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Terrorismista on tullut viimeisen vuosikymmenen aikana yhä näkyvämpi osa yhteiskuntaa ja siihen liittyvää keskustelua. Vaikka Suomessa on lähimenneisyydessä säästyttävä terroristiteoilta, Suomenkin on pitänyt ottaa kantaa terrorismiin, luoda terrorismia koskeva lainsäädäntö ja linjata omat terrorismin vastaisen toiminnan tapansa. Kansainväliset sopimukset velvoittavat Suomea osallistumaan terrorismin vastaiseen toimintaan. Terrorismintutkimus tukee terrorismin vastaista toimintaa tuottamalla tutkittua tietoa terrorismista, terroristiorganisaatioista ja terrorismin torjunnasta.

Tämän työn tarkoituksena on valottaa Suomen terrorismintutkimuksen nykytilaa ja mahdollista tulevaisuutta. Työssä tarkastellaan alkuun terrorismin käsitettä eri näkökulmista, miten eri tahot määrittelevät terrorismin. Työssä luodaan katsaus suomalaiseen terrorismiin, terrorismin uhkaan, terrorismin torjuntaan sekä terrorismintutkimukseen. Työ keskittyy nimenomaan akateemiseen terrorismintutkimukseen, sen ulkopuolelle jäävät eri viranomaisten suorittama terrorismin tutkimus, joka on pääsääntöisesti salattavaa tietoa.

Työ on luonteeltaan laadullista tutkimusta, tutkimusmetodeina käytettiin teemahaastatteluja. Tutkimus sisältää myös kirjallisuuskatsauksen, jossa käydään läpi sekä suomalaista että kansainvälistä kirjallisuutta terrorismiin liittyen. Teemahaastatteluihin valittiin kolme terrorismintutkimuksen asiantuntijaa Suomesta. Haastatteluissa kerätystä materiaalista koostettiin tämän tutkimuksen loppupäätelmät.

Terrorismin määritelmät ovat hyvin moninaiset, mikä aiheuttaa epäselvyyttä koskien terrorismia ja terrorismin tutkimusta. Terrorismintutkimus Suomessa on hyvin nuori tieteenala, jolla on edessään useita haasteita. Suurimpana haasteena on kentän hajanaisuus ja tutkimuksen lepääminen yksittäisten tutkijoiden hartioilla. Suomen terrorismiympäristö on varsin ainutlaatuinen verrattuna muihin länsimaihin; terrorismia on esiintynyt erittäin vähän. Tämä johtuu esimerkiksi siitä, että suomalainen yhteiskunta on melko tasa-arvoinen, yhteiskunnan vaikuttamismahdollisuudet ovat hyvät ja syrjäytymiseen ja ääriliikkeisiin pyritään puuttumaan aikaisessa vaiheessa. Näistä erityispiirteistä johtuen ulkomaisen terrorismin tutkimuksen tulokset ovat huonosti sovellettavissa Suomen olosuhteisiin. Näin ollen kansallista terrorismintutkimusta tarvitaan. Erityisiä kiireellisiä tutkimustarpeita ei löytynyt, mutta pidemmän aikavälin terrorismin tutkimukselle nähtiin kuitenkin tarvetta.

Asiasanat: terrorismi, terrorismintutkimus, tutkimus, terrorismin torjunta

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Terrorism research in Finland

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In the past decade terrorism has become an increasingly visible part of society and the debate about society. Although Finland has escaped serious incidents of terrorism in the recent past, it has been obliged to take a stance on terrorism, create legislation regarding terrorism and formulate its policy on counterterrorism. Through international treaties Finland is committed to participating in the international fight against terrorism. Terrorism research supports counterterrorism by providing researched knowledge about terrorism, terrorist organizations and counterterrorism.

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the current situation regarding terrorism research in Finland and its possible future. First, terrorism as a phenomenon is discussed from different points of view, and various definitions of terrorism are introduced. This study gives an insight into the subject of terrorism from the Finnish perspective on the definition of terrorism, terrorist threat, counterterrorism, and terrorism research. This study concentrates on academic research into terrorism and any classified research on terrorism is excluded from this study.

The nature of this study is qualitative research, where theme interviews were used as methods. The study also includes a literature review, in which both Finnish and international literature is introduced to the reader. Three prominent experts on Finnish terrorism research were chosen for the interviews. The material from the interviews creates the basis for the main conclusions of this study.

Definitions of terrorism are varied, which creates confusion with regard to terrorism and terrorism research. Terrorism research in Finland is a very young field of study, facing several challenges. The greatest challenges include the fractured field of research and reliance on individual researchers. Terrorism in the Finnish context has several unique characteristics compared to other Western countries, the most prominent of which is the lack of terrorist attacks in the near past. This is due to high level of equality in Finnish society, good possibilities for citizens to affect decisions made in society, the early interference in social exclusion and extremist movements. Due to these special characteristics international terrorism research has little validity in Finland. Therefore, terrorism research on a national level is needed. Special acute research gaps were not identified in this study; however, it was felt that long-term terrorism research is needed.

Keywords: terrorism, terrorism research, research, counterterrorism

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1 Introduction

Terrorism as a phenomenon has existed already before 21st century, but the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 and the media coverage of those attacks lifted terrorism into the global awareness (Kreuss 2011, 12). During this century fear of terrorism has spread into Europe and also to Finland, even though the threat has realized only in the larger European countries, such as Spain, Great Britain and Germany (Kreuss 2001, 13). Globalization has affected the nature of terrorism; terrorism has become more of an international issue, hence the international cooperation e.g. on the European Union level has become more important (Laitinen & Lumio 2009, 10 - 11). Terrorism has become a crucial part of countries security threats, and different countries fight terrorism with different counterterrorism methods (Laitinen & Lumio 2009, 66).

The attention that terrorism has received in the international politics has also reflected in the debates in Finland. After 2001 terrorism has become a more important issue also in Finland, it has been named as a security threat, it has become part of Finnish legislation and Finland has published a national program for counterterrorism. (Malkki 2011, 207.) Terrorism research responds to the need for information about terrorism; authorities can utilize the researched information in their decision making (Malkki & Toivainen, 2009). National terrorism research is needed in Finland as well, however terrorism research in Finland is a very new field of science, and there is a great need for improvement (Malkki 2013; Sinkkonen 2013).

1.1 Research question

The objective of this study is to answer to the following research question; what is the current situation and future of terrorism research in Finland. To answer that question I will have to find out how terrorism is defined in different contexts, to map out terrorism, terrorism threats and counterterrorism in Finland, to survey the current terrorism research situation in Finland and to identify research gaps in Finnish terrorism research. The purpose is to increase and deepen structured knowledge of terrorism research in Finland and to offer a compact package of information on terrorism research in Finland.

This paper is about unclassified terrorism research produced by public actors. Therefore any classified research, conducted by e.g. the Defense Forces or Finnish Security Intelligence Service (Supo), are excluded from this paper. Also, in this study terrorism is viewed at from the view point of the academic researchers and the governmental authorities, not from the perspective of general public or the terrorist themselves.

1.2 Structure

The first chapter of this study is dedicated to the explanatory issues about this study. In the second chapter I have moved to a literature review in order to dive into the research subject. The purpose is to determine the definitions used in this research and to introduce the subject to the reader. In the third chapter the Finnish terrorism and counterterrorism is taken under closer scrutiny. The purpose of that chapter is to survey the specialties of Finnish terrorism and counterterrorism. On the basis of what is written about terrorism and counterterrorism in Finland, I have proceeded on the terrorism research. The fourth chapter is the main chapter of this study, in it the terrorism research is introduced first on the general level. Then the special challenges of terrorism research are discussed both in general and from the Finnish perspective. In the next subchapter I have taken a glance at the international terrorism research using two publications on terrorism as an example. Finally I have proceeded to introduce the Finnish research on terrorism, and as a conclusion I have analyzed the gaps in the terrorism research and suggested future research topics.

1.3 Research methods

The nature of this paper is mainly qualitative research, with some quantitative research. In qualitative research the aim is to research the subject in a holistic way (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 2001, 152). From the qualitative methods I have chosen theme interviews to be the main parts of this study. The study also includes a literature review, in which the both Finnish and international literature has been introduced to the reader. In addition to this chapter 4.2. includes a data analysis, that can be defined as quantitative research method. In below chapters the methods are introduced in more detail and it has been explained why these methods have been chosen.

1.3.1 Literature review

This study starts with a literature review. The purpose of a literature review is to show which perspectives have been taken on the subject matter before, and how this subject has been researched (Hirsjärvi & al. 2001, 108 - 109). Literature on terrorism has boomed in the past two decades, in the first ten years of 21st century the publications of terrorism literature has increased more than tenfold compared to the number published in 1980s and 1990s together (Malkki & Toivainen 2009). In order to gain deeper understanding of the nature of terrorism and terrorism research, it is important to explore the literature on terrorism. So, as a background to the research I have gathered information from both international and Finnish literature on terrorism. I have also used several public documents, such as diverse governmental strategies as background information to this research.

1.3.2 Theme interview

Interview as a research method is a unique way of gathering information. In an interview the researcher is in direct contact with the object of the research, which causes both advantages and challenges to the method. The greatest advantage is the flexibility of the interview; the interviewer can ask the interviewee to specify, deepen or clarify their answers. (Hirsjärvi & al. 2001, 191 - 192.)

