



Turun yliopisto  
University of Turku

# **ENCOUNTERING MULTIPLE FUTURES**

## **Finnish survivalism as an anticipatory approach**

Master's Thesis  
in Futures Studies

Author:  
Marjukka Parkkinen

Supervisor:  
Prof. Sirkka Heinonen

10.9.2018  
Turku



Turun kauppakorkeakoulu • Turku School of Economics

The originality of this thesis has been checked in accordance with the University of Turku quality assurance system using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

## Table of contents

|       |  |    |
|-------|--|----|
| 1     | INTRODUCTION .....   | 5  |
| 1.1   | Surviving .....  | 5  |
| 1.2   | Hypothesis and research questions .....                    | 6  |
| 1.3   | Research gap and the originality of the thesis .....       | 7  |
| 1.4   | Outline of the thesis .....                                | 9  |
| 2     | THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....                 | 10 |
| 2.1   | Survivalism and preparedness .....                         | 10 |
| 2.2   | Anticipation in futures studies .....                      | 14 |
| 3     | RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHOD .....                         | 17 |
| 3.1   | Selection and gathering of the research material .....     | 17 |
| 3.2   | CLA based qualitative thematic text analysis .....         | 21 |
| 3.3   | Data quality, limitations and ethical considerations ..... | 25 |
| 4     | ANALYSIS .....   | 27 |
| 4.1   | Litany: Definitions and practice for survivalism .....     | 29 |
| 4.1.1 | Defining Finnish survivalism and preparedness .....        | 29 |
| 4.1.2 | Supplies and Do-It-Yourself .....                          | 30 |
| 4.1.3 | Skills and knowledge .....                                 | 32 |
| 4.1.4 | Bugging out .....  | 35 |
| 4.1.5 | Summarising litany .....                                   | 37 |
| 4.2   | Systemic cause: Factors causing the need to prepare .....  | 37 |
| 4.2.1 | The everyday .....   | 38 |
| 4.2.2 | Personal Shit Hits The Fan .....                           | 39 |
| 4.2.3 | National state of emergency and global threats .....       | 41 |
| 4.2.4 | The End Of The World As We Know It .....                   | 42 |
| 4.2.5 | Summarising systemic cause .....                           | 44 |
| 4.3   | Worldview: Survivalist ideologies and values .....         | 44 |
| 4.3.1 | Privacy .....  | 45 |
| 4.3.2 | Communality .....  | 46 |
| 4.3.3 | Norm-criticality .....                                     | 47 |
| 4.3.4 | Self-sufficiency .....                                     | 49 |
| 4.3.5 | Summarising worldview .....                                | 50 |
| 4.4   | Metaphor: The post-rational layer .....                    | 51 |

|       |   |    |
|-------|---|----|
| 4.4.1 | A collage on a blank canvas .....       | 51 |
| 4.4.2 | Futures as a Russian nesting doll ..... | 52 |
| 4.4.3 | Witnesses of the matricide .....        | 53 |
| 4.4.4 | Summarising metaphor .....              | 55 |
| 5     | SURVIVALISM AND ANTICIPATION.....       | 56 |
| 5.1   | Using the future .....                  | 56 |
| 5.2   | Dynamic identity .....                  | 57 |
| 5.3   | Testing the futures .....               | 58 |
| 5.4   | Resilience and survivalism.....         | 59 |
| 6     | CONCLUSIONS .....                       | 61 |
| 6.1   | Summary of key results.....             | 61 |
| 6.2   | Assessment of the research design ..... | 62 |
| 6.3   | Proposals for further research.....     | 63 |
|       | REFERENCES .....                        | 65 |

## List of figures

|          |   |    |
|----------|---|----|
| Figure 1 | The Causal Layered Analysis Pyramid (Inayatullah 2004c) ..... | 23 |
|----------|---|----|

## List of tables

|         |                              |    |
|---------|------------------------------|----|
| Table 1 | Research material .....      | 18 |
| Table 2 | Analysis categorisation..... | 28 |

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Surviving

*“For it is not, after all, really a question about whether you can know the unknown, arrive in it, but how to go about looking for it, how to travel.”*

Cultural historian Rebecca Solnit (2006)

One of the primary reasons to think about futures is to survive. To survive has many meanings from simply remaining alive or in existence, to enduring, outliving, carrying on and prospering<sup>1</sup>. It suggests existence and viability through different circumstances on many levels: species that struggle for their survival in Darwinian conflicts, an individual who lives through a heartache or a company that aims to overcome competitors. It can mean the survival of our physical bodies, communities or countries, the endurance of our property or relationships as well as the survival of values, a culture, a lifestyle or the environment. To survive proposes the ability to face situations ahead and live through successfully.

In the summer of 2018, Finland has witnessed abnormally warm weathers. Officials have warned of heat wave risks throughout July. Headlines alarm of *heat inferno* or *the country and citizens frying under the heat dome*<sup>2</sup>. In his column in Helsingin Sanomat 29 July 2018, journalist Tommi Nieminen suggests that in the middle of the heat wave and draught, we still deny the possibility of awaiting transnational disaster that the extreme conditions could be signs of, and, instead, concentrate on the everyday inconveniences caused by the unusually warm weather: ice cream that melts too fast, bed-sheets that feel uncomfortably warm. Referring to historian Christopher Clark, who wrote about Europe sleepwalking its way into the middle of the First World War, Nieminen asks *what is the hidden disaster like, to which we are unable or too indifferent to react on time?*

Surviving is fundamental. Furthermore, it is a question concerning the futures. (Becerra Vidergar 2013, 185). An essential part of successful survival is the anticipation of and preparation for the future. Thinking about futures has always been a part of human existence. Although survival in general has been, and continues to be a common motivator for many future-oriented actions, the ways, reasons, and resources to anticipate and prepare vary considerably. Predictions of futures and how these futures further influence

---

<sup>1</sup> Definition of *survive* according to Merriam-Webster. Source: Survive | Definition of Survive by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 25 March 2016 from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/survive>

<sup>2</sup> Front page of Iltalehti 23 July 2018 and Ilta-Sanomat 22 July 2018 <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/201807222201089027u0.shtml>

our lives are made in different kinds of organisations, but also by ordinary people as a part of their everyday processes (Bell 1997, 99).

What motivates this thesis is the interest in efforts to anticipate and encounter futures, which are never completely predictable or known in the present moment. Will the one who foresees climate change – which is merely one of things to anticipate – be safer than the person who could not see beyond their warm bed linen? How can we prepare for futures that are uncertain? Additionally, is there a way to balance between what we actually can know about futures and what, on the other hand, will remain beyond our understanding and focus?

In order to address these questions, a group of people who are fundamentally concerned of surviving the hardships ahead is examined. This thesis investigates the ways in which Finnish survivalists encounter futures and uncertainties. Survivalism, also known as preparedness, is a cultural movement, which anticipates and prepares for different kinds of disasters that vary between a power strike and the total collapse of the societal order.

## **1.2 Hypothesis and research questions**

There are special limitations that concern knowledge on futures. Firstly, anticipatory knowledge can never be fully verified in the present moment. Secondly, anticipated development is subject to complex and multiple causal interactions and processes. In addition, a new identified weak signal can have an impact on many intertwining causal processes. (Kuusi et al. 2015.) Thus, paradoxically, the quest to focus and foresee future is easily disturbed by the novel and surprising. Furthermore, according to Nassim Nicholas Taleb (2007) it is exactly the unpredictable and unknown development paths, so-called black swans for example, that have the greatest effects on the society.

The general objective of surviving in a world that is said to become more complex may require approaches that are able to embrace the uncertain and abandon the conventional. The researcher assumes that in what can be called their approach to futures, survivalists acknowledge the multiplicity of threats awaiting. Thus, they encounter futures in a specific way. Accordingly, the hypothesis of this thesis is that the way in which survivalists anticipate and encounter futures is particular, and unlike many conventional approaches of foresight, even free of external focal limitations to imagine any kinds of futures possible.

The aim of this thesis is to examine survivalist encounter with futures. Accordingly, the objective of the study is two-fold. Firstly, the empirical objective is to examine Finn-

ish present-day survivalism as a futures-oriented practice and lifestyle. Secondly, the theoretical objective is to discuss survivalism as an anticipatory approach. Following the hypothesis and the objectives of this study, three research questions are posed:

1. *How and why futures are foreseen and prepared for by Finnish survivalists?*
2. *What kind of an anticipatory approach is survivalism?*
3. *What can we learn about anticipation through survivalism?*

### **1.3 Research gap and the originality of the thesis**

Preparing for future threats – unknown, unpredictable, under the radar – attracts volumes of attention. According to the European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats – founded in Helsinki in 2017 – we are witnessing an era of hybrid threats, which by hurting the target aim to influence decision making on national, local or institutional level<sup>3</sup>. Naturally, discussion on national comprehensive security is largely interested in the analysis of possible threats and how to encounter them successfully (for Finland’s future see e.g. Minkkinen et al. 2017 and From Failand to Winland project<sup>4</sup> in general). In addition, there has been a growing interest towards the concept disaster resilience. For example efforts to analyse resilience in the context of strategic security have increased radically during the current century. Resilience is seen as a promise of an answer for the unknown threats of contemporary societies. (see e.g. Juntunen 2014; Comfort et al. 2010; Tierney 2014.)

According to the Finnish National Rescue Association, independent preparedness plays a vital role in surviving disturbances and emergencies. Despite this, little research has been conducted on how people prepare, how common preparedness is and what are the social aspects related to it. (Laurikainen 2016, 6.) Modern preparedness and survivalism as lifestyles or cultural movements in Finland have gained even less research attention. The focus on American survivalism has dominated the existing research throughout the years (see e.g. Becerra Vidergar 2013; Daniels 1999; Kabel & Chmidling 2014; Mitchell 2002). Survivalism is discreet as a topic, and only a few people give their faces to the movement in public discussions in Finland. Consequently, the public opinion is largely dependent on what and how these people tell about survivalism and preparedness. By analysing multi-source media texts next to, but more importantly, beyond so-called mainstream media, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis on the under-studied topic of Finnish present-day survivalism.

---

<sup>3</sup> Source: Hybrid CoE (2018) Retrieved 11 August 2018 from <https://www.hybridcoe.fi/hybrid-threats/>

<sup>4</sup> From Failand to Winland (n.d.) Retrieved 11 August 2018 from <https://winlandtutkimus.fi/english/>

Next to the empirical effort, this thesis undertakes an analytical effort to examine survivalism as an anticipatory capacity and approach. According to Boyd et al. (2015), the study of anticipation is still fragmented and the practice of anticipation particularly requires further analytical efforts. According to Roberto Poli (2017b, 3), there have not been many organised studies to form a rigorous comprehension of various kinds of anticipation. Furthermore, the capacity to anticipate complex conditions can increase the resilience of societies, says Poli (2017b, 5; 7). Therefore, it can be said that the study of disaster preparedness and the anticipatory paradigm within futures studies have mutual interests. By analysing survivalism as an anticipatory approach and futures-oriented practice, this thesis contributes to both by examining the ways in one can cope in complex environments.

Concerning methods, the thesis deploys an applied qualitative analysis, which builds on two methods: qualitative thematic text analysis (Kuckartz 2014) and futures research method causal layered analysis (CLA) (see e.g. Inayatullah 1998; 2004a; 2009; 2015). Instead of producing alternative futures images, the general purpose with causal layered analysis in this thesis is to provide an analytical framework for investigating the deep and even hidden layers of the research topic. Thematic text analysis contributes to the analysis with rigorous and transparent data structuration. A recent effort to clarify the methodological fuzziness of CLA in practice has been suggested by Katariina Kiviluoto (2017) in her master's thesis.

As this thesis examines perceptions and assumptions related to futures held by a group of people, it contributes to the critical paradigm of futures studies. Anita Rubin (2017, 253) suggests that instead of making predictions or examining the options ahead of us, the task of critical futures studies is to “*clarify why we think like we do about the future*”. Sohail Inayatullah divides the discourses of the future in three interrelated, yet separate categories: 1) the predictive approach, which is epistemologically linked to empirical knowledge, 2) the cultural discourse, which is coined to interpretative approach and 3) critical approach, which takes a poststructural standpoint towards futures<sup>5</sup>. The objective of the critical approach is to *undefine* the future instead of defining it. Thus, the critical approach allows the deconstruction and reconstruction of alternative futures. (Inayatullah 1990, 137; 2004a, 5–7; 2004b, 55.) Hyeonju Son (2015, 129) states that whereas foresight is concerned with empirical and external, critical futures studies acknowledges the symbolic functions related to futures as well as fact that futures are socially constructed. According to Richard Slaughter (2003, 93), critical futures studies focuses on “re-negotiation of meanings”, without predictive interest. Rubin (2017, 258) proposes that critical

---

<sup>5</sup> Inayatullah also uses the categorisation of empirical, interpretive and critical (Inayatullah 1998).



futures studies is essentially based on conscious and unconscious thoughts and assumptions underlying different images of the futures. It aims to uncover new alternative futures by deconstructing assumptions behind them.

According to futures scholars, there is a need for critical investigations in the field. Richard Slaughter (2016) argues that while many futures studies papers are pragmatic or even progressive, few are genuinely critical. Son (2015, 129) suggests that critical futures studies are positioned as a counterbalance to foresight, which is the dominant field within futures studies. Ahlqvist & Rhisiart (2015) divide the field of futures studies into utilitarian and critical paradigms and state that there is a growing tendency towards utilitarian thinking instead of critical and emancipatory approach.

## **1.4 Outline of the thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters, outlined here in chapter one. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. It consists of the concept of survivalism and theory of anticipation in the field of futures studies. In the third chapter, the research material and method are elaborated. This thesis deploys qualitative thematic text analysis, to which futures studies method causal layered analysis provides the analytical framework. The third chapter is concluded with considerations of data quality, ethical questions and limitations of the study. The analysis in chapter 4 answers the first research question, namely, *how and why futures are foreseen and prepared for by Finnish survivalists*. The research material consists of different types of media texts: web forum texts from an online Finnish survivalism page [survivalismi.com](http://survivalismi.com), a radio interview, a documentary television film and seven newspaper articles from the period of 2010–2018. By applying qualitative thematic text analysis based on causal layered analysis on these texts, the ways in which Finnish survivalists imagine the futures ahead and prepare for them are investigated. Chapter 5 provides the discussion part of the thesis, in which the researcher answers the second and third research questions, reflecting the analysis results of the previous chapter to theories of anticipation. Finally, conclusions are provided in chapter six with summary of the results, assessment of the research design and proposals for further research.

## 2 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Survivalism and preparedness

Before observing the concepts of survivalism and preparedness more closely, a notion concerning the fuzziness of their use requires to be addressed. The concept of preparedness is favoured over survivalism specifically in public discussion (see e.g. Karosto & Karppinen 2011 and references in the analysis). Karosto and Karppinen (2011) state that survivalism refers particularly to the Cold War era, after which preparedness became more popularly used<sup>6</sup>. The disapproval towards the concept of survivalism may be due to the ideological connotations related to it (see e.g. Lamy 1996; 1997; Rantanen 2015). Although survivalism and preparedness differ in discourse – to prepare may help to survive but does not guarantee it, and, one can survive without preparing – they are often used synonymously in literature, media discussion and spoken language alike. This was evident also in the research data of this study. Thus, the two concepts are used somewhat synonymously in this thesis as well.

Preparedness can be exercised on many levels: by the state, municipalities, natural systems, regional operators, business, individuals or communities. In the Vocabulary of Comprehensive Security, preparedness is defined as activity, which guarantees the successful management of tasks as well as the additional procedures that may be required upon emergencies or in a case of disruption. Independent preparedness and self-preparedness refer to the activities conducted by individuals or communities, aiming to prevent accidents or take action in the case of an emergency. (Kokonaisturvallisuuden sanasto 2017, 36–39.)

Philip Lamy describes survivalism as “*loosely structured yet pervasive belief system and set of practices focusing on disaster preparedness*”. The degree of preparedness varies from apocalyptic cults and white supremacists to so-called boy scout survivalists, who declare to prepare for hardships only. (Lamy 1996, 14.) Although Lamy’s notion on variation dates to the end of Millennium U.S.A., it would also be challenging to define survivalists as a homogenous group of people at the current moment. Nevertheless, the common nominator for survivalists is the anticipation of different possible futures as well as the preparation to encounter them (Mitchell 2002). As anticipation of different kinds of catastrophes is at the core of the survivalist identity, the ways in which preppers<sup>7</sup> see the outside world often change alongside with survivalist practice. (Kabel & Chmidling 2014,

---

<sup>6</sup> Yet, in their guidebook to Finnish survivalism, the concepts of preparedness, surviving and survivalism are used side by side (Karosto & Karppinen 2011, 11).

<sup>7</sup> ‘Prepper’ refers to a person who prepares for a disaster. Thus, it is used synonymously with ‘survivalist’ in this thesis.

263.) According to Lamy (1997, 96), most survivalists believe that the social, economic, ecological and industrial world we are living in is corrupt and at the end of the rope. Lamy describes survivalism as a “practical” approach to different disasters that are man-made, natural or supernatural in character. For him, survivalism is “*philosophy and practice of disaster preparedness*” (Lamy 1996, 5; 1997, 94–96.)

Overall, survivalists turn the different speculated scenarios into practice by exercising skills and knowledge they consider required for survival. Escaping from society and self-sufficiency are oftentimes at the core of survivalist tactics (Lamy 1996, 69). One of the academic texts on survivalism outside North America is by Lina Rahm (2013), who analyses the online forum texts about The End Of The World As We Know It (TEOT-WAWKI) situations and addresses the aspects related to body, gender, and sexuality on Swedish Survivalist Forum. According to Rahm, in the context of survivalists, the practical efforts to prepare often include the collection of items required for defence, safety, or nutrition as well as the improvement of social, mental and physical skills required for survival. Lamy (1996, 69; 1997, 96) lists stocking food, medicine and weaponry, planning and purchasing of crisis relocation and the practice of strategies as ways of rehearse survivalism. Becerra Vidergard (2013, 45, 88–89) states that the preparing occurs in many forms: it can be as much about stocking food, water and other supplies, as it is about more grand actions, such as gathering weaponry and building shelters.

