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**Security, Peace, Terrorism, and Risk Perception in
Four European National Tourism Strategies**

Discourse Analysis

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Abstract:

This study examines how the Finnish national tourism strategy addresses security issues and compares it with the French, German, and Spanish tourism strategies. Security and peace are fundamental prerequisites for tourism development, as terrorism and violence can halt tourism and cause severe economic impact, though tourism typically recovers relatively quickly due to tourists' short memory.

Risk perception appears consistent across cultures, with destination choice influenced by familiarity gained through media, previous experiences, and social networks. This research employs critical discourse analysis to examine security-related discourses in four national tourism strategies, exploring both explicit and implicit approaches to addressing security concerns. Critical discourse analysis reveals how those controlling information shape public discourse and opinion, demonstrating that knowledge constitutes power.

The findings reveal that three strategies employ subtle approaches to security discourse, while one directly addresses terrorism and security issues without euphemistic language.

Keywords: security, peace, terrorism, risk, risk perception, tourism, decision-making process, discourse analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

During my studies, I have become acquainted with documents called national tourism strategies. They turned out to be interesting reading material. I have read many European ones. The general idea behind them is to indicate the direction in which a country wants its tourism to be led during a certain period. The strategies attempt to forecast the future with the information available at the time of the strategy's formulation. Forecasting or predicting the future can be quite straightforward, especially if one is a tourism specialist. A black swan, something unexpected, however, can appear. There is also always the willingness to intentionally guide tourism emphasis or priorities in a certain direction. Reaching one's desired destination requires actions. These actions can be outlined in the national tourism strategy, and in the Finnish case, in both the strategy and the action plan.

The Finnish tourism industry has generally led tourists to believe that Finland is a safe and secure country for tourism. It is difficult to find this stated explicitly anywhere except in the Finnish National Tourism Strategy and Action Plan: "Finland is renowned for its clean air, safety and security, and happiness." Finland has also been ranked as the happiest country in the world for many consecutive years (YLE, 2023; WHR, 2023). One factor in this happiness index is safety and security.

During my studies, I followed media reports about terrorism occurring here and there. In Sousse, Tunisia in 2015, a terrorist shot 38 tourists to death (The Guardian, 2019), and in Berlin in 2016, 12 people died and 56 were injured at a Christmas Market (BPB, 2021). Even though tourists have been the actual target of terrorism in several cases, this fact has never been covered, nor even mentioned, during my tourism studies at two Universities of Applied Sciences or at the University where I am currently studying. It was as if terrorism, ideologically motivated violence, or other security issues were of no concern or tourism-related whatsoever.

After gaining quite a broad perspective on tourism and thinking about security problems, while knowing nothing about terrorism, national security, or any security issues, I went to

Metropolitan University in Prague to study terrorism, national security, and related matters. What an interesting subject! In Prague, I gained quite a broad perspective on security and terrorism-related issues, and I am now more familiar with these matters than the general public. European tourism specialists should also be familiar with terrorism, ideologically motivated violence, war, political disturbances, etc., and acknowledge their existence while accepting that these issues impact tourism whether we want them to or not. We have no room for ignorance, nor can we brush these issues aside.

When it comes to Finland, her geopolitical situation changed dramatically when she joined NATO on April 4th, 2023. What caused Finland to apply for NATO membership was Russia's hostile intrusion into Ukraine in February 2022. Finland did not feel safe and secure enough being next to Russia. However, NATO not only brings its large military power to protect Finland, but the country's image worldwide has also changed. In some eyes, Finland has joined hands with "the Great Satan" (USA), and this can justify actions against Finland. These actions would be asymmetric and non-military. The question arises: Should the Finnish tourism industry be concerned about this?

The reason I want to study the relationship between tourism and security issues, namely terrorism and ideologically motivated violence, is that this connection is not widely studied in the Finnish context. The National Tourism Strategy and Action Plan provides a good background for understanding how different security issues are considered within the Finnish tourism industry. The three other countries—Germany, France, and Spain—provide good reference points for the relationship between tourism and terrorism. Each of these countries has faced purposefully caused violence that has also affected tourists. Their tourism strategies can, in the best-case scenario, help us understand how to address these issues.

1.2 Previous Research

There are plenty of instructions and investigative works (Iivari, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2017; Helameri, Iivari, Nisula & Satokangas, 2023; Virtanen, 2012) written, but not many studies about different kinds of safety issues concerning tourism in Finland. Generally, these

texts address food safety, road safety, and general instructions given to tourists regarding weather conditions, how to dress when it is cold, how not to get lost in the forest, and reminders for tourists to obey the guide's instructions. Iivari (2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2017) has written extensively on this subject. These are all very important and relevant texts. These kinds of incidents that Iivari (2012) presents are most likely to occur if something unfortunate takes place.

Tourism as a business is very exposed to all kinds of changes in the surrounding environment. Different kinds of events and disasters impact tourism supply and demand, though not with similar effects. The absence of crises and disasters is a precondition for tourism development (Araña & León, 2008; Israeli & Reichel, 2003; Richie, 2004). Fluctuation in the economic situation impacts the willingness and ability to travel (Eugenio-Martin & Campos-Soria, 2014; Okumus & Karamustafa, 2005); when a person runs out of money, travel and eating in restaurants are the first activities they eliminate from their schedule. All kinds of natural disasters also hinder tourism (Huan, Beaman & Shelby, 2004; Hosted & Keller, 2008), war is a very powerful medium for expelling tourists (Anderson, 2006; Chan, Hui & Yuen, 1999), as is political unrest (Avraham, 2015; Causevic & Lynch, 2013), let alone terrorism (Peter, Poulston & Losekoot, 2014; Wolf & Larsen, 2014). Disease outbreaks, as we have witnessed in recent years, also slow down, if not stop, the tourism industry (Mao, Ding & Lee, 2010; Mckercher & Chon, 2004; TEM, 2021).

Terrorism can be studied through different disciplines such as economics (Landes 1978; Sandler et al. 1983; Enders et al. 1992; Enders & Sandler 2002; Santifort, Sandler & Brandt 2013). Gaibullov & Sandler (2008) have studied the impact of terrorism and conflicts on economic growth in Asia. The study found that transnational terrorist events per million persons lower GDP per capita growth by 1.5%. The estimate for internal conflict is 2%. In populous countries, internal conflict poses an even bigger threat than transnational terrorism to GDP growth.

In the discipline of psychology, Victoroff (2005) concludes that psychological theories of terrorism include a broad spectrum of sociological, psychological, and psychiatric approaches, but none of them have been tested systematically and remain subjective and speculative. He

writes that terrorists are psychologically extremely heterogeneous and exhibit different psychological subtypes.

Turk (2004) has explored the social construction of terrorism, claiming that it is understudied despite the cornucopia of literature on social conflicts and violence that has been published. He states that even though we see all those incident counts and media reports, terrorism is not a given in the real world. It is our interpretation of events and their assumed causes. These interpretations are biased means of portraying truth and intentional efforts to manipulate perceptions to promote certain interests at the expense of others.

In political science, terrorism has been widely studied (e.g., Crenshaw, 1981; Pape, 2003; Abrahms, 2011). Young and Findley (2011) collected all articles from nine of the most prominent journals in political science, ten prominent economics journals, and two interdisciplinary journals devoted exclusively to terrorism from 1980 to the present and identified several trends in the literature. They found that between 1980 and 2001, the number of articles about terrorism in these journals was 25, and between 2002-2008, articles on terrorism in political science numbered 70. Emphasis has been on quantitative case studies. Young and Findley (2011) argue that the problems with terrorism research in political science include using minimalist and maximalist definitions of terrorism without empirical testing, not distinguishing among different types of terrorism, such as domestic and transnational, and using a unit of observation that does not match the theoretical argument.

Tourism and terrorism combined were quite well studied from different points of view before 9/11. Since the 1980s, scholars from different disciplines have examined the relationship between terrorism and tourism (Richter 1989; Richter & Waugh 1986), the economic impacts of terrorism (Enders & Sandier 1991; Enders, Sandier & Parise 1992), implications for tourism marketing (Brady & Widdows 1988; Buckley & Klemm 1993; Conant et al. 1988; D'Amore & Anuza 1986; Hollier 1991; Hurley 1988; Lehrman 1986), and the impacts of political instability or war on tourism (Gartner & Shen 1992; Hall 1994; Mansfeld & Kliot 1996; Mihalič 1996; Pitts 1996; Richter 1980, 1983; Schwartz 1991; Scott 1988; Sharpley & Sharpley 1995; Smith 1996; Teye 1986, 1988). Sönmez and Graefe (1998) inform that studies

about the relationship between tourism and politically motivated violence only seriously commenced in the late 1990s.

After 9/11, the number of studies on not only terrorism but also terrorism related to tourism exploded. The event inspired scholars around the world to research security in travel from different points of view. The theory of risk perception from psychology also emerged in tourism research (Essner, 2003; Kuto & Groves, 2004; Paraskevas & Arendell, 2007; Reichel, Fuchs & Uriely, 2007; Alvarez & Korzay, 2008; Araña & León, 2008; Lee, 2008; McCartney, 2008). When choosing a destination for a holiday, the theory of risk perception applies. According to Fuchs and Pizam (2011), risk is one of the most influential factors in tourists' decision-making and the main influencer when deciding where to travel.

Schuurman (2019) has scrutinized terrorism research topics from 2007-2016. He studied 3,442 academic articles written during that decade. According to him, terrorism research during that time was highly biased. 74.5% of the studies were about jihadism, and 43.8% related to the Middle East and North Africa. Other types of terrorism, such as right-wing, state terrorism, national liberation, or criminal terrorism, were far behind jihadism. Before 9/11, 23.3% of terrorism research had an Islamic aspect, and after that, the number rose to 57.3% with emphasis on Al-Qaeda.

According to Schuurman (2019), defining terrorism also makes it difficult to study, particularly to differentiate between terrorist groups and other radical ideological groups. Some groups did not fit neatly into any categories. Defining terminology would be important in understanding the phenomenon. There are many definitions of terrorism; Easson and Schmid (2011) collected more than 250 different ones. Ganor (2013) expresses his concerns about defining terrorism, noting that attempts to gain a global, universally agreed-upon definition are rebuffed by political reluctance. Especially governments that resort to terrorism by proxy and do not want to be seen supporting terrorism lobby for certain aspects to be left out of the definition. Ganor (2013) himself would simplify the theme: A person who looks like a terrorist, sounds like a terrorist, and behaves like a terrorist is, in fact, a terrorist.

The subject of tourism and terrorism has been covered from different points of view globally quite well. There are also, of course, studies and books on terrorism in the Finnish context; the

most interesting ones investigate Finnish terrorism discourse and what can and cannot be called terrorism (Malkki & Sallamaa, 2018; Malkki, 2011; Malkki, 2020). However, there is no study on terrorism in the context of tourism in Finland.