A theme interview is a kind of semi-structured interview, where interviewees know the subject already in advance. It is called semi-structured, because the questions are not precise and not in certain order. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1985, 35 - 36.)

Theme interview was chosen as research method due to the nature of this study's subject. There is not much written material on the subject of terrorism research in Finland. The best source of information seemed to be the experts of this field, so it was justified to use them as a source. Of different kinds of interview types, theme interview suited this study the best, because of the nature of wanted information. The interview situation was relatively informal, the interviewees had a chance to return to previous questions during the interview, complete their answers after the questions had been defined, and they were free to add anything in the end of the interview.

Hirsjärvi and Hurme (1985, 45) classify the questions of a theme interview into five main categories; public fact questions, personal fact questions, opinion based questions about feelings, attitudes and appreciations. In this study the questions in the interviews fall mainly into the first category, public fact questions.

The number of interviewees in qualitative research depends on the subject matter. The concept of saturation is used to define to what extent the interviews should be continued. The researcher can start to interview objects and continue until no new information regarding the research questions at hand is received. At this point the research can be defined saturated, and there is no need to continue the interviews. (Hirsjärvi & al. 2001, 169.) The saturation level of this paper can be considered relatively high, since the answers of all of the interviewees were relatively similar. However, the selection of the interviewees was rather homogenous, all of them representing an approximation of the academic research on terrorism. Choosing interviewees from different peer groups, such as Defence Forces or Supo, might have resulted in a more versatile and complex answers. However, regarding the scope of this paper, the interviewees were restricted to those introduced below.

The interviewees for a theme interview are usually chosen on the basis of judgmental sample, based on the fact that they are familiar with the subject concerned (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 1985, 58). The first two interviewees, Leena Malkki and Kari Laitinen, were chosen by the author on the basis of their visible role in the terrorism research in Finland. The last one was recommended by both Leena Malkki and Kari Laitinen.

Leena Malkki is a researcher at European Institute of University of Helsinki. Her Doctoral Dissertation titled “How terrorist campaigns end: The Rode Jeugd in the Netherlands and the Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States” was published in 2010. Her areas of expertise include history of terrorism and changes in terrorism, dynamics of terrorist campaigns, and as side tracks Finnish counterterrorism and the school shootings. She has published several articles both in Finland and internationally, and has lectured e.g. in Egmont Institute in Belgium. She can be regarded as the most senior terrorism researcher in Finland. (Malkki, 2013.)

Kari Laitinen is currently a senior researcher at Police College of Finland. His doctoral dissertation titled “The Reality and Problematic of Security: Interpretations of New Securities after the Cold War” was published in 1999 by the University of Tampere. He has written one book in cooperation with Milla Lumio, and edited another book concerning terrorism. In his research he concentrates on terrorism on general level and on radicalization processes, mostly from the perspective of general security and politics. (Laitinen 2013.)

Teemu Sinkkonen is a researcher at Finnish Institute of International Affairs. He has followed terrorism since 2002 and his doctoral dissertation titled “Political Responses to Terrorism: Case study on the Madrid terrorist attack on March 11, 2004”, and its outcome was published in 2009 by the University of Tampere. His areas of expertise include counterterrorism and responses to terrorism on state level, and also terrorism organizations, especially in Spain. He has lectured internationally e.g. in Granada University in Spain and in Istanbul, and in Finland at the University of Tampere and University of Helsinki. He has written articles in several Finnish books about terrorism. (Sinkkonen 2013.)

The interviewees were contacted through email and all of them were eager to give their input to this paper. Malkki was interviewed on October 17th, Laitinen was interviewed on October 23rd and Sinkkonen was interviewed on October 28th in interviewees' personal offices. They lasted 27:45 minutes, 31:02 minutes and 40:08 minutes, respectively. The interviews were conducted in Finnish. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, after which the important points were selected and translated to English. The interviewees had a chance to read their answers and comment on them before they were included in this paper. The questions of the interview can be found in the attachment (Attachment 1).

1.3.3 Data analysis

To gain an international perspective on the terrorism research two academic journals of terrorism were taken as an example and given a closer look. There were 842 articles about terrorism, from which the titles, writers, writers' associations and key words were gathered in an excel sheet, where they could be filtered by different factors. The data was first filtered by the name of the authors in order to find out how many articles each author had written. The next step was to filter the data by the association of the author; this way I was able to find out which organizations have been active in terrorism research. Filtering the data by the country of the authors revealed which countries produce most of the terrorism research. The last part was to analyze the key words. They were placed in an excel sheet and organized in alphabetical order. The words that appeared more than 15 times were calculated and placed in a new list. Based on previous knowledge of terrorism research, also some other words of interest were gathered on this list (Attachment 2). When completed, this list could be organized by the frequency of the words (Attachment 3).

The main emphasis was on the key words in order to find out which areas of terrorism have been researched the most, but some attention has been given to the writers of the articles as well as to the associations and countries which they represent. The data was collected from the journals published between 2001 and 2012.

2 Definitions and classifications of terrorism

“One person’s fighter for freedom is another person’s terrorist” is an often quoted sentence when trying to explain what terrorism is (Bjorgo 2005, 1; Lutz & Lutz 2008, 7; Puistola & Herrala 2006, 13). Another common statement when defining terrorism is a disclaimer that defining terrorism is a very difficult or even impossible task (Laitinen 2007, 11; Kreuss 2011, 54; Kullberg 2011, 15; Puistola & Herrala 2006, 13). This chapter is not an attempt to give an exhaustive answer to the questions what terrorism is, but rather to introduce the research topic to the reader, and to clarify the scope of this study.

Different actors take different views on terrorism. One way to classify different views is to distinguish between the academic, the official, the public and the terrorists' view. Academics strive for entirely objective view, as they are neither objects nor actors of terrorism, whereas governments (official view) often have the burden of being the objects of terrorism and hence their view is easily colored. On the other hand, public view may vary often and is strongly affected by the media. Terrorism as a term is also used very loosely in different contexts, having a very strong connotation. The fourth view, the terrorist view, is completely

different from the previous ones, as the terrorist themselves see their actions justified and the objects of their actions to be blamed. (Crenshaw & Pimlott 1997, 17 - 21.)

In below paragraphs the first two views are taken under closer scrutiny, first official then academic view. These two have been chosen on the basis of their importance in the terrorism research. The public view is more of the matter of media research and language research (Crenshaw & Pimlott 1997, 21). The terrorism view, how terrorist see themselves, can be considered part of terrorism research, but as it has been researched very little (Crenshaw & Pimlott 1997, 21) it is not taken into consideration in this study.

2.1 Official definitions

The United Nations (UN) definition of terrorism stems from the Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004, 49). It defines terrorism as "any action... that is intended to cause death or serious body harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act (UN 2004, 49)."

The Finnish legislation on terrorism relies on the level of European Union (EU) in combating terrorism. In the council framework decision on combating terrorism (2002) on the level of European Union it is stated that all member countries should approximate a definition of terrorist offences. In the same paper actions can be defined as terrorist acts if "given their nature or context, [they] may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization" (EU 2002). Actions that can be classified as terrorist acts include: killing or injuring people, kidnapping, taking hostages, attacks on Government or public facilities, seizure of aircrafts, ships, or other means of public transportation of goods, manufacture, possession, or use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, interfering with the supply of water or power, and threatening to commit any of the acts mentioned above (EU, 2002).

In 2003 a chapter on terrorist offences was adopted in the Criminal Code of Finland. It has been drafted in accordance with the above quoted European Union definition and contains following definitions related to terrorism:

“An offender has a terrorist intent if it is his or her intent to cause serious fear among the population; unlawfully force the government of a state or another authority or an international organization to perform, allow or abstain from performing any act; unlawfully overturn or amend the constitution of a state or seriously destabilize the legal order of a state or cause particular harm to the state economy or the fundamental social structures of the state; or cause particularly extensive harm to the finances or other fundamental structures of an international organization.

A terrorist group refers to a structured group of at least three persons established over a period of time and acting in concert in order to commit offences referred to in section 1.

An international organization refers to an intergovernmental organization or to an organization which, on the basis of its significance and internationally recognized position, is comparable to an intergovernmental organization.” (The criminal code of Finland. 39/1889.)

It is important to mention that according to the criminal code of Finland not only committing, but also attempting to commit and planning of a crime with a terrorist intent is punishable (The criminal code of Finland. 39/1889).

In the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (2010, 2) it is stated that there is no common internationally accepted definition of terrorism, but usually terrorism involves violence or threat of violence to reach a goal and to cause fear and disorder.

Official definitions of terrorism are of great importance for authorities, for instance, when defining the manner in which the crimes should be punished. Terrorism is increasingly an international issue and international cooperation and justification for combating terrorism is needed. Due to the international nature of terrorism it is problematic when different countries have different definitions of terrorism. However it is in some countries interest that no common definition has been agreed upon. Countries can define terrorism as is in their best interest and act accordingly. (Puistola & Herrala 2006, 212 - 216.)

