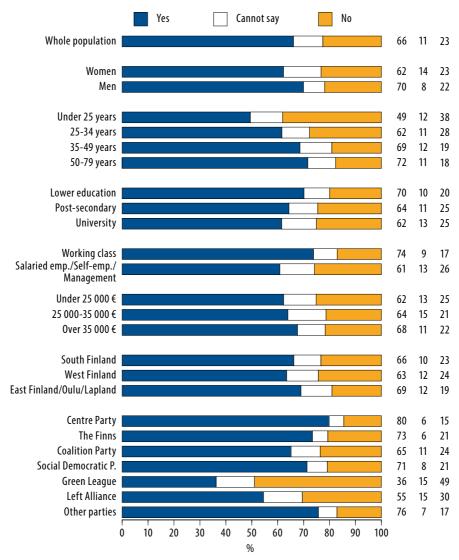


Figure 2. The will to defend the nation

"If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defend themselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?"

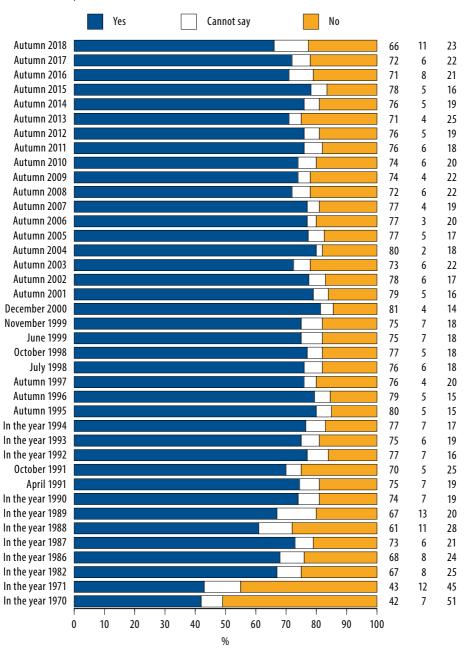


Figure 3. The will to defend the country (personal level)

"If Finland is attacked, would you personally be ready to take part in national defence tasks according to your competences and skills?"

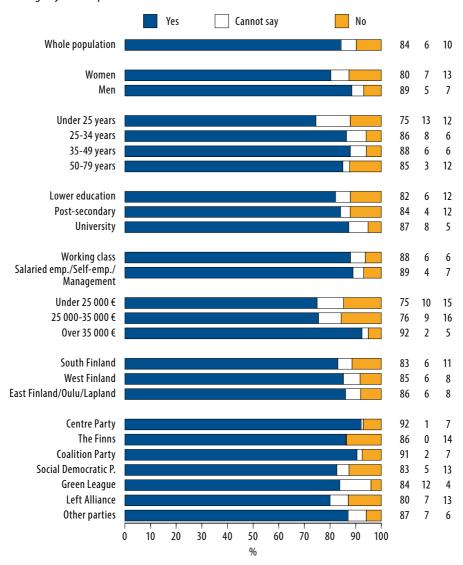


Figure 4. The will to defend the country (personal level)

"If Finland is attacked, would you personally be ready to take part in national defence tasks according to your competences and skills?"

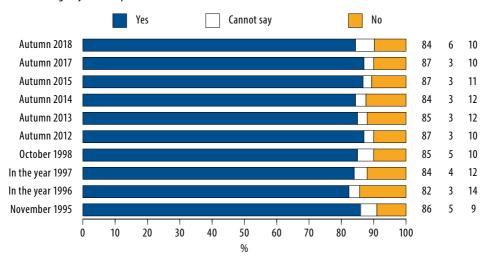


Figure 5. General conscription

"Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence provides military training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selective conscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training? Or should we change over to a professional army?"

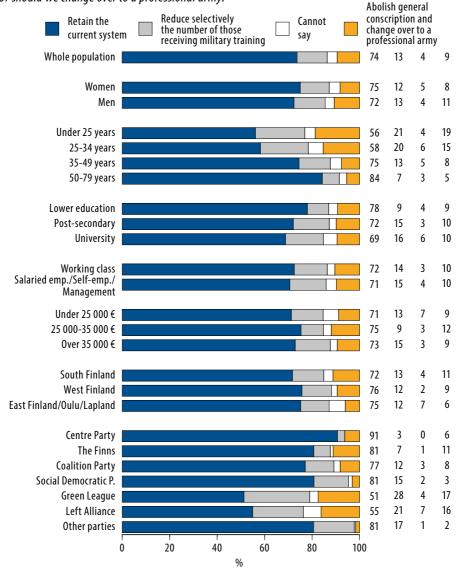


Figure 6. General conscription

"Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence provides military training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selective conscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training? Or should we change over to a professional army?"

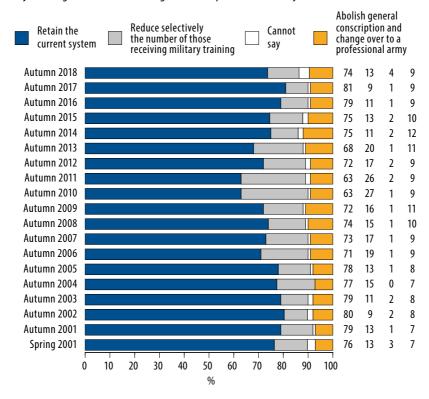


Figure 7. Finland's defence system

"In your view, should Finland's defence system be based on..."

