

"WE WANT TO ENSURE BETTER FUTURE FOR NEXT GENERATIONS" -

**Study of Sustainability Attitudes and Values of Finnish Parties' Through
Semi-Structured Interviews and Survey**

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Master's thesis
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Spring 2024

ABSTRACT

Tiedekunta Humanistis-yhteiskunnallinen tiedekunta	Laitos Yhteiskuntatieteet ja filosofia
Tekijä Iida Hämäläinen	
Työn nimi "We want to ensure better future for next generations" - Study of Sustainability Attitudes and Values of Finnish Parties' Through Semi-Structured Interviews and Survey	
Oppiaine Politiikan tutkimus	Työn tyyppi Maisterintutkielma
Aika Kevät 2024	Sivumäärä 95
Instructor Sergei Prozorov	
<p>Tiivistelmä</p> <p>Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus on tutkia ja analysoida kestävyiden ulottuvuuksia ja suomalaisten eduskuntapuolueiden mielipiteitä ja arvoja liittyen kestäväan kehitykseen. Käytin tutkimuksessa esimerkkeinä ruoka- ja ilmastopolitiikkaa, koska ne ovat sellaisia politiikan sektoreita, joilla edistetään kaikkia kestävyiden ulottuvuuksia (taloudellinen, sosiaalinen ja ympäristöllinen kestävyys).</p> <p>Käytin kaksivaiheista aineistonkeruumenetelmää, jossa yhdistin puolistrukturoitua haastattelua ja kyselyä suomalaisille kansanedustajille. Kerätyn aineiston pohjalta tutkin suomalaisten puolueiden kestävyysajatuksia verraten perinteiseen vasemmisto-oikeistojakaumaan.</p> <p>Ensin järjestin viisi haastattelua. Haastateltavat olivat joko puoluesihteereitä tai muita puolueiden työntekijöitä. Kerätyn aineiston pohjalta muodostin kyselyn suomalaisille kansanedustajille. 28 kansanedustajaa kuudesta eri puolueesta vastasi kyselyyn. Sekä haastatteluilla, että kyselyllä kerätty materiaali analysoitiin hyödyntämällä sisällönanalyysia.</p> <p>Analyysin tuloksena vastasin tutkimuskysymyksiin, jotka käsittelevät puolueiden sijoittumista poliittisille jakaumille, sekä puolueiden välisiä eroja kestävyysasenteissa ja arvoissa.</p>	
Avainsanat Sustainability, sustainable development, parties, food policy, climate policy, political spectrum	
Säilytyspaikka Jyväskylän yliopisto	
Muita tietoja	

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Name of the work “We want to ensure better future for next generations” – Study of Sustainability Attitudes and Values of Finnish Parties’ Through Semi-Structured Interviews and Survey	
Subject Political Science	Degree Master’s thesis
Time Spring 2024	Pages 95
Instructor Sergei Prozorov	
<p>Abstract</p> <p>The aim of this thesis is to explore and analyze the dimensions of sustainability, and the attitudes and values of Finnish parliamentary parties’ relation with these topics. I use food policy and climate policy as an example of a political sectors, where all the sustainability’s dimensions (economic, social and environmental) are practiced.</p> <p>I used two-phased data-collection, which includes five semi-structured interviews, and survey for the members of the Finnish Parliament. With collected data, I will study sustainability attitudes of Finnish political parties in relation to traditional left-right political spectrum.</p> <p>First, five semi-structured interviews were constructed. Interviewees were either secretary generals of the party or other employees. With the data gotten from the interviews, I formed survey for MPs. 28 MPs from six different parties responded for the survey. Collected data was analyzed with content analysis.</p> <p>By analysis, I answered to the research questions, which considered the positioning of the parties on political spectrums, and the differences of parties’ attitudes and values.</p>	
Keywords Sustainability, sustainable development, parties, food policy, climate policy, political spectrum	
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ABBREVIATIONS

CAP	Common Agriculture Policy
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IUNC	International Union of the Conservation of Nature and Natural resources
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
MP	Member of the Parliament
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SD	Sustainable Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nation
WCED	World Commission on Environmental and Development