Modern survivalism in western context is often connected to the United States of America and the geopolitical tensions that prevailed in the country during the Cold War. As Evan Osnos says in his report in the *New Yorker*, during the Cold War “*Armageddon became a matter for government policymakers*”, with President Truman sharing instructions to citizens on how to survive a nuclear strike. Another illustrative example is, when in 1961 John F. Kennedy requested citizens to help in building fallout shelters. (Osnos 2017.) Another person to encourage the nation to prepare against a nuclear war in public was the early futurist Herman Kahn, who published his book *On Thermonuclear War* in 1960 (Ghamari-Tabrizi 2015, 17–18). One of the peaks in interest towards survivalism occurred in 1999, when the fear of the Y2K or the Millennium bug shook the society. The most recent influential event that has increased the interest towards preparedness — especially in the U.S.A. — occurred immediately after the 9/11 attacks in September 2001. The sudden trauma alongside with the “war on terror”, together with environmental conflicts, economic crashes, and nuclear technology debates, made survivalism attractive after a quiet era. Osnos states that Barack Obama’s re-election was beneficial for prepping industry especially among the Conservatives. Nevertheless, the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States had an impact as well: over 13 000 Americans were reported to have registered with immigrant authorities to seek residency in New Zealand immediately after Trump’s election. (Osnos 2017.)

According to Kabel & Chmidling (2015), the survivalist movement and disaster-prepping phenomenon in the United States currently resemble a lifestyle movement. When discussing contemporary apocalyptic movements, Lamy contextualises survivalism as secular millennialism<sup>8</sup>, since the anticipated apocalypse will most likely be man-made instead of stemming from religious prophecies. Whereas religious millennialist movements believe that the apocalypse is organised around messianic events, secular movements arrange their doomsday anticipation around politics, ideology and alternative visions of society. Many American survivalists, continues Lamy, believe in conspiracy theories, in which for example the U.S. government or the United Nations scheme to create socialist settings of elite in control. Nevertheless, similarities between secular and religious movements exist. Secularists may utilise apocalyptic imagery and ideas – for example “Nuclear Armageddon” – in a similar way as religious movements. Furthermore, religious movements can interpret secular ideas through their mythologies. (Lamy 1997, 94–96.) Interestingly, Son (2015, 122) lists religions as one of the five intellectual traditions that have influenced modern day futures thinking<sup>9</sup>. Founding his arguments in Judaism of the Greco-Roman period literature on apocalypse, Matthias Riedl (2010) introduces the concept of proleptic<sup>10</sup> existence, a form of existence revolving around a psychological disposition of anticipating a transformed future. The consciousness of a human being with proleptic existence “prefigures the order of the beyond”, meaning the future reality. Riedl suggests such an existence to become a growing feature of Western society.

As stated, survivalists are not easily defined as a homogenous group of people. In her master’s thesis on preppers in the United States, Laura Rantanen questions the idea of survivalists as a cohesive group of people, a subculture or a lifestyle, due to the conflicting readings in her analysis on survivalist ideologies. On one hand, survivalism is a project that rebels against prevailing societal norms, and on the other, it reproduces and reinforces the status quo. (Rantanen 2015.) Mitchell (2002, 9) suggests survivalism to be both a response to and a consequence of modern times and rationalisation, a creative stance between contextual restraints and self-constituting actions. According to Mitchell, survivalists do not reject the social order, but desire something different: for example, creativity instead of control. This creativity is epitomised through inventing new narratives, to which Mitchell refers as “crafting culture”. Rahm (2013) states that survivalists deny the

---

<sup>8</sup> Millennialism in general refers to collective salvationism brought about by an agency that may be supernatural (Cohn according to Daniels 1999, 3). Thus, millennialism is connected to religion, whereas millennialism – which also anticipates a major transformative change in the future – exists in different cultures and religions (Wikipedia contributors 2018).

<sup>9</sup> The other four are 1) utopias, 2) historicism, 3) science fiction and 4) systems thinking (ibid.)

<sup>10</sup> Definition of prolepsis according to Merriam-Webster is “*the representation or assumption of a future act or development as if presently existing or accomplished*”. Source: Prolepsis | Definition of Prolepsis by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 30 July 2018 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/prolepsis>

business as usual approaches as insufficient, and concentrate on “speculative prophesying” instead, thus positioning survivalism as a norm-critical way to organise the everyday. Neo-liberal views and limitless growth are criticised in particular. (Rahm 2013.) Kabel and Chmidling (2014, 259) suggest some of the core ideologies within prepper movement to be mistrust towards federal government as well as the responsibility to provide to oneself and family members upon a disaster, as the governmental services will fail to do so.

Although Mitchell (2002) positions survivalist as opposite to so-called rationally ordered industrial society. However, signals indicate that economic leaders are preparing for the worse as well. For example, Evan Osnos (2017) writes about preparedness of the Silicone Valley’s super-rich executives and billionaires, who buy property for disaster hideaways in e.g. New Zealand. In media platform *Medium*, Douglas Rushkoff describes how a group of very wealthy hedge funders asked him for a technological consultation regarding how to survive ‘the event’, which they use as a euphemism for an environmental collapse. Both examples indicate how those in power already see the signs of fragility of the economic system in which they operate. Furthermore, they seem to have little hope for the future. As Rushkoff (2018) notes, “*For all their wealth and power, they don’t believe they can affect the future.*”

Little academic attention has been devoted to survivalism and preparedness. In 1999 Ted Daniels estimated that secular or political millennialism would begin to attract analytical attention in the same way than religious millennialism had before. According to Daniels, all millennialism is to some extent political in the end. *Dancing in the Armageddon : Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times* by Richard G. Mitchell Jr. (2002) is one of the rare case studies on the topic. For his book, Mitchell observed American survivalists for decades. Mitchell (2002, 15) reasons that the inconveniency of survivalism as a research topic is due to the informality and fluidity of survivalists actions and events as well as the discourse surrounding the subject. Following this, the privacy and secrecy of survivalists is a challenge for analytical efforts. One of the reasons behind the discreetness and secrecy may lie in persisting stereotypical images in the public discussion, partly related to connotations between survivalist practices and extremists. For example, nationalist movement leaders may use doomsday predictions for recruiting purposes or for legitimating questionable actions. According to Philip Lamy, there are plenty examples of American nationalism that has utilised millennial rhetoric. (Lamy 1997, 113.)

Despite the lack of academic studies on survivalism or individual disaster preparedness, the topic has increasingly gained attention in popular culture. Next to guidebooks that address disasters and tips on how to survive them, survivalism has been a popular topic in movies, fictional literature, TV series and reality shows that include survivalist practice. *Doomsday Preppers*, *Alone* and *Naked and Afraid* are some of the recent TV shows on the topic. In her doctoral dissertation in comparative literature, Angela Mercedes Becerra Vidregar (2013) has analysed post-disaster fictional narratives that address

mass-scale destruction. According to Becerra Vidergar, an immersion into fictive texts about disasters is always an immersion into an experience of surviving.

## 2.2 Anticipation in futures studies

In 1981 futures researcher Roy Amara stated, “*Our knowledge of how people generate images is incomplete*”. By images Amara refers to the act of describing possible paths to future. One effort to study how images of the futures are made and how they further influence the action in the present moment is undertaken in the field of anticipation studies. The second aim of this thesis is to understand survivalism as an anticipatory approach, or, using Poli’s concepts, how survivalists *use* the future at this present time.

The concept of anticipation is applied in many fields of study. Next to futures studies, biology, psychology and governance, among others, deploy anticipation (Boyd et al. 2015.) According to Roberto Poli anticipation as a paradigm is gaining popularity. As recent examples Poli lists Martin Seligman’s science of prospection within the field of psychology, Jens Beckert’s work on fictional expectations and the architecture of economics as well as anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s theorisation on future as a cultural fact. (Poli 2017a, 3–4.) Despite the partial efforts to construct an extensive understanding on the various forms of anticipation, the foundation of the field is still developing (Boyd et al. 2015).

In the context of futures studies, the study of anticipation is often related to theoretical biology and, in particular, to Robert Rosen’s theory of anticipatory systems (for Rosen’s theory as the basis for foresight, see e.g. Louie 2010). Overall, Rosen’s theory has broadly been applied to human systems (Boyd et al. 2015, 152). In the field of futures studies anticipation has also been called a subfield of futures studies (Miller, Poli & Rossel 2013, 4)<sup>11</sup>. According to Poli (2017a, 3), the dominating theories of time and causation are in a need of revision, as they are not able to consider anticipation.

On a general level, anticipation refers to “*future-based information acting in the present*” (Poli 2017b, 260). Anticipatory behaviour is the kind of behaviour that “‘*uses*’ the future” when making decisions that influence the action in the present moment (Poli 2017a, 2; 2017b, 1). Miller et al. (2018, 52; 2013, 3) suggest that every effort made in order to know the future is a form of anticipation, if the effort includes thinking about the future and using the future. Anticipation is a part of every existing phenomenon, be it informed, unconscious, or existing as ideas of physical action (Miller et al. 2018, 52).

---

<sup>11</sup> As such, neither the concept of anticipation nor the focus of the study of anticipation are completely new. Already De Jouvenel (1967, 26) wrote, how it is the representation of a future event that guides our actions (or, on other words, anticipated reactions). Wendell Bell (1997, 143) states that without thinking about the future, we are merely reacting instead of reacting.

According to Poli, anticipation consists of two parts: firstly, the attitude of looking forward and, by doing so, forming a model of a future development. Secondly, the information acquired in the first phase is utilised in the present moment (Poli 2017a, 2; 2017b, 261). A system that is anticipatory in its nature makes a decision here and now, at this moment, based on anticipations on possible events occurring in the time to come. These systems are not exclusively human, as anticipation is a characteristic of “*most types of real systems*”. (Poli 2017a, 3.)

Roberto Poli suggests a three-fold classification for futures studies: forecasting, foresight and anticipation. Forecasting, the first level of futures studies according to the classification, concerns predictions – many times quantitative and extrapolative – of either very short or very long term. The second layer, foresight, is qualitative, focuses on discontinuities and regards alternative possible futures instead of singular predictions. Yet, according to Poli, foresight “*shows a limited acceptance of complexity*”. The third level of futures studies, anticipation, uses the results of the first two levels with an aim to incorporate them into decision-making and actions following it. (Poli 2017a, 5.) Overall, the theory of anticipation provides tools to understand anticipatory capabilities, and by doing so, enables different approaches to move beyond the ways in which futures are conceived (Poli 2017b, 265).

In another, earlier definition of the ontology of anticipation in futures studies, Poli roughly categorises the large variety of the field to follow two main underlying assumptions: 1) future is at least partly structured and regulated by past (the forecasting viewpoint), and 2) it can be more successfully encountered with sufficient preparations (the scenario viewpoint). According to Poli, anticipatory systems represent third viewpoint, which synthesises the aforementioned two viewpoints. Whereas foresight and scenario are cognitive strategies, anticipation is a property within the system. (Poli 2010a, 769–770.)

Importantly, Poli distinguishes systems that are able to show anticipatory behaviour from the capacity of anticipation. Correspondingly, these two are studied in different ways. While the study of anticipation as a capacity is descriptive and concerns anticipation as an empirical phenomenon, the study of anticipatory behaviour aims to understand what fundamentally enables anticipation. (Poli 2017b, 268; 2010b.) Although the factors enabling survivalist anticipatory behaviour are discussed to some extent in this thesis, the aim is undoubtedly to study survivalist encounter with futures as an anticipatory capacity.

However, this thesis deploys yet another term somewhat synonymously to anticipatory capacity that is considered to describe the act studied in a more accurate way. Namely, the thesis discusses survivalism as an anticipatory *approach*. Whereas capacity refers to

competency, suitability or fitness<sup>12</sup>, approach, although not precisely defined, carries the idea of intentional action towards the desired result<sup>13</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup> Definition of *capacity* according to Merriam-Webster. Source: Capacity | Definition of Capacity by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 6 September 2018 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/capacity>

<sup>13</sup> Definition of *approach* according to Merriam-Webster. Source: Approach | Definition of Approach by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 6 September 2018 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/approach>



### 3 RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHOD

#### 3.1 Selection and gathering of the research material

This thesis examines conceptions of people who self-identify as survivalists or preppers. Considering the privacy of the topic, the researcher decided to analyse media texts instead of gathering material with alternative ways, such as interviews. When observing the articles on survivalism, it was clear that only a few persons in Finland have discussed survivalism in public with their own names. Most likely, the volunteers for an interview would have been the same persons. In order to include a representation on Finnish survivalism that is broader than the one provided by a small group of people in mainstream media, research material was also gathered from an internet discussion forum. Internet forums have become an important medium and a social area for survivalists (see e.g. Kabel & Chmidling 2014; Rahm 2012), as they offer a way to discuss scenarios and practices anonymously. The process of selection and gathering of the research material is elaborated in the following. The validity and reliability of data are discussed in chapter 3.3.

Altogether, the research data consists of 15 items, which can be categorised as two different types of data (see Table 1). Firstly, there are six bodies of text<sup>14</sup> gathered from a Finnish survivalist online discussion forum, *survivalismi.com*. They include the index of the web page (item 1) and five web forum topics (items 2–6) with messages (also referred to as posts), submitted by the online forum members. Secondly, there are nine texts (7–15) about survivalists or preppers, produced by journalists, reporters or a documentary maker. These texts, collected from public media sources, can be seen to represent the more ‘official’ viewpoint on survivalism. Although all the texts can be described as media documents, they are very different in their context: one part of them is made by journalists or document maker for a public audience. Another part of the texts is written by survivalists themselves and they are mainly used for communication within the prepper community. Both types serve their own purpose in this thesis. The mainstream media texts alone were not considered to provide a more varied picture of survivalism. Following this reasoning, the web forum texts offer plurality of viewpoints to support the image of survivalism portrayed in the mainstream media by the few preppers.

The titles of the research material, their type of media, content in short and their references – also used in the analysis – are provided in Table 1. The titles are translated from Finnish to English by the author. Full details of the material are provided in references.

---

<sup>14</sup> Text here refers to not only written documents, but also audio and audiovisual content that have been transcribed in form of a text by the researcher.

Table 1 Research material

| Item nr.                                   | Title (translated by author)                        | Type  | Content   | Reference     |
|--|---|---|---|---------------|
| <b>Data from survivalismi.com web page</b> |   |   |   |               |
| 1  | <i>Survivalismi.com</i>                             | Web page  | A list of seven categories, 52 sub-categories and 1022 discussion topics                      | S.com 2017a   |
| 2  | <i>How you prepped today</i>                        | Web forum topic   | 484 posts on the topic  | S.com 2017b   |
| 3  | <i>Personal SHTF<sup>15</sup></i>                   | Web forum topic   | 14 posts on the topic   | S.com 2017c   |
| 4  | <i>Highlights of 2016</i>                           | Web forum topic   | 18 posts on the topic   | S.com 2017d   |
| 5  | <i>Is survivalism out of fashion?</i>               | Web forum topic   | 50 posts on the topic   | S.com 2017e   |
| 6  | <i>Survivalism and spouses and other close ones</i> | Web forum topic   | 38 posts on the topic   | S.com 2017f   |
| <b>Data from mainstream media sources</b>  |   |   |   |               |
| 7  | <i>What does a Finnish survivalist prepare for?</i> | Radio interview at YLE news web page, transcribed as text by the author             | Interview of Pasi Karosto on survivalism and preparedness.                                    | Häkkinen 2013 |
| 8  | <i>Warrior of the collapse tribe</i>                | Documentary television film at YLE news web page, transcribed as text by the author | Survivalist Miika Vanhapiha prepares for the end of the world as we know it.                  | Richt 2016    |
| 9  | <i>May the end of the world come</i>                | Report in Ylioppilaslehti student magazine  | Pasi Karosto and moniker Metsäsusi discuss survivalism. References to survivalismi.com forum. | Hallamaa 2012 |

<sup>15</sup> “SHTF” is survivalist slang and stands for Shit Hits The Fan. It is used to refer to catastrophic events.

|    |  |   |  |                  |
|----|--|---|--|------------------|
| 10 | <i>"This is how I became a witch" – Miika Vanhapiha sees visions and gathers a collapse tribe in Forssa</i>  | Report in Aamulehti newspaper             | Miika Vanhapiha discusses collapse and witchcraft.   | Karhunkorpi 2017 |
| 11 | <i>Survivalist reserves food for a couple of months in home</i>  | Report in Maaseudun tulevaisuus newspaper | Pasi Karosto discusses home emergency supply.  | Koljonen 2011    |
| 12 | <i>Markku Teräs has learned to hunt rabbits with a bow and to make lanterns out of pig bladder – survivalists prepare for the day when society collapses</i> | Report in Helsingin Sanomat newspaper     | Survivalist Markku Teräs and prepper Vesa-Pekka Rantalainen discuss emergency preparedness | Nieminen 2017    |
| 13 | <i>Survivalists prepare for everything</i>   | Report on YLE Uutiset news web page       | Pasi Karosto discusses survivalism.  | Niiranen 2010    |
| 14 | <i>Finnish survivalist does not build a bunker</i>   | Report at YLE news web page               | Survivalist Pasi Karosto discusses survivalism.  | Toivanen 2013    |
| 15 | <i>Survivalist wants to live!</i>  | Report in VOIMA magazine                  | Several nicknames from survivalismi.com forum interviewed about survivalism.               | Vähähyppä 2010   |

The item 1 is a list of seven different forum categories, their sub-categories and the 1022 topics within these categories. It was gathered from the web page as a word document. It was used to provide support and structure for the analysis. The landing page of the web forum lists seven different forums. Each of the seven forums have a range of sub-forums, which are further divided into topics. Under these topics, forum members communicate by writing posts related to the topic in question.

According to the web page statistics of survivalismi.com, there were 471 registered members, 1022 topics and 26552 posts on the page on 9 March 2017. As the amount of material on the web page is vast, the extent of material that would be gathered as research data needed to be limited. The limitation was made according to an initial analysis of what would best describe the survivalism as an anticipatory approach. According to Kuckartz (2014, 74) the qualitative text analysis may begin already before collecting the data. This was the case in the thesis, as the initial analysis was done by the first examina-

tion of the web page as well as the research literature on survivalism. In practice, purposive sampling (further elaborated in chapter 3.3) was conducted. As a result, out of the 1022 topics five were collected for the analysis after scanning the whole forum<sup>16</sup>. These five topics constitute to items 2–6, altogether 604 individual posts<sup>17</sup>. A post is a piece of text written under a discussion topic by a registered member of the web forum. The length of a post varies between a few words and hundreds of words. All the posts from these five topics were collected on 9 March 2017 by using the print mode available on each page of the topic. Using the print mode, the posts were copied in a word document.