When reviewing studies concerning security issues mentioned in European national tourism strategies, I found only one. The study is by Kaszás and Keller (2022) in the *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites*. They examined "The Emergence of Safety and Security in the Tourism Strategies of EU Member States," and in the study, they examined the place of tourism safety through content analysis in the tourism planning, development, and strategic documents of European Union member states. The strategies Kaszás and Keller (2022) used were mainly composed in the early 2010s. The terms are considered from a wide perspective: health, technological, economic, food, public, consumer, terrorism, and violence. They use both qualitative and quantitative content analysis methods, meaning they count words and terms and analyze what the term means in its context. They requested the strategies directly from national tourism actors in national languages and used Google Translate to translate them into English. When counting words, it is, of course, important to have them all in the same language. They found that the words "security" and "safety" were used modestly, mostly in PESTEL or SWOT analyses. The words were also found in the context of the economic crisis of 2008-2009. The study concludes that countries primarily understand public safety as tourism security, including setting targets for crime and terrorism and drawing attention to various aspects of quality assurance. In their view, it would be irresponsible at this time to declare any country safe today.

1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Gap

The purpose of the study is to find out how the Finnish National Tourism Strategy and Action Plan discusses security issues and how it compares to three European ones. The main aim is to understand how, if at all, security-related issues are considered in the national tourism strategies of the selected European countries. There have, in any case, been plenty of different sorts of security-related events that should raise concerns. If something happened once and was detrimental, it can happen again and be as detrimental as before. The geopolitical

situation in the world and Europe indicates that there is a possibility for terrorism, ideologically motivated violence, and even full-scale war. Russia's unlawful invasion of Ukraine has inspired other European neighbors of Russia to begin strengthening their forces and preparing for the worst. This raises my main research question: What kind of security discourses can be found in European national tourism strategies? The secondary question is: according to European national tourism strategies, what kind of role does tourism have in promoting world peace? However, one question to also consider is whether security issues are something for the tourism industry to be thinking about in any case, or whether it is only for governmental security agencies to worry about.

There have been no studies of tourism-related terrorism in Finland. The best-case scenario would be that, in the future, this phenomenon in Finland never becomes a burning issue. However, as the four tourism strategies acknowledge, the geopolitical situation in the world can change, and this can cause harm to the tourism industry and tourists as well. There are no studies about the connection between tourism and violent events in Finland, but one does not need to worry about security—only acknowledge its existence.

1.4 Main Concepts

Turvallisuus is the only word in Finnish to discuss both safety and security. In Anglo-Saxon languages, there are two: safety and security; in German, Schutz and Sicherheit; in Swedish, skydd and säkerhet (Iivari, 2017). Two different words describe the concept best because it contains two different kinds of ideas. The Security Committee (2017) in Finland has published a Vocabulary of Comprehensive Security. The word turvallisuus is explained to be a mode/status where risks and threats are under control. It can also describe an action that aims to minimize risks and threats or maximize the impression/feeling that risks and threats are under control. The word is translated into English as both security and safety. Security refers to a mode where one is protected from intentional harm or violence. Generally, security, at least in the Finnish context, is considered to be the responsibility of governmental actors. Safety refers to avoiding accidents or mistakes that can cause harm to a person or property

(Turvallisuuskomitea, 2017). As an example: food security (access to food) versus food safety (edibility).

Terrorism lacks a commonly accepted definition. There are, of course, definitions of it, but not one that everyone agrees upon. Easson and Schmid (2011), for example, collected more than 250 different definitions of terrorism. Jäckle and Baumann (2015) emphasize that one must have a definition of the term "terrorism" if one is going to conduct any research on it. They decided to use the GTD (Global Terrorism Database) definition of the term because they consider it to be coherent in nature and can be regarded as a widely accepted standard within terrorism research. GTD's definition of terrorism is "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." These same terms are often used in different definitions.

The USA and EU have somewhat different definitions of the term. The EU defines terrorism as acts aimed at (1) seriously intimidating a population, (2) unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, and (3) seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic, or social structures of a country or an international organization (European Council, 2023). The U.S. Code of Federal Regulations in the National Archives and Records Administration defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Ideologically motivated violence is violence that emerges when different kinds of groups or individuals radicalize to the point of resorting to violence—a process during which violence becomes a more appealing and acceptable means to achieve one's ideological aims (THL, 2024). It is violence driven by ideology, such as climate change prevention or other types of environmental goals, anti-capitalism, anti-immigration, or anti-government ideologies. The act can also be defined as terrorism, but not necessarily. Terrorism, however, is often motivated by some ideology.

From the early dawn of human existence, we have taken measures against risks, but since we lacked knowledge, we were not able to assess negative results as much as we should have, so we assumed that when things went wrong, it was fate or punishment from God. For every disease, crop failure, and flooding caused by a dam burst, humans blamed God, but with the knowledge we have today, we know that most of them were actually caused by our actions. According to sociologist Luhmann (1990), the risks that we earlier thought were external have become personally manageable risks. He also claims that danger and risk have become separate concepts from the manageability point of view. He sees that danger comes from outside of us and can be "managed" by fleeing at best, while risk is something one can handle.

The mental process where a person takes in, deals with, and assesses information from the physical and communicative environment through the senses is called perception in cognitive psychology (Jungermann & Slovic, 1993). People construct their reality and evaluate risks according to their subjective perceptions. Jaeger et al. (2001) mention three factors influencing intuitive risk perception: first, how information on the source of a risk is communicated; second, the psychological mechanisms for processing uncertainty; and third, earlier experience of danger. This mental process, as Jaeger et al. (2001) explain, results in perceived risk: a collection of notions from which people form their understanding of risk sources relative to the information available to them and their basic common sense.

1.5 Data and Methodology

Selecting data for this study proved to be somewhat challenging. My first and main interest is directed toward the Finnish national tourism strategy and action plan, and how it discusses hard security and the possibility of terrorism and ideologically motivated violence in Finland. In addition, I needed some national tourism strategies from countries that have experienced acts of terrorism. Finding European countries with acts of terrorism was not hard, unfortunately; the selection process took reading time and effort.

In comparison to Finland, Germany, France, and Spain were selected. I found that these three had more information than some that were not selected. Photos in national tourism strategies

serve a certain purpose, but when using the strategy for discourse analysis, text works better. The French strategy has plenty of photos as well, but the text is also relevant. The three other strategies do not have photos in them. These documents are in PDF form online at the website of the ministry responsible for tourism in each country. The websites they are on are also quite informative about tourism.

Language-wise, it would have been nice if all the strategies were in English, but that was not the case. The Finnish one was translated into English; the German one had a somewhat shorter version in English, and the extra material in German did not add any value to the English translation, so I left it out. The website of the Spanish tourism strategy had a link to an English version, but it never worked. I read it in Spanish. The French one did not have any version in English, and I read this in French. Spanish and French are not my strongest languages, but they are manageable with patience. The direct citations, later on, of the French and Spanish strategies are done by Google Translate.

Discourse analysis, as such, is a qualitative method of analysis that explores the meanings produced by language use and communication, the contexts and processes of these meanings, and the practices caused by these meanings. Discourse analysis aims to perceive and categorize various meaning-making processes, networks, and practices from the data (JYU, 2021). Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009) explain that discourse analysis is connected to social constructivism, where the construction of meanings and social reality is studied. They continue that the word itself does not have meaning, but meaning comes from the context in which the word appears.

Taylor (2013) finds it difficult to explain what discourse analysis is because it can refer to a range of approaches in several disciplines and theoretical traditions. She explains that all the disciplines differ in their sources, problems, and research questions. In this way, the variety of fields using discourse analysis is vast and differs somewhat from each other. Each discipline works differently with discourse analysis. This also expands possibilities for new researchers and projects, Taylor (2013) claims.

1.6 Structure of the Study

At the beginning of this thesis, I have explained what made me choose this subject and why I am writing about it. I have also introduced what kind of material I am using, and the concepts and methods of the study have been introduced as well. Also, the research questions have been introduced in the beginning.

Second, I am going to elaborate on the theories and concepts that I am using to describe the phenomena I am discussing. Theories include the concepts of security and safety, terrorism and ideologically motivated violence, peace, and tourism as its agent. Risk perception when choosing a travel destination is also important in this context.

In the third chapter, I delve deeper into the data I am using, and the method is covered in more detail. The strategies are also introduced in more detail and seen in the context of European security. In this chapter, important research ethics are also covered.

The fourth chapter introduces the common security-related discourses in the strategies. There are several security-related discourses present in the strategies. The German one is the only strategy that has terrorism-related discourse of resilience: we have faced this, now we need to overcome it and ensure it never happens again. The main common discourse in all strategies is sustainability as a backbone of security. The discourse of sustainability in all its forms is present in everything. It includes discourse of cooperation, which is considered an important factor in every strategy from different points of view. The sustainability discourse also includes the discourse of cultural understanding. Some form of discourse of cultural understanding can be found in each strategy. Discourse of safe, easy, and accessible destinations can also be found in each strategy. All four countries see themselves as safe, easy, and accessible destinations, and they also aspire to develop accessibility. All these themes are very important factors when thinking about security, hard security.

In the last chapter, I speculate on the conclusions why the strategies are how they are, and discourse-wise what it means in society. The material has raised many ideas for further studies from different aspects, as well as thoughts on how to include security as a factor in tourism studies. I present some of my ideas for possible future studies of the subject.

2. SECURITY, RISK, TERRORISM, AND PEACE IN THE CONTEXT OF TOURISM

2.1 Security

As we already learned in the introduction chapter, there is *turvallisuus* in the Finnish language and safety and security in Anglo-Saxon languages. Now the question concerns security. Baldwin (1997) states that most efforts to define security are more related to the policy agendas of nation-states than to the concept itself. According to him, concentrating on policy agendas in the context of security prioritizes issues such as human rights, economics, the environment, drug trafficking, epidemics, crime, social injustice, and security from external military threats. He continues that these agendas usually include a mixture of normative arguments about which values of which people or groups of people should be protected, and real-life examples of the quality and quantity of threats to those values. Baldwin (1997) claims that the concept of security itself is left without attention.

The idea of security concerning nation-states is not new. Leibniz wrote in 1705: "My definition of the State, or of what Latins call *Respublica*, is: that it is a great society of which the object is common security" (Leibniz, 1705; as cited in Rotchild, 1995). Perhaps Leibniz referred to the idea of security as the inner tranquility of a person, tranquility of spirit, and freedom from care. This notion of security was common in the liberal thought of the eighteenth century, Rotchild (1995) illuminates.

Nowadays, however, Herington (2015) argues that when a person hears the word "security," they do not know exactly what the author or speaker means by it. From the philosophical point of view, the word is evaluative and has had a cornucopia of meanings throughout history. The word "secure" comes from Latin **secura**: **se** — without and **cura** — worry, fear; security = "no worries," without fear (Etymonline, 2023). In Finland, the Security Committee of the Ministry of the Interior has published a Vocabulary of Comprehensive Security. This vocabulary by the Ministry of Interior (2017), less philosophical, defines **turvallisuus** as a state when threats and risks are manageable. Security in that vocabulary is defined as hard measures taken to protect against intentionally harmful activities, such as

armed force, violence, or criminal activities, and to protect a state or a building against attacks. The word security can also be used when talking about the measures that governmental actors take to manage risks and threats.