Parties

CDP	The Christian Democratic Party
Centre	The Centre Party of Finland
Left	The Left Alliance
Liike Nyt	Liike Nyt -movement
NCP	The National Coalition Party
SDP	The Social Democratic Party
Swedish	The Swedish People Party
Finns	The Finns Party
Green	The Green League

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Two-dimensional political spectrum.....	33
Figure 2: Research process.....	38
Figure 3: Constructing a Questionnaire (Peterson 2000).....	42
Figure 4: Two-dimensional political spectrum that concerns environmental attitudes.	97

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Agenda 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015).....	19
TABLE 2: Finnish parties and their characteristics and ideologies.....	35
TABLE 3: Interviewees.....	47
TABLE 4: Structure of the semi-structured interviews.....	48
TABLE 5: Structural coding.....	50
TABLE 6 Parties' values and their relation to sustainability.....	52
TABLE 7: Parliamentary Groups, number of the seats for representatives, and number of respondents.....	80
TABLE 8: The survey statements.....	81
TABLE 9: Statement 1.....	82
TABLE 10: Statement 2.....	84
TABLE 11: Statement 3.....	85
TABLE 12: Statement 4.....	87
TABLE 13: Statement 5.....	88
TABLE 14: Statement 6.....	89
TABLE 15: Statement 7.....	90
TABLE 16: Statement 8.....	91
TABLE 17: Statement 9.....	92

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	3
ABBREVIATIONS	6
LIST OF TABLES.....	7
TABLE OF CONTENTS	8
1. INTRODUCTION	10
1.1. The Aim of the Study	11
1.2. The Structure of the Study	11
2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTISING SUSTAINABILITY	15
2.1 Sustainable Development and Sustainability	16
2.2. Examples of Policy Sectors: Climate Policy and Food Policy	19
2.2.1. Climate Policy	19
2.1.2. Food Policy	22
3. POLITICAL VALUES, IDEOLOGIES AND SPECTRUMS.....	27
3.1. Political Parties: a Brief Conceptual Framework.....	28
3.2. Political Values and Ideologies	29
3.3. Political Spectrums	31
3.3.1. Traditional Left-Right Spectrum.....	32
3.3.2. Two-dimensional Political Spectrum	33
3.4. Finnish Political Parties	34
4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY.....	36
4.1. Qualitative Research.....	37
4.2. Selected Data Collection and Analysis Methods.....	37
4.1.1. Semi-structured Interviews	39
4.2.2. Survey	40
4.2.3. Content Analysis	43
4.3. Ethical Implications	44
5. INTERVIEWS.....	46
5.1. Presenting the Semi-structured Interviews.....	46
5.2. Themes of the Interviews.....	47
5.3. Analysis	49
6. FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS.....	51

6.1.	Values and Attitudes	51
6.2.	Responsibility of Sustainability Policies	56
6.3.	Sustainability's Dimensions	59
6.3.1.	Economic Sustainability	60
6.3.2.	Social Sustainability	67
6.3.3.	Environmental Sustainability	71
6.4.	From Analysis to Survey Statements	75
7.	SURVEY FOR MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT	79
7.1.	Presenting the Survey	79
7.2.	Presenting the Responses.....	81
8.	DISCUSSION	94
8.1.	Sustainability's Dimensions	94
8.2.	Values	95
8.3.	Including Environment to Political Spectrums	96
8.	CONCLUSION.....	101
9.1.	Answering to the research questions	102
9.2.	Insights to the Chosen Methodology	103
8.3.	Further Studies	103
	REFERENCES.....	105
	Appendices	114
	Appendix 1: Interview invitation	114
	Appendix 2: Privacy notice.....	117
	Appendix 3: Consent to the processing of personal data.....	120
	Appendix 4: Survey Invitation.....	122

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies that address unsustainability or climate change as a crisis, tend to start their journals in a dramatical tone by stating that climate change intensifies as we speak or that people die because they do not have food. Livelihoods are lost, and plants and animals are vanished because of the biodiversity loss. Children do not get the education they deserve, and elderly do not afford to grow old with dignity. Inequality is the theme that characterizes our societies and acts that we are willing to take today towards society and towards environment defines our future.