The material collected from the web forum was considered inadequate for a comprehensive analysis on Finnish survivalism without supplementary data. Anonymous web forum discussions as the only research data pose challenges related to credibility and bias, as the members are not using their real names. For example, forum members can express e.g. radical or controversial opinions more freely than by using their own name. Furthermore, the researcher may not understand the tones or meanings that are shared for the online community. Thus, in order to avoid possible bias, further non-anonymous research material was collected from newspapers and other media sources (items 7–15). First, searches within two large national media were conducted: Helsingin Sanomat newspaper and YLE web page. Search word utilised was ‘survivalismi’ (Finnish for survivalism). Only items, which concerned Finnish survivalists and their practice or viewpoints were included in the research data<sup>18</sup>. As a result, one item from Helsingin Sanomat and four from YLE were gathered. After this, an additional data collection with general web search using google search engine was made. This resulted altogether in five items from Maaseudun tulevaisuus, Aamulehti, VOIMA and Ylioppilaslehti. As the focus of this thesis is on present-day survivalism, items starting from 2010 were included in the research data.

Notably, the data items from web forum and media sites intertwine. For example, two of the articles (Hallamaa 2012; Vähähyyppä 2010) use survivalismi.org forum texts as a material. In Vähähyyppä’s article, the interviewees use their forum nicknames instead of their real names. In addition, the forum is also referred to in some of the media data (Hallamaa 2012; Häkkinen 2013; Niiranen 2010). Overall, the two different types of texts offer completing viewpoints to the topic and enable a more diverse analysis.

---

<sup>16</sup> Statistically, out of the 26552 posts written on the forum by 9 March 2017, 604 posts were gathered as research data.

<sup>17</sup> The oldest post was from 31 January 2015.

<sup>18</sup> For this reason, an article in Helsingin Sanomat reviewing a fictional book on survivalists was left outside the research data.

### 3.2 CLA based qualitative thematic text analysis

This thesis deploys a combination of qualitative thematic text analysis as the primary method of analysis and causal layered analysis (CLA) as an analytical framework. CLA is a qualitative research method deployed particularly within critical futures studies for in-depth examination of different trends and topics. In the analysis, thematic text analysis provides a tool for rigorous and transparent data structuration as well as the coding process. Causal layered analysis offers an analytical framework for categorising the data in two intertwining ways: firstly by offering the main categories for the analysis through the four CLA layers, and secondly by enabling the investigation of alternatives through the sub-categories within the four main categories. In the following, qualitative thematic text analysis and causal layered analysis are elaborated. In addition, the specific way in which the two methods are combined and applied in this thesis is reasoned.

Within qualitative analysis, the collection and analysis of the data, the process of developing and verifying the relationships between the categories of data and finally the presentation of conclusions form an interactive and interrelated set of processes (Saunders et al. 2003, 385). One of the most important characteristics of qualitative content analysis is the establishment of analysis categories that are sufficiently precise (Silverman 2001, 123). In qualitative thematic text analysis, the construction of analysis categories can be formed either inductively from the data, or deductively, based on a theory (Kuckartz 2014, 74). Yet, purely inductive – as well as purely deductive – construction of categories is uncommon (Kuckartz 2014, 74). Notably, the literature research as well as CLA as an analytical framework have both influenced the categorisation in this thesis. Yet, the analysis is largely data-grounded, as the analysis concentrates on investigating the similarities within the data. Although the analysis in this thesis moves between inductive and deductive, the process has been primarily inductive, as the research data has had the strongest influence on the formation of analysis categories.

Causal layered analysis (CLA) is a research method, theory, and a tool pioneered within critical futures studies, developed by Sohail Inayatullah (See e.g. Inayatullah 1998; 2004a; 2009; 2015). There are multiple ways to apply CLA: it can be used for scholarly research and a way to analyse data, or in workshops or as a tool to plan and organise strategies (Inayatullah 2015, 21).

The starting point with CLA is that different levels of realities and knowledge exist and many perspectives can be present in the research simultaneously. (Inayatullah 1998, 817; 820; 825.) According to Inayatullah (2004a, 1; 2004b, 55), rather than predicting the future, CLA creates novel epistemological spaces, which enable the construction of alternative futures. Post-structural critical approach emphasises the problematisation of analysis units instead of prediction or comparison. Inayatullah describes this as ‘undefining’

the future instead of ‘defining’ it. (1998, 816.) CLA helps to discuss the deeper assumptions about rationality, nature, time and agency, which influence strongly the ways in which futures are conceived. In CLA, these perceptions are explored particularly through the concepts of metaphors and myths. As the metaphors and myths guide our perception of the future, it is necessary to explore them critically, and deconstruct them in order to go beyond rational understanding and creation of the futures. (Inayatullah, 1998, 819.)

Milojević (2015, 548) suggests that next to a stand-alone process, CLA can be used together with “other futures methodologies”<sup>19</sup>. Recently, there have also been applications where CLA has been combined with methods that are not necessarily considered as part of the toolkit of futures studies. For example, in her study on sustainable transport campaign and futures images, Kiviluoto (2017) combined causal layered analysis with content analysis.

In practice, CLA functions through four intertwining and deepening layers. They are 1) litany, 2) social causes, 3) discourse/worldview and 4) myth/metaphor. The layers build on top of each other in a similar way to an iceberg or a pyramid (see Figure 1): the level of litany is the one we see, and the level of myth/metaphor is the least visible of the layers. In addition, the higher the level, the more short term are the approaches. The analysis moves up and down these four layers, which integrates analysis and synthesis. (Inayatullah 1998; 2004a; 2004c; Milojević 2015, 537.) CLA also acknowledges vertical movement of the analysis within the layers, which integrates different discourses within the examined issue. According to Inayatullah, the emphasis of the method is rather on vertical dimensions than on the horizontal dimensions. (Inayatullah 1998, 2004a).

---

<sup>19</sup> In futures studies, applications of CLA with other qualitative methods have been suggested in various ways in recent years. As some recent examples, CLA has been combined with scenario processes by Minkinen et al. (2018) and with gamification by Heinonen et al. (2015; 2017).

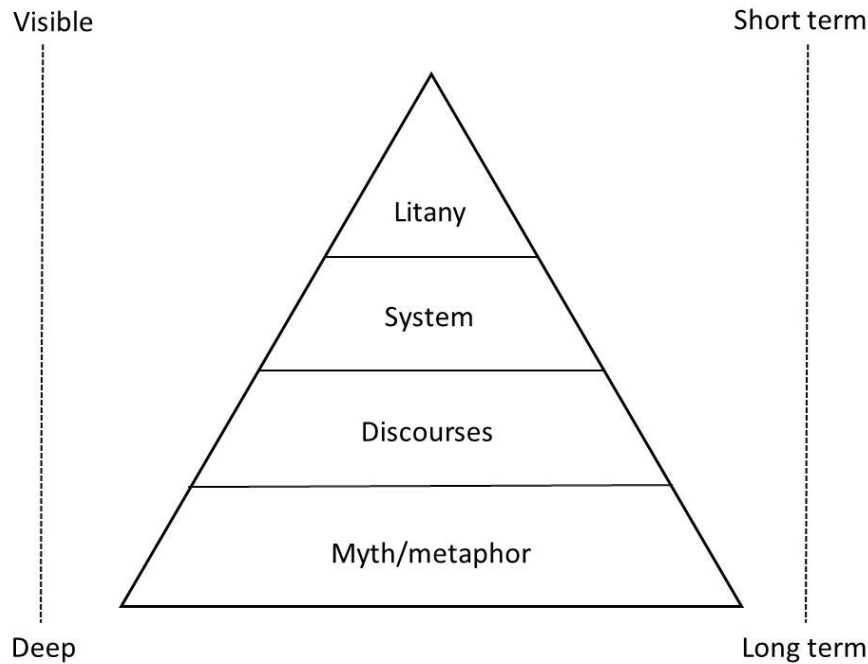


Figure 1 The Causal Layered Analysis Pyramid (Inayatullah 2004c)

The litany level is the one closest to the surface, and it concerns the popular, disconnected and even obvious conception as well as the quantitative trends in an official media descriptions of the issue in question. It is “*the official unquestioned view of reality*”. However, beneath this level lie the other layers, and the deeper understanding of issues demands including litany into the analysis. The level of litany provides the most visible and obvious layer of the issue studied. On this level, little analytical skills are required. (Inayatullah 2004a, 1; 11–12; Milojević 2015, 539–540.) Milojević (2015, 540) states that the goal of CLA in general is to move beyond the first level after its identification and analysis.

The second level is systemic/social cause. According to Inayatullah, the level concerns factors that are social, technological, economic, environmental, political and historical in nature. The object of interpretation can be e.g. academic analysis or technical and quantitative data. Furthermore, the level enables the investigation of the interests of different actors. On the second level, the results of the litany level are critically observed and questioned. (Inayatullah 2004a, 12.) According to Milojević (2015, 542), the second level of CLA is yet too close to the level of litany to truly reveal alternative futures.

Discourse/worldview is the third level of CLA. It is involved with deeper, actor-invariant structure and discourse not just mediating but also legitimising the issue. Here, discursive and ideological assumptions, worldview, stakeholders and epistemic issues are unpacked. Analysis can concentrate on one of the four discourses or on a mix of different discourses. Yet, says Inayatullah, one should not be too concentrated to choose one, as

the most important objective is to “*search for deeper positions that create notions of collective identity*”. (Inayatullah 2004a, 12–13.) According to Milojević (2015, 544), the worldviews are best accessed exactly through an analysis on stakeholder positions and perspectives. Inayatullah (2004a, 13–14) states that it is exactly the differences of the discourses that allow the horizontal movement in the CLA, as they offer “*discrete alternative scenarios*” or “*alternative vantage points*”.

The fourth layer is myth/metaphor, and it analyses the unconscious, emotive or even paradoxical gut experience to the worldview concerned. The metaphor may not epitomise through explicit language as much as visual images. According to Inayatullah, myth level addresses the deep, non-rational and post-rational assumptions about the future as well as the nature of time, rationality or agency. Articulating alternative metaphors is a powerful tool to challenge the present. (Inayatullah 1998; 2004a, 13; Riedy 2008.) According to Inayatullah (1998, 2004a) the emphasis of the method is rather on *vertical* dimensions than on the *horizontal* dimensions.

Inayatullah states that the conventional academic analysis often stays on the first two levels, occasionally drifting towards the third. However, the myth level usually remains untouched. The myth level is central when differentiating the method from other tools used in the futures studies field. (Inayatullah, 1998, 817, 821.) However, the levels of worldview and myth/metaphor in particular can be challenging for a researcher deploying CLA. Successful analysis of the fourth layer requires that the researcher is familiar with research on myths and worldview. (Rubin 2017, 266.) In this thesis, worldview follows the definition of “*the common body of beliefs shared by a group of speakers about the world and their relationship to it*” (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008, 378). Instead of myths, the fourth layer of analysis in this thesis focuses particularly on metaphors. Metaphor is use of figurative language where something is discussed with a term that has a completely different meaning. This gives the word an illuminated and changed interpretation. (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008, 207.)

The researcher considered that thematic text analysis alone would not enable a successful analysis, as the formation of the analysis categories on the heterogeneous data was challenging. Thus, CLA was deployed as an analytical framework. Yet, due to methodological restrictions, CLA was neither adequate as the only research method for this study. CLA as a research method aims to create alternatives instead of studying them. According to Jose Ramos (2015, 25), “*the articulation of alternatives is a product of this method, not a primary focus of it.*” Rather than reconstructing futures images from the material, the objective of this study is exactly to analyse the survivalist approach itself, as an articulation of alternatives. Neither is there an objective to form alternative scenarios or futures images in the analysis conducted in chapter 4. Respectively, the focus is not on what the alternative futures are, but instead, how these alternative futures, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, transform into different practices in the present moment.



### 3.3 Data quality, limitations and ethical considerations

Concerning the limitations of the thesis, a question of importance is, whether the results of this thesis would have been the same in case a different person would have conducted the analysis. Kuckartz states that it is advisable to have two or more coders conducting the thematic text analysis for reliability. However, he states, that in case of e.g. Master's thesis, this may not be possible. In this case, careful attention should be paid to category definitions. (Kuckartz 2014, 79.) Likewise, Silverman (2001, 229) states that the reliability issues with text analysis relates to categorisation: standardised formation of categories is crucially important. Ideally, any other researcher should end up with the same results using the categorisation. This can be tested through inter-rater reliability. Notably, the categorisation in this thesis was not subjected to a comparison between interpretations of other researchers than the author. Instead, the reliability of the analysis is addressed with transparent reflection of data gathering and the forming of the categories.

Another general aim of qualitative research is generalisability, oftentimes achieved with sampling. Yet, sampling procedures are many times unavailable in qualitative analysis and the choice of cases is often guided by access. (Silverman 2001, 248–249.) Whereas access to mainstream media texts was not a challenge in this thesis, as all of the texts identified in searches were accessible, choosing a small sampling of all possible web forum topics (5 out of 1022) was considered necessary due to time resources available. The sampling consists of the following five topics:

1. How you prepped today
2. Personal SHTF
3. Highlights of 2016
4. Is survivalism out of fashion?
5. Survivalism and spouses and other close ones

These five discussion topics, each with a different amount of posts, were chosen as they were considered to provide required information about survivalist practice, motivating causes and ideologies, which constitute three of the analysis categories grounded in the three first layers of causal layered analysis. This can be described as purposive sampling, which, according to Silverman (2001, 250), allows the researcher to choose cases according to a feature of interest. Yet, any random case cannot be approved through purposive sampling, but it requires critical consideration. In this study, the initial analysis categories according to the four CLA layers had already been formed before the sampling was conducted. Thus, the choice was theoretically informed.

Notably, the study of anonymous web material requires ethical consideration. The data from survivalismi.com web forum was gathered without informing the web forum members who have produced the texts analysed in this thesis. It is important to take into consideration that the research material was gathered from parts of the web page that were open for anyone to see without registration to the forum. Thus, the texts have been openly accessible at the time when they were collected. Even more importantly, the intention of the study is not to analyse any personal qualities of the anonymous forum discussants. Rather, the focus is on Finnish survivalism in general. All references to individuals, locations or events presented in the web forum data are left out from the analysis. As the topic of survivalism is discreet in nature, the researcher is also convinced that the members of the web forum are aware that a non-member can read the texts and thus avoid indicating any details they would prefer to keep secret. For the sake of clarity, the persons who have provided their real name or nickname in the mainstream media text are referred to with these names accordingly.

The possibility for misunderstanding or misinterpreting the material exists, particularly so when analysing the web forum texts. Digital communication includes tones, use of wording and references that may not be fully understood by a person outside of the context. This limitation was partly addressed with the inclusion of non-anonymous research data, which are written for popular audience. Compared to e.g. interview setting, there has been no opportunity for the researcher to present further questions to the survivalists, who are portrayed in the texts or whose own texts have been under examination.

Although the contents of the survivalist discussion are connected to the culture where they are made, certain logics of survivalist ethos can be expected to be transferable across the nations and cultures. Furthermore, this research cannot be conducted without references beyond national borders due to the limited amount of academic texts in Finnish or conducted in Finnish context. Hence, the research literature consists of articles and books written in English, mostly by non-Finnish writers.

## 4 ANALYSIS

The objective of the analysis is to respond to the first research question: *How and why futures are foreseen and prepared for by Finnish survivalists*. In practice, the aim is to identify characteristics that are common for present-day survivalism in Finland. Notably, as the researcher is aware that survivalists are a group of people with a variety of backgrounds, objectives and resources. Thus, the analysis does not provide a detailed description of different types of survivalist approaches, but concentrates on similarities instead.

The process of categorising and coding the material has been multi-staged, which is typical for thematic qualitative text analysis (Kuckartz 2014, 74). The analysis process in this thesis follows the basic steps of thematic qualitative text analysis as described by Kuckartz (2014, 74–90), with CLA as the analytical framework. The process that results from combining the two methods is as follows:

1. Careful reading of the research material. The parts that were considered particularly important were highlighted.
2. The main thematic categories were determined according to two variants. Firstly, the four CLA layers, each investigating the topic from different level of depth, and secondly, the researcher's initial understanding of the topic based on the first reading of the research material (in step one) and the literature. To further help the analysis, two analysis questions stemming from the initial understanding were made for each of the four categories. Table 2 provides the main categories as well as the research questions guiding the analysis within each category.
3. In the third step, the first coding took place. Here, the whole body of data was assigned as text passages to the four main categories using NVivo Pro software. Text passages, also called coding units, may have been assigned to multiple categories, and irrelevant parts of the text remained uncoded.
4. All of the text passages under the same main category were collected together.
5. The contents of the four main categories were differentiated by creating sub-categories from the data. The list of sub-categories was systemised and ordered, and they were given crude definitions. The sub-categories are also presented in Table 2.
6. In the sixth phase, the second coding process was conducted. Here, the data was explored thoroughly once more, as coded text passages within each of the main categories were allocated to the sub-categories. After structuring the data, case-related thematic summaries were made as an intermediate step.
7. In-depth sub-category-level analysis.

Table 2 Analysis categorisation

| <b>CLA layer (chapter):<br/>The main category of<br/>analysis</b>          | <b>Analysis questions</b>  | <b>Sub-categories (chapter)</b>  |
|--|--|--|
| Litany (4.1):<br>Definitions and survivalism in practice                   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How are Finnish survivalism and preparedness defined?</li> <li>2. What is done in order to survive?</li> </ol>                               | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Defining Finnish survivalism and preparedness (4.1.1)</li> <li>2. Supplies and Do-It-Yourself (4.1.2)</li> <li>3. Skills and knowledge (4.1.3)</li> <li>4. Bugging out (4.1.4)</li> </ol>                |
| Systemic cause (4.2)<br>Factors motivating preparedness                    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Which factors or events motivate prepping?</li> <li>2. How are these factors and events seen to influence the future?</li> </ol>             | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The everyday (4.2.1)</li> <li>2. Personal Shit Hits The Fan (4.2.2)</li> <li>3. National state of emergency and global threats (4.2.3)</li> <li>4. The End Of The World As We Know It (4.2.4)</li> </ol> |
| Worldview (4.3):<br>Survivalist ideologies and values                      | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What kinds of common ideologies are present in the material?</li> <li>2. What kinds of common values are present in the material?</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Privacy (4.3.1)</li> <li>2. Community (4.3.2)</li> <li>3. Self-sufficiency (4.3.3)</li> <li>4. Norm-criticality (4.3.4)</li> </ol>   |
| Metaphor (4.4):<br>Survivalist assumptions concerning future and surviving | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What kinds of assumptions about encountering the future prevail?</li> <li>2. What kinds of assumptions about surviving prevail?</li> </ol>   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A collage on a blank canvas (4.4.1)</li> <li>2. Futures as a Russian nesting doll (4.4.2)</li> <li>3. Witnesses of the matricide (4.4.3)</li> </ol>  |

In the analysis, quotations are presented in English, with the original Finnish passages in the footnotes. The passages have been translated from Finnish to English by the author. The two audiovisual items (Häkkinen 2013; Richt 2013) were transcribed as text on a level that did not include details such as articulation, stressing of words or filler words, as these were not considered crucial for the purpose of the analysis.