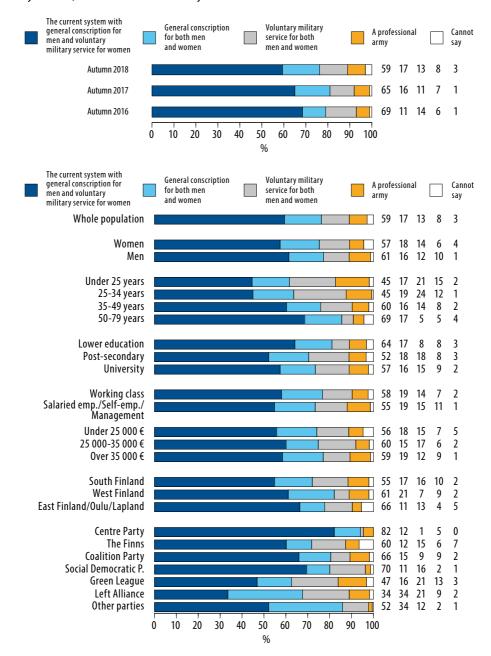


Figure 8. General civic service

"Finland is instituting a general civic service for both men and women. The civic service could be completed as military or non-military service"

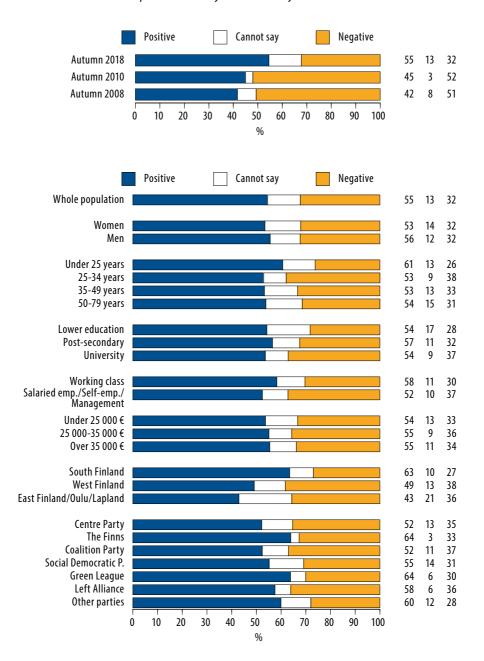


Figure 9. The conduct of Finnish foreign policy

"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finnish foreign policy been conducted in recent years?"

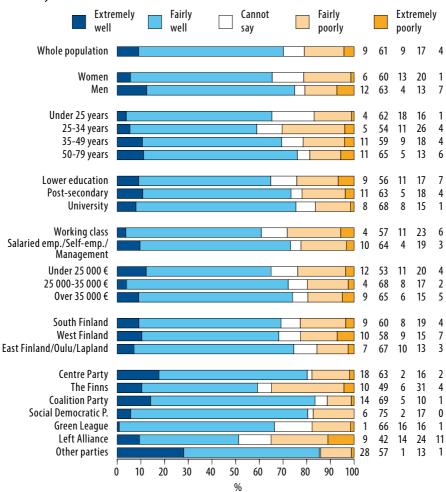


Figure 10. The conduct of Finnish foreign policy

"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finnish foreign policy been conducted in recent years?"

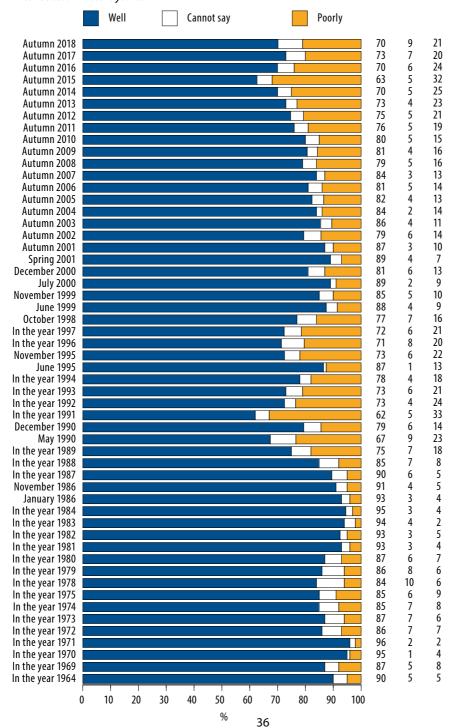


Figure 11. Military alignment or non-alignment

"In your opinion, should Finland remain militarily non-aligned or should Finland aim to ally itself militarily?"