In International Relations, according to Professor Kolmašová (Lecture on Military Interventions in International Politics. In Metropolitan University, Prague, March 27, 2019, at 12:30-14:00, lecture room 003), there are several paradigms for exploring the concept of security. In Realism, the state is considered the most important actor in international relations, and the objectives of the state are survival, security, power, and the protection of self-interest. Universal morality does not determine state actions, but states may respect certain standards of ethics only if they correspond with their national interests. Their ethics are consequentialist: the end justifies the means. States act in their self-interest and abuse the right of intervention for purposes other than humanitarian ones. There is no reason to maximize global well-being, only to protect oneself. The paradigm of Realism became especially influential after the World Wars, and nowadays its influences can be seen, for example, in waging wars by proxy. Interventions are generally ideological, neocolonial, or security-based (such as fear of refugee flows or potential for ethnic conflicts).

The Realism school sees the concept of security as a political and militaristic issue where security and power are measured in terms of military capabilities. The Realism school sees security as national security (Wolfers, 1952). To eliminate insecurity from the equation, states rely on absolute power, which comes from strong military forces (Glaser, 2013). In this way, Degaut (2015) argues, security, based on technical and military capabilities, acts as insurance or protection against invasion.

When it comes to realism, Dalby (2003) argues that a globalized market gives two possibilities for the state: self-sufficiency or international interdependency. This is because the definition of security has expanded to include issues beyond territorial conflicts and interstate aggression. Also, the definition of realism is changing because of environmental security, partly caused by consumerism in developing countries (Mathews 1989; Dalby 2003). Therefore, it is impossible to protect one's own population from risks when the risk does not come from a single aggressor. In countering this, states will have to challenge the behavioral

norms of their citizens. This cultural change could itself cause internal insecurity that is unknown in realism.

There is also another point of view regarding environmental and economic challenges in realism. There are studies (Mearsheimer 1990) arguing that these new kinds of security threats only reinforce the state system instead of forcing states to cooperate with others. Realism sees the rise of interstate conflicts over resources (Ullman, 1983). Lovelace (2003) claims that 9/11 "changed the definition of national security," and the advances in technology, he argues, represent not movement towards multilateralism but protection from "future enemies." The paradigm of realism is dominant in security studies.

The Liberalist paradigm believes, Professor Kolmašová (lecture March 27, 2019, Metropolitan University, Prague) informs, that human rights are rights held by individuals under their personhood; they are independent of culture, history, state borders, governments, and others in power. Those who seriously violate human rights should not be protected by the principle of state sovereignty; tyranny and anarchy cause the moral collapse of sovereignty. In Liberalism, the state is not exclusively selfish, and international organizations, institutions, and individuals also have roles in international relations. Cooperation, collective good, durable peace, and collective security are the objectives of the state. Conflicts are the result of the absence of mechanisms ensuring peaceful coexistence and can be overcome in international relations. As a criticism of liberalism, one could think it is too optimistic and does not consider cultural diversity.

In Liberalism, security comes from cooperation with other nations, even though they operate in a self-interested manner. Liberalists also emphasize input from intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations, and other kinds of actors (Degaut, 2015). Levy (1998) states, that states have common as well as conflictual interests, aim to maximize economic welfare as well as provide for security, and create international institutions that help regulate conflict and promote cooperation.

In Social Constructivism, security is an intersubjective value. Security can be achieved when "perception and fears of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks are allayed and overcome" (Brauch 2011). Objective factors related to security must be taken into account,

but they are not enough because subjective factors contribute to security perceptions. Perceiving security comes from beliefs, culture, traditions, interests, and worldviews of the analyst (Degaut, 2015). Wendt (1992) argues that security would be what you make of it.

The world can be seen through different paradigms, and nation states see their situation also through these paradigms. In Europe and the Western world, the prevailing paradigm for a few decades has been liberalism. The world and leaders change, and so do paradigms with them, unfortunately, towards realism, it appears. The way security and peace are seen affects tourism as well. Within a paradigm shift, tourism can be seen as part of the problem or part of the solution.

2.2 Terrorism and Ideologically Motivated Violence

In the later twentieth century, violence called terrorism became an accepted method of warfare, states Combs (2003), and a global "war on terrorism" has begun to be waged, led by the United States and sanctioned by the United Nations, she continues. Crenshaw (1995) describes terrorism as a conspiratorial style of violence calculated to alter the attitudes and behavior of multiple audiences. A person who resorts to terrorism aims, by targeting only a few, to get the attention of many. Terrorism has a high symbolic and expressive value, much higher than any other form of systematic and organized civil or international violence. The shock value comes mainly from the conflict between the secret planning and very open results. Nevertheless, in her opinion, it is difficult to define the concept of terrorism. She says that there are disagreements on defining terms—whether to call it terrorism or some other kind of political violence.

Jäckle and Baumann (2015) have been ruminating on the question of defining the term "terrorism." They critique that, in general, in social studies, defining terminology has been difficult; it is even more difficult when the term to be defined is terrorism. According to them, many scholars argue that the term carries too much ideological, political, or normative baggage to be defined. On the other hand, Easson and Schmid (2011) collected more than 250 different definitions of terrorism.

Generally, it is thought that the act of violence needs to have an ideological, political, or religious motivation to be called terrorism. The motivation of the perpetrator is relevant when it comes to defining the act. Malkki (2020) problematizes the term "terrorism"; it is not only a descriptive word but also includes an idea of justification. Deeds that one is willing to condemn unconditionally can be called terrorism. However, when the same act is done by a person or a group that one empathizes with, the act is not called terrorism. "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" applies. An example of this case in Finland is the assassination of Governor-General Bobrikov. By definition, the assassination was pure terrorism, but in Finland, it was considered a patriotic act, and the perpetrator, Eugen Schauman, the assassin, was considered a hero.

The definition of terrorism in the USA and the EU have differences, but the general idea is similar. The EU defines terrorism as acts aimed at (1) seriously intimidating a population, (2) unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, and (3) seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic, or social structures of a country or an international organization. The U.S. Code of Federal Regulations (National Archives and Records Administration) defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Combs (2003) illuminates that generally speaking, terrorism is a sensitive subject for democracies, and democracies are an easy target for terrorists. The problem with terrorism in democratic countries is that they cannot fight terrorism by the same means that terrorists use; terrorists are happy to take advantage of this fact. Democratic systems must play by the rules and cannot use the same methods that terrorists use. Terrorists know that they will not get a response in kind, Combs (2003) states.

To be able to operate, tourism needs not only a healthy economic environment but also policies that drive efficiency and competitiveness, and it also requires sufficient resources to ensure well-thought-out development. Terrorism, on the other hand, aims to destroy these conditions, and terrorists seek audiences for their cause. Tarlow (2006) observed that terrorist

activities have become mainstream and terrorists have looked for new tourism targets. He argues that this phenomenon will continue to increase.

As an example, in Egypt, a wave of terrorism began in 1992. The most serious one took place in Luxor when an Islamist extremist group of six killed 62 people: 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians. This wave of terrorism caused tourism revenue to drop by 43% (Hall & O'Sullivan 1996; Richter & Waugh 1986; Wahab 1996). Tourism is a symbol of capitalism, and by attacking state-sponsored tourism, the attack is also targeted at the local government.

Large-scale, hallmark events offer a cost-effective platform for terrorism to deliver its message (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2012). Lives are lost, and tourists will be gone for a while (Pizam, 1999). According to Tarlow (2006), terrorists seek worldwide media attention, and targeting international tourists results in such publicity. Richter and Waugh (1986) classify terrorists' goals as revolutionary, antigovernment (overthrow of the government), or sub-revolutionary (policy and personnel changes). Targeting tourists helps terrorists achieve, firstly, their strategic goals, such as destabilizing the economy and getting valuable media attention. By circulating among tourists, terrorists can collect foreign currency for their use while choosing a target for their attack. As Richter and Waugh (1986), along with Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) state, the attack itself stops the flow of foreign currency for a while and, in that way, harms the local economy.

When it comes to conceptions of terrorism, the media, in modern societies, plays an important role, Crenshaw (1995) argues. Media not only share information about terrorism but also act as a magnifying glass. It portrays the phenomenon as something simple by telling only the newsworthy bits, the sensational parts of it; violence creates revenue. There are also mundane parts of the phenomenon, personal stories, that are usually not told. In the media, terrorism is always dramatic and outrageous. Media exposure is also something that interests opposition groups, who are willing to use terrorism as a way to prove their point. However, states and the right-wing usually prefer to stay away from the public when resorting to terrorism. The problem with media in the context of terrorism is that it not only affects public opinion but also government policies and scholarship, Crenshaw (1995) continues.

Even some years after 9/11, it was thought that terrorism was a matter of no concern in Finland. The reason for that thought was the idea of terrorism being only internationally connected to radical Islamism, and there were barely any connections between international terrorist organizations and Finland (Malkki, 2020). But again, it is a matter of definition. If we take the international aspect out of the definition, for example, as the EU and the USA do, we get completely different results. Leaving the international connections out of the equation, there has been domestic terrorism in Finland in the twenty-first century.

2.3 Risk and Perception of It in the Destination Choosing Process

Risk is the probability that an event will occur. In epidemiology, it is used to express the probability that, after a particular exposure, a particular outcome will occur (Last, 2001). Risk has also been defined as "the extent to which there is uncertainty about whether potentially significant and/or disappointing outcomes of decisions will be realized" (Sitkin & Pablo, 1992:10). This definition contains three dimensions: outcome uncertainty, outcome expectations, and outcome potential. These are generally used in marketing and, more specifically, in supply chain studies, and the actual meaning of the terms depends on the theories they are connected with. In prospect theory, as Kahneman & Tversky (1979) claim, outcome uncertainty could contain ideas of variability of outcomes, lack of knowledge about the distribution of potential outcomes, and uncontrollability of achieving results. Outcome expectations could be connected to the idea that positive expected returns lead to different decision-framing and decision-making behavior than negative expected outcomes. Outcome potential suggests that individuals often emphasize extreme outcomes, even though the likelihood of those extreme outcomes is low.

There are, of course, several definitions of risk perception, depending on the context in which it is used. Douglas (1992) defines it as "the chance of an event multiplied by the magnitude of the losses and benefits it entails," and Li et al. (2020) define it as "the possibility of consumers' subjective feelings of various losses in purchasing goods." These definitions apply to purchasing any product, including, for example, a trip abroad.

Slovic (1987) explains the meaning of risk perception as judgments people make when they are asked to characterize and evaluate hazardous activities and technologies. In the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear plant explosion, Slovic (1987) explored risk perception in technology. He expressed his worries about the rapid development of chemical and nuclear technology and their potential to cause catastrophic disasters. Ordinary citizens do not know or understand the mechanisms behind these technologies, and therefore, not knowing leads to intuitive risk judgment, often backed by news media reporting mishaps. Whereas tech-savvy experts can lean on hard data for their risk perception.

Tourism is seldom hazardous, but according to Boksberger and Craig-Smith (2006), because of its intangibility, heterogeneity, the time frame between booking and using, costs, and tourists' lack of knowledge, tourism is especially subject to risks and uncertainties. As a lack of knowledge of technology does, a lack of knowledge of tourist destinations, or rather the world as a whole, can lead to misinterpretations when choosing where to travel. In this case, news media can also be a contributor.