## 4.1 Litany: Definitions and practice for survivalism

The first level of the analysis is used for describing Finnish survivalism and preparedness in practice as well as the definitions on survivalism and preparedness. The analysis questions for this level are the following:

1. How are Finnish survivalism and preparedness defined?
2. What is done in order to survive?

### 4.1.1 *Defining Finnish survivalism and preparedness*

In a radio interview, survivalist Pasi Karosto states that survivalism, in a narrow sense, refers to “*knowledge of staying alive and the imminent skills related to it*”. He differentiates its two practical dimensions; firstly preparing for a specific goal or event and secondly general preparedness, which is anticipatory practice without a specific target. (Häkkinen 2013.)<sup>20</sup> According to Karosto, the latter form of preparedness describes Finnish phenomenon more accurately (Häkkinen 2013).

In their guidebook about Finnish survivalism, Pasi Karosto and Sanna Karppinen suggest that the survivalist way of thinking in general starts by acknowledging threatening situations in advance and making a risk analysis regarding them. After this, one chooses the situation to prepare for as well as the required ways to prepare accordingly. When the event actually takes place, the chances to survive, by following the pre-imagined procedures and using the acquired skills, has become more probable (Karosto & Karppinen 2011, 11). Karosto and Karppinen (2011, 10–11) use ‘preparedness’ when they discuss smaller actions in everyday, whereas ‘survivalism’ is more often used to refer to the practice that started during the Cold War. Overall, the references to American survivalism are frequent in the data, mostly in the sense that Finnish survivalism is stated to be different from the more popularly known American survivalism. Overall, the idea of Finnish survivalism and preparedness as ordinary activities embedded in everyday practices are substantiated in the research data widely. As one of the forum member writes:

*“We do not have a conversation like ‘today we will survivalise ourselves more firewood’”, but we maintain our own little kingdom and try to remain*

---

<sup>20</sup> For clarification, Karosto refers to the target-oriented preparedness as ‘valmistautuminen’, and to the general preparedness as ‘varautuminen’. Both translate from Finnish to English as ‘preparedness’.

*as self-sufficient as possible and invulnerable within the possible infra-structural troubles.*”<sup>21</sup>

Pasi Karosto describes how everyday safety can simply be enhanced by imagining how the day will go and what kinds of risks may appear. By doing so, Karosto does not foresee grand disasters or apocalypse, but instead, describes minor everyday dangers on the way from his bed to the car:

*“First, go through your day from the morning until evening. So, from the moment you wake up, think that when you walk, rise from your bed, did the kids leave their toys on the floor to be the first to greet you, to hurt yourself with? [...] When you leave home, as I said, check that you took your keys, and how about that coffee maker? The yard, are there lights on? Is it sanded? Is it slippery?”*<sup>22</sup>

Nieminen (2017) describes Finnish survivalism similar to “[...]Finnish sorrow. Small-scale and ordinary”<sup>23</sup>. Yet, the ways in which it is practiced differ widely, as illustrated in the following sub-chapters.

#### **4.1.2 Supplies and Do-It-Yourself**

On a general level, home emergency supply is one of the basic units regarding the equipment needed for preparation. Pasi Karosto defines it as “[...]all those things that you need for independent living, for a week, according to the current official recommendations”<sup>24</sup>. One of the most referred item when discussing the required supplies, is the storage with a sufficient amount of food to survive a state of emergency. Yet, several mentions in the data indicate that, contrary to the official recommendations, the emergency supplies are oftentimes resourced to last for months, or even years. Furthermore, the supply also serves the everyday life of the prepper. If the world keeps turning without severe disasters, the

---

<sup>21</sup> ”Emme keskustele keskenämme tyylisiin ”tänään survivalistisoimme itsellemme lisää polttopuuta” vaan ylläpidämme omaa pikku valtakuntaamme ja yritämme pysyä mahdollisimman omavaraisina ja siten haavoittumattomina mahdollisissa infrastruktuurin ongelmissa.” (S.com 2017f)

<sup>22</sup> ”Ihan ensin miettii sen oman päivän aamusta iltaan. Eli siitä hetkestä kun herää, miettii että kun kävelet sieltä, sängystä nousee, onko siellä esimerkiksi lasten lelut lattialla, ensimmäisenä tervehtimässä, joihin voit teloa ittes. [...] Kotoa lähtiessä, niin kuin tässä on todettukin, katopa tuliko avaimet mukaan. Entä se kahvinkeitin? Onko tuolla pihalla, onko siellä valot? Onko se hiekotettu? Onko se liukas?” (Häkkinen 2013)

<sup>23</sup> ”Suomalainen survivalismi on hieman kuin suomalainen suru. Pienieleistä ja arkista.” (Nieminen 2017)

<sup>24</sup> ”[...]kaikki ne tavarat, mitä tarvitset itsenäiseen elämiseen, nykyisen viranomaisuosituksen mukaan viikon ajaksi.” (Häkkinen 2013)

ingredients that are about to expire are used in cooking, and the supply is refilled later. As survivalist Jonna Karosto says, home emergency supply is handy for parents doing shift work, as one can rely that there is always something to eat at home (Niiranen 2010). One of the forum discussants corroborates Karosto's opinion:

*"We still do not use the S-word about these things, but closets are full of different kinds of goods and food and we both maintain the stock. The reason is simple: this paradigm just works. It reduces expenditure. It reduces visits to market."*<sup>25</sup>

One of the most popular subjects discussed on the forum are indeed the different kinds of equipment needed for the survival. Equipment forum is further divided into following eight sub-forums:

1. Edged weapons and tools
  2. Firearms
  3. Other weaponry
  4. Electronics
  5. Vehicles
  6. Clothing and safety gear
  7. Carrying equipment and supply
  8. Buildings and construction
- (S.com 2017a)

Under these sub-forums, both already owned and desired resources are discussed and evaluated accordingly. Web forum discussions include detailed listings of the equipment considered necessary for sufficient level of preparedness. Overall, the equipment is selected for specific purposes: a car that accesses challenging terrain, a storage room with enough of space or shoes for a certain weather. Things from batteries to land property are discussed. Next to best practices and lists of existing material, there are wish lists and descriptions of best possible equipment imagined. Hopes about equipment are expressed in topics such as *House of your dreams* or *Dream gear* (S.com 2017a). In addition, things you do not need yourself may be of value later. As an example, one forum member keeps 20 packs of cigarettes at her/his storage even though s/he does not smoke (S.com 2017b).

Despite the sub-forums portraying a list of hardware, appliances and buildings, with a very prominent presence of different kinds of weaponry – with altogether 83 topics under

---

<sup>25</sup> "Edelleenkään S-sanaa ei käytetä näistä asioista mutta kaapit ovat täynnä erilaista tavaraa ja ruokaa ja me kumpikin pidämme varastoja yllä. Syy on yksinkertainen: tämä ajatusmalli vain toimii. Se vähentää rahankulutusta. Se vähentää kaupassakäyntien määrää." (S.com 2017f)

the *Firearms* sub-forum – preparedness does not concern special equipment solely. Rather, all things around us can serve a purpose. One web forum member explains how choosing the right kind of soap, towel and even tissue paper can be essential. The right type of soap decreases the need for washing water and a micro fibre towel can be transformed into water filter, among other things.

In many cases, the equipment required for preparedness cannot be bought from the store. Instead of cookie-cutter solutions, do-it-yourself approaches and customisation are common themes when discussing dream equipment material and resources. One forum member bought a house, to which s/he will build customised “*survivalist solutions*” (S.com 2017d). Modifying and making adjustments resonates with do-it-yourself ethos. The concept refers to modification, construction or repairment of items by amateurs or non-professionals. According to Wolf & McQuitty (2011, 154), the motivation for DIY may emerge from markets, which do not offer right kinds of products, items of decent quality. DIY practices may provide the maker with economic compensation. In addition, motivation partly connects to identity and empowerment, pursuit of uniqueness, search for a community or fulfilment caused by artisanship. (Wolf & McQuitty 2011, 155.) All of these reasons are present in the research material. For example, one forum member explains how s/he has modified a refrigerator into a dehydrator, which works better than any solution available in stores. However, s/he refuses to give further details about the item, partly because s/he considers to benefit from the invention financially at a later point. (S.com 2017b.)

#### 4.1.3 *Skills and knowledge*

Learning survival skills and knowledge is an important part of preparedness. The skills discussed in the material align with the nine sub-forums of survivalismi.com:

1. Medication, healthcare and first aid
  2. Natural medicines
  3. Hunting and fishing
  4. Orienteering, location and navigation
  5. Survival in terrain
  6. Concrete jungle
  7. Self-defence
  8. Other skills and tactics
  9. Fitness, exercise and training
- (S.com 2017a).



Within the sub-forums, skills that are more specific are mentioned: tying knots, identifying plants, bee farming or preserving pork fat are some of the required skills mentioned. Expertise on self-sufficiency, by for example, growing food or animal husbandry are of importance. Approaches may be out-of-the-box, for example, more peculiar skills, such as escaping a thermal camera (S.com 2017b), can be trained. Next to jogging, swimming and other common sports, one can exercise by gathering and storing firewood. In the following post, forest is the only gym the forum member needs:

*“Harvesting with traditional methods [...] is quite a good training, in which burning calories has actual benefits. [...] Personally, I have never understood gyms. Maybe they suit city people living in their apartment blocks, but a country boy can build muscly biceps with pure work.”<sup>26</sup>*

Traditional crafting and tools are appreciated, as they are considered to work even when the modern equipment fail because of a power shortage. For example, small-scale farming does not necessarily require an excessive amount of equipment. One survives with long-established methods instead:

*“No need for machines for baling hay. Back in the days, there were not even as many cows in farmhouses as there are now. The job got done with hay poles.”<sup>27</sup>*

Next to more grand solutions, even mundane things are considered as preparedness. A visit to dentist, hemming a pair of pants, doing laundry or using a standing desk at work<sup>28</sup> are things that an outsider would not consider a part of prepping. In this way, the idea of survivalism as a masculine activity with a focus on guns, gadgets and constructions, is challenged. One user recommends fellow survivalists to learn knitting and sewing, since *“hemming curtains is no rocket science”*:

*“Sewing magazines publish patterns for easy garments [...] from where you proceed slowly towards more challenging products. We should not*

---

<sup>26</sup> *“Metsätyöt perinteisin menetelmin [...] on aika hyvää treeniä jossa samalla saa kalorien polttamisesta ihan oikeaakin hyötyä. [...] Henkilökohtaisesti en ole koskaan ymmärtänyt kuntosalitouhuja. Ehkä se sopii kerrostalossa asuville citykaneille mutta maalaispoika saa kyllä palan muhkeeks ihan työlläkin.”* (S.com 2017b)

<sup>27</sup> *“Ei tarvita koneita paalien tekoon. Ennen ei ollut lehmiä maataloissa lähellekkään niin paljon kuin nykyisin. Pystyi hoitamaan heinäseipäillä homman”* (S.com 2017b)

<sup>28</sup> All listed on the How did you prep today? topic by different users. (S.com 2017a)

*repeat gender roles from fifties here, since afterall, crocheting beanies has become a hit hobby for young men.*"<sup>29</sup>

The posts in the topic *How did you prep today?* propose the necessity of understanding economic systems. Saving money enables the access to better resources. Familiarising oneself with value added tax, accounting and marginal tax rate help to keep up the prosperity. (S.com 2017b.) Furthermore, having cash and metals, such as silver or gold, stored in the house are commonly discussed. Keeping the bank accounts in separate organisations with one's spouse was considered to reduce the unwanted aftermath of a collapse of an individual bank. As economic stability is a core element of survival, having a job is a necessary part of survival. Thus, work-related skills are also necessary. One member tells how s/he has started updating her/his résumé, since it may be necessary to find a new job soon (S.com 2017b). In addition, the laws of trade may be completely different after a disaster, and thus, one forum member practices exchange economy as a vendor on a flea market (S.com 2017b).

A radical disruption will have a fundamental influence skills required in general. Survivalist Markku Teräs demonstrates how to light a fire with firestone and other tools similar to ones used already over 1500 years ago. Once production stops and resources run out, says Teräs, there is no need for a bunker, if one cannot light a fire without matches. (Nieminen 2017.)

Next to learning, sharing and teaching the valuable skills and expertise – such as lighting a fire to prepare a meal outdoors – to one's family is a key tactic for a better preparedness. Despite some examples – such as one forum member teaching her/his child to use chainsaw at a very early age – passing survival skills is not only about extremities. For example, one forum member mentions teaching a two-year-old child patience (S.com 2017b). Pasi Karosto's four children have had their lessons on first aid, lighting a fire and extinguishing. However, they also learn through everyday skills:

*"Kids cook and set the table. They won't become couch potatoes, but they learn to use their brain instead[...]"*<sup>30</sup>

In addition, the web forum constitutes as a cooperative learning group. The skills and information required for survival are continuously evaluated and improved in the interaction through the web forum.

---

<sup>29</sup> "Käsityölehdet julkaisevat helppokaavoja yksinkertaisista vaatekappaleista, [...] joista sitten etenet pikkuhiljaa haastavampiin tekeleisiin. Tässä ei kannattaisi toistaa 50-luvun sukupuolirooleja, kun kerran pönövirkkauksesta on tullut nuorten miesten hittiharrastus." (S.com 2017b)

<sup>30</sup> "Lapset tekevät ruokaa ja kattavat pöytää. Näin lapsista ei tule sohva-perunoita vaan he oppivat ajattelemaan omilla aivoillaan[...]" (Toivanen 2013)

#### 4.1.4 *Bugging out*

Although preparedness uses past cases and experiences as examples, there is a need to speculate further. For example, in his book about Finnish survivalism, Pasi Karosto uses events such as nuclear accidents, water crisis in Nokia and the bus accident at Konginkangas as examples of what has been learned (Koljonen 2011). Yet, active attention is required to understand what the next actualising hardships could be. A forum member explains how a survivalist observes their surroundings constantly and aims to be up to date with news:

*“I aim to keep up with domestic as well as foreign happenings every day. Particularly when there is a disaster situation taking place in some part of the world, I follow the news a lot, so I can contemplate on its possible effects here in home country.”<sup>31</sup>*

Speculation on different kinds of scenarios is a means of trying to control the unknown. One forum member explains how her/his work is demanding and how it is challenging to not think about it off duty. For the discussant, survivalism and preparedness are tools to escape work stress and maintain the feeling of control. Whereas the scenario described in the following would most likely make many lose their sleep completely, a survivalist gains peace of mind through nightmare-like visions related to a disaster scenario, to which s/he refers as SHTF scenario here:

*“When I wake up in small hours and worry about unfinished work, I relax by thinking for example Asteroid + Nuclear fallout + Grasshopper level SHTF scenario, then forget work, relax and fall to a peaceful sleep[...]<sup>32</sup>”*

As a combination of practice and thinking of the future, survivalists test their level of preparedness by simulating different possible scenarios. At the most basic level, this requires identification of circumstances to prepare for. After identifying the risks, the scenarios can be answered with different skills, equipment and knowledge. In order to be truly prepared, these assets are put to test. For example, sleeping outside in a cold weather

---

<sup>31</sup> *“Pyrin pysymään hyvin perillä niin kotimaan kuin maailman asioista joka päivä. Erityisesti silloin tulee seurattua uutisointia reilusti, kun jonkinlainen katastrofitilanne on päällä jossain päin maailmaa, jotta voin pohtia sen mahdollisia vaikutuksia täällä kotimaan puolella.”* (Vähähyppä 2010)

<sup>32</sup> *“Kun herään joskus aamuyön tunteina murehtimaan tekemättömiä töitäni niin saan rentoudettua itseni pohtimalla jotakin Asteroidi + Ydinlaskeuma + Heinäsirkat -tason SHTF skenaariota, sitten unohdan työasiat, rentoudun ja vaivun levolliseen uneen[...]<sup>32</sup>”* (S.com 2017d)

or starting a fire in challenging circumstances are better practiced at the present moment instead of an actual emergency.

*“On Friday we went walking with my spouse and tested our new equipment for this week’s terrain march. What a relief that her/his shoes and backpack fitted well and the news shoes did not rub at all.”*<sup>33</sup>

As suggested by Lamy (1997, 96), crisis relocation is an important aspect for survivalists. Indeed, it offers a valuable opportunity for testing. To *bug out* refers to departing in a hurry or retreating or fleeing in panic during a military action<sup>34</sup>. Survivalists use the concept with reference to equipment that are planned to assist the person in case of an emergency that requires one to depart. For example, within the texts analysed, references to Bug-Out-Locations (BOL) and Bug-Out-Bags (BOB) are frequent. Pasi Karosto explains that a BOB is a portable bag with the needed emergency supplies for three days. Each family member carries his or her own bag. (Häkkinen 2013.) Accordingly, Bug-Out-Location refers to a crisis location. In general, the conditions can also be tested in a so-called bugging-in situation, where the person stays put in the case of emergency. During the bug-in, the case of emergency is simulated for example at one’s own house. A web forum member explains:

*“Spent the Easter in a bug-in situation without even noticing it. Stores were mostly closed and friends travelling, so there was no reason to go anywhere, and even if there was, busses run even less frequently than normally.”*<sup>35</sup>

Overall, the skill to encounter surprises is crucial. Thus, a tactic as important is to question the normal ways of doing to better simulate a state of emergency or lack of control. For example, by abandoning the accustomed:

*“I have broken routines. I have driven to neighbouring cities for groceries and always searched for new gas stations to fill up the tank. And naturally*

---

<sup>33</sup> *“Perjantaina käytiin puolison kanssa lähialueella vähän lompsimassa ja testaamassa uutta varustusta tämän viikon maastomarssia silmällä pitäen. Huojennukseksi hänen kenkensä ja rinkkansa tuntuivat istuvan hyvin ja kenkulit eivät uutuudestaan huolimatta hiertäneet yhtään.”* (S.com 2017b)

<sup>34</sup> Definition of bug out according to Merriam-Webster. Source: Bug out | Definition of Matricide by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 7 September 2018 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/matricide><https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bug%20out>

<sup>35</sup> *“Pääsiäinen on mennyt bug-in- tilanteessa ihan huomaamatta. Kaupat ovat enimmäkseen kiinni ja tutut reissussa eli ei ole syytä lähteä mihinkään ja vaikka olisikin, bussit kulkevat tavallistakin harvemmin.”* (S.com 2017b)

*new routes to these locations. This is because if scenario X actualises and the hoarding results in scarce resources or gasoline running out at a specific location. Or a local, small-scale SHTF prevents the use of my 'regular spots'.*"<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.1.5 Summarising litany

The litany level concentrated on how Finnish survivalism and preparedness are defined as well as the survivalism in practice. Material resources, skills and knowledge are of importance in preparing. They are practiced or acquired to match the speculated scenarios and the different threats related to them. The supplies in standard stores are not considered adequate and they are often modified to better meet the purposes. Throughout the data, Finnish survivalism is distinguished from the stereotypical images of survivalism portrayed particularly in Northern American context. Survivalism is often described as a part of everyday life. Yet, in practice, discussions on emergency preparedness reach far beyond a popular perception of *ordinary life*: escaping a thermal camera or imagining a nuclear fallout are on the list of survivalist focus. In addition, the testing of skills and equipment through the simulation of the imagined futures and threats expands the preparedness beyond the mundane life.