2.2 Academic definitions

In the academic world the debate on defining terrorism continues. In 1984, one of the most quoted terrorism researchers Alex P. Schmid (1988, 1 - 2) drafted a definition of terrorism, which he then mailed to some two hundred researchers of political terrorism and asked for their feedback. 81% of the terrorism researchers found his definition partially or fully acceptable. (Schmid 1988, 1-3)

His definition is as follows: “Terrorism is a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental *target of violence*. These instrumental victims share group or class characteristics which form the basis for their selection for victimization. Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are put in a *state of chronic fear (terror)*. This group or class, whose members’ sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the *target of terror*. The victimization of the target of violence is considered extra normal by most observers from the witnessing audience on the basis of its atrocity, the time (e.g. peacetime) or place (not a battlefield) of victimization, or the disregard for rules of combat accepted in conventional warfare. The violation of norm creates an attentive audience beyond the target of terror; sectors of this audience might in turn form the main object of manipulation. The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary *targets of demands* (e.g., a government) or *targets of attention* (e.g., public opinion) to changes of attitude or behavior favoring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat.” (Schmid 1988, 1-2)

Ross (2006, 8) comments on the previous definition adding that in most cases not all elements of Schmid’s definition have to exist for an action to be regarded as terrorism. He also adds that violent actions that are aimed at nonhuman “symbolic” targets should also be considered terrorism, if they have all the other essential traits mentioned in the definition.

Other authors have distinct definitions as well, Archer (2004, 11) stating that terrorism is “violence used by non-state actors to influence, persuade, cower or destroy a society of state, in pursuit of some political, ideological or religious aim.” This reflects the context of Archer’s publication, International terrorism and Finland, excluding the state terrorism from his definition. (Archer 2004, 11.)

Crenshaw and Pimlot (1997, 10) have a very short and hence rather wide definition that can be interpreted in several ways. It says that terrorism is “indiscriminate use of force to achieve political aims” (Crenshaw & Pimlot 1997, 10).

Marchington (2003, 8) mentions that the definition must include the ability and the will to use the weapons of terror to achieve a political end. He excludes from the definition other criminal activities, and people with extreme political views who have no violent intentions (Marchington 2003, 8).

As defining terrorism in one or two sentences seems close to impossible, several sources (Crenshaw 2011, 23; Kullberg 2009, 23; Laitinen & Lumio 2009, 22; Lutz & Lutz 2008, 9-10)

prefer to list components that are related to terrorism. In different sources usually five to eight of the following (Table 1) components are being mentioned.

Terrorist acts	are goal-oriented and planned, not chaotic or spontaneous
	involve political motives and aims
	are violent or threaten with violence
	are aimed at civilians or civilian targets, typically in peacetime
	are designed to generate fear and have an effect not only on the target group but also and mainly beyond the immediate victims
	aim to reach its goals not by actions, but by reactions which they cause
	are conducted by identifiable organization
	include acts where the perpetrator, the victim, or both are non-state actors
	are designed to increase the (political) power of the perpetrator
	are symbolic and demonstrative

Table 1: Components of a terrorist act

Schmid (1988, 5 - 6) has drafted a list of 22 definitional elements that occur in the 109 definitions of terrorism that he has analyzed. In his list the most used elements are violence/force (83.5%), political (65%), fear, terror emphasized (51%), threat (47%), (psych.) effects and (anticipated) reactions (41.5%), victim-target differentiation (37.5%), purposive, planned, systematic, organized action (32%), method of combat, strategy, tactic (30,5%), extra normality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constraints (30%) and coercion, extortion, induction of compliance (28%).

When defining terrorism it is very hard to distinguish between terrorism and other acts of political violence, such as radical ideologies, armed opposition, guerilla war, conventional war, political murders, school shooting or other mass murders by individual actors, material sabotage and general opposition of a government. Defining terrorism too broadly leads to problems, but narrowing down the definition is not recommendable either. (Kullberg 2011, 15 - 16.)

As a summary of this chapter, the varied definitions of terrorism cause confusion within the field of terrorism research. If the definition of terrorism cannot be agreed upon, the whole field of research lacks credibility. Too wide definitions or too many different definitions include such a wide range of actors, acts and phenomena, that this might fragment the field of

terrorism research. Also, from statistical point of view the definitions should be clear in order to guarantee that not all violent and criminal activity regardless of its nature is included in terrorist acts.

2.3 Classifications of terrorism

When classifying terrorism into different categories, it must be noted, that many terrorist activities do not fall into just one category, but have the features of two or even more categories. Below are three examples of how different researchers have classified terrorism in their writings.

Terrorism can be categorized according to the motivation of the terrorist group into three different categories: nationalist, political and religious. Nationalist terrorism includes terrorist actions that are generated from the separatist movements, independence fighters and resistance movements of a certain region. All the terrorist movements can be seen as “political”, so in this context political terrorism refers to extreme right or left wing political movements. Also terrorist actions designed by “one cause movements” such as animal rights’ movements and anti-nuclear movements can be labeled under political terrorism. Religious terrorism has its roots in the religious ideology or cult movements such as millennialism or judgment day movements. Nowadays religious terrorism is easily connected only with Islam, but includes other religions as well. (Kullberg 2011, 24 - 34.)

Another similar classification of terrorism is from Crenshaw and Pimlott (1997, 188 - 212). They divide terrorism into eight different categories: nationalist terrorism, revolutionary terrorism, far-right extremism, single-issue group terrorism, international terrorism, state terrorism, urban/rural terrorism and religious extremism.

Terrorism is often divided roughly into the “old” and “new” terrorism. The “old” terrorism refers to terrorism where the target is considered important by the terrorist movement. Murders of political leaders and attacks on military targets and infrastructure are good examples of “old” terrorism. One main character of “new” terrorism is that the target is symbolic. It also refers to religion-driven, increasingly lethal terrorism methods that started to grow in the 1990s. (Paastela 2005, 88.) “New terrorism” has also been characterized by its religious motives, loose network organization structures, diverse groups of actors and intentionally severe damages (Malkki 2010, 178).

However, this idea can be challenged by comparing goals, methods, organizations and resources of old and new terrorism. The new terrorism viewpoint easily overestimates the effect of religion and underestimates the power of nationalism as a cause of terrorism. There

are differences in the “old” and “new” terrorism, but they can mainly be attributed to changing environment, such as globalization, advanced communications and individual mobility. (Crenshaw 2011, 51 - 52.)

Regardless of the manner in which terrorism is defined, it is a rather wide concept including several different types of acts. Classifying terrorism into different categories helps to structure the field of terrorism research and to understand the different perspectives one can take in terrorism research.

3 Terrorism in Finland

This chapter is dedicated to map the topic of terrorism in Finland on general level. First there is a look into the past, secondly a short discussion on the relative absence of terrorism in Finland. In the subchapters, first, the terrorism threats in Finland are discussed based on the assessments of Finnish security authorities, secondly are being introduced the counterterrorism methods used in Finland. The purpose of this chapter is to deepen the knowledge of the environment and context where Finnish terrorism research is operating.

Fortunately Finland has been relatively unaffected by terrorism in the near past, most sources (Sinkkonen 2007, 203; Sitra 2004, 35; Archer 2004, 12) agree that there have been no cases of terrorism in Finland during the past twenty years. However, in long term perspective Finland has had its fair share of terrorism cases at the beginning of the 20th century. Before that Finland was relatively quiet despite the turmoil in France and other European countries, until 1904 when Eugen Schauman shot general-governor Nikolai Bobrikov. That incident can be seen as a trigger that initiated more serious measures among a group of youngsters, a secret society called Verikoirat. This relatively unknown group can be, by the number of its victims and ambitious plans, regarded as the high point of Finnish terrorism. During that time terrorism had more positive than negative connotations, and the members were seen more like heroes than villains. Their acts included attempted and successful assassinations, and bombing of a police station. (Keskisarja 2011, 48 - 63.)

Another wave of terrorism took place in 1918 - 1919, when Finnish activists committed several sabotage operations in Murmansk and St. Petersburg (Mainio 2011, 72 - 93). However in the post-war Finland the situation calmed down and social and economic circumstances offered no incentive for the growth of radicalism. Slowly possibilities to influence on social and public levels increased as well, and it was easier to advocate one's interests through official channels than through marginal actions, such as sabotage and terrorism. (Siltala 2011, 94 - 123.)

There was almost a complete absence of political violence in the postwar Finland for several decades. The country was recovering from the war, the general political and social climate was very positive, social democracy was functioning, standard of living was rising and there were relatively small differences in standard of living among the people. These facts explain, at least partly, the absence of terrorism or other political violence in Finland. However the recession that started in the early 1990s created new problems that can be seen as root causes of political violence in Finland. (Archer 2004, 15.)

Nowadays, Finland belongs to one of the safest countries regarding the threat of terrorism, even more so than the other European or even Scandinavian countries. Finland can be compared to such countries as Iceland, Switzerland and the Baltic countries, all of them being relatively small and relatively unknown. (Kullberg 2011, 39.)

There are several intuitive hypotheses why Finland has been saved from terrorism: Finland is a remote and cold country, Finland is sparsely populated and the number of foreigners is low, Finnish people are law-abiding and even-tempered by nature, Finnish political movements have acted responsibly and consensus is part of country's political culture, Finland is a free country with high equality and possibilities of influencing, Finland has welfare and high standard of living, and in Finland the authorities function well and efficiently. However each of these hypotheses can be questioned as there are many other countries with similar conditions that have faced terrorism. (Kullberg 2011, 10-13.)