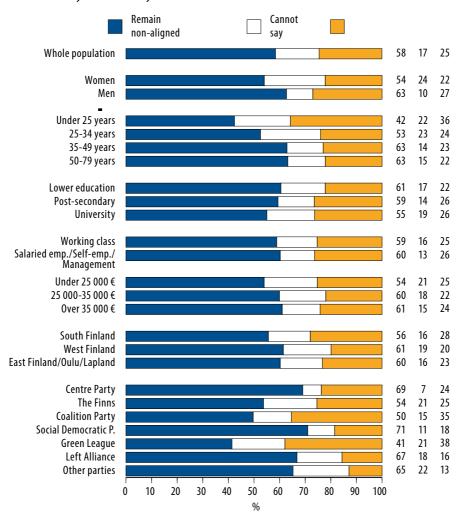


Figure 12. Military alignment or non-alignment

"In your opinion, should Finland remain militarily non-aligned or should Finland aim to ally itself militarily?"

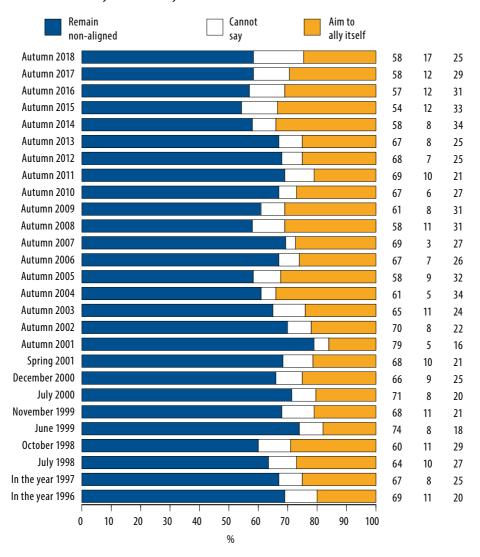


Figure 13. Nato membership

"In your opinion, should Finland seek membership in Nato?"

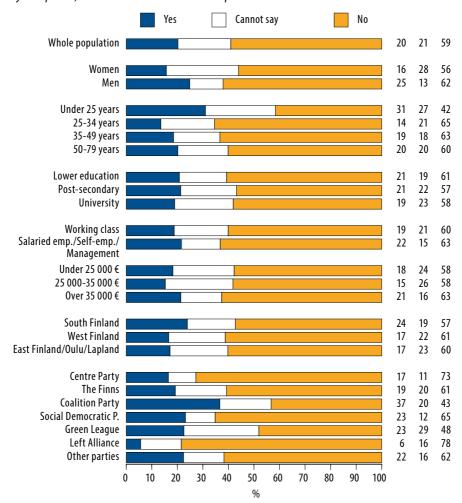


Figure 14. Nato membership

"In your opinion, should Finland seek membership in Nato?"

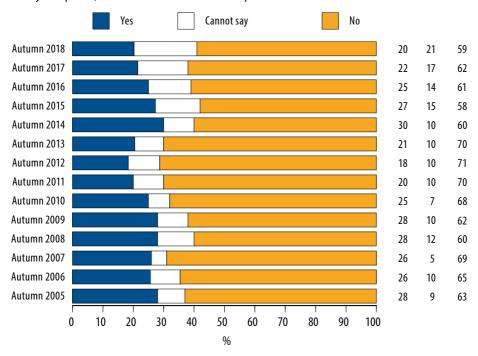


Figure 15. Confidence in the future of the European Union

"What kind of confidence do you have in the future of the European Union? In the last two years, has your confidence been strengthened, weakened or has it remained the same?"

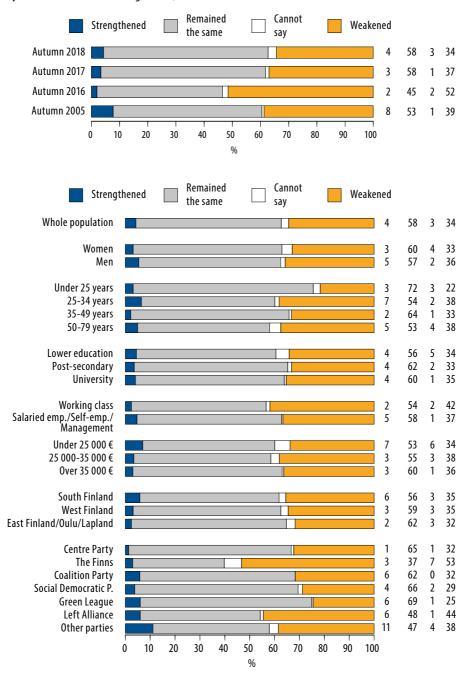


Figure 16. A more secure or more insecure future

"Considering the present world situation as a whole, do you believe that during the next five years Finland and Finns will live in a safer or in a less safe world compared to the present?"

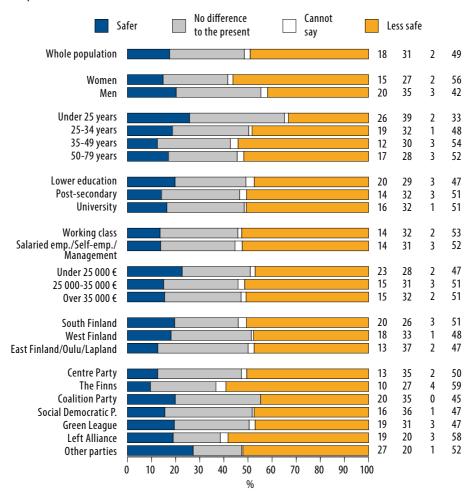


Figure 17. A more secure or more insecure future

"Considering the present world situation as a whole, do you believe that during the next five years Finland and Finns will live in a safer or in a less safe world compared to the present?"