To conclude, the survivalist practice is negotiated between speculative futures and the material present day, which are not mutually exclusive, but intertwined.

## 4.2 Systemic cause: Factors causing the need to prepare

The focus of the analysis on this layer is on the factors motivating preparedness. The analysis questions guiding for this layer were the following:

1. Which factors or events motivate prepping?
2. How are these factors and events seen to influence the future?

---

<sup>36</sup> "Olen rikkonut rutiineja. Olen ajanut naapurikuntien markettiin ruokaostoksille ja etsinyt aina uusia huoltamoita joista tankata autoa. Sekä tietysti kaikkia mahdollisia ajoreittejä näille paikoille. Tämä siitä syystä, että skenaario X toteutuu ja ihmisten hamstrauksen takia tarvikkeet vähenevät taikka bensiini ehtyy yhdellä jakelupisteellä. Taikka sitten paikallinen, pienempi shtf estää lähiempien 'vakiopaikkojeni' käyttämisen hyödykkeiden hankkimiseen." (S.com 2017b)

#### 4.2.1 *The everyday*

As already noted, Finnish survivalism is described as everyday preparedness, rather than getting ready to encounter a nuclear strike. Examples of mundane events that may disturb the everyday life of survivalists are frequent in the research material. One of the most discussed ones is power strike, partly due to the cold winter in Finland. Next to this, accidents and disruptions in water supply are common scenarios. Overall, everyday life – at least for those who are not prepared – can rapidly become disturbed by situations, where it is difficult or impossible to buy food or gasoline:

*“If something dramatic happens, for example the distribution of food becomes disturbed or there is no electricity in the socket or the people do not have water, it is a pretty heavy problem for the most of us.”<sup>37</sup>*

Next to events that would undoubtedly challenge routines, the ordinary life is full of small-scale factors that are seen annoying by many, but matters of preparedness for survivalists. Some examples of things to avoid are forgetting the coffee maker on when leaving the house, or closing the front door and leaving the keys inside. (Häkkinen 2013). Contrary to the stereotypical survivalist representations of people weaponed from arm to toe, the ordinary life is indeed seen as fundamentally important for survival. This type of survivalism is not strictly concerned with questions of life or death, but rather, surviving the day without grand inconveniences. Another example:

*“Today I cleaned the whole ground floor. Kids’ toys (no matter how much you reduce them) seem to be everywhere. For fire safety we want to keep the floors clean, in case you have to carry a child out in the dark, for example, it is not nice to step on a Lego.”<sup>38</sup>*

The everyday threats may also relate to consumption choices. One forum member says that once her/his family became concerned with additives included in food that is sold in the markets, they started growing their own food (S.com 2017f). Overall, it is seen worthless to prepare for global issues unless you are not prepared to survive your everyday:

---

<sup>37</sup> ” Jos nyt jotain semmosta dramaattista tapahtuu, että vaikka ruoan jakelu pätkee, sähköä ei tule sieltä töpselistä tai ihmiset ei saa vettä, niin sehän on aika raju ongelma useimmille meistä. ” (Richt 2016)

<sup>38</sup> ”Tänään siivosin koko alakerran. Pienten lasten kanssa leluja (vaikka kuinka niitä karsisi) tuntuu olevan joka paikassa. Paloturvallisuuden takia kuitenkin haluamme pitää lattiat siisteinä, jos joutuu vaikka yöllä kantaa lapsen ulos pimeässä, ei ole kiva astua legoon. ” (S.com 2017b)

*“It is more worthwhile to prepare for ordinary SHTF scenarios than unlikely threats. Many prepare for nuclear war and all, but forget everyday things completely.”<sup>39</sup>*

As one forum member states, s/he is more concerned of choking by food or falling in stairs than ending up as a victim of a terrorist strike in Finland. Furthermore, s/he sees preparing for a terrorists attack pointless, as one cannot prepare for it in the first place. (S.com 2017e.) This perception is not shared among the survivalists in a like-minded way, which will be illustrated in the following sub-chapters presenting threats beyond home and courtyard. Yet, when looking at the Finnish population in general, there seems to be a correlating paradox in the scale of the anticipated threats and the motivation to prepare. A study (Laurikainen 2016) indicates that whereas the majority of Finns believe that a power outage or a fire will not influence them specifically, the majority also considers that they will witness a terror attack or an oil disaster within their lifetime. This perception correlates with the lack of motivation to prepare. As households are more able to prepare for threats that are considered to be targeted strictly at them, but as they are considered unlikely, there is little motivation to prepare. (Laurikainen 2016; Paton 2003.) Survivalist approach differs from the popular perception simply, as it acknowledges the possible pitfalls of the everyday life.

#### **4.2.2 Personal Shit Hits The Fan**

The acronym SHTF (standing for ‘Shit Hits The Fan’) is survivalist slang referring to a catastrophic event on a general level. Although it is commonly used when discussing larger disasters, one of the discussion topics on the forum is called *Personal SHTF*. Here, the posts refer mostly to the loss of social security and more long-term disturbance in the accustomed way of living. One of the examples of a personal scale disaster is divorce, here explained by the person who started the discussion topic:

*“My wife found another man and moved to live with him. I was prepared for everything starting from zombie invasion, but this was like a lighting*

---

<sup>39</sup> ”Arkisiin SHTF-skenaarioihin on kannattavampi varautua kuin epätodennäköisiin uhkiin. Monet varautuu vaikka mihin ydinsotaan, mutta unohtuu arkiset seikat kokonaan.” (S.com 2017f)

*from a clear sky. No warning, no harbingers whatsoever. An excellent example how a situation can turn upside down. In no way was I prepared for this.*"<sup>40</sup>

Another forum member has similar experiences, accompanied with a trial on visiting rights. Next to the sorrow caused by the loss of companion and relationships, another threat related to divorce is the economic disorder. The discussant, who foresaw zombies, but not the divorce, continues by explaining that without prenuptial agreement s/he lost economic safety net along with divorce and regrets of not having hidden cash.

Economic resources are of importance for anyone who prepares. Thus, the lack of them poses a threat to survival. One forum member has realised that there will not be index increments to her/his pension the following year. In case the consumer prices keep increasing and there will be no increments in the future, the ability to pay will be compromised. Thus, the member says, "*My preparedness is about to become necessary instead of a useful hobby.*"<sup>41</sup> Another forum member writes about a different kind of survival, imagining a situation without the current resources available. The imminent threats for the person are homelessness, unemployment and dependency on social welfare instead of an apocalypse:

*"I prepare for a situation, where I have no apartment anymore, and a guy like me with no credentials, would immediately be in trouble. [...] So if you are afraid of the end of the world or something, and buy gas masks to your closets, I, on the other hand, have a realistic possibility to be on the street one day, like a hobo without booze."*<sup>42</sup>

The quoted person continues, how s/he practices to survive without an own apartment. Yet, s/he tries to do it in a way that does not make the prepping a self-fulfilling prophecy, in which they would end up homeless. (S.com 2017f.) To prepare is thus a privileged activity. The threats to survive from differ according to availability of resources for it.

---

<sup>40</sup> "*Vaimoni löysi toisen miehen ja muutti hänen luokseen asumaan. Kaikkeen zombie invaasiosta lähtien olin varautunut, mutta tämä tuli kuin salama kirkkaalta taivaalta. Ei mitään varoitusta, eikä mitään ennusmerkkejä. Loistava esimerkki siitä miten tilanne voi hetkessä kääntyä katolleen. Tähän en ollut varautunut kyllä mitenkään.*" (S.com 2017c)

<sup>41</sup> "*Preppauksestani uhkaa tulla tarpeellista hyödyllisen harrastuksen sijasta.*" (S.com 2017b)

<sup>42</sup> "*Varaudun siihen, että lähtee esimerkiksi asunto alta ja tällainen luottotiedoton kaveri on silloin heti pinteessä. [...] Siispä jos te pelkääte tyylisiin maailmanloppua ja ostate kaasunaamareita komeroihinne, minulle puolestani on ihan realistinen mahdollisuus olla joku päivä kadulla, vähän niinkuin pultsari ilman viinaa.*" (S.com 2017f)



### 4.2.3 *National state of emergency and global threats*

Despite the frequent references of Finnish survivalism as an ordinary practice without a specified target, a variety of threats beyond the everyday life is portrayed in the material. For example, under the *Miscellaneous and common topics* on the survivalismi.com forum, there are sub topics such as Politics, Economy, International news and National news. Under these, different topics such as the situation in North Korea or Finnish immigration policies are at the focus of speculation. Overall, the threat of a national state of emergency is seen possible, although the possibility for natural disasters is considered rather improbable. Karosto outlines the situation in Finland saying that nature in Finland is rather tame. (Häkkinen 2013.) The threats are more likely to emerge from political or economic contexts or disturbances in the social order. The imagined threats mentioned in the forum reflect the political, environmental and economic topics headlining newspapers. For example:

*“I don’t know the reason, but I feel that the times are getting rougher in Finland. Unemployment increases constantly. The government has no time to take the required measures, and in addition, the costs of the wave of immigrants are exploding in our hands.”*<sup>43</sup>

Overall, that unknown *something* that could happen, is seen to arise from beyond our national borders. In the article about Markku Teräs, the reporter sees that Teräs and “*Nobel level researchers*” seem to agree on the increase of global risks. Examples of global super risks now are the election of Donald Trump and a possible nuclear between the two Koreas or between India and Pakistan. Reports also list “*different super virus pandemics, the development of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies, totalitarian governments, asteroids, volcano super eruptions and solar gamma ray bursts*” as possible super risks. In the same article, prepper Vesa-Pekka Rantalainen worries about climate change, draught and climate refugees as a result. (Nieminen 2017.) The challenges will most likely emerge from the interplay of many threats. Miika Vanhapiha describes one way how a disaster could start to evolve:

*“So, if the availability of oil is compromised for one reason or another, frankly speaking, we are in trouble. If global geopolitical dead-ends out there become difficult enough, draught and different environmental*

---

<sup>43</sup> “*En tiedä mistä johtuu, mutta minusta tuntuu, että ajat kovenee Suomessa. Työttömyys kasvaa jatkuvasti. Hallitus ei ehdi tehdä tarvittavia toimenpiteitä, ja lisäksi pakolaisaallon kustannukset räjähtävät käsiin.*” (S.com 2017b)

*changes, the sum of the sanctions becomes quite big, in a way that it tests the durability of a system in a total manner.*"<sup>44</sup>

According to a forum member, the threats are becoming too complex for an individual to encounter. Whereas a couple of years ago people were interested in ways in which one could survive with scarce economic resources or in an exchange economy following an economic collapse, the reasons for preparing are becoming too varied and nearly impossible to respond to:

*"If you look at the updated list of threats and compare it to earlier one, an ordinary individual survivalist can prepare for an economic collapse, but not necessarily for these current threats."*<sup>45</sup>

The comment resonates with the idea of *hyperobjects*. Timothy Morton (2013) argues that conceptions such as 'nature' or 'world' do not provide a meaningful horizon on which to reflect human events anymore. Instead, says Morton, we live among hyperobjects that reach beyond accustomed way of reasoning. For example, nuclear weapons or climate change are hyperobjects with impacts that challenge our rationality.

#### 4.2.4 *The End Of The World As We Know It*

TEOTWAWKI stands for The End Of The World As We Know It. Considering the scale of reasons that motivate preparedness, it can be seen as the largest possible threat imagined by survivalists. As stated in the article by Vähähyppä (2013), despite differentiating themselves from American war-centred survivalists, firearms and bunkers are no strangers to Finnish prepper discussions. Although the end of the world scenarios are oftentimes related to American survivalist paradigm, they are present in Finnish discussions as well. For example:

*"A couple of years before Teräs had started to think that western civilization is about to collapse. That is why he began to prepare for a chaos, for*

---

<sup>44</sup> "Että jos öljyn saatavuus syystä tai toisesta heikkenee, niin sitten ollaan kyllä pulassa, suoraan sanoen. Jos riittävän vaikeita geopoliittisia umpisolmuja tuolla maailmalla on, kuivuutta ja erilaisia ympäristömuutoksia, ja sitten vaikkapa finanssitalouden rahoituskriisiä, niin se yhteispakote on aikamoinen, sillä tavalla että se koettelee sen järjestelmän kestävyyttä aika totaalisesti." (Richt 2016)

<sup>45</sup> "Jos päivittynyttä uhkakuvien listaa katsoo ja vertaa sitä aiempaan, niin tavallinen, yksittäinen survari pystyy varautumaan talousromahdukseen, mutta ei välttämättä näihin nykyisiin uhkakuviin." (S.com 2017e)

*a time, when there would be nothing left of grocery markets and home appliance stores but smoking ruins.”<sup>46</sup>*

TEOTWAWKI emerges from the global threats, which escalate and reach uncontrollable measures. With TEOTWAWKI, the threats are actually not as important as the bleak future that is followed as an aftermath. Although the reason for the end of the civilization is not yet known, it can be sensed in the surrounding social mood. A forum member discusses the probability of a more severe threat:

*”I have also been wondering, for what am I preparing? The end of the world or a power outage of a couple of hours? The latter one seems more realistic now, but should one still prepare for the worst-case scenario, especially because, as I said already, surroundings are getting more distressing... Somehow the atmosphere has become strained, angry and even aggressive on some level.”<sup>47</sup>*

This is seen in the discussions concerning nuclear disaster as a motivation for preparing. Interestingly, the emblematic threat of American survivalism still serves as a reference point in Finnish survivalist discussions, despite the two discourses are eagerly distinguished. As one of the persons with a nickname says in Voima magazine, the possibility for a nuclear disaster or a disaster of a similar scale is small, *“but some have won in lottery, too”*.<sup>48</sup> One forum member explains that preparing for a nuclear explosion is a good idea, since after the disaster, prepper isolates oneself from the dangerous environment. Thus, assessing what is really needed in such a situation is good exercise in general. Another asset exists as well:

*”There is, however, one factor characteristic of protecting oneself from nuclear explosion. It is hurry. Specifically, hurry to make it to a shelter. The element of time, quick reaction is maybe the one that divides population into survivors and perishers.”<sup>49</sup>*

---

<sup>46</sup> *”Muutamaa vuotta aiemmin Teräs oli alkanut ajatella, että länsimainen sivilisaatio on luhistumassa. Siksi hän alkoi varustautua kaaosta varten, aikaan, jolloin ruokamarketeista ja kodinkoneliikkeistä ei ole pystyssä kuin mainostolppien savuavat rauniot.”* (Nieminen 2017.)

<sup>47</sup> *”Semmoista oon kans miettiny että mihin varaudun? Maailmanloppuun vai muutaman tunnin sähkökatkokseen? Toi jälkimmäinen kuulostaisi realistisemmalta nyt, mutta pitäisikö silti varautua aina pahimpaan mahdolliseen, varsinkin niinkuin tossa aiemminkin sanoin niin meno ympärillä alkanut muuttua ahdistavaksi... Jotenkin ilmapiiri on kiristynyt, vihainen ja jollain tasolla jopa agressiivinen.”* (S.com 2017b)

<sup>48</sup> *”[...]mutta on jotkut voittaneet lotossakin.”* (Vähähyyppä 2010.)

<sup>49</sup> *”Kuitenkin on yksi tekijä, joka on ydinräjähdykseltä suojautumisen erikoispiirteenä. Se on kiire. Ja niimenomaan kiire ehtiä suojaan. Aika -elementti, nopea reagointi on ehkä se joka jakaa populaation selviytyjiin ja tuhoutujiin.”* (S.com 2017b)

Nuclear disaster as the iconic disaster illustrates survivalist approach to threats well. A severe threat as such does not necessarily need to happen, but it serves as a mirror to practice right kind of ways to encounter any hardships of large scale.

#### **4.2.5 *Summarising systemic cause***

On the level of systemic cause, different threats that motivate preparedness were analysed. The list of threats is very long and varied, reaching from mundane and small-scale inconveniences to lay-off and as far as the end of the world as we know it. The threats are broad in their range and can be political, economic, environmental or social in their nature. The disasters, inconveniences or the doomsday are neither fixed nor thoroughly known in advance, which calls for ongoing speculation of threats. In general, everyone defines their own scenarios and needed steps themselves. Yet, interestingly, successful survival can happen only, if the ordinary life is in order. Thus, there is no need for the apocalypse bunker, if you trip and fall because of Legos on the floor. Concerning the resources, the possibility to prepare for larger disasters is a privilege that is not necessarily shared by everyone. The lack of e.g. economic resources may also become a threat through which one aims to survive.

In conclusion, the threats of which one survives from come in different shapes and sizes, and they vary between mundane and personal as well as general and global. A coffee maker left on when leaving home disturbs the successful ordinary life, but does not prevent the speculation of a worldwide societal collapse.

### **4.3 *Worldview: Survivalist ideologies and values***

This part of the analysis focuses on ideological perspectives held by survivalists as well as the values regarding preparedness and surviving. During the initial analysis, a variety of different normative beliefs was identified in the data. The reason behind the variety is most likely the diverse backgrounds within the prepper community. Again, the focus on this level of analysis was drawn on the similarities within the shared ideologies and values within the material. The analysis question, which structure the analysis layer, are as follows:

1. What kinds of common ideologies are present in the material?
2. What kinds of common values are present in the material?

### 4.3.1 Privacy

If the idea of Finnish survivalism as equivalent to Finnish sorrow – small-scale and ordinary – is repeated, another similarity between the two is surely their hiddenness. Finns mourn and prep for emergencies out of sight. In the radio interview, Pasi Karosto states that there are two ways of being a survivalist: either keeping the knowledge to oneself or sharing it. Karosto says that he belongs to the latter one, as he aims to inform as many interested citizens as possible about preparedness. (Häkkinen 2013.) As illustrated in chapter 4.1.3, sharing knowledge among family or community is a common survivalist strategy. Yet, there is a persisting layer of privacy or even secrecy surrounding survivalist actions and discussion. The reasons behind it are indicated in the data both explicitly and implicitly.