Malkki (2011, 204 - 224) discusses the reasons and problems of defining terrorism in her article "There is no terrorism in Finland, because "there is no terrorism in Finland"? She argues that in the Finnish public debate the word "terrorism" is used sparingly, especially when talking about the national actors. She makes an interesting point that at some level the Myyrmanni bombing in 2002 and even the school shootings in Jokela (2007) and in Kauhajoki (2008) could have been defined as terrorism, however the authorities and the media deliberately restrained from using that term and interpreted actions through different context. She points out reasons why talking about terrorism is avoided in Finland: to avoid spreading false fear among the people, to avoid giving substance that might create a myth of heroism, there was no political benefit in starting the rhetoric on terrorism, the current legislation restricts the use the term "terrorism", and in order to avoid demonizing the actors. (Malkki 2011, 204 - 224)

Finland is considered a safe country with no cases of terrorism in recent past, therefore it might be concluded that no counterterrorism or terrorism research is needed in Finland. However, looking from the long term perspective there have been acts that can be defined as terrorism. Also, some recent violent acts could be defined as terrorism if terrorism is seen as

a wider concept. Not having cases of terrorist acts does not mean that there is not a terrorist threat in Finland. Lacking terrorism in recent years does not mean that terrorist attacks could not happen in Finland. Hence proactive counterterrorism measures need to be taken in order to guarantee that Finland might remain in the future as safe as it has been in the past. Terrorism research helps to understand the past and also the current terrorism situation. From the results of terrorism research the authorities can decide what kind of counterterrorism methods are the most suitable and effective in the Finnish environment.

3.1 Terrorism threat in Finland

According to the Finnish Security Intelligence Service which is responsible for counterterrorism in Finland, the terrorism threat has remained on a low level despite the changing environment. Finland is not a significant geographical target for the international terrorist organizations or similar groupings. There is an increasing number of people with connections to international terrorist organization. The threat of radicalized individuals is difficult to predict. (Supo 2012, 8.)

National strategy for counter terrorism analyses the possible terrorist threats in Finland. Currently none of the European national or separatist terrorism organizations could be seen as a threat to Finland. However, Finnish citizens travelling to other European countries could finish as victims of such organizations. Taking part in the international crisis management operations could increase the terrorist threat in Finland as well. Terrorist organizations might use Finland as a resting or transit country, or organize financing through Finland. Finnish Muslim community acts in moderate way, therefore rather decreasing than increasing the radicalization that might lead to terrorism. However there are some individuals who support foreign terrorist organization. Due to its reputation as a peaceful country with low terrorism threat, Finland can be considered an easy place to organize terrorism, and can be utilized to support terrorist activities. There are signs of support of the international terrorist organizations from Finland; some monetary transfers from Finland might be used to support illegal actions abroad. Large scale, high profile international events such as conferences or sports events are potential targets for terrorist acts. (Kansallinen terrorismin torjunnan strategia 2010, 5 - 6.)

Archer (2004, 18 - 22) sees three potential loose groupings, related to rightwing violence, leftwing/anti-globalization violence and radical animal rights activism, that might in the future move towards more systematic and targeted violence, and through that they might finish as candidates for the term "terrorism". The rightwing violence by skinheads in the 1990s in Joensuu, was an example of one of the groupings. However, in Finland this activism never turned into terrorism, unlike in Sweden where the activists targeted and even murdered those who took an active stance against their agitation. Leftwing or anti-globalization violence on

the other hand has caused some demonstrations, such as riots outside the President's Palace during the ball held on each Independence Day. The third grouping consists of radical animal rights activists, who have orchestrated protests on fur farms, but have so far restrained from any violence. As mentioned before, none of these groupings can currently be labeled as terrorist, but examples from other countries hint that with some unwelcomed developments the groupings might turn more violent and become more serious in their actions, which might also have the characteristics of terrorism. (Archer 2004, 18 - 22.)

In a study on Finns' perception on security, the fear of a terrorist attack is relatively low. The study has been carried out in 2006 and 2009. There has been a significant decrease (from 43% to 22%) in the amount of people who think that a potential terrorist attack is of relatively or very high concern. In 2009 terrorism was the second lowest concern in the category of future concerns in Finland. (Suominen 2009, 36 -37.)

Attitude towards terrorism has been traditionally moderate in Finland and combating terrorism has been seen solely as the matter of police driven resources. Dramatic threats that have been reality in most Western countries have not been realized in Finland. The authorities do not see the threat of terrorism as being on a serious level. (Tarvainen 2011, 345 -346.)

Even though the terrorist threat in Finland is not as evident as it is in many other countries, the threat still exists and the authorities need to take it into consideration. Terrorism research can help with mapping the threats in advance. With that knowledge the authorities can make a decision on preemptive counterterrorism strategies, in order to guarantee that the threats do not realize.

3.2 Counterterrorism in Finland

Unlike many other countries, Finland has no recent history in terrorism, but despite the fact that the counterterrorism capabilities have been lifted to meet the international standards. In all of the threat analyses terrorism threat is considered relatively low, but still the resources on counterterrorism have risen in recent years and the authorities have published several counterterrorism campaigns. This is an interesting phenomenon, which makes Finland a special case in the counterterrorism sector as well. (Sinkkonen 2013.)

When talking about combating terrorism the methods taken can be divided into two categories; counterterrorism and antiterrorism measures. Some researchers use these terms interchangeably, but some make a clear distinction between these terms, the previous being proactive actions, e.g. legislative measures designed to prevent and deter terrorist incidents from happening, and the latter being reactive measures, e.g. air strikes or selective assassi-

nations after terrorism had occurred. Another way to classify terrorism combating methods is to divide them into passive and active measures. (Ross 2006, 201 - 202.)

For governments passing laws against terrorism, one major discussion is whether to use coercive or conciliatory policies against terrorism. Coercive methods include harsh force to punish terrorists and to prevent terrorism from happening, whereas conciliatory methods include addressing the underlying causes of terrorism and reducing incentives to use terrorism. Both options have their advantages and disadvantages, and there is no consensus on which one is more effective. There are examples of how both methods have succeeded or failed in different situations. Hence the effectiveness of different methods seems to depend on which kind of terrorist group the government is dealing with. (Miller 2007, 331 - 334.)

According to Ross (2006, 203 - 204) combating terrorism faces some serious problems; e.g. lack of a definition commonly accepted by government agencies and lack of cooperation both between government agencies and between national security agencies of different countries. In addition, balancing between acquiring information and the citizens' individual freedom can be a tricky task when combating terrorism. Finally, the problem of measuring the effectiveness of counterterrorism methods is very difficult. There is basically no valid statistical analysis of the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures.

Ross (2006, 204 - 211) lists eleven major ways the governments use to counter terrorism. They include appeasement, development of databases and collection of reliable intelligence, suspending finances, hardening of actual and potential targets, creation and use of third forces, changing police policies and practices on use of force, development and use of anti-terrorist technology, international treaties, new laws (national and international) against terrorism, increased use of intelligence and surveillance and finally military response.

Also Miller (2007, 335) has listed different approaches governments can use to fight terrorism. First, a government can *do nothing*, which means it ignores terrorist acts or denies they happen. This approach is rarely successful. Second, a government can use *conciliation*, which means trying to solve the problem by negotiating with the terrorists. This approach is criticized because it concedes to terrorists' demands. Third, a government can make *legal reforms* to strengthen the government's ability to deal with terrorism, including expansion of police rights in order to investigate terrorists and international co-operation on terrorism. Fourth, by *restriction* a government can limit terrorist group's actions, for example by increasing intelligence gathering powers or hardening targets to withstand an attack. Last, a government can use *violence* against a terrorist group, which is the most radical method to fight terrorism. This includes assassinations, missile strikes and invasion.

Kreuss (2010, 113 - 114) analyses the chronology of terrorist attacks to reveal the different sectors that belong to counter terrorism. Preceding the terrorist attacks she mentions the root causes of terrorism, radicalization, recruitment and preparation of the terrorist attack. The sectors after the attack include physical consequences and both instant and long-term consequences. Kreuss divides the counter terrorism methods into following sectors; influencing the causes of terrorism, avoiding radicalization and recruitment, preventing preparation and execution of terrorist attacks, restricting the damage caused by terrorist attacks, media's responsibility and decreasing social and political consequences.

In Finland, the police have the main responsibility to counter terrorism. However, effective counter terrorism requires cooperation not only among the security authorities, but also other authorities as well as the different functions of society. (Kansallinen terrorismin torjunnan strategia 2010.)

Finnish Security Intelligence Service (Suojelupoliisi, Supo) is responsible for counterterrorism measures in Finland. The powers of Supo are stipulated in the Police Act and Coercive Measures Act, and they include monitoring telecommunications and interception, undercover activities and use of human intelligence sources. The main emphasis of counterterrorism methods are measures of prevention. (SUPO 2011.)