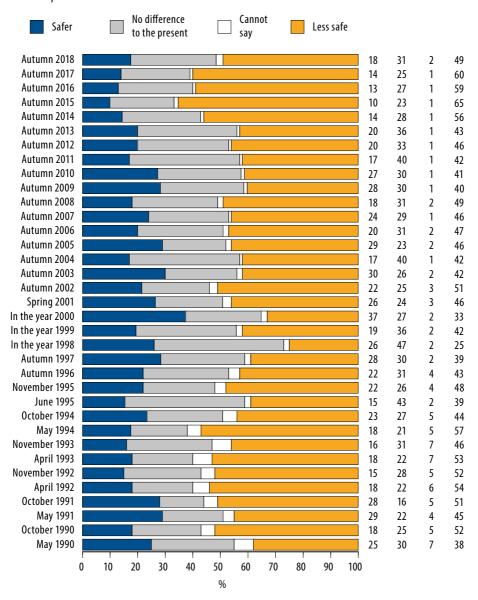


Figure 18. Factors affecting security

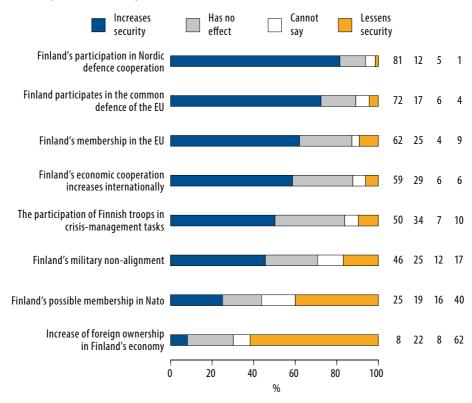


Figure 19. Factors affecting security (I)

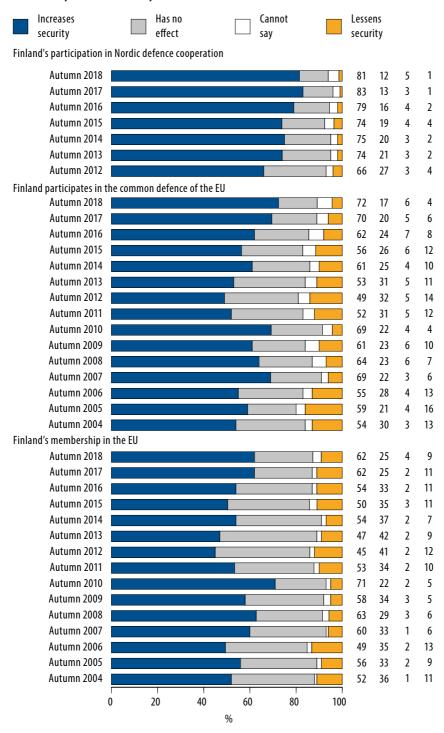
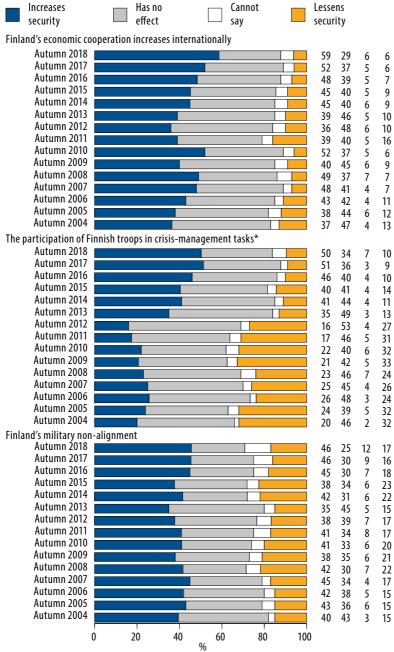


Figure 20. Factors affecting security (II)



^{*) 2004-2012} The participation of Finnish troops in crisis-management tasks in war zones

Figure 21. Factors affecting security (III)

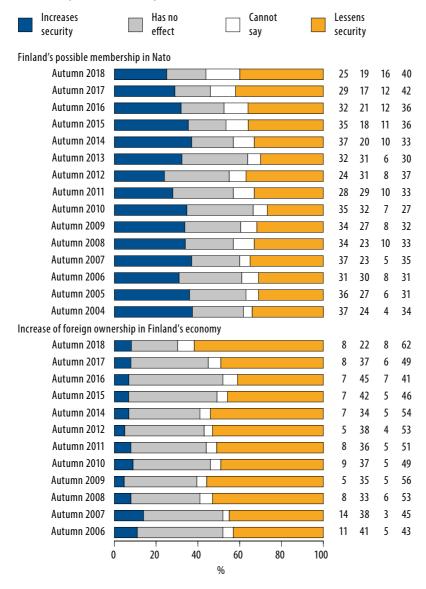


Figure 22. The impact of various factors on Finland's security

"How do you assess the impact of the following factors on Finland's security?"