These themes are also addressed in political speeches, for example by political activists and presidents. Greta Thunberg gave one of her most known speeches in UN's Climate Action Summit in 2019 by blaming an appealing to the participant's emotions:

"You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words. And yet I'm one of the lucky ones. People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!"¹

This speech has had impact on many: including myself. Even though Thunberg mainly refers to the climate change as a crisis, she also characterizes the heart of sustainable development: we have global problems which include the contradiction between environment and economic growth. It also addresses the relationship different generations share, and the thought that has also raised to the heading of this thesis: "We want to ensure better future for next generations"².

President Obama approaches sustainable development in a more optimistic way in his speech in September 2015:

"In many of our nations, especially developed countries, there is among our general population a genuine compassion towards those in need. There is a recognition of the grinding poverty that so many experience every day around the world. And yet

¹ Greta Thunberg's speech at the 2019 UN Climate Action Summit

² This phrase emerged in Jaakkola's (Left Alliance) interview

sometimes it's said that our efforts to combat poverty and disease do not and cannot work, that there are some places beyond hope, that certain people and regions are condemned to an endless cycle of suffering. Here, today, we put those myths to rest. Today, we set aside the skepticism, and we lift up the hope that is available to us through collective action. "³

But is this just verbal talent of some or is the worry about our future people and planet grown to be part of our mass publics' attitudes and ideology? Is it just the individuals that address these issues and hope to leave planet to the future generations in better shape that we got it? In this thesis, I approach these themes by studying the Finnish Parliamentary Parties and their attitudes towards sustainable development and sustainability.

1.1. The Aim of the Study

The aim of this thesis is to explore and analyze the dimensions of sustainability, and the attitudes and values of Finnish parliamentary parties' relation with these topics. I will use food policy and climate policy as an example of a political sector, where all the sustainability's dimensions are practiced. I use two-phased data-collection, which includes five semi-structured interviews, and survey for the members of the Finnish Parliament. With collected data, I will study sustainability attitudes of Finnish political parties in relation to traditional left-right political spectrum.

The research questions of this thesis are:

- 1. How does the combination of sustainable development's dimensions influence the positioning of political parties on the political spectrum?*
- 2. What are the differences in sustainability attitudes and values among Finnish parliamentary parties, and how do these differences manifest in their policy positions and legislative priorities?*

With these research questions I aim to present a study which evaluates and challenges previous ways of dividing the parties on the political spectrum. At the same time, this thesis pays attention to the ways in which the parties would promote overall sustainability and, on the other hand, individual dimensions of sustainability.

1.2. The Structure of the Study

This thesis consists of conceptual and theoretical frameworks, two-phased data-collection and two rounds of analysis. Through these stages of this thesis, I aim to

³ President Obama (September 27, 2015) Remarks by the President on Sustainable Development Goals

answer the research questions presented in previous chapter. Here, I will present the structure of this thesis.

Chapter 2 of this thesis concentrates on the conceptual framework. Sustainable development and sustainability play a key role in it, but I will also discuss food policy and climate policy, trying to give attention to the practices with which it is possible to promote sustainability within these policy sectors. Responsibility for future generations is the most common aspect of sustainability's definitions (Thiele 2016, 23). Sustainable development has often been described through the three pillars or dimensions, also called perspectives or aspects (Purvis et al. 2019, 681) of society, ecology, and economy (Thiele 2016, 5; Mensah 2019, 5). These are used through this thesis to illustrate the complex nature of sustainable development.

Climate change is slow acting phenomenon that effects crucially to food systems (Silvasti et al. 2012, 12). It has major environmental, social, and economic impacts all over the world. Climate policies has effects to each of sustainability's dimensions, especially environmental one. The food system, especially food production, must respond to the challenges brought by climate change by finding new production methods that minimize greenhouse gas emissions (Paloviita et al. 2021, 5) and bind up carbon. Food policy and especially agriculture are under concerns about sustainability (Waage & Yap 2015, 47). However, food policy has also a lot to offer for sustainable development.