In the national strategy for counterterrorism there are five main strategic points with clear arguments for them and concrete actions and timetables in order to realize the ideas. First, violent radicalization has to be prevented, recognized as early as possible, and the necessary information has to be passed to the responsible authorities. Second, legislation and statutes regarding the communication between different authorities must follow the changes in the operational environment and in the operational modes of terrorism. Third, terrorism must be considered when drafting the general security and contingency plans. Fourth, government and authorities should be provided with analyzed, high quality and timely security information including the threats regarding terrorism. Finally, coordination between the security authorities must be optimized, counter terrorism actions should be based on up-to-date situational picture and threats. (Kansallinen terrorismin torjunnan strategia 2010, 9 -16)

Violent extremism is seen as a threat which can, not automatically, but under certain circumstances, lead to violent actions and even to terrorism. Ministry of the Interior has therefore drafted a national action plan in order to prevent violent extremism. This plan is one part of Internal Security Programme. It suggests detailed measures to be taken. Enhancing cooperation between various authorities; teachers, health care personnel, social workers, and youth workers can all identify early signs of violent extremist thoughts. Another important way to prevent violent extremism from increasing is to strengthen the democratic opportunities in

order to entice changes in the society both on national and local level. Discussions of democracy and ways of affecting among young people are important and improved by choosing a Democratic Ambassador every year. Referring to the school shootings, actions need to be taken in order to prevent and recognize this type of activism that can in certain circumstances even lead to terrorist acts. These actions include reform of the firearm legislations, additional mental healthcare in schools, development of pupil welfare, improving preparedness of crisis situations, training of educational workers. Internet is a great channel of hate speech and propaganda, and therefore it is important to follow and purport more moderate views on the Internet related to extremist thoughts and hate speech. It is also important to increase the awareness and knowhow of violent extremism and its prevention. ("Towards a Cohesive Society - Action plan to prevent violent extremism" 2012, 20-27.)

The strength of the Finnish security operation model lies in its network based thinking model, which enables wide use of resources in order to ensure security in the society. Security authorities handle the operative actions whereas other authorities strive to create an environment where there is no need for radicalization. (Tarvainen 2011, 350.)

In summary, Finnish counterterrorism is predominantly concentrated on the conciliatory counterterrorism methods. The aim is to prevent terrorism in advance and to affect the root causes of terrorism, and hence eradicate the problems before they become more severe. However, the security authorities need to be prepared to face a terrorist act in case something happens. When looking at the non-existent history of terrorism in the near past, conclusion can be drawn that either this strategy has worked rather well, or Finland has been very lucky.

Authorities responsible for counterterrorism measures can benefit greatly from the terrorism research. Terrorism research should produce results in determining what methods of counterterrorism are the most suitable in the Finnish environment. Based on these results authorities can make decisions on how to most efficiently prevent and face the possible terrorist acts.

4 Terrorism research

As mentioned in the first paragraph this paper concentrates on the public research on terrorism, not on the research, for instance, made by police, which in general is classified information. In some countries, e.g. the Netherlands, the security authorities also publish research on terrorism, but that is not the case in Finland (Malkki 2013). Therefore the main emphasis of this chapter is on the research of academic terrorism, with some comments of non-academic research.

There are several approaches to terrorism research; it is part of several different branches of science. Also the methods of terrorism research are varied. One approach is to research the relationship of terrorism and political violence, which subjects revolutions and historical events under scrutiny. Research on terrorists as individuals produces psychological profiles, and there are attempts to analyze terrorist acts and draw general conclusions from them. One important branch is the roots of terrorism, recruiting terrorists and radicalization process. (Laitinen 2007, 18 - 20.)

Similar categorization can be found by Paastela (2005, 96). He divides terrorism research into six different levels: terrorism and political violence as macro level phenomena; comparative research of terrorism and political violence; research of terrorist organization, especially their history; consequences and effects of terrorism; terrorists as individuals; and research on a given terrorist act.

4.1 Challenges of terrorism research

According to Malkki and Paastela (2007, 42 - 46) terrorism research is challenging due to several reasons. The main issue is the lack of reliable and useful sources. First hand sources are difficult to find as most of the terrorist organizations prefer secrecy, and also most of the governmental material concerning terrorism is not public information. There is also lack of larger research projects and there are no university research centers concentrating only on terrorism. As terrorism is a current topic for many governments, the research has to be quick and there is no time to dig deeper into the subject. Because of the political and moral aspect of terrorism, it might be difficult to handle terrorism as an objective and dispassionate research subject. (Malkki & Paastela 2007, 42 - 46.)

Ross (2006, 22 -25) specifies eight different methodological problems of terrorism research and explains why it is important to face these problems. In the paragraphs below eight problems are being discussed in more detail.

First, most of the terrorism literature is descriptive, not analyzing or interpreting the data they illustrate. More interpretation is needed in order to place terrorism in proper political, social, economic and historical context. This would help in creating better methods of preventing terrorism and responding to it.

Second, Ross (2006, 22) mentions the use of secondary data, mostly media accounts and government documents, as a source material in terrorism research. Moreover he mentions that most of the primary data can be questioned in terms of their validity and reliability.

As an exception to the previous, Ross (2006, 23) mentions the rare case studies that have been conducted on terrorist organizations and individual terrorists. However, his third point is that there is an explicit lack of this kind of research. The external validity of an individual case study can be questioned, but Ross (2006, 23) argues that once there have been enough individual case studies more general conclusions can be drawn from them.

As the fourth problem, Ross (2006, 24) sees the fact that most of the statistics regarding terrorist cases are derived from government-sponsored databases. These databases can be skewed owing to confusion with regard to the classification of terrorist acts.

Fifth, the lack of nonpartisan data sets is also seen as a problem in terrorism research. There are a few nonpartisan organizations conducting terrorism research and providing a terrorism events database, such as the Research and Development (RAND) Corporation, but each has their own classification systems and data collection methods, and hence they are not comparable. This creates a situation where theory development and testing is rather difficult.

Sixth, the pure statistical analysis of the databases is rare. Most of the research presenting the data is descriptive rather than inferential. Ross' seventh point is that there is a great lack in geographically and historically comparative research, both on national, regional, state, group and individual level. This kind of research would greatly help in understanding the global view point of terrorism. (Ross 2006, 25.)

Finally, because of the great need to understand terrorism better, it has become a fashionable and very profitable field of research. Hence there seems to be a whole industry adjusted to terrorism research, however the motivation behind this industry should be questioned. (Ross 2006, 25.)

When thinking of the terrorism research especially in Finland, there are both advantages and disadvantages compared to other countries. In below paragraphs the challenges that were mentioned in the interviews are discussed.

One of the main difficulties in the Finnish terrorism research is that there is no terrorism to research, and thus finding empirical material is difficult. For that reason most of the terrorism research that is conducted in Finland is concentrated on international issues, not on what is happening in Finland. This means that acquiring empirical material requires language skills and readiness to travel to the sources. (Malkki 2013; Sinkkonen 2013.)

One of the greatest advantages is that in Finland terrorism is not considered as sensitive subject as in many other countries, which makes it easier to conduct even slightly controversial

terrorism research in Finland. The universities pose a rather dispassionate attitude towards terrorism research, allowing a lot of space for an individual researcher. Also the Finnish authorities are easily available for interviews on this subject. However there is relatively little public research by the authorities, e.g. the Finnish Security Intelligence Service, which narrows the perspective of the research. (Malkki 2013.)

One problem in the Finnish terrorism research seems to be the lack of coordination and contact between the researchers. The few people doing terrorism research know each other by names and have probably met, but real and systematic exchange of thoughts on the subject is relatively uncommon. (Laitinen 2013.)

Small circle of researchers also pose some disadvantages to the terrorism research. A larger circle would mean more opportunities to carry out more extensive research projects, and on the other hand there would be different kind of approaches and perspectives on the subject. At the moment the terrorism researchers are mostly in good agreement on everything researched in Finland, so the dialogue between the researchers is very like-minded. Opposing views or criticism is relatively rare, which slows down the development of a diverse and multifaceted research culture. (Sinkkonen 2013.)

Another issue is that there is not enough dialogue between the research community and the authorities. Authorities and governmental organization could utilize the research more, and propose possible research areas for the researchers in the future. (Laitinen 2013.)

As a summary of this chapter, terrorism research in general faces several problems which decrease reliability and validity of the whole field of terrorism research. This is understandable since terrorism research is a relatively new branch of science. However, these problems need to be faced if terrorism research is to become a serious branch of science. In Finland the researchers face special challenges, mainly due to small circle of researchers in a very new field of research.

4.2 Examples of terrorism research world wide

In this chapter I take a look at two journals concentrating on terrorism to find out who is doing terrorism research and where. Also, through analyzing the key words of the articles, some light is shed on the question what is actually being researched.

There are three core journals in the area of terrorism research (Gordon 2004, 79): *Terrorism: An International Journal/Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (published 1978-present); *TVI (Ter-*

rorism Violence Insurgency) Journal (published 1979-1999); and Terrorism and Political Violence (published 1989-present).

The time period, from 2001 to 2012, was chosen since after the 9/11 incident the terrorism research boomed. All the numbers in the following chapters refer to this time period. As “TVI (Terrorism Violence Insurgency) Journal” has not been published during the time period taken under examination, only the two other were analyzed for this study.