In the destination choosing process, risk perception plays an important role for most people. Karl (2018) studies in her doctoral dissertation how risk perception influences destination choice processes. According to her, risk perception is one of the reasons why a destination is selected or rejected when choosing a travel destination. She elucidates that terrorist activity runs rings around any other variables, such as economics. Karl (2018) makes three theoretical conclusions. First, choosing a destination should be considered a circular process, where previous travel experiences influence forthcoming ones. Second, destination choice and destination choice behavior should be seen as a dynamic process that develops during tourists' lives; destination choices change when one becomes a more experienced tourist, and situations in life also make the process dynamic—for example, first one travels with a spouse and then with spouse and small children. Third, not only do tourists' personal lives and experiences affect destination choices, but also the general situation in the world is an important factor. Elements that influence the decision-making process can be, for example, the economic situation in the world or the terrorism situation in the potential destination.

Pizam (1999) claims that acts such as terrorism and war have a greater impact on tourism than less severe acts. He also suggests that the frequency of any act has an impact on tourism. If there is one act of terrorism that takes several lives and causes property damage, tourists will reappear after a while, but if there are several smaller events continuously, the damage to tourism is more devastating. Should this continuous disturbance go on for a longer period, the impact on tourism will continue as long as the disturbance in the destination is ongoing. Tourists, however, have a relatively short memory, and they will reappear in no time.

It is not only the probability and seriousness of detrimental events that most people consider when perceiving and evaluating risks, but rather the context in which those risks are experienced that determines their role in risk perception. Circumstances that support the contextual risk evaluation process follow certain principles that Renn and Rohrman (2000) identified and narrowed down to the 14 most relevant ones:

- familiarity with the risk source
- voluntary acceptance of the risk
- ability to personally control the degree of risk
- whether the risk source is capable of causing a disaster (catastrophic potential)
- certainty of fatal impact should the risk occur (dread)
- undesired impact on future generations
- sensory perception of danger
- Impression of fair distribution of benefits and risk
- Impression of reversibility of the risk impact
- congruence between benefactors and risk-bearers
- trust in state-operated risk control and risk management
- experience (collective and individual) with technology and nature
- reliability of information sources
- clarity of information on risk

According to Renn and Rohrman (2000), regardless of their social or cultural background, people everywhere use universal risk assessment criteria when forming their opinions.

However, the relative effectiveness of these criteria in opinion-forming and risk tolerance varies considerably between different social groups and cultures.

Garg (2015) in his study also found that risk perception has a big impact on tourists' destination decision-making process. However, in his study, tourists did not admit the influence of culture and media on their risk perception process. Prentice and Andersen (2000), Baloglu (2001), Kim and Richardson (2003), and Prentice (2004) claim that familiarity with the destination influences the decision-making process, and familiarity comes, for example, from educational materials, mass media, commercial information, and word-of-mouth. It sounds like media does influence tourists' risk perception process, but, according to the previously mentioned scholars, through familiarity.

According to Garg (2015), people have different estimates of the dangerousness of risk; the higher the risk perceived, the bigger the influence in choosing against the destination. He continues by stating that safety and security are the primary conditions for normal tourism development of a destination, region, or country. Once a destination is perceived to be risky by the tourist, it will have serious implications for the growth and development of the tourism industry in that destination.

Personality and character traits are also factors when talking about risk assessment when choosing a destination. As Garg (2015) noted, people estimate risks in different ways. Plog (1973) has studied this from the psychological and emotional point of view. According to him, tourists experience fear, avoidance, and attraction according to their traits. He has divided tourists into two groups according to their "adventurousness": a) people who have been socialized in contexts of security develop an allocentric personality whose interests are associated with adventure and contact with strangers, and b) the psychocentric (on the other extreme) only move following pre-existing patterns and organize their travel on a secure basis. Plog (1973), however, was not very strict in this division. Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) found that personality, risk perception, and anxiety are inseparably connected. Some personality types can more easily be influenced by mass media than others. Tourists nearly always tend to feel great anxiety when leaving their home country.

When thinking about assessing risks from a psychological point of view, there is a statistical difference between the results of technical risk assessment conducted by experts and the intuitive assessment of the same risk by society. This does not mean that there would be uncertainties in statistically derived expectations or an expression of unverifiable thought processes; instead, it shows that in the multidimensional assessment structure, anticipated harm is only one of many factors, states Renn (2004).

Even though Sönmez and Graefe (1998a) think that tourists are responsible for their own actions and behavior in destinations, they also admit that tourists are entitled to some degree of protection as well. When a person is deciding on their travel destination, they consider benefits and costs, and security risk brings a big cost to the equation. The danger of terrorism will be a factor in rejecting a destination. With two destinations with similar benefits, tourists generally choose the less costly one, the one safe from risks (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Travel statistics from around the world suggest that tourism demand decreases as the perception of risks associated with a destination increases (Sönmez, Apostopoulos, & Tarlow, 1999; Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004). A common finding, according to Mawby (2000), in tourism literature is that the presence of risk, no matter if real or perceived, influences the travel decision-making process.

Sirakaya-Turk and Woodside (2004) have studied different aspects of decision-making processes in tourism. They have reviewed and integrated several conceptual and empirical works into a meta-analysis. Their study collects these works and presents them in a way that their strengths, limitations, and gaps can be identified. Meta-analysis is beneficial, according to Sirakaya-Turk and Woodside (2004), because one does not need to read a cornucopia of studies, with some limitations, and have a mile-long reference list, when one can easily examine the strengths and limitations of different theories and cite only the author of the meta-analysis.

The literature Sirakaya-Turk and Woodside (2004) collected generally reports that tourists follow a funnel-like process in narrowing down their choices. They were able to find a process of seven steps: 1) recognition that there is a decision to be made, 2) formulation of goals and objectives, 3) generation of an alternative set of objects from which to choose, 4)

search for information about the properties of the alternatives under consideration, 5) ultimate judgment or choice among many alternatives, 6) acting upon the decision, 7) providing feedback for the next decision. The decision-making process is complex and has interrelationships, and contains both psychological variables, such as attitudes and beliefs, and non-psychological variables, such as time, pull factors, and marketing mix.

When screening through the ten studies Sirakaya-Turk and Woodside (2004) collected, one could recognize some changes during the time the studies were conducted, between 1976 and 1994. In the seventies and eighties, the tourist was seen as a rational decision-maker who could weigh all the factors affecting the choice and assess the costs and benefits of their actions before the purchase. In the nineties, the situation changed somewhat, and tourists were seen as "not-always-so-rational" decision-makers. What changed—the tourist or the way of seeing the process? Did wider access to information have something to do with the shift?

Generally, the ten studies recognize tourism as a unique product that requires a unique approach, and do not necessarily follow previously learned rules in the decision-making process for purchasing any product or service. The tourism-decision-making-process scholars in the seventies to nineties saw something special in tourism that, for example, Li et al. (2020) perhaps did not see, when arguing that purchasing a trip is like purchasing any other product or service, or perhaps the theories of purchasing processes have advanced or changed, or tourism has become more mundane.

2.4 Peace and Tourism as Its Agent

According to the liberal paradigm in international relations, institutions may bring durable peace, and prosperity and democracy lead to peace as well. Non-interventionist liberalism believes in pacifism, the use of non-violent tools in conflict resolution. In liberalism, international law, maximization of global well-being, and promotion of liberal peace are ways to maintain peace. Major components of liberalism are the increased significance of human rights, increased cooperation among states, the rise of multilateralism and institutionalized cooperation, very active non-state actors, and improved credibility of the UN. The English

school believes that peace, as the absence of war, is a normal condition and justice is based on shared human rights and humanism, Professor Kolmašová (lecture March 27, 2019, Metropolitan University, Prague) illuminates.

Important components of the liberal civil peace model are direct action, citizen advocacy, and mobilization in the attainment or defense of basic human rights and values. These values should lead to sustainable peace. Institutional peace lies in multilateral agreements between nations on normative and legal behavior and how to enforce or determine that behavior. When it comes to constitutional peace, Richmond (2006) says that it rests upon the Kantian argument that peace rests upon democracy, trade, and a set of cosmopolitan values that begin from the notion that individuals are ends in themselves, rather than means to an end. Richmond (2006) argues that without civil peace and human security, institutional and constitutional peace will not be legitimate, but will resemble a victor's peace that resembles a post-colonial praxis of intervention.

Moufakkir and Kelly (2013) suggest that there are two ways of thinking about the tourism and peace combination: peace through tourism and peace in tourism. According to them, if tourism is conducted in peaceful ways, it can contribute to world peace; the idea begins within tourism. In that case, the question is how tourism can be responsible and contribute to peace. However, the problem lies in the definition of peace. Moufakkir and Kelly (2013) stress that the definition of peace should be wider than just the absence of war and conflict for tourism to serve as a medium for it.

Academics (Galtung, 1996; Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010; Haessly, 2010) and the United Nations (2014) have come up with several definitions for peace usable in the context of tourism. Galtung (1996) makes a distinction between negative peace—absence of violence—and positive peace—individuals and states purposefully working together to promote harmony and mutual benefit. Moufakkir and Kelly (2010) add that negative peace can also be a situation where there is discord between communities, and conflict is likely to happen. They think of peace as a hierarchy; on top, there is participatory peace in which peace is a way of life when ordinary people work independently and in cooperation with each other to integrate peace into their everyday lives.

When the common understanding of peace means the absence of war and violence, Haessly (2010) wants to turn the idea around. She states that peace should be a situation where peace is present rather than where war and violence are absent. She argues that to maintain peace, it should be included in the everyday activities of ordinary people. Peace should be included in personal, professional, and political life. Haessly (2010) expresses peace as presence: justice in relationships, respect for human rights, caring for the common good, protection of global security, and engagement in actions that promote peace. Peacemaking should be apparent in everyday household, community, and employment activities, and in the work of international organizations.

UN Tourism (previously known as UNWTO) (2022) promotes tourism as a medium for peace. UN Secretary-General António Guterres urges countries to settle disputes through peaceful means (2022a), stating that "Tourism is the main bridge for building understanding. It has a unique ability to promote peace between and among peoples everywhere." France hosted a meeting for EU Tourism Ministers in 2022 to talk about the aftermath of COVID-19. When addressing delegates, the UN Tourism Secretary-General Zurab Pololikashvili (2022b) stressed that "tourism has an active role to play in reasserting our shared values and promoting peace." However, the World Values Survey shows that countries do not share values much; actually, countries get further away from each other every year (WVS, 2023).