In **chapter 3**, I continue grounding the concepts used in this thesis. There I will discuss political ideologies, values, and spectrums. Parties' essence is linked to their action of developing societies through their ideas and by their ideologies. To understand parties' nature, we must look into the ideologies and values of them. By understanding the ideological features of the parties', it is possible to divide them into groups and map them on political spectrums. Ideologies offer a possibility to study political thinking (Freeden 1996, 13).

Values can be described as individual beliefs that guide individual's behavior. On the other hand, they can be political. In this thesis, I am interested in the political values rather than personal values. Values can be deeply entrenched (Honson & Urquhart 2003, ix) but they also change and adapt over time (Honson & Urquhart 2003, 109) to match current societal and political themes that emerge.

Political attitudes are closely related to political ideologies. It is common to see ideologies as a set of attitudes (Kidwell 2013, 351; Todosijevec 2013, 23). Some see that it is attitudes that form ideologies (Todosijevec 2013, 26). Ideologies are combination of rational and emotive thinking that aims to give answers to social problems and political questions (Freeden 1996, 30; Geoghegan & Wildorf 1984; Jost et al. 2009, 309). Political ideologies are often positioned to the continuum of left-wing and right-wing (Crawford et al. 2017, 384) which is maybe the most known and used political spectrum.

It is common to characterize political ideologies to spectrum, where on the other side is liberal or left-wing and on the other side conservative or right-wing (Brauer et

al. 2017, 574; Crawford 2017, 348; Marthur & Moschic 2022, 3). The division between left and right has been recognized as a most important ideological dimension in political science (Todosijevic 2012, 23). Whereas left-right political spectrum combines socio-economic themes into a one continuum, two-dimensional political spectrum separates them into their own axes (Huber et al. 2023, 990).

Chapter 4 concentrates on methodological choices of this thesis. In this thesis, data is collected in two ways: with semi-structured interviews for party representatives, and survey for Members of the Finnish Parliament. The aim of semi-structured interviews is to provide insights to parties' values and attitudes, but also to find out their thoughts of sustainability and its dimensions. The other goal of the interviews is to ground the research topic in a way that helps me form statements that describe the parties' attitude to sustainability themes and policies. These statements form the survey, the second data collection method of this thesis. The aim of the survey is to find out, how Members of the Parliament from different parties relate to sustainability questions and, finally, to answer to the research questions. I chose to use content analysis as an analysis method. Content analysis is a widely used basic analysis method (Tuomi & Sarajarvi 2018, 103) and it was suitable for both data that I collected. In chapter 4, I also introduce content analysis and its stages. I also consider some ethical implications of my study.

In **chapter 5**, I present the interviews conducted for the research, themes of the interviews, and the beginning of the analysis process. Five semi-structured interviews were carried out. I aimed to interview all nine of parliamentary parties, but four of them either did not want or did not have time to participate. Interview invitations were sent to the party secretaries of each party. Interviewees were chosen because of their position in the party organization. Parties that participated to the interviews were National Coalition Party, Centre Party, Social Democratic Party, Left Alliance, and Christian Democratic Party.

The themes and structure of the interviews consisted of introduction of the interview, parties' attitudes and values, economic sustainability, social sustainability, environmental sustainability, and additional viewpoints the interviewees might have had. The first stages of analysis, such as translations and coding, are also presented in the fifth chapter.

The actual findings of the analysis are presented in **chapter 6**. I present the analysis in the similar order they were discussed in the interviews. The first theme in the interviews, and therefore first theme of the analysis is parties' values, and do they think that those values relate to sustainability. Such values were, for example, responsibility, freedom, equality, and intergenerationalism. Responsibility was also raised to its own sub-chapter. This theme helped to analyze, whose responsibility the decisions and costs of sustainability policies are. I also discussed each of sustainability's dimensions separately in this chapter. Finally, in the end of the sixth chapter, I introduce the process with which I formed the survey statements.