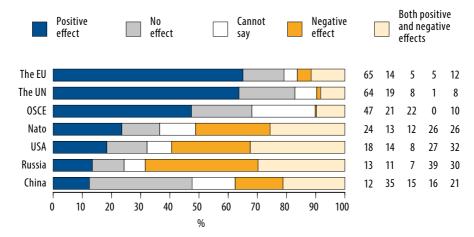


Figure 23. The impact of various factors on Finland's security

"How do you assess the impact of the following factors on Finland's security?"

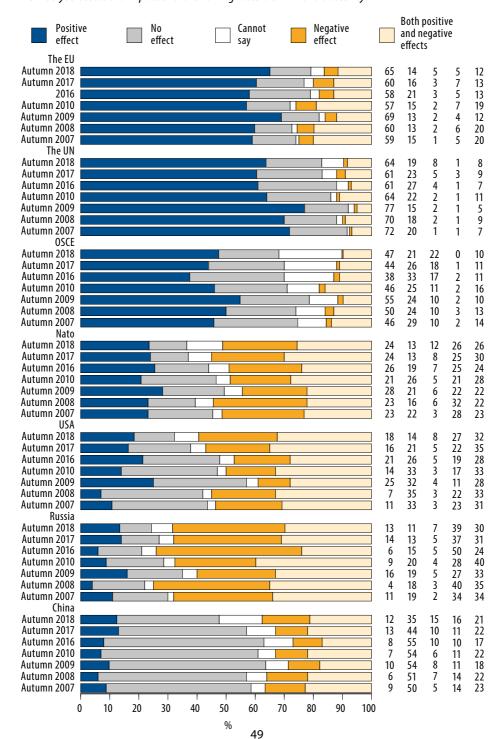


Figure 24. The conduct of defence policy in Finland

"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finland's defence policy been conducted in recent years?"

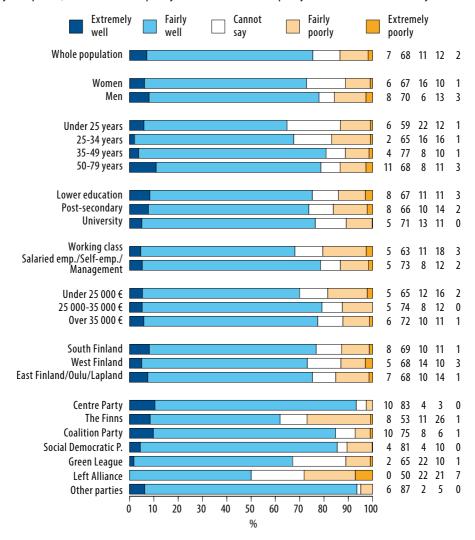


Figure 25. The conduct of defence policy in Finland

"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finland's defence policy been conducted in recent years?"

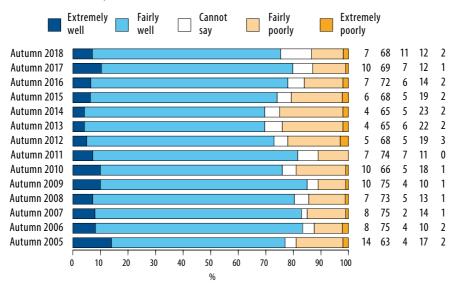


Figure 26. Export of defence material

"Which of the following alternatives reflects best your view on the exports of defence material by Finnish companies?"

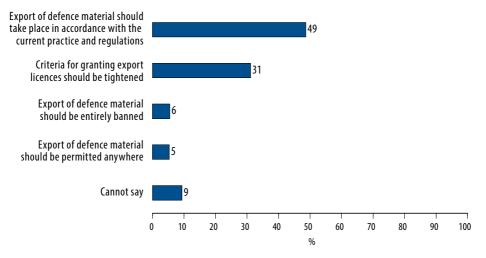


Figure 27. Export of defence material

"Which of the following alternatives reflects best your view on the exports of defence material by Finnish companies?"

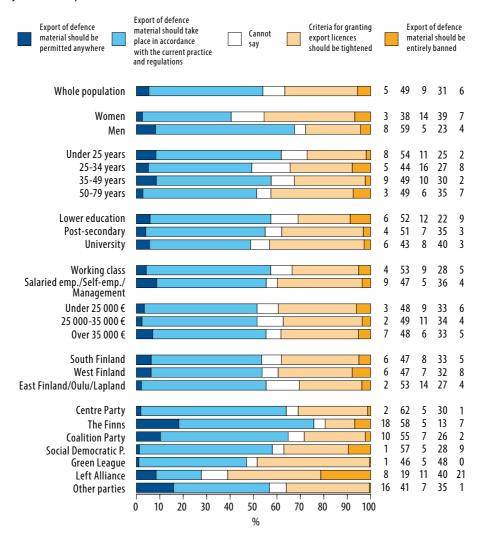


Figure 28. Military cooperation

"Finland conducts military cooperation with Sweden, other Nordic countries, Nato and the European Union. What is your view on cooperation?"