Pratt and Liu (2015) argue that tourism is the beneficiary of peace rather than a foundation for it. They nonetheless admit that individual encounters between tourists and locals can decrease negative stereotypes and promote goodwill. However, most foreign tourists globally are charter/mass tourists, who hardly ever interact with locals. Smith (1977) categorizes tourists into seven groups: explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, mass, and charter. According to her, the three last-mentioned groups made up absolutely the largest count of tourists in the 1970s, and they all either sought, expected, or demanded familiar amenities in the destination. Sirakaya-Turk et al. (2014) state that all-inclusive tourists behave differently from typical independent tourists. All-inclusive tourists, who are charter tourists, spend much of their time in accommodations, rarely venturing outside to explore the region and interact with local populations. When they do go out, it will be with their fellow tourists and in a structured setting. It is possible that differences between the categories by Smith (1977) have

grown smaller but not disappeared. What Smith (1977) and Sirakaya-Turk et al. (2014) argue is that it is more unusual than common for a tourist to interact with the local population. This leads to the conclusion that building world peace by increasing tourism does not work unless the tourists are explorers, elite, or off-beat on Smith's (1977) scale.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data

As data for this thesis, I selected four European national tourism strategies or policies. My original interest was directed to the Finnish national tourism strategy and action plan. I wanted to study how it writes about the possibility of terrorism/ideologically motivated violence and related events in Finland. Another aspect that interests me is how the concepts of security in Finnish tourism strategy relate to German, French, and Spanish ones. When analysing the strategies, I named them as S1, S2, S3, and S4; the Finnish strategy is called S1, French S2, German S3, and Spanish S4, in alphabetical order.

When selecting the three additional strategies to analyze, I considered several preconditions. The first precondition was that the country is in Europe, and the second precondition for choosing was that there had to be an event of terrorism in that country, preferably in recent years. I wanted to analyze strategies from countries with terrorism events in contrast to Finland. The question is, how do these strategies consider terrorism or violence of any sort? Unfortunately, there is a choice of such countries in Europe: Belgium, France, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands. Belgium turned out to be a bit difficult because Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels were all treated as separate entities. The problem with Belgium was also that there was not a lot of material to be found.

Being a federal country, Germany could have had a similar case with Belgium, but it turned out that Germany actually has a national tourism strategy/policy, and it is very detailed. I use the latest Federal Government Report on Tourism Policy for the 18th legislative term, a short version in English (Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, 2017). This document is in PDF form, also online, and the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate Action has quite an informational web page on tourism strategy.

In addition to Finland and Germany, France and Spain were chosen. There is an abundance of tourism strategy/policy-related material online, somewhat less in English than in French or Spanish. Information about French tourism strategies can be found on the website of Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères in English, quite shortly. There is a

possibility to download a PDF document in French. This document is the one that I am mainly using.

The case with Spain, material-wise, is quite similar to France. There is quite a bit available in Spanish, but not that much in English. I am using Plan Nacional e Integral de Turismo. It is a PDF document available on the website of Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo. There is an English version of the strategy, but the link to it on the website does not work.

Since my general interest lies in how the tourism industry considers security issues and, at the moment, the discourse of the matter in national tourism strategies in particular, these strategies were chosen because in the three European countries, there have been acts of terrorism, and in Finland, not that much yet. National tourism strategies in general are political statements of national objectives where the tourism industry wants to head. The purpose of the documents is political guidance to signal the aim of this program period for those in the tourism business to act so that tourism at the national level achieves its aim. The evidence of political guidance is that all the national tourism strategies can be found on the websites of some government ministries.

The national tourism strategies are part of the political discourse in their home countries. How public and intense the discussion is depends on the current situation at the global or local level. During the time the COVID-19 discussion was acute (Duchamp, 2020) and polarized (Lehtonen, 2023), the tourism industry was also on the top news, how the industry was suffering and businesses were not able to operate and people working on tourism were laid off or they were left completely unemployed (Behsudi, 2020; UN Tourism). Now that the Covid-19 discussion in the Western countries has been taken over by the Russian unlawful invasion of Ukraine, the discussion in tourism has shifted to a different direction (Nordenstreng et al., 2023; Yle, 2025) Now the question is the flight time and fuel consumption when flying from Europe to Far-East destinations.

The impact of the Russian aggression affects not only Russia and Ukraine as tourist destinations, but that Russians are not able to travel as they used to, and it has also affected the image of Europe as a safe destination. For example, compared to 2019, flights in Moldova have dropped 69% and in Finland 36% (UN Tourism). That leads to financial

questions in the tourism industry and other industries as well, which gain income from thriving tourism (World Bank, 2022). Also, the sanctions issued towards Russia affect European and global economies, not only the Russian economy. At the time these national tourism strategies, which I am using, were composed, there were no indications that there would be a war in Europe. If they could have predicted, they probably would have written something more specific about the matter than "the geopolitical situation in the world can change".

When looking at the four strategies, they all look like political documents. None of the four are slide shows or have plenty of pictures in them. The Finnish strategy and action plan has no photos in it, not even a cover photo. The same applies to the Spanish one. The German strategy has five parts in it, each part has a whole page cover photo. In the French strategy, there are fourteen photos, showing French landscapes and gastronomy. Also, nine ministers of the government who commented tourism sector at the beginning of the strategy are introduced with photos.

There is one special feature in the French strategy that distinguishes it from the other three: it states extremely detailed manner how and by whom the goals will be achieved. They have defined five development lines with 20 measures altogether. All 20 measures are divided into actions. The amounts of money invested in each of the goals, how many additional students will be taken in on which sector, and which organization is responsible for which action.

The language used is the official language for political documents. The Finnish, German, and Spanish strategies explain more of the ideas they are presenting than the French one does. The French strategy trusts lists, charts, and "info boxes". There are, of course, lists, charts, and "info boxes" in other strategies as well, but all in all, with more text. All four strategies have the same components presented in their own way, and some differences in emphasis of priorities.

3.2 From Discourse Analysis to Critical Discourse Analysis

When it comes to analyzing these texts, discourse analysis, as a term, sounds like something usable for analyzing concepts of terrorism or ideologically motivated acts of violence in national tourism strategies. Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) complain, though, that there is no meaning for the term “discourse”; instead, it means everything and nothing at the same time, and in social sciences, the word generally means different kinds of interests, which are difficult to understand. They also criticize researchers' avoidance of choosing between language and meaning and speculate that the motivation for this may be the fear of getting tangled in a net of assumptions and shaking sets of stable and connected meanings while not wanting to see the phenomena beyond words. As Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) argue, it would be nice and beneficial to figure out how language use and meanings are related.

Gee (2011), however, wants to use the word discourse with a capital D, Discourse. In his vocabulary, it means that people use words with other elements to build identities. Building identities, for example, as a corporate lawyer, one needs not only to use language and terms correctly but also to dress and behave as a corporate lawyer. People, of course, have different identities in different situations, and the use of language depends on the situation and that way, on identity as well. The word Discourse in Gee's (2011) vocabulary denotes ways of combining and interacting with language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity.

According to Gee (2011), language is not only for giving and getting information but also for doing and being. To understand what the speaker is saying, one must know **who** the speaker is and **what** the speaker is trying to do when saying it. Gee (2011) gives two sentences as examples of being and doing: “Hornworms sure vary a lot in how well they grow.” and “Hornworm growth exhibits a significant amount of variation.” Both sentences describe the being, and identity, of the speaker/writer, the first one describes an “everyday person” and the second one “specialist”. The doing/action part is a way to express an opinion based on one's observations.

As Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009) explain, the word itself does not have a meaning, but the context it is in, gives the meaning to it. Now that I am working mainly with the words that are not in the texts, I need to analyse the context without the words that I am looking for. There are ways to discuss issues without using the actual words. In this case, one can discuss terrorism and other security issues without mentioning terrorism and security.

Van Dijk (2011) explains the structural, cognitive, and social properties of discourse. He lists ten major properties in the field:

1. Discourse as social interaction focuses on pragmatics and Conversation Analysis. It defines the basis of the social order of human societies.
2. Discourse as power and domination: focuses on critical, sociopolitical approaches to discourse. Discourse in the political order of society.
3. Discourse as communication: focuses on cognitive order of societies. It is studied in cognitive psychology, cognitive sciences, and in communication studies, dealing with the effects and influences of messages on the minds of audiences.
4. Discourse as contextually situated: studied in pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and stylistics. Provides the basis for a cross-cultural study of discourse in linguistic anthropology and historical approach to discourse.
5. Discourse as social semiosis: social semiotics, such as sounds, visuals, gestures, and other embodied meaningful social activity within multimodal discourse.
6. Discourse as natural language use.
7. Discourse as complex, layered construct: defines discourse as three dimensions of natural languages: expression, meaning, and action. Pays attention to discourse grammar, Conversation Analysis, and rhetoric.
8. Sequences and hierarchies: discourse grammar, Conversation Analysis, narratives and argumentation studies.
9. Abstract structures vs. dynamic strategies: cognitive approaches to discourse production and comprehension
10. Types or genres: everyday conversation, parliamentary debates, news reports, etc. This aspect is especially used in genre studies.

Although he provided such a list, van Dijk (2011) explains that defining complex concepts like society, culture, mind, and language is challenging, nearly impossible. Therefore, the list is only indicative, not comprehensive. It does, however, illustrate the broad spectrum that discourse studies encompass.

Fairclough (1985) divides discourse analysis into two parts, descriptive and critical. Descriptive discourse analysis describes the object (text or speech) without explaining it, or it can explain it 'locally', in the immediate situation the object is in. Descriptive discourse analysis is only little concerned with the effects of discourse and none beyond the immediate situation. It also relies on the concept of background information and neglects the power in discourse. Critical discourse analysis, in contrast, tries to explain the discourse and add structures to it to better analyze the situation. It also considers power factors in discourse.

Van Dijk (2015) continues Fairclough's (1985) idea of critical discourse analysis and power, social power of groups or institutions, as control. The group or institution can control the information that is published to control the public discourse/debate. Knowledge or information is a resource that can be distributed with open hands or economically. The one with the information or knowledge controls the text and context of discourse, says van Dijk (2015). As an example, he writes that most people have control only over their everyday conversations with their families, friends, etc. but the symbolic elite (van Dijk, 1993), such as professors, teachers, or journalists control specific types of information or knowledge, therefore, they can control the public discourse of certain contexts. As Gee (2011) argues, to actually understand the message, one needs to know whose voice we hear in the text.

As the national tourism strategies are tools of political power, they should be read as political statements or guidelines. The speaker should be understood as van Dijk (1993) names, the symbolic elite, in this case, the highest authorities of tourism in each of the four countries. This means that I have been analysing documents of political guidance written by political actors, the highest elite in knowledge of tourism in Finland, France, Germany, and Spain. The document should be analyzed accordingly.

At first, I read the documents through, made simple notes on what came to mind. There were noticeable similarities in the documents on the first reading, even though they differ quite a lot from each other. They all had an emphasis on sustainability throughout the whole document. Sustainability was mentioned in several different contexts. They all mentioned cultural sensitivity, co-operation between different actors, and inclusion, sometimes in the context of sustainability, sometimes in other contexts.

When looking for the words I needed to find: terrorism, security, peace, and risk, it would have been too difficult a task without any technical assistance. Atlas.ti did the actual counting of words, and analyzing the context, finding discourses was my task.

I also looked at the documents in light of paradigms that describe different aspects of security and peace. They all see peace and security liberalistic way. The discourses of co-operation and cultural understanding are examples of that. When it comes to the paradigm of realism, there was no hint of it found, even though the German strategy speaks directly of security issues and even mentions terrorism. All these European nations are firm believers in liberal values and are convinced that security issues can be solved with information, co-operation, and mutual understanding. If circumstances, however, escalate, there are international organizations for solving problems between actors.