Then, in **chapter 7**, I present the survey for MPs, the survey statements, and the responses gotten from the survey. Survey invitations were sent to each Member of the Parliament. These respondents were selected because of their representative role in Finnish society, in politics, and as legislators. The aim was to get answers from each party. However, only 28 MPs from six parties responded to the survey. MPs from following parties participated in the survey: National Coalition Party, Finns Party, Social Democratic Party, Centre Party, Left Alliance, and Green League. The survey consists of nine statements which could be answered on given Likert-scale answer options, and with an opportunity to voluntarily justify their answers. In this chapter I also presented the responses of the survey. Each statement was introduced separately. Likert-scale answers are performed with tabulations and analysis of the outcomes of them and the voluntary answers.

In the discussion, in **chapter 8**, I will further discuss the findings of the analysis presented in chapter 7. This chapter combines the findings of the survey, but also the interviews. It consists of discussion of sustainability's dimensions, parties' values and most importantly, does sustainability's dimensions, environmental dimension in particular, effect the positioning of parties on a political spectrum. I will discuss the possibilities that this thesis findings provide for mapping the parties through their attitudes. Finally, in **chapter 9** I conclude this thesis by presenting the key-findings of this study and by answering to the research questions. I also will provide some insights to the chosen methodology and suggest further studies.

2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTISING SUSTAINABILITY

“Never before have world leaders pledged common action and endeavor across such a broad and universal policy agenda. We are setting out together on the path towards sustainable development, devoting ourselves collectively to the pursuit of global development and of “win-win” cooperation which can bring huge gains to all countries and all parts of the world.”

(UN 2015, 6)

Almost ten years ago, at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit on 25 September 2015, the 2030 Agenda was announced. As the quotation above states, it is a historically significant agreement. Even though this thesis does not particularly study 2030 Agenda, it has been a huge inspiration for this theme. Sustainable development and sustainability are themes that has been repeated over the recent decades, but 2030 Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were the agreement (and Millenium Development Goals before them) set the bar for ambition higher than never before. Agenda 2030 recognizes the need to live in harmony with environment (Spahn 2018, 10). In this chapter, SDGs serve a great example of concrete goals that should be advanced so that sustainable development could be achieved.

Sustainable development and sustainability are wide themes. To bring these concepts to the more practical level, I chose to use climate policy and food policy as examples of the political sectors that sustainability is practiced. Food policy is an example of a field of politics that is and could be used to adapt and mitigate to climate change. It also addresses problems such as food sufficiency, food production income distribution, and eating habits. Climate change, on the other hand, is another good example of the policy sectors that strongly relates to sustainability. Climate policies are practiced in most of the political sectors and various institutions globally, nationally, and locally. For example, in Finland, several ministries, regions and municipalities have their own policy programs that define, which kind of climate policy they practice. This implicates the importance and urgency of climate change

policies. It also reveals the nature of climate change – it influences every aspect of societies and human life, especially if we fail to adapt and mitigate to it.

Food policy place a great example because every single one of us needs food to live. In addition, it is well proved that the way we eat and produce our food is unsustainable and change in these fields is necessary. Food and environment are fundamental themes that determine human well-being. Before ending up to the plate, food goes through a food chain, which have been described as a network of organizations, made up of all the factors that food goes through on its way from field to table (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 2). In other words, food policy effects in many aspects of society. Food policy fundamentally influents to how food affects people and environment, and ultimately how people live and die (Lang et al.2009, 22). Food chain system has also remarkable economic impacts.

In this chapter, I will ground conceptual framework of sustainable development and sustainability, climate policy and food policy. Sustainable development and sustainability are the main themes in this thesis alongside with political ideologies and political spectrums, which are discussed in Chapter 3. Climate and food policy on the other hand will serve a great example of the policy sectors that sustainability is practiced. I will start with introducing the concepts of sustainable development and sustainability. Sustainability's dimensions are also discussed in more detail in this chapter. After that I will briefly introduce climate policy and food policy as an examples of policy sectors that sustainability is practiced in.