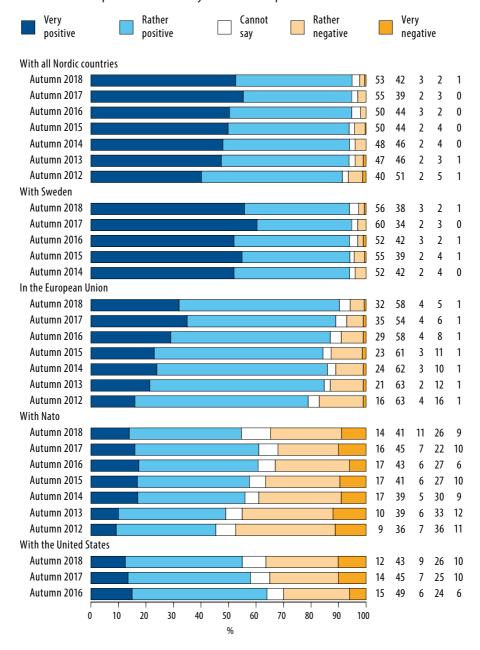


Figure 29. Military cooperation with all Nordic countries

"Finland conducts military cooperation with all Nordic countries. What is your view on cooperation?"

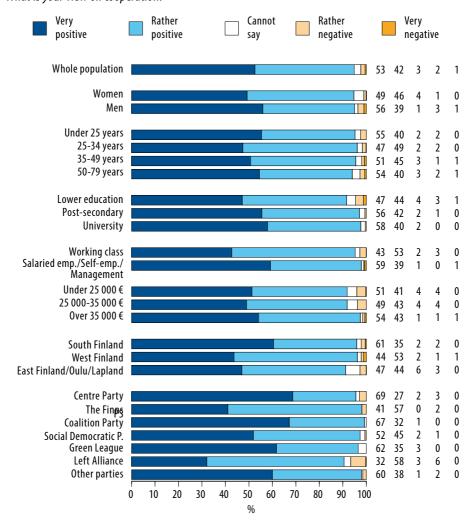


Figure 30. Military cooperation with Sweden

"Finland conducts military cooperation with Sweden. What is your view on cooperation?"

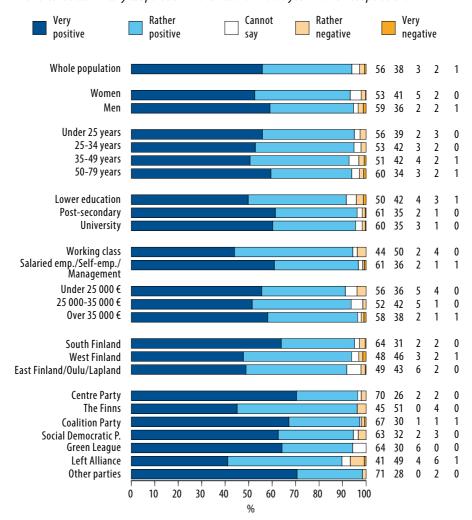


Figure 31. Military cooperation in the European Union

"Finland conducts military cooperation with the European union. What is your view on cooperation?"

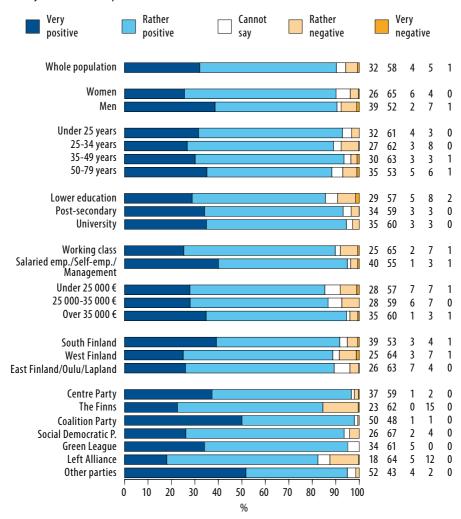


Figure 32. Military cooperation with Nato

"Finland conducts military cooperation with Nato. What is your view on cooperation?"

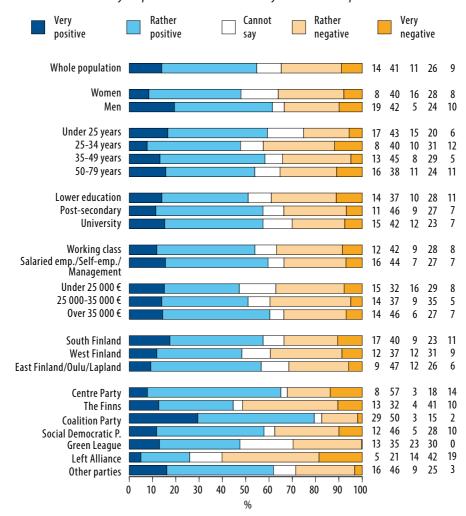


Figure 33. Military cooperation with the United States

"Finland conducts military cooperation with the United States. What is your view on cooperation?"