There were 493 articles published between 2001 and 2012 in Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. Until 2005 the journal was published six times per year, in 2006 eight times, and since then 12 times per year. Each journal consists of three to six articles. In Terrorism and Political Violence there were 349 articles published between 2001 and 2012. This journal was published four or five times per year and each journal consists of three to seven articles. Counting all the articles together, the number of articles amount to 842.

The number of authors of the articles varied between one and eight; however most of the articles, 782 of them, were written by an individual author. A few authors have written more than one article, usually a maximum of three articles, during these years, but only one, Bruce Hoffman, has published more than five. He has published an article almost every year, totaling eleven.

Most commonly the authors represent universities and other academic institutions; however there is one major non-academic organization, namely RAND Corporation that has produced several articles (Table 2). When counting the articles from all different RAND corporation affiliates worldwide, they total 24, being the second most productive association. The most productive association is King’s College London with 28 articles, representing 3,3% of all the articles under scrutiny. Others in the list of the most productive include Georgetown University (21 articles), Nanyang Technological University (15 articles), Harvard University (13 articles), University of California (13 articles) and Bar Ilan University (12 articles). The articles from the 12 most productive associations represent only 20% of all the articles. Therefore it can be concluded that the range of associations is very large and varied and there is not one specific university or other association dominating the terrorism research field.

Association	Country	SCT	TPV	Total	%
King's College London	UK	23	5	28	3,325416
RAND Corporation	Worldwide	23	1	24	2,850356
Georgetown University	USA	16	5	21	2,494062
Nanyang Technological University	Singapore	11	4	15	1,781473
Harvard University	USA	8	5	13	1,543943
University of California	USA	3	10	13	1,543943
Bar Ilan University	Israel	2	10	12	1,425178
University of Haifa	Israel	7	4	11	1,306413
University of Ulster	UK	3	8	11	1,306413
Naval Postgraduate School	USA	9	1	10	1,187648
Tel Aviv University	Israel	7	3	10	1,187648
Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)	Norway	3	5	8	0,950119
				176	20,90261

Table 2 The most productive associations

The United States of America is by far the most productive country (table 3) with 375 published articles. This amounts to almost a half, 44,5% of all articles. Other English speaking countries are also high on the list; United Kingdom with 133 articles, Australia with 40 articles and Canada with 33 articles. Israel, with 53 articles, is the only country competing with the English speaking countries. Other active countries include Spain (21), Singapore (20), Norway (16) and Germany (12). This data included only two articles from Finland, written by Leena Malkki.

The English speaking countries contribution amounts to 69% of the total number of articles. The dominance of English speaking countries might be common in any research field, but here especially the influence of USA seems rather high. This might be due to relatively easy financing available for terrorism research.

Country	SCT	TPV	Total	%
USA	237	138	375	44,53682
UK	75	58	133	15,79572
Israel	32	21	53	6,294537
Australia	31	9	40	4,750594
Canada	18	15	33	3,91924
Spain	10	11	21	2,494062
Singapore	14	6	20	2,375297
Norway	10	6	16	1,900238
Germany	8	4	12	1,425178
			703	83,49169

Table 3 The most productive countries

The authors have tagged their articles with one to twelve key words, most commonly with five or six key words. Unfortunately, from Terrorism and Political Violence key words were not available before 2006 second edition, and some later editions are also missing the key words, so only 194 articles were complete with key words.

The total number of key words in this material was 3810. Words chosen on the list (Attachment 2) represent the most common words within the 3810 key words, but also some words that represent certain interesting themes. It is important to notice that a key word is usually not just one word, but a combination of words, such as “social psychology”. This particular key word is however counted in “psychology”. Some key words consist of several words, such as “women political activists”, so this particular key word is counted in three different boxes, namely “women”, “political” and “activism, activists”.

Some words have been grouped with similar words, such as “crime”, “crimes”, “criminal” and “criminals”, or “terrorism” and “terrorists”. Also some boxes, such as “international” include all the key words with “international” in it, hence for example “international crime”, “international cooperation”, “international conflict” etc. are all included in “international”. The number behind the word does not represent the number of articles it was tagged in, but how many time this word is present in all of the 2744 key words.

When looking at the words organized in order of frequency (Attachment 3), some interesting facts can be seen. It is no surprise that the most common word in the data was “terrorism” or “terrorist” with 798 hits, however there are also articles without “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the key words. According to most definitions terrorism is criminal activity and can be considered political, it is also not surprising that high on the list are words “crime” and “political” as well. Terrorism is more and more considered a problem having international aspects, which

is also reflected in the search; “international” is one of the most common words, mentioned 105 times. “Counterterrorism” is also relatively high on the list, suggesting that the ways of fighting terrorism are of interest to the researchers as well. Bombing as a method of terrorism seems to be the most researched method of terrorism. September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks are by far the most commonly researched terrorist case, others have less than three hits in this data.

Also the words that have only very few hits are relatively interesting. “Internet”, “computer” and “cyber” have only 15, 10 and 6 hits respectively, although one might think that cyberterrorism is increasingly a concern for most countries. Maybe cyberterrorism is such a new phenomenon that there has not yet been any research on that topic. Another relatively rare topic seems to be the weapons of mass destruction; “nuclear”, “weapons of mass destruction” and “biological weapons” are only mentioned 10, 10 and 4 times respectively.

As explained more in details in chapter 2.3, terrorism can be categorized according to the motivation of the terrorist group into three different categories: nationalist, political and religious (Kullberg 2011, 24 - 34). If we see the key words in this light, it can be concluded that religious terrorism is by far the most commonly researched category of terrorism. “Islam” is mentioned 112 times, “religion” 86 times, “jihad” 70 times and “Muslim” 25 times. In comparison, key words related to political terrorism are relatively rare; “activism” scores 17 hits, but “animal rights”, “right-wing extremism” and “left-wing extremism” only four times, three times and three times respectively.

Malkki and Toivainen (2009) criticize terrorism research as being led by the authorities’ interests; terrorism research is looking into acute problems and searching for quick answers. The above example might be seen as an example of that; because religious terrorism is perceived as a hot topic especially in the USA, there is also plenty of research on that subject.

Also Rosberg-Haavisto (2011) mentions that after 2001 terrorism research has concentrated on al-Qaeda and other Islamist groupings, Islam and martyrdom, and suicide bombings as a method. Current terrorism is easily grouped together with Islam, even though the link between terrorism and Islam, or any other religion, is hard to prove (Rosberg-Haavisto, 2011). The findings above, several hits related to religion, and especially Islam, supports this idea.

The data used for this study gives an example of what is researched worldwide in field of terrorism research. It also reinforces the criticism of terrorism research that several researchers have pointed out. This chapter also gives an idea of what terrorism research is from the worldwide perspective, how much is done, who is conducting terrorism research, and what

fields are being researched. The international view helps to put the Finnish terrorism research into a wider perspective.

4.3 Finnish literature on terrorism

Before diving into the research of terrorism, this chapter is a short summary of the literature on terrorism published in Finland to gain a view on what has been written about terrorism in Finnish.

There has not been Finnish literature on terrorism before 2005 when Jukka Paastela edited the first Finnish generic book about terrorism "Terrorismi. Ilmiön taustaa ja aikalaisanalyysijä". In this book Jukka Paastela (2005) addresses terrorism as a phenomenon in general and discusses the problems of terrorism research. There are also articles, for example, by Teemu Sinkkonen and Elina Eloranta. (Paastela 2005.)

Juha-Antero Puistola and Janne Herrala (2006) published the second book about terrorism in Finnish, "Terrorismi Euroopassa", in 2006. This is also a general book about terrorism restricted to terrorism in Europe. It contains both history and analysis of current situation shedding light on the reasons so much funds are spent on fighting terrorism. (Puistola & Herrala 2006.)

In 2007 there were two books published about terrorism. Leena Malkki and Jukka Paastela (2007) edited an extensive book about terrorism, "Terrorismin monet kasvot", which is a textbook for university students and others interested in terrorism. It consists of four parts, where the first one is about terrorism as a phenomenon, second part is about history of terrorism, third part takes a look at terrorism in different geographical areas, and the last part is about terrorism and Finland. This is a comprehensive attempt to explain this diverse and multifaceted phenomenon. (Malkki & Paastela 2007.)

Another book, or rather a collection of articles, published in the same year was edited by Kari Laitinen (2007) and titled "Tuhat ja yksi uhkaa - tulkintoja terrorismista". It contains several articles by prominent Finnish researchers, including Leena Malkki and Teemu Sinkkonen. (Laitinen 2007.)

Another book by Kari Laitinen (2007), this time in cooperation with Milla Lumio (2007), was published in 2009, with the title "Terroristin synty ja terrorismin torjunta". This book is not as generic as the previous ones; it concentrates solely on radicalization processes and counterterrorism. (Laitinen & Lumio 2007.)

Latest addition, from 2011, to the terrorism literature in Finland is Anssi Kullberg's (2011) edited book "Suomi - terrorismi - Supo. Koira joka ei haukkunut. Miksi ja miten Suomi on välttynyt terroristien toiminnan leviämiseltä?" This is also a collection of articles, not about terrorism in general, but terrorism specifically in Finland. It takes a look at the Finnish history of terrorism, and discusses the reason why Finland has been saved from terrorism in the recent years. (Kullberg 2011.)