2.1 Sustainable Development and Sustainability

Sustainable development is described as a way we must act today if we want a better future. It is equally important to meet the needs of present and ensure that future generations could do the same. In fact, responsibilities to future generations are the most common aspect of sustainability's definitions (Thiele 2016, 23). Sustainable development's many definitions (Mensah 2019, 6) emerg from different economic and cultural starting points (Egelston 2012, 26). It is about minimizing our negative impacts while maximizing our positive impacts (Thiele 2016, 10). Practicing sustainability includes concerning the social, economic, and environmental conditions (Thiele 2016, 2) before acting. Sustainability can be characterized as a set of guiding criteria for human actions, a goal or vision of humankind, as an object, or as an approach (Salas-Zapata & Ortiz-Muñoz 2019, 155).

Sustainable development challenges earlier ways to think our presence in the world, and the conventional form of development (Baker 2006, 1). It has been noted that it is crucial for humankind's future to live and work more sustainably and this phenomenon has already changed lifestyles (Thiele 2016, 1-2) from diets to transportation and ways of thinking.

Sustainable development has often been described through the three pillars, or dimensions, also called perspectives or aspects (Purvis et al. 2019, 681) of society, ecology, and economy (Thiele 2016, 5; Mensah 2019, 5). These dimensions are comprehensive and, in some cases, explained through pillars of people, planet, and profit (Potthast & Meisch 2012, 44). In addition, cultural sustainability has emerged in literature (Kuhmonen et al. 2015, 52) but it is not concerned in this thesis. In some studies, there are also alternative pillars, such as institutional, and technical sustainability (Purvis et al. 2019, 685). The traditional pillars, or dimensions of sustainability cover most of the doings of humankind (Mensah 2019, 8). Next, I will briefly introduce each of the three dimensions of sustainable development that are addressed in this thesis: economic, social, and environmental sustainability.

Economic sustainability refers to allocation and distribution of scarce resources, and balanced content and quality growth (Haila et al. 2023, 12; Baker 2006,7). Economy, that is sustainable, can ensure the basic economic needs of its people (Ikerd 2012, 1). Sustainable economy does not outburst economic growth, quite contrary, smart, inclusive, and sustainable growth are important to the economic sustainability (Smedzik-Ambrozy et al. 2019, 2) This kind of economic growth does not include high indebtedness or the destruction of natural resources that are non-renewable (Zechner et al. 2020, 318). Indeed, one major change towards more sustainable future is transition from fossil fuels to renewable sources (Mukherjee et al. 2023, 2).

One approach here is circular economy, which has been reported to be one possible perspective to sustainable development (Korhonen et al. 2018, 37). Circular economy has been defined as a use of resources with maximum efficiency, usage of renewable resources, and through material recovery (Mukherjee et al. 2023, 2). Definitions of circular economy often include economic, social, and environmental dimensions of sustainability (Korhonen et al. 2018, 38). Other common characterization is to make better use of resources (Velenturf & Purnell 2020, 1437).

Social sustainability relates to people, their trust, values, relationships, secure through communities, functioning democracy, rights, and equality (Haila et al. 2023, 11; Baker 2006, 7). In addition, social sustainability relates to the well-being of people and communities (Zechner et al. 2022, 318). In literature, social sustainability has been shared to non-physical (for example, education, justice, health), and predominantly physical factors (for example, attractive public realm, and accessibility) (Dempsey et al. 2011, 291).

Environmental sustainability (also called as ecological sustainability) involves both economic and social aspects and their impacts on environment. In addition, environmental sustainability promotes biodiversity and nature's carrying capacity (Haila et al. 2023, 12; Baker 2006, 7), and mitigating people's material and economic activity with sufficiency of natural resources and nature's resilience (Zechner et al. 2022, 318).

Environmental sustainability relates strongly to people-planet relationship. People are good about worrying themselves. Environment has insofar been an

atmosphere that needs to be taken care of for people (Spahn 2018, 1). In other words, taking care of the environmental conditions that are necessary for well-being now and in future (Lele 1991, 609). Environmental sustainability changes this viewpoint.