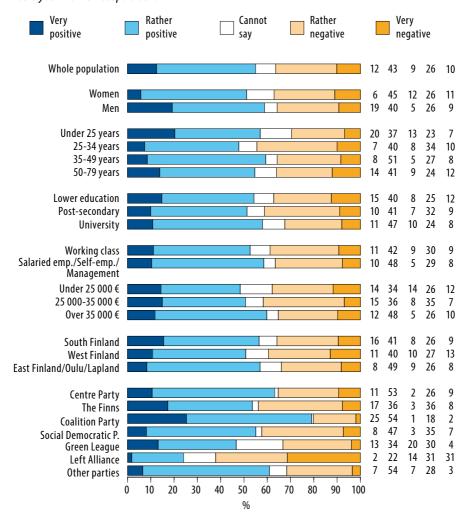


Figure 34. The military situation in Finland's near environs

"What is your estimate of the military situation in Finland's near environs during the next decade?"

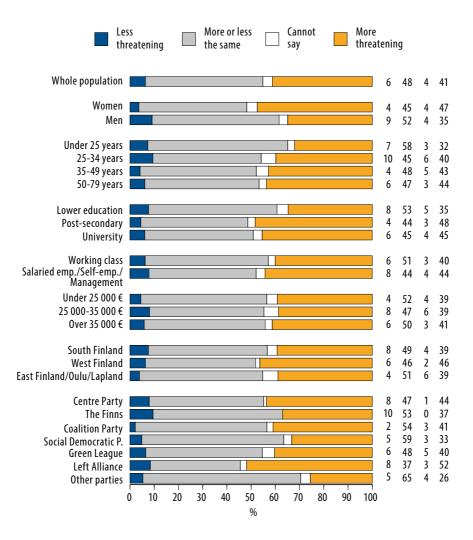


Figure 35. The military situation in Finland's near environs

"What is your estimate of the military situation in Finland's near environs during the next decade?"

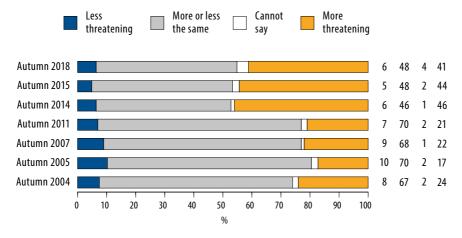


Figure 36. Defence appropriations

"What is your opinion on funds allocated to the Defence Forces?"

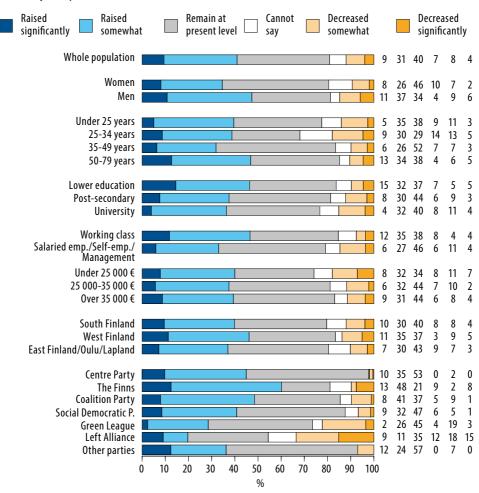


Figure 37. Defence appropriations

"What is your opinion on funds allocated to the Defence Forces?"

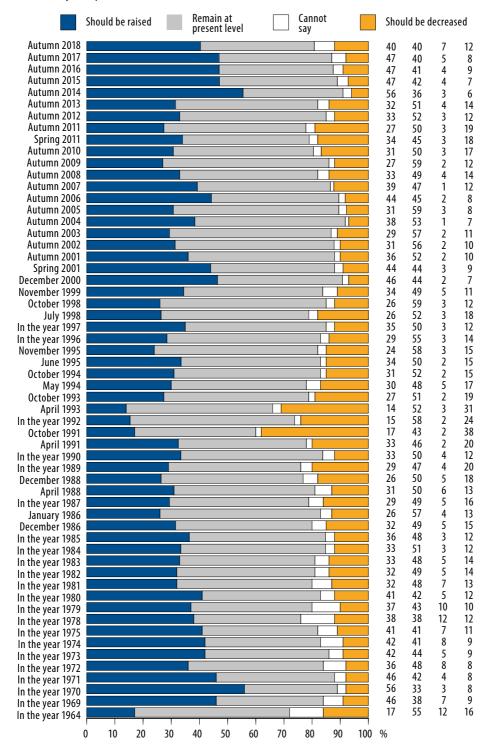


Figure 38. Factors causing concern among the citizens

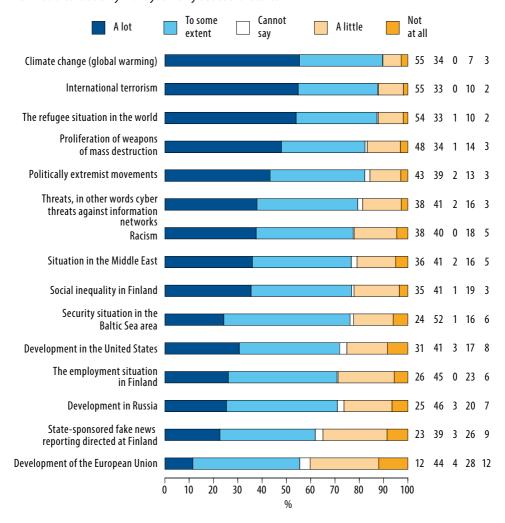


Figure 39. Factors causing concern among the citizens (I)