Vähähyppä (2010) considers one of the reasons for being discreet to be the perceptions of others: *“Survivalist tendencies are kept quiet, since others easily consider them weird<sup>50</sup>”*. One of Vähähyppä’s interviewee, who uses a nickname, considers that survivalism could cause trouble with their hunting licence and even hinder their career, because *“who would want to promote an end-of-the-world-wacko?”<sup>51</sup>* These perceptions partly stem from the American survivalist paradigm. In one of the articles, the main reason for stereotypes and the anonymity is estimated to be the associations between the concept of survivalism and the far-right movements in the U.S.A (Hallamaa 2012). However, to keep the preparedness secret is also a survival tactic:

*“An additional reason is that when the society collapses, a survivalist that has prepared for it does not want a pack of beggars on their doorstep.”<sup>52</sup>*

Interestingly, some of the most visible dimensions of survivalism are also the reasons for anonymity, as American extremism together and TV shows are seen to ruin the reputation of survivalism. As one forum member states, reality TV shows and even forum members with show-off attitude alienate potential survivors, as they do not assimilate with doomsday preppers who are waiting to shine when things go sideways (S.com 2017e). This further explains the aversion towards the concept of survivalism, which seems to be shared by authorities as well. To give an example, in her report on independent preparedness in Finland, Mia Kunnaskari (2014, 25) states that *despite* the fair amount of popularity, survivalism is merely an enthusiasm of a very small number of people. In

---

<sup>50</sup> *“Survival-suuntautuneisuudesta ei haluta huudella, sillä muut pitävät sitä helposti outona.”* (Vähähyppä 2010.)

<sup>51</sup> *“[...]kukapa haluaisi antaa 'maailmanloppuhörhölle' ylennyksen?”* (Vähähyppä 2010.)

<sup>52</sup> *“Lisäksi yksi syy on se, että yhteiskunnan romahtaessa tilanteeseen varautunut survari ei halua kerjäläislaamaa ovelle.”* (Vähähyppä 2010.)

addition, in her SWOT analysis, survivalist ethos and emphasis in preparedness are situated as threats for independent preparedness (Kunnaskari 2014, 60).

#### 4.3.2 *Communality*

Even though privacy is highly valued by survivalists and many believe that a fellow human being can become a threat for one's existence in an extreme situation, survivalism is communal. Social skills are considered highly important. This is stated both explicitly and implicitly in data. For example, one forum member mentions taking care of neighbour's cat as her/his daily prep (S.com 2017b). Some discuss explicitly their acts of goodwill as well as the intentions related to them. As an example, a forum member explains how one of her/his neighbours is in distress, because one of the cattlemen has a broken arm:

*"So, I take care of morning milking twice and stay prepared if extra help is called for. We had a good discussion on how to ask for emergency help, in case there is an accident at home. I consider this preparedness at its best: network in order and the help goes both ways."*<sup>53</sup>

As stated on the litany level of the analysis, many survivalist promote traditional ways of doing. According to the prevailing perception, things used to be better and they used to work. Conservative ways of thinking can also be seen in the way family is seen as a unit that provides its members with intergenerational support. Miika Vanhapiha takes the idea further. For Vanhapiha, the unit of community is "*a collapse tribe*". He questions the idea of a survivalist – or at least a survivor – as mythical lone-wolf character:

*"I think that survivors are people who are social, who can cope with other people, get help and also offer help and who can network in different ways. So, in my opinion the most important resource, concerning self-sufficiency /collapse thinking, is social capital"*<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> "Käyn siis aamulypsyllä kahteen kertaan ja olen hälytysvalmiudessa varakäsiksi. Kävimme hyvän keskustelun siitä, miten saisi apua hälytetyksi, jos kotona sattuu tapaturma. Pidän tätä parhaana preppaamisena: verkosto kuntoon ja apu kulkee molempiin suuntiin." (S.com 2017e)

<sup>54</sup> "Kyl mä luulen, että niitä selviytyjiä on semmoiset ihmiset jotka on sosiaalisia, jotka pystyy toimimaan toisten ihmisten kanssa, hakemaan apua ja myös tarjoamaan apua ja jotka pystyy verkostoitumaan eri tavoin. Eli mun mielestä tärkein resurssi oikeastaan, jos lähdetään tämmöisestä omavaraisuus-/romahdusajattelusta, on sosiaalinen pääoma." (Richt 2016.)

Thus, according to many Finnish survivalists, supporting fellow human beings also supports the changes to survive yourself. One forum member explains the reason for not keeping the knowledge to himself:

*"It is not my loss if share what I know. If, instead, I can guide someone to survive on their own, that person will not burden the rescuers as severely in a possible disaster situation."*<sup>55</sup>

Pasi Karosto explains that in the United States survivalists, still echoing the Cold War era, consider other humans as a threat. In Finland, continues Karosto, one asks a fellow human being if he is doing well. (Toivanen 2013.) Karosto's opinion is supported by Laurikainen (2016), who says that the primary actors who Finnish people – apart from people aged 65 or over – would resort to are the family members and friends.

### 4.3.3 *Norm-criticality*

Questioning the popular conception and norm-criticality are fundamental to surviving. Indeed, what distinguishes survivalists from the regular Joes is their ability and will to consider alternative development paths, acknowledge the possibility of something going wrong and act accordingly. One forum discussant considers that people suffer from a dangerous feeling of safety, which is further nourished because the western countries have not witnessed a war in their proximity for a couple of decades. The person herself/himself claims that s/he does not suffer from the dillusional sentiment of safety, since s/he has not forgotten how things have escalated into chaos before:

*"The more I read history, the more carefully I look after my food supply."*<sup>56</sup>

Survivalism as an ideology is heterodox. Established mind-sets, policies and doctrines are challenged. On the discussion forum, one member debunks kitchen trends suggested by a futurist. By doing so, the user also positions survivalism as out-of-style and. What is even worse, there seems to be no difference between being a trendy futurist and being a prisoner:

---

<sup>55</sup> "Jaettu tieto ei ole minulta pois. Jos voin sen sijaan jotakuta opastaa selviämään omillaan, ei kyseinen henkilö kuormita pelastushenkilöstöä niin pahasti mahdollisessa katastrofitilanteessa." (Vähähyyppä 2010.)

<sup>56</sup> "Mitä enemmän luen historiaa, sitä tarkempaa huolta pidän säilykevarastostani." (S.com 2017e)

*"It is not that fashionable to survive on your own. As this futurist tells: "There is no more need for extra storing space in kitchen, because there is no need to store as much food anymore. Do we need modern kitchens anymore, either?" Why live free, when in prison they even serve your food ready? ☺" <sup>57</sup>*

In general, the trust towards authorities among citizens in case of emergency is high in Finland (Laurikainen 2016, 46). Yet, distrust towards authorities in the moment of disaster is also frequently mentioned in the research data. Reporter Perttu Häkkinen asks from survivalist Pasi Karosto if he considers the national emergency supply to be sufficient and up to date. Karosto hesitates:

*"I am not exactly aware of their level, but at least we are convinced that everything is ok. Nevertheless, I do not think it is enough. Each individual should be personally responsible that you cannot always trust that the state or society will come to help and arrives in time everywhere if something goes wrong." <sup>58</sup>*

One survivalist tactic is indeed the breaking away from society, says Lamy (1996, 69). Whereas Pasi Karosto (Hallamaa 2012) denies that the idea of a state of anarchy would guide his preparedness – he believes that after a malfunction society will go back to a state of normal – there is plenty of material indicating towards anarchism. Karosto, too, acknowledges that there is some truth to the saying ‘We are nine meals from anarchy’. After three days, he continues, hunger steps in and sets the rules, and rules and superficial sophistication step aside. (Häkkinen 2013.) After all, on the eve of destruction one either defends oneself and their family, or obeys the rule and loses. Miika Vanhapiha refers to possibility of violence when discussing the defence of a collapse tribe:

---

<sup>57</sup> *"Kovin muodikastahan omillaan pärjääminen ei ole. Niinkuin tämä futuristi kertoo: "Keittiössä ei tarvita enää niin paljon kaappitilaa, koska ei tarvitse säilyttää niin paljoa ruokaa. Tarvitaanko sitten nykyisenlaisia keittiöitäkään?" Miksi elää vapaana, kun vankilassa ruokakin tarjoillaan sinulle valmiiksi tehtynä? ☺"* (S.com 2017e.)

The underlined part of the quotation is a link to an article, where futurist James Wallman predicts that fridges become obsolete as sharing economy spreads throughout the society. Source: Mattila, R. (2016). Futuristi: Omistamisesta tulee yhä tarpeettomampaa – "Miksi pitäisi olla oma auto, jääkaappi tai edes matkalaukku". *YLE Uutiset*, 5.6.2016. Retrieved 21 August 2018 from <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8923074>

<sup>58</sup> *"Tarkkaa käsitystä mulla ei ole siitä, että millä tasolla ne on, mutta ainakin näin meille vakuutetaan, että kaikki on kunnossa. Mutta minusta se ei riitä. Jokaisen pitää kyllä kantaa myös henkilökohtaisesti vastuu siitä, että kaikessa ei voi aina luottaa siihen, että se valtio tai yhteiskunta tulee apuun ja ehtii joka paikkaan jos joku asia menee pieleen."* (Häkkinen 2013)



*”If things escalate and we are faced with fundamental questions, like to live or to die, then people have a right for the struggle to survive. A survival tribe of this kind, it should keep to diplomacy at all times, but it also has to be ready to use violence, if needed.”<sup>59</sup>*

#### 4.3.4 Self-sufficiency

One of the tactics to distance oneself from the system is self-sufficiency, as also proposed by Lamy (1996, 69). Notions of self-sufficiency concerning trade of food or equipment are frequent in the material. Picking and preserving berries, mushroom and hunting are popular topics when discussing daily preparedness. One of the forum members says that her/his goal is to be as independent from the society as possible (S.com 2017f). Markku Teräs substantiates the point clearly, saying that self-sufficiency is pivotal for long-term preparedness. Even though good equipment and storing food are necessary tactics, self-sufficiency is considered imperative in a long term. As Teräs says in an interview:

*”But a bunker is a temporary comfort [...] Sooner or later even it [the bunker] runs out of foodstuff, if you cannot produce new ones.”<sup>60</sup>*

Overall, the possibilities to achieve self-sufficiency are seen to be better in countryside. As Markku Teräs states, there are less people to feed, and overall, people in countryside have better outdoor skills (Nieminen 2017). Urban lifestyle is seen as too comfortable, numbing the city dwellers into an illusion that everything is fine. One of the forum members explains how survivalism is socially passed on in the family, since s/he is an individualist and an active self-improver, and her/his wife an urbanised farmer’s daughter. The result is a *“factually survivalist family”*. This could not happen in the city, as urban dwellers simply are too used to the effortlessness of the comfortable city life (S.com 2017f). The division between cities and countryside is supported in the study conducted by the Finnish National Rescue Association. It suggests two different cultures of preparedness in Finland: the preparedness in countryside and the preparedness in cities. Overall, people living in urban areas are less prepared and consider themselves more dependent on authorities in case of an emergency than people in countryside. (Laurikainen

---

<sup>59</sup> *”Jos asiat kärjistyy kertakaikkisesti tällaisten peruskysymysten äärelle, kuin elää tai kuolla, niin ihmisillä on oikeus siihen henkiinjäämiskamppailuun. Ja vaikka tällainen romahdusheimo, mun mielestä sen pitäis pitäytyä kaiken aikaa diplomatiassa, niin sen pitää olla myös valmis käyttämään väkivaltaa tarvittaessa.”* (Richt 2016)

<sup>60</sup> *”Mutta bunkkeri on vain hetken lohtu [...] Sekin tyhjenee ennemmin tai myöhemmin elintarvikkeista, jos uusia ei voida tuottaa.”* (Nieminen 2017)

2016, 47.) In the article by Hallamaa, one forum member grimly paints the picture, in which the lonely sub-urban survivor has a post-apocalyptic prize waiting:

*”If you have managed to survive circa two years (including two cold winters) with your own supplies, you can finally crawl out of your ‘bunker’ into the middle of riches. The stopping of the society has destroyed the suburban people with cold and hunger – there is a massive legacy to be expected”<sup>61</sup>*

Ideally, the “*post-industrial culture based on fast-paced consumption*” is abandoned, as Miika Vanhapiha says (Karhunkorpi 2017). Despite the strive towards self-sufficiency, escaping beyond the economic system and consumption completely is difficult. Preparedness, as illustrated in chapter 4.1.2, is strongly related to supplies and equipment, which are more or less produced by the very system self-sufficiency aims to abandon. Overall, the detachment from the fast-paced consumption happens gradually. After all, the completely self-sufficient way of life is of imminently needed only after the collapse. Notably, according to Rantanen (2015), material objects are a way to enhance the feeling of security and further cope with the chaotic world.

#### **4.3.5 Summarising worldview**

On the third level of analysis, common values and ideologies were analysed in the data. Overall, survivalist worldview is one of dissident, as it abandons the mainstream as inadequate. Fellow human beings – particularly the ones not questioning the status quo and unable to prepare – are considered as competitors in a case of a disaster. Yet, at the same time, people are a resource and an asset for survival. Although communality is to some extent contradictory to self-sufficiency and privacy, they co-exist in the survivalist worldview.

The analysis suggests that a community replaces the society as the unit of security and survival for preppers. Consequently, Finnish survivalist worldview revolves around relationships between individuals as well as individuals and organisations. Thus, the common worldview balances between privacy and norm-critical self-sufficiency as well as sharing and communality.

---

<sup>61</sup> “*Jos on onnistunut selviytymään omien varantojen turvin noin kaksi vuotta (sisältäen kaksi kylmää talvea), voi lopulta kömpiä ulos ”bunkeristaan” rikkauksien keskelle. Yhteiskunnan pysähtyminen on tuhonnut lähiöiden asukkaat kylmään ja nälkään – odotettavissa on massiivinen perintö*” (Hallamaa 2012.)

Notably, many other ideologies and values co-exist. In this analysis, ideologies and values that can be mostly described as shared or common, were concentrated on. Discussion regarding other ideologies, such as conservatism, nationalism, environmentalism and deep ecology, for example, call for further analysis.

#### 4.4 Metaphor: The post-rational layer

The fourth layer analyses the deeper and even hidden assumptions concerning the futures. The layer of metaphor is the post-rational layer underlying the other previous layers. Thus, the analysis deploys the results of the previous three layers. The analysis questions on the fourth level are:

1. What kinds of assumptions about encountering the future prevail?
2. What kinds of assumptions about surviving prevail?

##### 4.4.1 *A collage on a blank canvas*

The unravelling of the metaphorical level of survivalist encounter with futures begins with a quotation that makes a reference to arts. When asked, whether Finnish survivalism is ideologically free, Karosto says:

*"I consider that we have a more blank canvas here. Here we can define the threats we prepare for by ourselves."*<sup>62</sup>

As shown previously, Finnish survivalists indeed define the various threats they prepare for. Gone are the days when one single threat as the product of common ideology defined the threat horizon. On the contrary, TEOTWAKI scenarios co-exist with threats of the personal life or the everyday: stepping on a Lego block or losing one's home. One of the reports writes how a forum member "[...]prepares for a disaster that can be anything between a lay-off and a nuclear disaster."<sup>63</sup> Consequently, survivalist assumption on encountering the future is that there are many possible futures awaiting simultaneously.

---

<sup>62</sup> "Kyllä mä näkisin, että täällä tosiaan ollaan paljon, sanoisko että tyhjemmällä pöydällä. Täällä voidaan itse mieltä ne uhkakuvat, mihin varaudutaan." (Häkkinen 2013)

<sup>63</sup> "[...]valmistautuu katastrofiin, joka voi olla mitä tahansa lomautuksen ja ydinonnettomuuden väliltä." (Vähähyppä 2010.)

However, not everything is looked at, only what is considered necessary. Thus, the encounter with the future is situated in between speculation and action, portrayed particularly well in the free and anonymous space provided by a web forum. Lina Rahm (2013) describes the online survivalist discussion as a “*play with alternative futures*” This play, according to Rahm, is related to and limited by the real life survivalist skills and capacities, thus making the discussion a “*hypothetical justification for their current way of life*”. Thus, the future is seen as an empty canvas, and it is filled with carefully speculated components of future and translated into the current moment as different types of action, accordingly. Altogether, the survivalist assumption on how to survive is to encounter the multiple futures with speculation, choosing and preparing.

Survivalist approach is for the most part free from external limitations to speculate any kind of futures possible. Moreover, it does it in many levels; the survivalist approach consists simultaneously of climate change and coffee makers, and of a terrorist attack and a divorce. To summarise, instead of fixed and rigid models, the knowledge grows in all directions, and everything can be connected to everything. Thus, survivalists encounter futures by crafting a collage, in a similar way as a visual artist constructs a new whole out of parts that consist of different materials. The variety of materials refers to the multiple futures as well as the ways to encounter them. The French poststructuralist philosophers, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, presented the assemblage as an ontological framework in their book *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987). According to J. MacGregor Wise (2005, 77), assemblage for Deleuze and Guattari refers to the interplay between structure and contingency and organisation and change. It is a process where one arranges, organises and fits parts together (Parr 2010, 18). The future and the encounter with it are never fixed, but continuously moving through speculation and preparing. Assemblage is neither a collection to be put together of predetermined parts, and neither is it a set of random things. (Wise 2005, 77.) To conclude, the metaphor for survivalist encounter with futures is *A collage on a blank canvas*.

#### 4.4.2 *Futures as a Russian nesting doll*

Survivalists assume multiple futures simultaneously, and importantly, those futures are different in their temporality. Firstly, survivalists imagine the alternative futures through the threats that they prepare for. These alternatives resonate with the concept of *counterfactuals*, which according to Black (2015, 4–5) concern the basic human capacity to detach oneself from the present and imagine reality – past or future – in a way that is different from now. Yet, there is another future beyond and somewhat detached from the alternative threat futures. When eventually the *S\*\*t Hits The Fan*, the continuous and fluctuating process of imagining scenarios and responding to them through preparedness has

generated capacities of survival, which escort the prepper into the future in which s/he has survived: *the survival future*. The idea of different temporal futures is illustrated in the comment of the forum member, who imagines the “*massive legacy*” in the urban space waiting the person who has been underground for two years and eventually crawls out her/his bunker (Vähähyppä 2010).

The different temporalities of survivalist futures can thus be summarised by using Roy Amara’s (1981) classification of the different kinds of futures: possible (*can be*), probable (*may be*) or preferable (*ought to be*). For survivalists, a wide range of futures is possible. These counterfactual, alternative futures imagined are mostly undesirable with their threats. Yet, for the one who has successfully prepared, the future after a disaster is still a possible one, unlike for the one who have been sleepwalking towards those unimagined, unknown threats.