Sustainable development has both long and brief history. Its long history goes back to the 17th and 18th century, fear of deforestation and need of conservation (Thiele 2016, 16; Purvis et al. 2019, 682). The brief history of sustainability takes us to the early 1960s, despite that more understanding and theoretical approach appeared more prominently in literature between 1972 and 1992 (Rajabifard 2019, 16). It arose from the need of international environment politics and economic growth (Egelston 2012, 26).

The question of sustainability has interested lot of researchers. In 1972 The Club of Rome introduced different future outcomes, which had their roots in population growth, increased emissions, and natural resource consumption (Thiele 2016, 19). This served one of the first revivals of the need to sustainable development. Their conclusion was that within hundred years, planet will reach its limits of growth (Meadows et al. 1972, 23).

Another well-known milestone of sustainability was in 1980 when the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) presented World Conservation Strategy (Baker 2006, 18; Thiele 2016, 21). It was then that sustainable development as a concept was employed. Brundtland-report was published in the 1987 in World Commission on Environmental and Development (WCED). This report might be the best-known definition of sustainability. It states that:

“Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”⁴

This definition still defines the global sustainability discussion this day (Velenturf & Purnell 2020, 1437).

More recently sustainable development has grown to be almost a universal agenda. United Nations published the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) in Rio de Janeiro in 2012 in Conference on Sustainable Development. Three years later, General Assembly of United Nations accepted “*Transforming our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*”. It concludes 17 of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets. It is a guiding agenda for all countries and stakeholders to use (Rajabifard 2019, 17). People, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership are in the heart of Agenda 2030 (Spahn 2018, 10). These themes conclude the SDGs contents and gives them a frame of reference. The Table 1 below illustrates the SDGs, showing that it includes goals that orientate nations and institutions’ actions towards promoting economic, social, and environmental sustainability.

⁴ WCED 1987

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.
Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.
Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all.
Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all.
Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.
Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries.
Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.
Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development.
Goal 15: Protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.
Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels.

TABLE 1: Agenda 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015)

Agenda 2030 shapes a basis for neutral policies that are free of specific ethical, philosophical, or religious worldviews (Spahn 2018, 2). It has been constructed in a way that it serves different ways to implement it. For example, in Finland, Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development makes sure that SDGs are on time and follows, how they are accomplished (Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development 2022, 7).

2.2. Examples of Policy Sectors: Climate Policy and Food Policy

2.2.1. Climate Policy

Climate change is a slow acting phenomenon that effects crucially to food systems (Silvasti et al. 2012, 12). It has major environmental, social, and economic impacts all over the world. Climate policy has been defined as the actions that have been decided to be taken to mitigate climate change and to adapt to it nationally, internationally (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 43), and locally. Climate policies has effects to each of

sustainability's dimensions, especially environmental one. The ways that climate policy activities are implemented, has impact on economy, while these policies are not free. Another point of view is that if we fail to adapt and mitigate to climate change, the costs will be significant. Climate change already cause expenses to nations, businesses, and individuals through its negative impacts. Social sustainability calls for equality, and therefore if climate policies are meant to be socially sustainable, also that needs to be considered carefully.

Climate describes weather characteristics, and variations of a certain area over a longer period (Meteorological Institute 2021), for example raised or dramatically cooled average temperatures in certain regions (Gardiner 2010, 7). Climate change does not only affect to environments but is also threat to economies, livelihoods, and cultures (Adger et al. 2013, 112). Climate change describes a change in the climate and the composition of the atmosphere that is directly or indirectly caused by human activity. It is a serious, global threat that affects to clean water and food, health, and habitats (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 11).

Climate change is characterized by its complexity and, as a result, uncertainty (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 17). There are several terms that are used to describe climate change or that are strongly associated to it (i.e., greenhouse effect and global warming), which can cost even more confusion. To clarify, greenhouse effect refers to physical mechanism that causes changes in the climate, whereas global warming refers to the effects of increased levels of greenhouse gases (Gardiner 2010, 4). One perspective for climate policies is to educate people about climate change as a phenomenon and the policies that need to be done to taggle it. This relates strongly to the social sustainability.