3.3 Research Ethics

The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity has set up ethical guidelines (TENK, 2012) on conducting scientific research. The guideline encourages researchers to have integrity, meticulousness, and accuracy in conducting research and in recording, presenting, and evaluating the research results. Results should be communicated openly and responsibly, intrinsic to disseminating scientific knowledge. Credit should be given to whom it belongs, and sources of financing should not cause a conflict of interest. Fabrication and falsification of results, misappropriation, and plagiarism, as well as self-plagiarism, are indefensible.

I am interested in terrorism and ideologically motivated violence, and as several previous studies show, terrorism is not only collateral damage in the event of terrorism but also an actual target. If the research method of this study were something other than discourse analysis of existing documents, I would be careful what to write, especially when it comes to preventing terrorism. If I had access to information on fighting terrorism in Finland, or anywhere else, I would not want to publish it for everyone to read. Now, I do not have access to sensitive information, and I do not need to worry about exposing sensitive information.

There might be a problem of validity. Enerstvedt (1989) writes that the words "validity" and "truth" are seen as synonyms, and often "objectivity" is linked to the idea. He claims that the word "validity" is the most vaguely or loosely used word in social sciences. Galtung (1970) wrote about the principle of validity: "A principle of validity is often mentioned, with the understanding that an observation is valid if one has observed what one wants to observe". So, if we want to observe X, and we have observed X, not something similar to X, our observation is valid. Are my observations of the strategies valid or not? They are MY observations of THOSE documents, so, according to Galtung, they are valid.

As Enerstvedt states, "validity" is vaguely and loosely used. Douglas (2004) has the same idea when it comes to "objectivity". She claims that "the terms 'objectivity' and 'objective' are among the most used yet ill-defined terms in the philosophy of science and epistemology." In her research, she defines several types of objectivity, and the one I found most useful concerning this study was her "objectivity2", detached objectivity. This means that the researcher should not be too close to their subject of research. Being too close to the subject might lure the researcher to want certain types of results of their research and, in the worst-case scenario, ignore the actual results, especially if they contradict their ideas.

Some parts of this study cite previous studies with completely different findings, contradictory. I want to bring them both out. To me, it shows that times change and ideas and thinking with it, thinking evolves, and so do researchers. When we know more and get a wider understanding of things, it would be stupid not to change one's views. Also, most ideas can be observed from different points of view, which brings differences in interpretations.

I use some public media sources. One needs to be careful when choosing to use media as a source in somewhat scientific studies. There are media, and then there are media. The problem with the media can be its reliability. Serious consideration of media sources must be used. Media that are generally considered most trustworthy in Finland, such as Yle and Helsingin Sanomat, are used. When it comes to foreign media that are also used, consideration must be given.

The material used in this research is mainly academic articles that display cultural ideas and may provide explanations for the reasons for terrorism and ideologically motivated violence. A lot of articles have been written on the subject over several decades, and after 9/11, the amount of terrorism studies has exploded. McCartney (2008) counted more than 65 works related to destination image and risk from 1971 to September 2001; after 9/11, this number rose exponentially. It is safe to say that the 9/11 attacks changed the world when it comes to tourism and international business. The most important task is to find the relevant texts to provide a wide spectrum of information on different points of view on the subject—articles not only about terrorism but also about peace, risk perception, and discourse analysis.

By choosing certain texts, the researcher could steer the study in a certain direction, especially when the study concerns written documents and research articles. Reputation-wise, it is as questionable as, for example, medical testing leaving out the results that do not please the researcher or do not support the hypothesis or a wish. The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (TENK, 2012) highly recommends against that.

The validity-truthfulness-objectivity issue in this study is relevant. When it comes to the validity of my interpretations of the strategies, they are MY interpretations; I write how I see the texts. Objectivity, as understood in everyday use, is it possible? When I take pictures or film with my camera and choose a lens to use, it indicates my decision to show something to the public. I decide what I want to show and what I decide to leave out. The public sees what I want it to see. Of course, in the case of this study, I want to see the documents with an open mind, use an extensive lens, and think about them as widely as I can. I do not believe that I can know if the ideas that I draw from the documents are "true" or not, but my intention is sincere. This study is my view of the so-called truth.

One slight problem in interpreting the strategies might be the concept of several languages. The French strategy is written in French, and the Spanish one in Spanish. I speak and understand both languages, but if in any doubt, the dictionary is consulted, since they are not my strongest languages. Generally, the concept of several languages could cause misunderstandings and misinterpretations. My native language is Finnish, even though I speak several other languages in addition to that, my knowledge is not on the native level, and I am prone to mistakes in grammar, punctuation, and spelling. Using AI enhances my text

more readable for English speakers. The free version of Grammarly has corrected most of my grammar and punctuation mistakes.

4. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON NATIONAL TOURISM STRATEGIES

4.1 Count of Words and Their Context

There are specific words that I am looking for in the strategies. In this case, the actual count is not that relevant, but what is relevant is in which context the word is used. Counting was done by Atlas. ti.

Country	Peace/paz/ paix	Security/ seguridad/sécurité	Risk/riesgo/ risque	Terrorism/terrorismo/ terrorisme
Finland, S1	0	11	1	0
France, S2	0	0	0	0
Germany, S3	4	8	1	1
Spain, S4	0	9	2	0

Table 1. Word count in national tourism strategies

The French tourism strategy does not have any of the words I am looking for, but the Spanish one has two “riesgo” (risk) words. One is for risks in financing and the other concerns risks in measures taken to achieve things. The word seguridad (security) is mentioned nine times in the document, mostly in the context of social security or legal issues, as in this case, higher social security benefits for longer fixed-term work contracts:

For this reason, work will be done to incorporate into the labor reform support measures to extend the period of activity for workers with permanent-seasonal contracts in the tourism, tourism-related commerce, and hospitality sectors, promoting de-seasonalization through the application of a Social Security contribution bonus for permanent-seasonal contracts that begin and/or are maintained during the months of March and/or November. (S4:87)

(Por este motivo, se trabajará en la incorporación a la reforma laboral de medidas de apoyo a la prolongación del periodo de actividad de los trabajadores con contratos fijos discontinuos en los sectores de turismo, comercio vinculado al mismo y hostelería, favoreciendo la desestacionalización, mediante la aplicación de una bonificación a la cotización a **la Seguridad Social** en aquellos contratos fijos discontinuos que se inicien y/o se mantengan en los meses de marzo y/o noviembre.)

An example of a juridical case is the protection of private property in public use:

The current Coastal Law defines a public domain area where special restrictions on private property apply. The objective of the Law is to make the entire length of the coastline accessible to the public and protect it against erosion and excessive urbanization, while ensuring the necessary **legal certainty** for those affected. (S4:88)

(La actual Ley de Costas define un área de dominio público donde se aplican restricciones especiales a la propiedad privada. El objetivo de la Ley es hacer accesible al público toda la longitud de la costa y defenderla contra la erosión y la urbanización excesiva, garantizando a su vez la necesaria **seguridad jurídica** de los afectados.)

In the context of intellectual property:

However, to ensure balance between the interests represented by sectors that use intellectual property rights (including the accommodation/hotel sector) and the entities that manage these rights, it is necessary to consider the pursuit of this balance in the draft of the new Intellectual Property Law, which will address the main objectives of achieving regulation based on and attentive to digital keys and the new dimension of intellectual property in the digital era, as well as the development of a framework of legal certainty. Within these objectives, regulation of intellectual property will be promoted that, while respecting the interests of the parties involved and advocating for transparency and efficiency in rights management, fully adapts to the needs of the 21st century. (S4:89-90)

(No obstante, para garantizar el equilibrio entre los intereses que representan los sectores usuarios de los derechos de propiedad intelectual (entre ellos el sector alojativo / hotelero) y las entidades de gestión de éstos, es necesario considerar la búsqueda de este equilibrio en el proyecto de nueva Ley de Propiedad Intelectual, que atenderá a los objetivos principales de conseguir una regulación basada y atenta a las claves digitales y a la nueva dimensión de la propiedad intelectual en la era digital así como el desarrollo de un marco de **seguridad jurídica**. En el marco de dichos objetivos, se impulsará una regulación de la propiedad intelectual que, respetando los intereses de las partes implicadas y abogando por la transparencia y eficacia en la gestión de los derechos, se adapte plenamente a las necesidades del siglo XXI.)

There were, however, two cases of use of the word in the context that is relevant here. They were both in the context of the destination choosing process. One was in a SWOT analysis of why choose destination Spain in the strength part of “accessible and high level of public security”:

Accessibility of almost all destinations thanks to significant development of transport industry and infrastructure, primarily land and air. Good climate, high level of public safety and first-rate healthcare and assistance services. (S4:30)

(Accesibilidad de casi todos los destinos gracias a un importante desarrollo de la industria e infraestructuras de transporte, fundamentalmente terrestre y aéreo. Buen clima, alto **nivel de seguridad ciudadana** y servicios asistenciales y sanitarios de primer orden.)

The other was in a list of factors, why a certain destination is chosen “cleanliness, quality of infrastructure, security, information, health, beaches, gastronomy...”:

Tourism demand operates in an increasingly demanding framework, where tourists can choose between different alternatives each year and, apart from high price elasticity, the value is determined not only by the private services they directly contract (transport, hotel, restaurant...) but also by other components that affect their tourist experience (cleanliness, quality of infrastructure, security, information, healthcare, beaches, cultural and gastronomic heritage...) which are not included in the package price they purchase from the marketing company. To sum it up in one sentence: a 4-star hotel must be in a 4-star environment. (S4:69-70)

(La demanda turística se mueve en un marco cada vez más exigente, en el que el turista puede elegir cada año entre diferentes alternativas y, aparte de la elevada elasticidad-precio, la valoración se determina por los servicios privados que contrata directamente (transporte, hotel, restaurante...) pero también por otros componentes que afectan a su experiencia turística (limpieza, calidad de infraestructuras, **seguridad**, información, sanidad, playas, patrimonio cultural y gastronómico ...) y que no se integran en el precio del paquete que compra a la empresa comercializadora. Para resumirlo en una frase: un hotel de 4 estrellas debe estar en un entorno 4 estrellas.)

As, for example, Sönmez and Graefe (1998a) claim, when choosing a destination, a person calculates benefits and costs, and the destination with the best benefits and tolerable costs wins. These factors that the Spanish tourism strategy lists add to the benefit side of the equation. It is not only the absence of risks but also the nice, relaxing, and enjoyable aspects of the destination.

The German tourism strategy has more of these words than any other strategy, there are 14 words in all. Let's begin with the word “risk”, there is one: it is in the context of explaining the influences of the European Package Travel directive on German small and medium-sized travel agencies:

Given the immense importance of the legal rules on package travel for the German travel industry, the BMWi has been closely involved in assisting the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, which has the lead role in negotiations on a new EU package travel directive. From the outset, particular attention was paid to the particular situation of German small and medium-sized travel agencies. A major component of the German negotiating stance was therefore to ensure when transposing the directive into German law that attention was paid to the fact that travel operators and agencies have varying **risk** exposure and levels of influence. Several significant improvements in this aspect were introduced to the Commission's draft bill. (S3:30)

Peace is mentioned four times, once as in peace and quiet, and the rest in the context of tourism being a possible medium for peace, with reference to UNWTO.