There are also other publications where terrorism is seen as one side of some other larger phenomenon. Examples of this kind of publications include "Islam, hallinta ja turvallisuus" edited by Tuomas Martikainen and Marja Tiilikainen (2013), and "Vapauden, turvallisuuden ja oikeuden Eurooppa" by Kimmo Nuotio and Leena Malkki (2010). They both include articles about terrorism, but only as a one side of another phenomenon. (Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2013; Nuotio & Malkki 2010.)

As a summary, this is a relative short chapter, which clarifies the fact that terrorism research and literature are a marginal and young phenomenon in Finland. This chapter also helps to understand the manner in which small circle of people are following terrorism full time in Finland, as the identical names reappear several times.

4.4 Terrorism research in Finland

Terrorism is a niche field of research in Finland, it mostly consists of individual researchers. After 9/11 Jukka Paastela at University of Tampere took a more active approach in the terrorism research; however his research was more concentrated on the state terrorism than on non-state terrorism. He has since retired, and after his retirement there has been no senior researcher in this field. Leena Malkki started her career in the terrorism research in 2001 and has since been working for University of Helsinki, and has in the past ten years gained her position as the most senior researcher on terrorism. In the National Defense University, there are two experts on terrorism, Juha-Antero Puistola and Olli Teirilä. Teemu Sinkkonen has written his doctoral dissertation on terrorism and is currently working for the Finnish Institute of Foreign Affairs. Two more doctoral dissertations are under process by Minna Saarnivaara at University of Helsinki and Annika Rosberg-Haavisto at Police College of Finland in Tampere. (Malkki 2013.)

None of the Finnish universities are specialized on terrorism research (Laitinen 2013, Malkki 2013, Sinkkonen 2013). For the first decade of 2000, University of Tampere was the most established university on terrorism research, mostly due to Jukka Paastela's interest in terrorism. With him as a professor, Teemu Sinkkonen writing his doctoral dissertation and Kari

Laitinen as a lecturer, University of Tampere had a leading role in the terrorism research. This role has, however, diminished since Jukka Paastela retired in 2009. (Laitinen 2013.)

At University of Turku there was some unofficial activity among students interested in terrorism. Anssi Kullberg and Kristian Jokinen founded in 2004 a loose network called Research Group for Conflicts and Terrorism, which had patron professor from the Turku University, but was not officially in the structures of the university. The activity of this network has diminished since 2009. (Malkki 2013.)

With the influence of Kari Laitinen in Police College, there has risen some interest in terrorism research, e.g. Annika Rosberg-Haavisto is currently working on her doctoral dissertation (Sinkkonen 2013). National Defence University has also some interest in the subject. Interestingly, Aalto University School of Engineering has since June 2013 a visiting professor, Mats Frilund, from Sweden, whose expertise and current research include technologies of terrorism (Sinkkonen 2013).

There are only three doctoral dissertations solely about terrorism written in Finland by Leena Malkki (“How terrorist campaigns end: The Rode Jeugd in the Netherlands and the Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States”), Teemu Sinkkonen (“Political Responses to Terrorism: Case study on the Madrid terrorist attack on March 11, 2004, and its aftermath”) and Marja Lehto (“International Responsibility for Terrorist Acts - A Shift Towards More Indirect Forms of Responsibility”). There are also other dissertations in recent years that deal with terrorism, but can hardly be defined as terrorism research, such as *Caucasian Encounters. North Caucasian youth and the politics of identification in contemporary Russia* by Tiina Sotkasiira or *Captured by conventions: “On objectivity and factuality in international news agency discourse”* by Maija Stenvall.

There are also at least three dissertations about terrorism under work at the moment. Elina Eloranta is finalizing her dissertation on EU security politics which focuses on global terrorism and Iran, Minna Saarnivaara is writing about Hamas, and Annika Rosberg-Haavisto about suicide bombings. (Malkki 2013.)

As an example of the interest in terrorism research at the level of lower education, there have been 13 graduation theses written regarding terrorism issues in the Police College of Finland since 1996. In the Open Repository Theseus, which stores graduation theses of Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences, there are only five theses, which have “terrorism” as a key word. (Theseus 2013.)

On the non-academic side, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs would be a candidate to carry out terrorism research, but they have restrained from it. Also the public research of the Finnish security authorities, such as Finnish Security Intelligence Service, is very low key compared to many other countries. (Malkki 2013.)

Financing the terrorism research comes from the same sources as for the other social scientific research, meaning universities and academic funds (Laitinen 2013; Sinkkonen 2013). Scientific Advisory Board for Defence (Maanpuolustuksen tieteellinen neuvottelukunta, Matine) which operates under the Ministry of Defense has granted financing some research on terrorism in Finland, such as the book “Suomi, Supo ja terrorismi” edited by Anssi Kullberg, and the booklet “International Terrorism and Finland” by Toby Archer. However, there is no special policy institute in Finland that would specialize on terrorism. (Malkki 2013.)

There is no journal or other publication concentrated solely on terrorism, but some articles related to terrorism are published in the main political journals, *Kosmopolis* and *Politiikka* (Malkki 2013; Sinkkonen 2013). Finnish Institute for International Affairs also has its own publications, which include articles on terrorism (Sinkkonen 2013).

As a summary, the terrorism research field is very young and scattered in Finland, there is plenty of room for development. There are certain research areas that are of special interest, and they are discussed in the following chapter.

4.5 Terrorism research gaps in Finland

Research on terrorism in other countries has little validity in Finland due to Finland’s special characteristics with regard to terrorism, or rather for the lack of it. For example, research on radicalization process usually starts only when problems have already risen. In Finland where this kind of movement is very marginal, the valid questions would be how to prevent radicalization from starting, how Finland can maintain its peaceful environment. (Malkki 2013.)

Sinkkonen (2013) however sees that most of the international research is also valid in Finland, as long as the Finnish cultural and social context is taken into account. How individuals finish committing terrorist acts or joining terrorist organizations, or on the other hand become detached from the organizations, is a universal process, and for that reason the research on this subject internationally has relevance in Finland as well.

Speaking generally the radicalization process within certain minorities in Finland, such as the Somali, would be an interesting and useful topic of an empirical research. Another interesting, but very difficult theme is financing terrorism. (Laitinen 2013.)

Finland has no recent history in terrorist attacks, but there are some loose anarchist groupings that have committed sabotage during the past years and there were school shootings that have similar dynamics as lone wolf terrorism. Through this context it is possible that some individual terrorist attacks could also occur in Finland. This is an interesting topic for research; however it is questionable if this kind of terrorist attacks could be foreseen with any kind of research. (Sinkkonen 2013.)

Regarding the counterterrorism measures, Finland has first been active only because of the international obligations, e.g. European Union level legislation. Later it has become more proactive and has taken measures that are not required, but which have been implemented already in other countries. There are some interesting research questions to find out why this has happened. (Malkki 2013.)

In Finland the distinction between international and domestic terrorism is seen very clearly, even in the structures of the Finnish authorities, where counterterrorism measures are of international significance. It would be interesting to find out how the concept and meaning of terrorism is perceived, since in many other countries the distinction between international and domestic terrorism is increasingly undetermined. (Malkki 2013.)

Väyrynen (2004, 51 - 52) suggests several research questions for future terrorism research in Finland. He states that Finland should be more globally aware of the terrorism research, what has been and is being researched. Also worth knowing is the manner in which potential major terrorist attacks in the United States would affect Finland indirectly through international politics and other side effects, such as rising oil prices and changes in global economics. Other questions include how could EU avoid being targeted by terrorism and what happens if terrorists attack in the EU area. EU's third pillar, Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters, will tighten its cooperation within Europe in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks. Also EU's international position might strengthen. It should be analyzed what this means from Finland's point of view. Another question is directly about international terrorists, what kind of interests terrorists could have in Finland or is it possible generally speaking that Finland could be a target of a terrorist attack and what has Finland done to be prepared for possible attacks. (Väyrynen 2004, 51 - 52.)

Some of these questions have been answered already on a certain level, e.g. Teemu Sinkkonen has researched the impacts of a terrorist attack, the Madrid bombings in Europe. Also there are several papers written about Finnish counterterrorism. However the above list is still valid for research topics in the future.

Not really a research gap, but an interesting proposal to develop the terrorism research in Finland, came from Laitinen (2013) suggesting that there is a need for the terrorism research community to network more. A seminar on the terrorism research situation in Finland, an update of what is happening, who is doing what, should be organized in near future. (Laitinen 2013.)

The above paragraphs give concrete examples of what experts see as important future research topics on terrorism. There are several questions to be answered and it remains to be seen if terrorism research in Finland will ever grow to such extent that these questions can be answered.

5 Conclusions

The purpose of this study is to find out the current situation of terrorism research in Finland and see its future possibilities. In conclusion, the situation of terrorism research in Finland can be summarized in three sentences; first, terrorism is difficult to define and the varied definitions may cause confusion; secondly, terrorism research in Finland faces several challenges as a new and scattered field of research, and finally the need for national level terrorism research is obvious, however no acute terrorism research gaps can be identified. In the paragraphs below these conclusions are explained in more details, with explanation provided for the manner in which I came to these conclusions.