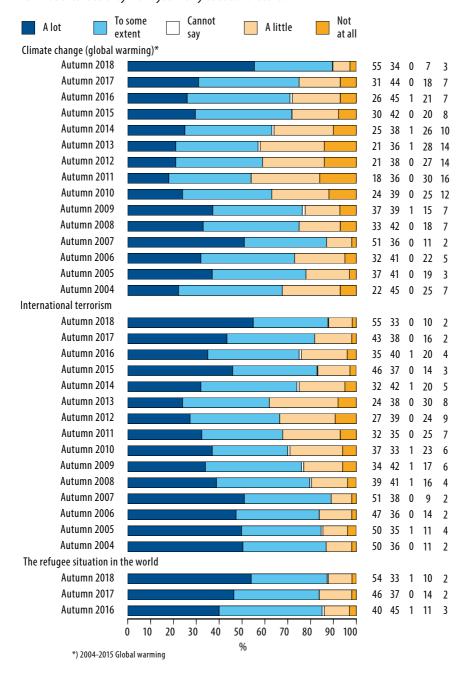


Figure 40. Factors causing concern among the citizens (II)

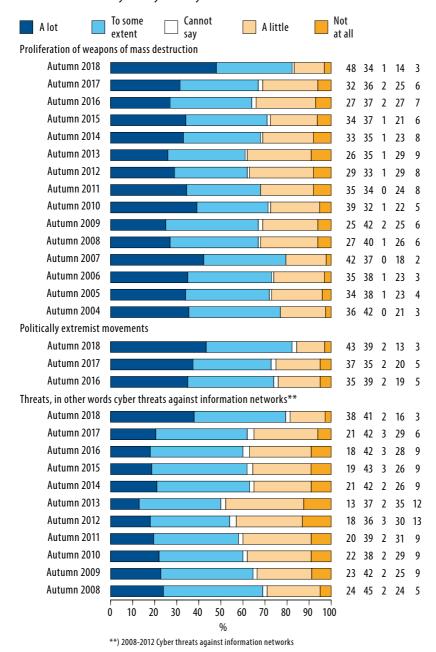


Figure 41. Factors causing concern among the citizens (III)

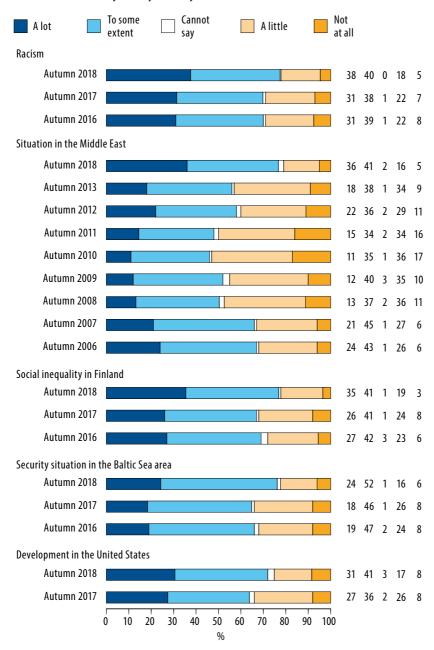
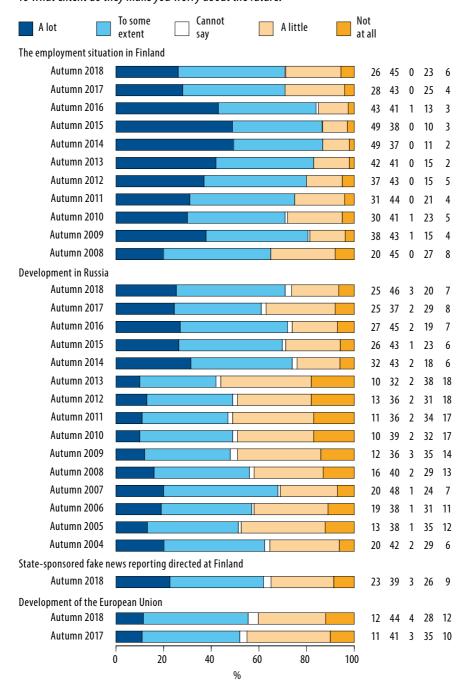


Figure 42. Factors causing concern among the citizens (IV)





The Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI)

Set up by the Government, the Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI) is a permanent Parliamentary Committee, which administratively functions in the Ministry of Defence. In addition to parliamentary members, ABDI's members represent various expert organisations: the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education and Culture, Defence Command Finland, Finnish Broadcasting Company, Finnish News Agency (STT), Union of Journalists in Finland, Finnish Media Federation, National Defence University, and Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI).

ABDI investigates, on an annual basis, the opinions and attitudes of Finns towards security policy and the factors influencing them and conducts at least one extensive survey that covers the entire adult population in Finland. The questions cover foreign and security policy and national defence. Some of the questions represent a continuous sequence since the 1960s. The surveys by ABDI are in the public domain and accessible to all.

The Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI)

Ministry of Defence BP 31 00131 HELSINKI

www.defmin.fi/abdi