In times where the headlines are full of violence and extremism, we should keep in mind how **tourism contributes to peace** and global understanding. Nationalism and xenophobia seem to flourish wherever the population has relatively little exposure to other peoples and cultures. Travel literally widens our horizons and enables us to see cultural diversity as enriching our lives, not as a threat. (S3:6)

Based in Madrid, the World Tourism Organization, UNWTO is a specialized agency of the United Nations. According to its statutes, its fundamental aim is the “promotion and development of tourism with a view to contributing to economic development, international understanding, **peace**, prosperity, and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.” (S3:47)

The word “security” is mentioned eight times and one of them is in the context of social security, the rest in the context of terrorism, which also is mentioned, or similar issues.

The global security situation has also changed travel behavior. Vacations are booked more spontaneously these days and safety plays a much bigger role than before, especially in deciding on a destination. **Security issues have accordingly become one of the biggest challenges for the travel industry.** Passengers’ general sense of insecurity and their fear of attacks have led to a shift in the travel routes, causing many traditional, hugely popular travel destinations for Germans to suffer. (S3:19)

Another example of using the word security in the context of terrorism and violence

Since 2015, the priorities have shifted significantly, also in tourism policy. In recent years, terror attacks, war and displacement have left their mark on global events, also affecting Europe and Germany. Security is taking on new meaning. At the same time, the challenges of the refugee situation are evident everywhere. (S3:6)

There is a whole chapter about security issues in Germany. They write about the terror attack on the Berlin Christmas market on 19th December 2016, and they assure tourists considering Germany as a destination that the government is doing its utmost to keep tourists safe when in Germany. In addition, they express their concern about the destabilizing effects of terrorism on the tourism industry and the whole of society. The collapse of tourism has grave economic impacts on the whole of society:

The terror attack of 19 December 2016 on a Christmas market in Berlin showed that even Germany is not totally safe from such attacks. Action taken by the Federal Government also serves to keep Germany a safe travel destination, by **making the safety of people traveling in this country the highest priority.** At the same time, the Federal Government is working together with those countries hit by terrorism, and is concerned about the destabilizing effects that the collapse in tourism can have on the economy and social progress in these countries. (S3:19)

When it comes to Finnish strategy, word-wise, peace and terrorism are not mentioned. One “risk” was found in the context of entrepreneurs’ willingness to take risks.

Some of the measures will require a change in ways of doing things, enterprise willingness to take **risks** and a new attitude towards the development of tourism. (S1:31)

As the word “security” is concerned, there are eleven words, in the context of employment in the IT services and security industry, sustainability, and climate. Security is also mentioned in the context of the definition of tourism and description of the tourism cluster:

Positive development of demand and employment requires sustainable, high-quality and safe tourism services that are available around the year and easy to buy. Monitoring the development of tourism demand and employment is justified at both national and regional levels, as tourism has lots of multiplier effects on other sectors, too. Sustainable growth in tourism is enabled by stronger cooperation between industries. Increased turnover and employment in tourism enterprises results in increased turnover and job creation through indirect and derived, that is, multiplier effects, in sectors such as IT services, daily consumer goods trade, construction, cleaning and public cleansing, real estate maintenance and **the security industry**. (S1:26)

Finland is also marketed as an intangible luxury destination, where there is clean air, safety, security, and happiness present, and a good reputation as an organizer of international events with excellent transport connections and sustainability and diversity of service providers that have high service quality, safety, and security. According to the strategy:

Responsible choices in the tourism industry will be supported by continuous quality development with the customer at the core as well as the development of the safety, security and accessibility of tourism services. Safety and security must be taken into account in services provided to customers throughout the chain, paying attention to the determination of the safety boundaries for any circumstances involved in the activities as required under the Consumer Safety Act and directing the activities on the basis of them. **The stability, safety and security of Finnish society are important competitive factors for the tourism industry**; in Finland water is safe to drink, transport works well, health care is of high quality and services of importance to tourists are available. Changing climate conditions, increased prevalence of the platform economy, globalization and increased inbound independent tourism all affect safety and security. (S1:38)

The French strategy is mainly about rethinking tourism after COVID-19. They want to stay the number one destination in the world, but in a sustainable way:

Destination France aims to strengthen France's position as the world's leading tourist destination and to make French tourism a sector of excellence, growth and employment, based on a more qualitative, sustainable and resilient model, in line with the new expectations of French and international clientele, particularly regarding ecological transition. Thus, the Government wishes to make France the leading destination for sustainable tourism by 2030 and the leading cycling tourism destination by the same deadline. (S2:17)

(Destination France vise à conforter la France dans sa place de 1^{re} destination touristique mondiale et de faire du tourisme français un secteur porteur d'excellence, de croissance et d'emploi, fondé sur un modèle plus qualitatif, durable et résilient, en phase avec les nouvelles attentes des clientèles française et internationale, notamment en matière de transition

écologique. Ainsi, le Gouvernement souhaite faire de la France la 1^{re} destination pour le tourisme durable en 2030 et la 1^{re} destination vélotouristique, à la même échéance.)

4.2 Discourses derived from the context of the words

Tourism is a significant contributor to many countries' economies, and national tourism strategies are composed to maximize also financial benefits. Bringing security issues up could deter tourists and hurt the whole industry. Tourism policy documents often frame security as a key factor in attracting visitors and maintaining a destination's reputation. I name it the discourse of a safe and easy destination. The language used emphasizes "safety" and "stability" rather than directly mentioning terrorism or violence. The Finnish, Spanish, and French strategies talk about safe destinations and how to achieve safety through cooperation and inclusion. The Spanish national tourism plan even states that certain aspects influence tourists' minds when choosing a destination. They are spot on in mentioning security in this context. As Garg (2015) states, safety and security are the primary conditions for normal tourism development of a destination, region, or country.

However, the German strategy is an exception to the rule, with a whole chapter on terrorism. They do not seem to believe in sugarcoating; they believe in resilience. In German strategy, there is language around building resilience and improving crisis management capabilities in the tourism sector and directly addressing potential security threats; **The resilience discourse**. This kind of resilience discourse cannot be found in any other strategy. The resilience discourse can be found in the French strategy in the context of the pandemic.

Security considerations need not be articulated through explicit threat-based language. Instead, these concerns can be addressed in a constructive way that focuses on positive outcomes and preventative measures. The four tourism strategies analyzed demonstrate this approach by prioritizing themes of sustainability, social inclusion, multilateral cooperation, and the preservation and respect of local cultural heritage. The primary common security-related discourse among all four strategies is **the discourse of sustainability as the backbone of security**. This discourse flows through all strategies. Sustainability can be found in different contexts in the texts. Several aspects of sustainability contribute to security.

Sustainability provides for security on several levels. Economic aspect as an example: tourism operated in a sustainable way brings economic stability by reducing dependency on single economic sectors, it diversifies local economic opportunities, and creates resilient income streams for communities. This can lead to a reduction of economic marginalization that can fuel radicalization, and create alternative economic opportunities in vulnerable regions, which provides economic security as a preventive measure against recruitment into extremist groups.

Tourism run in a sustainable way also provides for social security by generating stable employment opportunities, supports local community development, and promotes cultural preservation and social cohesion. Which empowers local communities through participatory economic models and helps promote community resilience and mutual understanding, and support, inclusive development that counters ideological divisions. A subcategory of sustainability is **the discourse of inclusion**, which was to be found in each strategy.

In the German strategy, there is a sentence that sums up the idea of the importance of sustainability quite well:

In principle, only a sustainable tourism policy that is in tune with nature, the local population, and culture is capable of adding value in the long term. In this context, the goal is to intertwine economic, social, and ecological aspects. (S3:22)

The Spanish strategy continues with a similar view, stating that their tourism should be:

Economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable, generating sufficient returns to maintain high added value; generating quality employment; and making responsible use of natural resources. (S4:37)

(Sostenible económica, social y medioambientalmente generando retornos suficientes para mantener un alto valor añadido; generando empleo de calidad y haciendo un uso responsable de los recursos naturales.)

The Finnish strategy lists several sustainability-related factors that contribute to maintaining security: environment, host community, host culture:

Communicate to customers about **sustainable choices** as part of marketing communications and make the Sustainable Travel Finland label known in Finland and in selected international markets and distribution channels. Guide tourists towards **using sustainable services and acting in a manner that takes account of the environment, host communities and host culture**. (S1:39)

Sustainability also includes cultural preservation, protecting local identities and cultural heritage, promoting intercultural dialogue and understanding, and providing alternatives to

ideologically driven narratives. All the strategies emphasize the importance of working together to achieve the goals each country has set for its tourism industry. Cooperation among different players in the field of tourism increases inclusiveness. A person not feeling included in society is more likely to be recruited to an extremist group than one who feels included.

Many European countries have a strong tradition of welcoming visitors and promoting peaceful coexistence. Hence, they do not want to highlight security issues, as this could be seen as contradicting their values of tolerance, openness, and hospitality. There are discourses around cultural understanding and exchange as indirect ways to address ideologically motivated violence, promoting tourism as a tool for peace and intercultural dialogue, as the UN also wishes to see it. This could be called **the discourse of cultural understanding**, a subcategory of the discourse of sustainability as a backbone of security. As an example of the discourse of cultural understanding serves a citation from the German strategy:

The tourism industry has always been very international and multicultural, and, like no other industry, stands for open-mindedness and hospitality. By its very nature, this industry is therefore capable of assisting Germany in facing these challenges, and is engaging in multiple ways. (S3:20)

An example of the Finnish way of communicating the discourse of cultural understanding:

Tourism helps to create more diverse and higher-quality services for host residents but also a basic infrastructure based on which other business activities can be developed. Tourism that supports the preservation and development of cultural heritage and cultural environment strengthens local customs and the cultural identity of regions. (S1:16)

A subcategory of discourse within sustainability is **the discourse of co-operation**. Even the name of the Finnish strategy is "Achieving More Together — Sustainable Growth and Renewal in Finnish Tourism". All strategies communicate co-operation in some context, and they consider it crucial in tourism. An example from the German strategy:

In the model regions, it is important to bring together all of the participants. The idea is for creative artists and tourism industry professionals to develop and implement joint strategies. The key aspect is to unite all those involved in a network that should continue to exist long after the project has been completed. The experience gained in these rural areas should then encourage others all over Germany to emulate these efforts. (S3:33)

The Spanish strategy communicates the idea of co-operation:

Collaboration between the public and private sectors, and other social agents and organizations within the sector, to define joint strategies and actions that improve our value proposition for our clients. (S4:38)

(Colaborativo entre el sector público, privado y el resto de agentes sociales y organizaciones que formen parte del sector, para la definición de estrategias y acciones conjuntas que mejoren nuestra propuesta de valor para el cliente.)

When members of local communities have the opportunity to participate in the well-being of their own community, they are not alone. Individuals with good social networks do not radicalize easily and cannot be lured into radical groups.

One reason for not mentioning security issues could be that as national tourism strategies are often developed in collaboration with various stakeholders, including government agencies, tourism industry associations, and local communities, the lack of mention of security issues in these strategies may reflect a broader consensus among these stakeholders that security is not a major concern for tourists. Also, many countries, especially those that have had more serious security problems, have developed efficient security measures and therefore can ensure tourists' safety, and this is the reason why it is not mentioned. When it comes to security measures, it is wise to keep them to yourself and not publish them.