In this way, survivalists assume futures in a form of a *Russian nesting doll*: in order to access the final future, the one on the inside, one has to survive through the different outer layers. At the core of the doll, there is the future beyond the point of survival – *the survival future* waiting beyond *the threat futures* – but only for those who successfully prepared.

#### 4.4.3 *Witnesses of the matricide*

“*Definition of matricide*

1

[*Latin matricidium, from matr- + -cidium -cide*]

: *murder of a mother by her son or daughter*

2

[*Latin matricida, from matr- + -cida -cide*]

: *one that murders his or her mother*”<sup>64</sup>

In her book about doomsday preppers and death-worshipping media culture, Gwendolyn Audrey Foster writes that narratives of apocalypse are dominated by human species. When imagining the demise of the society, there is little interest towards Earth, environment and other species, unless they are beneficial for humans. (Foster 2014, 45–46.) Finnish survivalists see the nature as an important resource for living and surviving – this is illustrated particularly well in the references to self-sufficiency as well as learning different skills and knowledge that often relate to environment. Mother Earth is the provider of nutrition, shelter and firewood and, in general, it is well respected. Yet, instead of strictly

---

<sup>64</sup> Definition of matricide according to Merriam-Webster. Source: Matricide | Definition of Matricide by Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved 11 August 2018 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/matricide>

utilitarian approach, survivalists aim to learn from the nature and survive according to environment's law. In some cases, the relationship to nature can even be mythical, like for Miika Vanhapiha, who sacrifices the best piece of game for sprites. Although his belief of humans and environment intertwined in a mythical manner are not commonly shared in the research data, he explains the reasons behind the act:

*"[...] and we do not want to cause disturbance, of course. Everyone should get their share, that is how it goes."*<sup>65</sup>

Yet, Foster's idea of human species dominating the narrative still stands corrected. Despite the respect for nature, Finnish survivalism is human-centric in the sense that the surviving is primarily described and imagined for humans. Moreover, survivalists generally abandon the idea that they could have an influence on the state of the environment in the future. Despite the ecological values and acknowledging the unsustainable mainstream ways of using natural resources, survivalists do not concentrate on how to avoid or prevent disasters as much as they think how to survive them, once they happen. Notably, the narrative sans nature is apologetic, perhaps because the destruction of the nature is acknowledged to be caused by humans solely. Miika Vanhapiha believes that future has an "expiration date":

*"I find it hard to see that this development leading to dramatic changes or a collapse could somehow be stopped and altered completely."*<sup>66</sup>

Consequently, surviving is assumed human-centric also in the sense that it acknowledges human as the cause of the disaster. The data supports Philip Lamy's (1996) writings, when he proposes that survivalist approach – convinced as it is of the forthcoming collapse – does not aim to reform the system. Whereas one can clean the Legos from the floor or save money for an emergency, the environmental collapse cannot be prevented. The prepper only seeks to survive through it. Although environment is a valuable resource for survivalists, they take the role of silent *witnesses of the matricide* of Mother Nature, unable to intervene.

---

<sup>65</sup> "[...] ja ei tietenkään häiriöksi tahdota olla. Kullekin omansa niin kuin asiaan kuuluu." (Richt 2016.)

<sup>66</sup> "Mun on vaikee mitenkään nähdä, että tää tällänen dramaattisia tilamuutoksia eli romahdusta kohti vievää kehityskulkua, että sitä vois jotenkin pysäyttää ja muuttaa kokonaan." (Richt 2016)

#### 4.4.4 *Summarising metaphor*

Concerning the deeper assumptions held by survivalists about the encounter with futures and surviving, three metaphors were identified in the data. Firstly, future is seen as an empty canvas, without restricting ideologies, on which survivalists are free to identify the various threats and prepare accordingly. Indeed, several imagined disasters can co-exist. Following this, the first metaphor for encountering futures is *A collage on a blank canvas*. Secondly it was noted, that the futures imagined are assumed different in temporality. There are the threat futures to which survivalist prepare for, and beyond those futures waits another imagined, preferable future, the future in which one has survived: the survival future. Following this, the metaphor for survivalist futures is a *Russian nesting doll*, in which the multiple threats as futures are the outer layers and the core is the survival future, in which one has surpassed the threats and successfully survived. Nature is a valuable resource for survivalists. Yet, survival is human-centric, as it is imagined to happen to people, and the collapse is seen to be caused by humans. Despite this, survivalists do not consider that they can influence the environmental degradation. Thus, the third metaphor for survivalists, with a reference to Mother Earth, is *Witnesses of the matricide*.

## 5 SURVIVALISM AND ANTICIPATION

In the analysis presented in chapter 4, present-day Finnish survivalism was analysed through four intertwining levels of different depth, focusing on 1) the survivalist practice and definitions, 2) the factors motivating preparedness, 3) the ideological standpoints and values and 4) deeper assumptions about encountering futures and of survival.

In this chapter, the analysis results are reflected with the theory of anticipation in order to understand – using the vocabulary from anticipation studies – how survivalists *use the future* in the present moment. Next to introducing survivalism as a form of anticipation and a type of anticipatory approach, survivalism is used as a lense to observe the concept and theory of anticipation. Essentially, the objective here is to answer the second and third research questions of the thesis: *What kind of an anticipatory approach is survivalism? What can we learn about anticipation through survivalism?* Both of the two research questions intertwine in the following sub-chapters.

### 5.1 Using the future

Poli (2017b, 266–267) distinguishes two forms of anticipation: explicit and implicit ones. Whereas implicit anticipations work beyond consciousness, explicit anticipations refer to the ones of which the anticipatory system is aware. Explicit anticipations become visible when one takes into account the consequences of looking into the future and alternates the current behaviour accordingly. (Miller et al. 2018; 53.) When considering the analysis results in chapter 4, survivalist anticipation operates clearly through explicit anticipations: the present-day behaviour is modified according to what the futures are considered to be like.

There are three types of explicit anticipations: 1) optimisation, 2) contingency and 3) novelty. Each of them has their own specific way of using the future. Optimisation relies on causal-predictive models and imposes knowledge from past in the singular and linear future. Contingency focuses on already known possible surprises and acknowledges multiple non-linear futures. Novelty, on the other hand, sees the future as part of the current moment and making sense of the unknowable becoming knowable in the present. The three types are not mutually exclusive and can function simultaneously. (Poli 2017b, 69–72.)

Survivalist approach consists of all three types of anticipations. Mostly, it is about contingency, as the anticipations concern multiple non-linear futures, which are approached as flexible and non-fixed way, moving dynamically between speculative and material (see Chapter 4.1). The future where the society has collapsed is discussed next



to a power strike or unemployment, and the speculated scenarios are responded with necessary behaviour. Yet, survivalist approach is open to novelties in general, although, as partly unpredictable, the novel is not necessarily identified in an exact manner. It is merely something new and unexpected. As the following quotation illustrates, any present moment can be open for a range of surprises:

*"You see that basically anything can happen, anytime. Because it is so improbable that year after another you just "don't believe it" or "will do it tomorrow", and then it happens. And it can be too late.."*<sup>67</sup>

Despite the openness to alternative futures, survivalists also deploy optimised anticipation in an interesting manner. Although Finnish survivalists explicitly distinguish themselves from American preppers, the persistence of nuclear disaster as a threat to prepare for is an illustrative example of optimisation. Although nuclear disaster is considered highly improbable, it serves as a perfect threat, against which to practice preparedness. Thus, with all its horrors, nuclear war serves as a singular future, making all the other imaginable threats redundant.

From an evolutionary point of view, says Poli (2017b, 268), the advantage of explicit anticipation is that the objective-oriented processing becomes faster. This notion aligns with the very fundamental objective of surviving. The results of the analysis suggest that survival as an objective requires all three types of explicit anticipations, each with their own specific way of using the future.

## 5.2 Dynamic identity

Anticipatory behaviour is goal-oriented instead of stimulus-driven, and changing the anticipatory system itself requires a change in the system's dynamic identity, says Poli. Fundamental to this change are the controllers, which detect the working conditions of the system and accordingly create new anticipations to the system. (Poli 2017b, 267.) If survivalist approach is considered as an anticipatory system and the results of the analysis are reflected to Poli's idea of changing the dynamic identity, we are finally able to answer the hypothesis of this thesis. To recollect, the hypothesis for this thesis was that survivalism as an anticipatory approach is free from external limitations. *To survive*, as such, is surely a goal towards which survivalists orientate. Yet, this ultimate objective includes several smaller goals, which enable the final successful surviving: such as to survive a

---

<sup>67</sup> *"Tuossa nähdään se että mitä tahansa voi periaatteessa tapahtua ja aivan koska tahansa. Koska se on niin epätodennäköistä että siihen ei vain vuosi toisensa jälkeen "jaksu uskoa" tai ajattelee että "teen sen huomena" niin sitten temppu käykin. Ja voi olla myöhäistä.."* (S.com 2017b)

divorce, to survive a power strike, or to survive a nuclear disaster. Following this, the dynamic identity of a survivalist can either be seen as constantly changing or oriented towards multiple goals at the same time. As the analysis refers to the latter one, survivalism as an anticipatory capacity or approach indeed adapts a specific standpoint to answer the unpredictability of the yet-to-come. The metaphor of collage – as suggested in chapter 4.4 – advances the idea that survivalist encounter with the future indeed is – at least partly – free from external limitations that restrict the imagining of alternatives, to concentrate on anything and everything.

Despite the three large themes that frame contemporary survivalist discussions, survivalists encounter futures without the burden of present external limitations. This is largely related to the dissident position and worldview of survivalist (see Chapter 4.3). As the survivalist process abandons the mainstream and conventional, the speculation of different kinds of futures is free to change continuously, without the system itself changing. Creating new anticipations is innate to survivalists. Referring to the idea of counterfactuals, survivalist anticipation is continuously able to ask new questions of *what-if* concerning both the everyday life as well as the global events, although they may seem far-fetched to many.

### 5.3 Testing the futures

According to Poli (2017b, 265), “*Anticipation is a means to imagine actions that can only be tested once the future really happens.*” The results of this study indicate that survivalism can indeed provide a valuable lesson in anticipating and encountering uncertainties. In light of examples presented in the first chapter of the analysis (4.1), survivalist approach with the future consists of speculative elements in the form of imagined possible futures, and material assets, skills or relationships in the present day to answer these imaginations, as presented in the sub-chapters of the chapter. Overall, survivalists discuss a wide range of future scenarios and then define what kinds of threats these scenarios could pose for their lives. Then, they consider what is needed in order to face these circumstances. Solutions are endless, and they are modified according to the needs. These ideas are accordingly adapted to the present day. A clear difference between survivalist approach and Poli’s idea of future as the mere test bed of imagined actions lies in simulations. In order to be truly prepared, some of the survivalists test their equipment and skills by demonstrating the possible futures and emergencies. As an example is the bugging-in rehearsal, where a person voluntarily stays in her/his house to test how well the supplies work.

Interestingly, the desirable future can also epitomise in present as a testing or a lifestyle. When the reporter asks where “*all this*” will take survivalist Miika Vanhapiha, he responds:

*“Nowhere, because I am already there where I am supposed to be. I live my own way and I do it with pleasure.”<sup>68</sup>*

The quotation illustrates how preparedness is not only about preparing for the times ahead. The desirable state of being is the same now and in the future. Thus, the actions taken in the present moment enable a comfortable life now, and in the future, where one has – together with her/his community – successfully survived.

## 5.4 Resilience and survivalism

As stated, according to Poli (2017b, 5), anticipatory capacities may improve societal resilience through the articulation of uncertainties. Thus, the relationship between survivalism and resilience warrants attention. Tierney (2013) suggests that resilience arises from and exists within social order. Thus, the imminent element for preventing disasters in the future is a better understanding of those social forces that produce them, and, simultaneously, to make the communities, societies and organisations more resistant to disastrous events.

Juntunen (2014, 27) maintains that despite resilience as a concept has many different scientific origins and is widely open for interpretation, it already serves as a starting point for long-term security strategic decision-making. Indeed, the discussion of societal resilience deploys work from multiple fields, such as psychology, ecology, engineering and sociology (Tierney 2013, 7). Furthermore, anticipation is an important part of resilience. Although the concept of anticipation is mentioned in resilience literature, it is not extensively deployed in anticipation theory (Boyd et al. 2015). Notably, Poli (2017b) gives no exact or thorough definition of resilience in his *Introduction to Anticipation Studies*.

The most often promoted definition for resilience, suggests Juntunen (2014), is that of a capacity to maintain performance and develop strengths while encountering emergencies considered inevitable and unpredictable. If we follow this description, survivalism indeed fundamentally strives for resilience: survivalists aim to thrive despite hardships that are not necessarily possible to predict. What, then, can we learn about anticipation in the complex and uncertain world through survivalist resilient approach?

---

<sup>68</sup> *“Ei mihinkään, koska minä olen jo siellä, missä pitäääkin. Elän omalla tavallani ja teen sen mielelläni.”* (Karhunkorpi 2017)

Importantly, the concept of resilience has also gained critique. For example, political philosophers Brad Evans and Julian Reid (2013) suggest that the doctrine of resilience is based on the idea that the exposure of human beings to danger is rudimentary. What follows is that the hidden ontology of resilience is vulnerability, as it concerns the capacity of a vulnerable subject who re-emerges from the on-going emergency. Evans and Reid propose that resilience as a category concerning those most vulnerable is a political project through which regimes of power are created, further supporting inequality. (Evans & Reid 2013, 87; 92). The results of this thesis support Evans and Reid's idea of survivalists as resilient subjects that thrive from danger. Although survivalists are not vulnerable in a similar way as the groups most at-risk Evans and Reid<sup>69</sup> refer to, survivalist resilience emerges from the same place authors suggest: the disbelief in the possibility that they could ever be free from the danger.

Although survivalist worldview is norm-critical and would not exist without continuous speculation of threats, it unlocks a possibility to critically examine the notion of resilience. Through self-sufficiency, survivalists seek to distance themselves from the system that they see incapable of providing them with security. Survivalism strives for resilience. It does so without the strict necessity enforced by those in power, but rather because of the lack or will of those in power to do something. However, for many the resilience and vulnerability are interconnected in an unconditional way. For those with no choice, dangerousness becomes, as Evans and Reid (2013, 87) suggest, the condition of life.

Thus, in order to enhance the idea of improved resilience through anticipatory capacities, it is first necessary to define resilience and then critically consider the conditions related to it. Whose resilience will anticipatory capacities improve and with what conditions? Moreover, instead of improving resilience, can we address the conditions that cause the necessity of individuals and systems to be resilient in the first place?

---

<sup>69</sup> Evans and Reid (2013, 93) quote 'World Resources 2008 : The Roots of Resilience' report by United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Environment Programme, World Bank and World Resources Institute, in which the group of people whose resilience is discussed are simply "the poor".

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1 Summary of key results

The main aim of this thesis was to examine survivalist encounter with futures. The research objective was two-fold. Firstly, to examine Finnish present-day survivalism as a futures-oriented practice and lifestyle, and secondly, discuss it as an anticipatory approach and capacity.

In response to the first research question – *How and why futures are foreseen and prepared for by Finnish survivalists* – multi-source media material was analysed with CLA based qualitative thematic text analysis in chapter 4. Although survivalism is heterogeneous and multi-faceted in its nature, the analysis highlights three different framings that define the survivalist encounter with futures. Firstly, on a practical level, survivalist approach moves between *speculative futures and the material present day*. Although Finnish survivalism is commonly described as a part of everyday life, in practice preparedness efforts that respond to speculated threats are unconventional and bring the imagined future in to the present through testing of skills and equipment. Secondly, the factors that motivate preparedness vary *between mundane and personal as well as general and global disaster scenarios*. The threats are varied, and in no way mutually exclusive: stepping on a toy, divorce and a worldwide societal collapse can be anticipated simultaneously. Although the ideologies held by Finnish survivalists are disperse, one of the common discussions related to worldview revolves around relationships to the community and institutions. Thus, thirdly, the common survivalist worldview balances between *privacy and norm-critical self-sufficiency as well as sharing and communality*.

Finally, three metaphors concerning the deeper assumptions related to surviving and survivalist encounter with the futures were proposed. As there is no particular or shared ideology that would further define a common threat ahead, future is seen as an empty canvas, on which each survivalist freely defines their threats. Thus, the metaphor for encountering futures is *A collage on a blank canvas*. Secondly, survivalists imagine futures that vary in their temporality: beyond the multiplicity of threat futures waits the future in which one has survived: the survival future. Thus, the metaphor for the layered survivalist futures is a *Russian nesting doll*, with the survival future at the core. Finally, despite appreciating environment, survivalists see environmental degradation inevitable. The third metaphor, *Witnesses of the matricide*, refers to the powerlessness to prevent a disaster waiting for Mother Earth.

Building on the aforementioned results, Finnish survivalism was discussed as an anticipatory approach in chapter 5 in order to answer the second and the third research ques-

tions. Firstly, it was stated that all three types of explicit anticipation – optimisation, contingency and novelty – are intertwined in survivalist anticipation and required in order to meet the general objective of survival. The second observation was made regarding the dynamic identity of survivalists. It was posited that creating new anticipations is innate to survivalists. The goal of surviving involves multiple smaller goals. Thus, survivalism as an anticipatory approach is, at least partly, free from external limitations. Thirdly, it was noted that a fundamental part of survivalist encounter with the uncertainty is the simulation of futures in the present through testing. This challenges Poli's idea of anticipation as a way to imagine actions, which can only be put to the test once the future actually happens. Finally, it was proposed that survivalism as an anticipatory aspires to resilience. Yet, the survivalist curiosity towards danger corroborates the necessity to critically examine the concept of resilience.

## **6.2 Assessment of the research design**

In this research, multi-source media material was analysed with an application of qualitative thematic text analysis and causal layered analysis as an analytical framework. The application of the two methods supported the objective of examining the topic in depth: thematic text analysis clarified CLA, whereas CLA provided a futures oriented framework for the analysis. This modification of the two research methods enabled an in-depth and futures-oriented, yet rigorous analysis. Notably, thematic text analysis does not invalidate the strengths of CLA. Whereas thematic text analysis provided structure and analytical clarity, there was still plenty of space to enjoy the futures-orientedness and depth of causal layered analysis. Based on this study, the combination of CLA with methods outside the toolkit of futures studies is encouraged.