On the governmental level Finland has taken the easy road of defining terrorism, using the European Union framework as a basis for defining terrorism in its legislation. However there seems to be a need for redefining what is considered terrorist act, based more on the context on national level (Sinkkonen 2013). In the academic field Finland is no exception to any other country when defining terrorism; there are several different opinions on how terrorism should be defined. One way of trying to define terrorism is to name components that explain what kind of characteristics terrorism is composed of (Table 1). However, the many definitions of terrorism cause confusion within the field; sometimes it is even difficult to define who is researching terrorism.

The challenges of terrorism research in Finland include the short history, reliance on individual researchers, and insufficient cooperation within the research community and also between the research community and the authorities. The history of terrorism research in Finland is very short. The first signs of interest in terrorism research arose only in the beginning of this century after the crucial 9/11 attacks in the USA (Malkki 2013). Jukka Paastela was for a while a senior researcher on terrorism, but since his retirement, even the most senior researcher, Leena Malkki, is still in the beginning of her career (Malkki 2013). Also internation-

ally the terrorism research is relatively new, but there is plenty of literature on terrorism already in the 80s (Schmid, 1988), whereas the first Finnish book about terrorism was published in 2005 (Paastela 2005). Also on the governmental side the interest on terrorism arose only after 9/11, the legislation on terrorism was passed in 2004 (Criminal Code of Finland 39/1889). By that time no Finnish research on terrorism had been conducted, hence the legislation is based only on regulation at the level of European Union (EU 2002).

These few researchers have no regular and structured platform of changing ideas and developing the field (Malkki 2013). There is also no journal or other written platform for terrorism research. No institution has taken special interest in financing terrorism research. All this tends to limit the growth and development of terrorism research. (Sinkkonen 2013.)

As the last conclusion of this study the need for terrorism research on national level is discussed in the following paragraphs. Related to terrorism, Finland has many unique characteristics. By far the most important point is the rareness of terrorism (Sinkkonen 2007, 203; Sitra 2004, 35; Archer 2004, 12); there are not many other countries without terrorism during the past twenty years. Also mild political opposition, functional democratic society, high equality are typical for Finland and could be among the reasons why there is no terrorism in Finland (Archer 2004, 15). These special characteristics put Finland into an interesting light with regard to terrorism research. On one hand, as there is not much history to research, one cannot really learn from history (Malkki 2013). But on the other hand owing to these unique characteristics, the current Finland cannot really be compared to any other country, hence the results of foreign terrorism research are rather irrelevant in Finland. This poses a paradox since there is a need for research, but there is not much to research. Other countries (Table 3) and associations (Table 2) produce plenty of terrorism research, but international terrorism research has little validity in Finland due to Finnish special characteristics in terrorism environment (Malkki 2013).

The authorities and legislators should base their decisions on researched knowledge, hence the research and deep knowledge of this subject is needed in Finland as well. Small terrorism research community, and in general only few people who are experts on terrorism can lead to unadvised decisions by the authorities and even poor legislation. Lack of communication and cooperation between the research community and the authorities seems to be a serious problem. The authorities do not know how to best take advantage of the knowledge of the research community.

The terrorism experts see that there are several research topics on terrorism in Finland that should be their subject of research, however as there have been no current terrorism cases, it is more and more difficult to argue why terrorism research should be financed at all. Cur-

rently there are no acute research topics for the authorities; however the research should not be based only on the need of the authorities, but should rather be independent and long-term oriented.

6 Further research topics

As this study is about public terrorism research, it would be interesting to dive into the classified terrorism research as well. This however is very challenging, since the information is classified and hence not available. On some level however it would be interesting to research the role of Finnish Security Intelligence Service (Supo) in terrorism research. This study concentrated on the academic view of terrorism research, hence the interviewees were chosen from academic world. However, it would have given the research more perspective if representatives from Finnish Security Intelligence Service or Defense Forces, e.g. from National Defense University, had been interviewed as well.

Both terrorism and terrorism research are relatively little debated topics in Finland. In the USA the terrorism research boomed after September 11, 2001. It would be interesting to know how quickly the interest in the research grows after terrorism becomes more evident and more apparent.

According to my understanding, from the point of view of the data that was analyzed for this study, terrorism research is a more crucial topic in many European countries, especially in English speaking countries, than in Finland. It would be interesting to find out if that really is the case and why. So, comparative research of the terrorism research in different countries would be an interesting topic for future research.

Also the relationship between terrorism and terrorism research is interesting and could require some further need for research. It seems that religious terrorism is by far the most researched kind of terrorism, whereas political or nationalist terrorism is not as interesting for the researchers. Many researchers agree that there is no increase in the religious terrorism, but there seems to be a growing interest on the research of religious terrorism.

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Appendix 1 Interview questions

Taustatiedot

Mikä on koulutuksesi?

Mikä on tämän hetkinen organisaatiosi?

Entä aiemmat organisaatiot?

Kuinka pitkään olet toiminut terrorismin tutkimuksen parissa?

Mitkä ovat erityisalojasi?

Missä konferensseissa olet puhunut/esitelmöinyt?

Missä julkaisuissa on artikkeleitasi?

Mitä kirjoja olet kirjoittanut?

Mitkä ovat tämän hetken tutkimusaiheesi?

Saako nimesi mainita opinnäytetyössä?

Terrorismin tutkimus Suomessa

Ketkä ovat viime vuosikymmenen tärkeimmät terrorismin tutkijat Suomessa?

Missä julkaisuissa terrorismiin liittyviä artikkeleita julkaistaan Suomessa?

Mitkä toimijat tai tahot tuottavat terrorismin tutkimusta Suomessa?

Mitkä toimijat tai tahot rahoittavat terrorismin tutkimusta Suomessa?

Kumpaa on enemmän akateemista vai ei-akateemista tutkimusta?

Onko joku yliopisto profiloitunut terrorismin tutkimiseen?

Voiko Suomen terrorismitilannetta/terrorismintorjuntaa verrata johonkin muuhun maahan?

Voiko siis muissa maissa tehtyjen tutkimusten tuloksia soveltaa Suomessa?

Mitkä ovat terrorismin tutkimuksen suurimmat haasteet Suomessa? Ovatko haasteet erilaisia kuin yleisesti?

Onko Suomen terrorismia koskevassa lainsäädännössä jotain erityistä, mikä aiheuttaa tutkimustarpeita Suomessa?

Onko Suomen terrorismin torjunnassa tai sen toimintaympäristössä jotain erityistä mitä pitäisi tutkia?

Mitä Suomessa pitäisi tutkia terrorismiin liittyen?

Haluaisitko vielä kertoa jotain terrorismin tutkimukseen liittyvää?

Ketä terrorismin asiantuntijaa suosittelisit haastateltavaksi?

Appendix 2 Chosen words in alphabetical order

Word	SCT	TPV	Total
activism, activists	15	2	17
Afghan, Afghanistan	11	4	15
Al Qaeda	0	18	18
animal rights	1	2	3
Arab	20	4	24
biological weapons	3	1	4
bomb, bombers, bombings, suicide bombings	71	7	78
computer	10	0	10
counterinsurgency	15	4	19
counterterrorism	96	24	120
crime, crimes, criminal, criminals	105	14	119
cyber	4	2	6
finance	10	3	13
history	51	1	52
insurgency	41	6	47
intelligence	17	7	24
international	97	8	105
Internet	10	5	15
Islam, islamic, islamist	86	26	112
Jihad, jihadism, jihadist	48	22	70
law	42	5	47
left-wing extremism	2	1	3
military	71	3	74
muslims	22	3	25
national	43	11	54
nuclear	9	1	10
political	100	20	120
psychology	49	4	53
radicals, radicalism	36	22	58
religion, religious	74	12	86
right-wing extremism	3	1	4
September 11	22	3	25
suicide	42	9	51
terrorism, terrorist	628	170	798
war	100	21	121
weapon	25	6	31
weapons of mass destruction	9	1	10
violence	50	29	79
women	34	1	35

Appendix 3 Chosen words in order of frequency

Word	SCT	TPV	Total
terrorism, terrorist	628	170	798
war	100	21	121
counterterrorism	96	24	120
political	100	20	120
crime, crimes, criminal, criminals	105	14	119
Islam, islamic, islamist	86	26	112
international	97	8	105
religion, religious	74	12	86
violence	50	29	79
bomb, bombers, bombings, suicide bombings	71	7	78
military	71	3	74
Jihad, jihadism, jihadist	48	22	70
radicals, radicalism	36	22	58
national	43	11	54
psychology	49	4	53
history	51	1	52
suicide	42	9	51
insurgency	41	6	47
law	42	5	47
women	34	1	35
weapon	25	6	31
muslims	22	3	25
September 11	22	3	25
Arab	20	4	24
intelligence	17	7	24
counterinsurgency	15	4	19
Al Qaeda	0	18	18
activism, activists	15	2	17
Afghan, Afghanistan	11	4	15
Internet	10	5	15
finance	10	3	13
computer	10	0	10
nuclear	9	1	10
weapons of mass destruction	9	1	10
cyber	4	2	6
biological weapons	3	1	4
right-wing extremism	3	1	4
animal rights	1	2	3
left-wing extremism	2	1	3