All in all, national tourism strategies are composed to promote tourism and attract visitors to a country. Their main purpose is to showcase the country's attractions, culture, and history, and highlight the unique experiences that visitors can have. Their purpose is not to raise worries about security issues. There is a delicate balance in these documents between acknowledging security concerns and not wanting to overemphasize them, as this could potentially deter tourists. The discourse focuses more on positive measures to ensure safety rather than on threats.

5. CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSIONS, AND FURTHER STUDIES

This study has looked at the Finnish national tourism strategy and action plan in light of security discourses and compared it to three European ones. Although the documents differ quite a bit from each other, there are certain similarities between them as well. They all serve their purpose well as national tourism strategies. All are political documents meant to give a certain image of the country in question, and they work well as tools of political power.

Three of the strategies discuss security issues in quite a similar way, not directly. One, in contrast, writes directly about terrorism and other security issues. The way security is communicated in the strategies also reflects the communication culture of each country. The German way of communicating is generally direct and fact-oriented, while the other three tend to be more subtle. That is why the German strategy is so direct, also about not-so-pleasant matters.

Sustainability as a backbone of security was the main common discourse in the national tourism strategies. Sustainability was the common thread throughout the documents; it has its influence on everything. Hence, sub-categorizing it. A discourse that belongs to sustainability is the discourse of co-operation. Co-operation in its different forms, the businesses that are touched by tourism, should work together in order to serve the tourist and distribute the income more evenly in the service sector. Inclusion discourse goes under sustainability as well. In local communities, everybody should be included in the decision-making process, which touches their living environment. Inclusion prevents radicalization. Discourse of cultural understanding goes under the sustainability discourse as well. When people realize that cultures from different parts of the world are different from mine, and people from different cultures are not doing what they are doing just to annoy local people, we might be on the right track.

Only the German strategy had terrorism related resilience discourse; the French one is thinking of resilience from a pandemic point of view. In France, they are completely rethinking tourism and finding different activities leading tourism towards small-group or individual, small-scale tourism in areas that are not crowded by tourists. Small-scale tourism

in quieter areas brings new business opportunities and income to those areas that need it, without the irritation of mass tourism. Steady income flow helps the local economy, which prevents radicalization and that way, adds to security.

All four countries consider themselves safe and easy destinations. Safe and easy destination discourse is present in all four strategies. One could add accessibility to the list; all four have considered enhancing accessibility, for example, through technology, digitalization, and innovation. Investing in technology, digitalization, and innovation might also increase work and income opportunities outside of the actual tourism branch.

Thinking about tourism as a peace builder, as one of my research questions was, it is real but conditional. I can see it depending on the quality and depth of cultural interactions, how tourism benefits are distributed within host communities, whether tourism development respects local cultures and environments, and the existing political and social context. Tourism can create meaningful person-to-person interactions across cultures, and direct exposure to different ways of life can challenge preconceptions and stereotypes. Cultural exchange through tourism can build empathy and understanding. Also, economic interdependence through tourism can incentivize maintaining peaceful relations between hosts and guests.

The peace-building possibilities, of course, depend on tourism. Individual or small-scale tourism offers more opportunities for genuine cultural exchange, as visitors are more likely to engage respectfully with local customs. There is also a greater chance for meaningful, person-to-person encounters. In small-scale tourism, economic benefits often go directly to local communities. In addition to all this, the environmental and social impact is lower.

There is a faint possibility of seeing a "tourism as a peace builder" discourse in all the strategies. The German one has it printed, with reference to the UN. Generally targeting individual and small group travellers, and emphasizing sustainable tourism has the possibility to act as a peacebuilder. As an example of small-scale tourism, the French strategy mentions cycling routes and enhancing them in less-traveled areas.

There are examples of both sides, tourism as a peacebuilder, and when tourism has not been able to build peace. The rise of international tourism in post-WWII Europe contributed to reconciliation between former adversaries, however, tourism has not prevented conflicts in popular tourist regions like the Middle East. There might be a possibility for analyzing this through cultural differences. In Europe, there is no custom of revenge, for example, as there is in the Middle Eastern cultures. By revenge, one keeps one's face. Revenge is used when weak governments are not able to protect citizens' rights, the citizens must protect their own rights.

The academic texts in this study do not support tourism as a peacebuilder. As does real-life experience. The vast majority of tourism is still mass tourism with very limited or no contact with locals. The contact is, at its "best," superficial and commercialized, which does not contribute to mutual understanding and getting to know the other culture; on the contrary, tourism can sometimes reinforce cultural stereotypes rather than challenge them. In the worst-case scenario, mass tourism can lead to cultural commodification and loss of authenticity in the host community, hence, cultural experiences for tourists become commodified and inauthentic. In mass tourism destinations, economic benefits of tourism are not always equally distributed, and economic benefits often flow to large corporations rather than local communities, potentially creating local resentment. This can be learned from different parts of the world.

The cases of Barcelona, Venice, Amsterdam, and Dubrovnik are particularly telling. These cities have experienced what's often called "overtourism", where the volume of visitors actually damages the social fabric rather than strengthening it. In Barcelona, for instance, the tension has led to anti-tourist graffiti and protests. Venice has struggled with maintaining its local population as tourism pressure makes the city increasingly unlivable for residents.

This suggests that the UN's vision of tourism as a peace builder might need revision or a reality check to focus more on the quality of interactions rather than the quantity of visitors. The peace-building potential of tourism lies not in mass tourism but in more thoughtful, smaller-scale forms of travel that allow for genuine cultural exchange and mutual understanding. In its agenda, the UN could concentrate more on promoting small-scale

tourism, which could actually build peace. In general, as it is now, tourism does not build peace.

Iivari (2012) states that traditionally acts to keep security have been kept out of sight from the general public, but things have changed. It is not only a concern of governmental actors, but it should also be the concern of those who operate within tourism. In the case of the Finnish national tourism strategy, this could mean that the experts who participated in the composing process of the strategy may have plenty of information on security issues concerning tourism in Finland, but they simply chose to be economical about it. Perhaps they figured that the public, open security debate could harm the image of Finland as a safe country for tourists. In the tourism industry, branding of the country is relevant, and talking about security issues might impede Finland's country brand. The idea of security issues in a brand may have dictated the economy of words.

As Fairclough (1985) and van Dijk (2015) explain, information serves as a source of power—those who possess knowledge hold the authority to either share or withhold it. Van Dijk (1993) states using the term "symbolic elite," including academics, educators, and media professionals, possess control over specialized knowledge domains. This privileged access enables them to shape public discourse within their respective fields of expertise. Discourse shapes public understanding and perception of various topics. The language and terminology used when discussing specific subjects influence how society conceptualizes, discusses, and forms opinions about these issues. Information holders can therefore influence discourse and shape public understanding of issues, including security concerns within the tourism sector.

Through discourse, everything can be politicized, and taken even further, securitized. The Copenhagen School paradigm in International Relations sees everything in light of security. The times we live in this moment give excellent tools in seeing tourism as well through the paradigm of the Copenhagen School. If not tourism as such as a security issue, but the world as a security issue, preventing healthy tourism. Security, or the lack of it, has become more perceptible in the media, and the media is possibly the most prominent factor influencing common thought and speech. Any hints of paradigms of the Copenhagen School or Realism were not found in the national tourism strategies.

If we think about possible real-life security issues threatening Finland and Europe now, according to the Finnish Security and Intelligence Service (SUPO), the biggest threat is Russian intelligence and malign influence. When it comes to terrorism, SUPO states that right-wing extremists and radical Islamist individuals and small groups are the most prominent actors. This also involves underage youngsters. The threat of radical Islam in Europe has risen lately because of the burning of the Qurans and the Israel-Hamas conflict. The situation in Europe has not raised the level of threat in Finland, though.

There will be new national tourism strategies and action plans coming out over the next few years. It would be interesting to see if the paradigm shift in security discourse in Europe has made its way to tourism strategies. Occasional discussions in the media have proposed ideas of internal border control in the Schengen area, due to Russian hybrid and malign influence; nothing official, though. Inner border control affects tourism in Europe; it would be more time-consuming to travel from one country to the other. For future research, it would be interesting to find out how the security discourse in the national tourism strategies has changed with time, in changing (geo)political situations, and how each country's geopolitical situation might influence their security discourse in tourism policies, or has it changed.

Several academic articles and the UN cited in this study state that tourism is a peace-builder as it promotes learning from different cultures, and knowledge reduces fear of the unknown. On the other hand, though, peace is a precondition for tourism to develop. It is possible to consider this as a circle: first, there is peace and tourists come, and mutual understanding between the host and guest cultures develops, then there are more tourists and more understanding. Finally, there are so many tourists that the host society is annoyed and starts protesting, like in Barcelona, Amsterdam, Dubrovnik, Venice, etc. Or the circumstances in the host community change, and the tourists get slaughtered, as in Egypt and Tunisia.

As I find, real-life situations do not support tourism as a peace-builder on a large scale. Clearly, there is a willingness to drive in the direction where tourism would be a peace builder. Nevertheless, there is room for further research, perhaps on a different methodology, on this important subject. Using discourse analysis, the question, again, is of choosing "the right" material.

There is the question of the need for the tourism industry to worry about serious security issues. Governmental actors are there for the protection of the citizens; they can gather information locally and globally, and that way, their actions can be pre-emptive. The tourism industry, however, should be aware of security issues and acknowledge what could occur. Knowledge of security issues brings confidence, not worries. Is there a need to print the security issues into the national tourism strategies/policies? My original thought was that security should be discussed in the strategies. Now that I have studied this phenomenon, it is still difficult for me to say whether it would be good to print or not. In the German case, where it is directly written, the text is very reassuring and does not raise any fears. The three other ones do not mention anything directly about security issues. On the one hand, it raises the question of whether the idea has been thought of at all, and on the other hand, it does not raise worries about security issues since it is not there. It might also be a cultural way of saying things. In Germany, one is more direct and fact-oriented, and directness is not what comes to mind first when thinking about French or Spanish culture.

Another interesting aspect of research in the future could be analyzing how economic considerations are balanced against security concerns in each document. As several studies indicate, security issues have an effect on tourism in the destination, and what kind of security discourse used in the context of the economy. Tourism, after all, is a big contributor to each of these four economies, as it is globally also.

Security is important in the tourism sector to acknowledge. The national tourism strategies used in this study also note that, mostly indirectly, but it is there. Perhaps it would be time to include security in the academic curriculum, also. Especially important it would be for students in universities of applied sciences and vocational institutes, their students will have jobs in more practical fields with tourists, implementing the strategies. As it would be important for university students who will possibly be working with these strategies. It would be beneficial to find room at least for a basic course on security issues in the tourism industry, or at least mention the issue within, for example, a sustainability course.

This study is merely scratching the surface of the theme. The concept of security in the context of tourism, especially in Finland, requires more thought and research to be invested in

it. Hopefully, this study gives someone inspiration to research the subject more deeply and widely. In addition, one wishes the concepts of security to be included in the curriculum of tourism studies, not to invoke fear but confidence through knowledge.

6. REFERENCES

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