The selection of research material supported the objective by providing a mixture of viewpoints that can be partly considered as official descriptions of survivalism, gathered from mainstream media, as well as partly constituting to a variety of alternative voices, as represented in the web forum discussions. This combination allowed the researcher to critically investigate the topic in a way that would have not been possible with utilising only one type of media texts. Theory informed purposive data sampling was used to limit the amount of web forum discussions. Even if the sample was considered appropriate, plenty of interesting material on the web forum was left beyond the focus of this research. Although this thesis promotes survivalism as a multi-faceted approach, all the dimensions of Finnish survivalism have surely not been completely examined yet.

The reliability of the analysis was addressed with transparent reflection of data gathering and the forming of the categories. Yet, the data and survivalism in general are open for alternative readings as well. For example, the researcher finds it very unlikely that

another researcher, through conducting the same analysis procedure, would have ended up with the exact same three metaphors as suggested in chapter 4.4. The analysis is neither intended to be an exhaustive nor the only possible interpretation of the data. The researcher invites anyone interested in survivalism to continue the examination of the topic.

The discussion part of the research was concerned with Finnish survivalism as an anticipatory process, an effort which was considered as an interesting and topical framework to reflect the analysis results in a broader theoretical context. Nevertheless, the value of the discussion is challenging to assess. The two research questions addressing survivalism as a form of anticipation and anticipatory approach, the theoretical framing and the analysis results as the foundation of the discussion are not clearly coherent. In fact, the researcher found it challenging to assess, which aspects of anticipation to study in order to contribute to the study of anticipation. Thus, the level of contribution of this thesis to the anticipatory discussions would have benefited of a clearer understanding on what – as stated in chapter 1.3 presenting research gaps – the formation of a rigorous understanding of various kinds of anticipation actually means. Nonetheless, the thesis both underlined and questioned notions of coping in complex environments in the context of anticipation.

### **6.3 Proposals for further research**

The objective of this thesis was to examine Finnish survivalism from an empirical and theoretical viewpoint. Yet, it leaves several questions to explore. A number of recommendations for future research are given.

As a theoretical contribution, the study has discussed survivalism as an anticipatory process and approach. As the framework of this thesis solely pertains to survivalism as an anticipatory approach in the context of futures studies, the approach falls short of replicating the results in a larger context concerning the study of anticipation. Ideally, the results could be applicable to discuss the encounter with the unpredictable futures in other contexts, such as organisational or national emergency preparedness. This remains an issue for further studies to explore. Furthermore, the analysis revealed ambiguity related to the concept of resilience when utilised in context of anticipation. Clearly, there is a need for critical examination of the concepts of anticipation and resilience.

This thesis deployed multi-source media texts as research data. Although media is largely oriented towards futures and further influences the public opinion and expectations on the forthcoming, little academic attention has been paid to the interconnections of media and anticipation in futures studies. Further examination is certainly required to disentangle these complex, yet fundamental relationships.

Survival is a fundamental question concerning futures. As has been noted, there are different conceptions regarding what kinds of events or threats we will need to survive

and how those hardships can successfully be encountered. We are witnessing times, when the questions of surviving are evermore present in our lives, whether we acknowledge them or not. This thesis reminds that the possibility to prepare is a privileged position. If we still have time to anticipate and prepare, we also can still influence how and with whom we take the necessary steps to survive.



## REFERENCES

- Ahlqvist, T. & Rhisiart, M. (2015). Emerging pathways for critical futures research: Changing context and impacts of social theory. *Futures* 71, 91–104.
- Amara, R. (1981). The futures field: Searching for definitions and boundaries. *The Futurist*, 15(1), 25–29.
- Becerra Videgar, A. (2013). *Fictions of Destruction: Post-1945 Narrative and Disaster in the Collective Imaginary*. Doctoral Dissertation at Stanford University. Retrieved 28 March 2016 from <http://purl.stanford.edu/ct352yp0031>
- Bell, W. (1997). *Foundations of Futures Studies : Human Science for a New Era Volume I: History, Purposes, and Knowledge*. 5th edition. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Black, J. (2015). *Other pasts, different presents, alternative futures*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Retrieved 31 July 2018 from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Boyd, E., Nykvist, B, Borgström, S. & Stacewicz, I.A. (2015). Anticipatory governance for social-ecological resilience. *AMBIO*, 44(1), 149–161. DOI 10.1007/s13280-014-0604-x
- Daniels, T. (ed.) (1999). *A Doomsday Reader : Prophets, predictors, and hucksters of salvation*. New York University Press. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Edgar, A. & Sedgwick, P. (2008). *Cultural Theory : The Key Concepts*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Evans, B. & Reid, J. (2013). Dangerously exposed: the life and death of the resilient subject, Resilience. *Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses*, 1(2), 83–98. DOI: 10.1080/21693293.2013.770703
- Foster, G.A. (2014). *Hoarders, Doomsday Preppers, and the Culture of Apocalypse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ghamari-Tabrizi, S. (2005). *The Worlds of Herman Kahn : The Intuitive Science of Thermonuclear War*. Harvard University Press. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kutu/detail.action?docID=3300183>.
- Hallamaa H. (2012). Tulkoon maailmanloppu. *Ylioppilaslehti*, 5.2.2012. Retrieved 31 May 2018 from <http://ylioppilaslehti.fi/2012/02/tulkoon-maailmanloppu/>
- Heinonen, S., Balcom Raleigh, N., Karjalainen, J., Minkkinen, M., Parkkinen, M. & Ruotsalainen, J. (2015). *CLA Game Report. Causal Layered Analysis Game on Neo-Carbon Energy Scenarios*. FFRC eBOOK 12/2015. Finland Futures Research Centre, University of Turku.

- Heinonen, S., Minkkinen, M., Karjalainen, J. & Inayatullah, S. (2017). Testing transformative energy scenarios through causal layered analysis gaming. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 124, 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2016.10.011>
- Häkkinen, P. (Reporter) (2013). Mihin suomalainen survivalisti varautuu? [Radio broadcast]. *YLE Areena* 13.2.2013. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://areena.yle.fi/1-1802098>
- Inayatullah, S. (2015). The Continued Evolution of the Use of CLA: Using practice to transform. In S. Inayatullah & I. Milojević (ed.) *CLA 2.0 – Transformative Research in Theory and Practice*, 13–21. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Inayatullah, S. (2009). CAUSAL LAYERED ANALYSIS : AN INTEGRATIVE AND TRANSFORMATIVE THEORY AND METHOD. In J. Glenn and T. Gordon (eds.) *Futures Research Methodology, Version 3.0*. Washington D.C, The Millennium Project.
- Inayatullah, S. (2004a). Causal Layered Analysis: Theory, historical context, and case studies. In S. Inayatullah (ed.) *The Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) Reader – Theory and Case Studies of an Integrative and Transformative Methodology*, 1–52. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Inayatullah, S. (2004b). Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Future: Predictive, cultural and critical epistemologies. In S. Inayatullah (ed.) *The Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) Reader – Theory and Case Studies of an Integrative and Transformative Methodology*, 55–83. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Inayatullah, S. (2004c). Appendix: The Causal Layered Analysis Pyramid. In S. Inayatullah (ed.) *The Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) Reader – Theory and Case Studies of an Integrative and Transformative Methodology*, 543. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Inayatullah, S. (1998). Causal layered analysis: Poststructuralism as method. *Futures*, 30(8), 815–829.
- Inayatullah, S. (1990). Deconstructing and reconstructing the future: Predictive, cultural and critical epistemologies. *Futures*, 22(2) 115–141.
- De Jouvenel, B. (1967). *The Art of Conjecture*. Great Britain: Basic Books.
- Juntunen, T. (2014). *Kohti varautumisen ja selviytymisen kulttuuria? Kriittisiä näkökulmia resilienssiin*. SPEK Puheenvuoroja 2, Suomen Pelastusalan Keskusjärjestö SPEK. Tampere: Tammerprint Oy. Retrieved 9 August 2018 from <http://www.spek.fi/loader.aspx?id=b40c9f5f-cb2d-4d65-9e0c-4f568d70d375>
- Kabel, A. & Chmidling, C. (2014). Disaster Prepper: Health, Identity, and American Survivalist Culture. *Human organization*, 73(3), 258–266.

- Karhunkorpi, M. (2017). "Näin minusta tuli noita" – Miika Vanhapiha näkee näkyjä ja kokoaa Forssaan romahdusheimoa. *Aamulehti*, 19.2.2017. Retrieved 21 February 2017 from <http://www.aamulehti.fi/kotimaa/nain-minusta-tuli-noita-miika-vanhapiha-nakee-nakyja-ja-kokoaa-forssaan-romahdusheimoa-24262821/>
- Karosto, P. & Karppinen, S. (2011). *Suomalainen selviytymiskirja*. Jyväskylä: Docendo.
- Kiviluoto, K. (2017). *The Layered Reality of Sustainable Transport Campaigning*. Master's Thesis. Futures Studies, Turku School of Economics.
- Koljonen, K. (2011). Survivalisti varaa ruokaa kotiinsa pariaksi kuukaudeksi. *Maaseudun tulevaisuus*, 25.11.2011. Retrieved 31 May 2018 from <https://www.maaseuduntulevaisuus.fi/ymp%C3%A4rist%C3%B6/survivalisti-varaa-kotiinsa-ruokaa-pariksi-kuukaudeksi-1.7078>
- Kokonaisturvallisuuden sanasto (2017). *Kokonaisturvallisuuden sanasto*. Helsinki: Sanastokeskus TSK. Retrieved 13 July 2018 from [http://www.tsk.fi/tiedostot/pdf/Kokonaisturvallisuuden\\_sanasto\\_2.pdf](http://www.tsk.fi/tiedostot/pdf/Kokonaisturvallisuuden_sanasto_2.pdf)
- Kuckartz, U. (2014). *Qualitative Text Analysis : A Guide to Methods, Practice and Using Software*. Sage Publications. Retrieved 25 April 2018 via ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Kunnaskari, M. (2014). *Kotitalouksien omatoimisen varautumisen tukeminen järjestöissä*. SPEK tutkii 7. Tampere: Tammerprint Oy. Retrieved 8 August 2018 from <http://www.spek.fi/loader.aspx?id=340d4cd2-be3f-402c-953b-bf11144f9141>
- Kuusi, O., Cuhls, K. & Steinmüller, K. (2015). Futures map and its quality criteria. *European Journal of Futures Studies*, 3(22), 1–14.
- Lamy, P. (1997). Secularizing the Millenium: Survivalists, Militias, and the New World Order. In T. Robbins & S.J. Palmer (eds.) *Millennium Messiahs and Mayhem – Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, 93–117. New York: Routledge.
- Lamy, P. (1996). *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists and the Doomsday Prophecy*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Laurikainen, H. (2016). *Kotitalouksien varautuminen Suomessa : Puhelinhaastattelututkimus normaaliolojen häiriötilanteisiin varautumisesta*. Suomen Pelastusalan Keskusjärjestö SPEK. Retrieved 11 July 2018 from <http://www.spek.fi/loader.aspx?id=03718850-a8d7-4ced-90fc-48432a6683f3>
- Louie, L.H. (2010). Robert Rosen's anticipatory systems. *Foresight*, 12(3), 18–29. <https://doi.org/10.1108/14636681011049848>
- Miller, R., Poli, R. & Rossel, P. (2018). The Discipline of Anticipation : Foundations for Futures Literacy. In R. Miller (ed.) *Transforming the Future : Anticipation in the 21st Century*, 51–65. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

- Miller, R., Poli, R. & Rossel, P. (2013). *The Discipline of Anticipation: Exploring Key Issues*. Retrieved 20 July 2017 from [https://www.academia.edu/3523348/The\\_Discipline\\_of\\_Anticipation\\_Miller\\_Poli\\_Rossel\\_-\\_DRAFT](https://www.academia.edu/3523348/The_Discipline_of_Anticipation_Miller_Poli_Rossel_-_DRAFT)
- Milojević, I. (2015). Conclusion. In S. Inayatullah & I. Milojević (ed.) *CLA 2.0 – Transformative Research in Theory and Practice*, 525–557. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Minkkinen, M., Auffermann, B. & Saarimaa, R. (2017). *Failand 2040. Kuinka Suomen kokonaisturvallisuus voisi romahtaa tulevaisuudessa?* Publication of Winland project. Retrieved 9 August 2018 from <http://winlandtutkimus.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Failand-2040.pdf>
- Minkkinen, M., Heinonen, S. & Parkkinen, M. (2018). Drilling and Blasting to Learn Scenario Construction: Experimenting with Causal Layered Analysis as a Disruption of Scenario Work. *World Futures Review*, May 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1946756718774940>
- Mitchell, R. G. Jr. (2002). *Dancing at the Armageddon : Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Morton, T. (2013). *Hyperobjects : Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nieminen, T. (2018). Suomalaiset kieltävät lähestyvän katastrofin – ennätyshelteillä meitä kiinnostaa lähinnä se, miksei kaupoissa ole sulamatonta jäätelöä. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 29.7.2018. Retrieved 30 July 2018 from <https://www.hs.fi/paivanlehti/29072018/art-2000005771655.html>
- Nieminen, T. (2017). Markku Teräs on opetellut metsästämään rusakoita jousella ja tekemään sianrakkolyhtyjä – survivalistit valmistautuvat sitä päivää varten, jolloin yhteiskunta luhistuu. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2.7.2017. Retrieved 2 July 2017 from <http://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000005274385.html>
- Niiranen, P. (2010). Survivalistit varautuvat kaikkeen. *YLE Uutiset*, 22.10.2010. Retrieved 31 May 2018 from <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-5514730>
- Osno, E. (2017). Doomsday prep for the super-rich. *The New Yorker*, 30.1.2017. Retrieved 4 February 2017 from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/01/30/doomsday-prep-for-the-super-rich>
- Parr, A. (ed.) (2010). *The Deleuze Dictionary Revised Edition*. Retrieved 1 August 2018 from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Paton, D. (2003). Stress in disaster response: a risk management approach. *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal*, 12(3), 203–209. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09653560310480677>
- Poli, R. (2017a). Introducing Anticipation. In R. Poli (ed.) *Handbook of Anticipation*, 1–14. DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-31737-3\_1-1
- Poli, R. (2017b). *Introduction to Anticipation Studies*. Cham: Springer.

- Poli, R. (2010a). An introduction to the ontology of anticipation. *Futures*, 42(7), 769–776. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2010.04.028>
- Poli, R. (2010b). The many aspects of anticipation. *Foresight*, 12(3), 7–17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/14636681011049839>
- Rahm, L. (2013). Who will survive? On bodies and boundaries after the apocalypse. *Gender Forum : An Internet Journal for Gender Studies. Special Issue: Early Career Researchers I*, 45/2015. Retrieved 21 January from [https://www.academia.edu/8838056/Who\\_will\\_survive\\_On\\_bodies\\_and\\_boundaries\\_after\\_the\\_apocalypse](https://www.academia.edu/8838056/Who_will_survive_On_bodies_and_boundaries_after_the_apocalypse)
- Ramos, J.M. (2015). Transcendence of a Method: The story of causal layered analysis. In S. Inayatullah & I. Milojević (eds.) *CLA 2.0 – Transformative Research in Theory and Practice*, 25–44. Tamsui, Taipei: Tamkang University Press.
- Rantanen, L. (2015). *Pahan päivän varalle – 2000-luvun survivalismi Yhdysvalloissa*. Pro gradu –tutkielma. Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta. Helsingin yliopisto.
- Richt, J. (Reporter) (2016). Perjantai-dokkari: Romahdusheimon soturi (Documentary television film) *YLE Areena*. Retrieved 7 December 2016 from <http://areena.yle.fi/1-3754739>
- Riedl, M. (2010). Living in the Future – Proleptic Existence in Religion, Politics and Art. *International Political Anthropology*, 3(2), 117–134.
- Riedy, C. (2008). An integral extension of causal layered analysis. *Futures*, 40, 150–159.
- Rubin, A. (2017). Causal Layered Analysis. In S. Heinonen, O. Kuusi & H. Salminen (eds.) *How Do We Explore Our Futures? Methods of Futures Research*, 252–268. Helsinki: Finnish Society for Futures Studies.
- Rushkoff, D. (2018). Survival of the Richest : The wealthy are plotting to leave us behind. *Medium*, 5.7.2018. Retrieved 2 August 2018 from <https://medium.com/s/futurehuman/survival-of-the-richest-9effcddd0cc1>
- S.com (2017). *survivalismi.com* [Web page] Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com>
- S.com (2017a). Miten preppasit tänään [Web forum topic]. In *survivalismi.com*. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=424>
- S.com (2017b). Henkilökohtainen SHTF [Web forum topic]. In *survivalismi.com*. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=1057>
- S.com (2017c). Mitä jäi käteen vuodesta 2016? [Web forum topic]. In *survivalismi.com*. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=1124>

- S.com (2017d). Onko survivalismi pois muodista? [Web forum topic]. In *survivalismi.com*. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=1013>
- S.com (2017e). Survivalismi ja puoliset sekä muut läheiset. [Web forum topic]. In *survivalismi.com*. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://www.survivalismi.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=218>
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research methods for business students*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Silverman, D. (2001). *Intepreting Qualitative Data : Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Slaughter, R.A. (2016). Academic Publishing in Transition: The Case of Foresight. *World Future Review*, 8(2), 63–74.
- Slaughter, R.A. (2003). *Futures Beyond Dystopia : Creating Social Foresight*. Routledge, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kutu/detail.action?docID=181911>
- Solnit, R. (2006). *The Field Guide to Getting Lost*. Edinburgh: Canon Gate.
- Son, H. (2015). The history of Western futures studies: An exploration of the intellectual traditions and three-phase periodization. *Futures*, 66, 120–137.
- Taleb, N.N. (2007). *The Black Swan : The impact of the highly improbable*. London: Penguin Books.
- Tierney, K. (2013). *The Social Roots of Risk : Producing Disasters, Promoting Resilience*. Stanford University Press. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kutu/detail.action?docID=1731657>
- Toivanen, T. (2013). Suomalainen survivalisti ei rakenna bunkkeria. *YLE Uutiset* 28.5.2013. Retrieved 8 March 2017 from <http://yle.fi/uutiset/3-6661570>
- Vähähyppä, M. (2010). Survivalisti haluaa elää! *Voima*, 1.6.2010. Retrieved 31 May 2018 from <http://voima.fi/blog/arkisto-voima/survivalisti-haluaa-elaa-2/>
- Wikipedia contributors (2018). Millenarianism. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 17:32, 30.7.2018, from <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Millenarianism&oldid=845660801>
- Wise, M.J. (2005). Assemblage. In C.J. Stivale (ed.) *Gilles Deleuze : Key Concepts*, 77–87. Acumen Publishing, Chesham, Bucks.
- Wolf, M. & McQuitty, S. (2011). Understanding the do-it-yourself consumer: DIY motivations and outcomes. *AMS Review*, 1, 154–170.