The anthropogenic nature of climate change implies that human activities are the main driver of climate change and increased carbon emissions (Leichenko & O'Brien 2019, 2; Mathur & Moschis 2022, 1). On other words, humankind has developed these problems, among others, and it is our duty to find solutions. It is not only the few past generations that have influenced on environment and caused climate change: the change has been going on since prehistoric times (Leichenko & O'Brien 2019, 27) and the pace has only accelerated. The increase in carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere has already been noticed in the 19th century and in 1896 published study also calculated the climate effects of coal and oil (Kuisma 2019, 19-20). With this, the effects of human activity became concrete to climate change. Climate change was still a controversial topic for a large part of the 20th century among researchers, media, and decision makers. After 1950s, climate change has awakened more actively internationally by political actions.

In 1988, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) – which gathers available information about climate change and actions that could be taken to respond it – was established to support governments decision-making. In addition to the IPCC, there is independent climate panels in different countries. In Finland, there is one designated by the Ministry of the Environment, which supports and evaluates

society's success in its climate policy (Siljander & Cederlöf 2022, 22). The most famous IPCC reports, the fourth report, were published in 2007. It concluded that climate change is inevitable and caused 90 percent from human activities (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 20).

Paris Climate Summit in 2015 was another historical event for international climate policy, when agreement was made to try limiting the rise of global temperatures to less than 1.5 Celsius (UNFCCC 2015). There has been some criticism about this agreement, but still, it shows a positive direction.

Climate policy is implemented all the way from the global to local level. In Finland, climate policy is governed by Climate Law (609/2015) and the policy actions are based not only on the law but also on government programs and plans (Siljander & Cederlöf 2020, 10). The purpose of Climate Law is to create a framework for climate policy planning and for monitoring in a way that through activities of the authorities and through influence of the parliament and the public, we can mitigate and adapt to climate change (Climate Law 609/2015 §1). The Climate Law determines to take account long-term plan, medium-term plan, and the national climate change adaptation plan (Climate Law 609/2015 §6). In Finland, climate change is also practiced in municipalities. Locally, business life, i.e., companies, participate in mitigating climate change (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 24).

In European Union level, there is multiple directives, standards and payment methods that effect the policies in Finland (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 14). In past years, EU has paid considerable attention to climate actions. In 2019, European Commission released a decision that EU would be free of net emissions of greenhouse gases by 2050 (European Commission 2019). In 2021, European Commission released The Fit for 55 Package that presents proposals towards a fair green transition by 2030 and beyond (European Commission 2021, 2).

Carbon neutrality can be considered one of the measures of climate policy ambition. Carbon neutrality is achieved when emissions and carbon sinks are in balance (Siljander & Cederlöf 2020, 11). Finnish governments have outlined since 2019 that Finland should be carbon neutral by 2035.

Climate policies often refer to two different strategies: climate change adaptation and mitigation. In other words, at the same time authorities think about how climate change could be slowed, and how societies survive in changing climate conditions (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 33). Mainstreaming climate policies in such way that all actors would support climate goals by their actions, is important to both adaptation and mitigation strategies.

Still, in the 1980s prevention of climate change was listed as a response to climate change with adaptation and mitigation (Gardiner 2010, 263). Unfortunately, now it is too late for prevention. Adaptation and mitigation policy actions must be taken through political, administrative, technical, and lifestyle means (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 13), so that climate change does not progress fatally far. Adaptation and mitigation strategies should not be understood as separate actions (Waage & Yap

2015, 14). Both are equally important to take account, for example, when planning sustainable food policy.

2.1.2. Food Policy

Environment is an infrastructure where humankind lives and which they get their food, and these activities has impact on health of people and environment (Silvasti et al. 2012, 29). This sums up the core of food policy. Food is a basic requirement for human life (Silvasti et al. 2019, 25), a necessity that not only sustains life but also causes death (Lang et al. 2009, 1). People act diverse ways to get food and these actions have impact on societies and environment. In fact, what we eat has more impact on Earth than almost anything else we do (Sage 2012, 1).

Food evokes a lot of emotions, being a sensitive and personal topic. Food and its diners have strong cultural values (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 1; Sage 2012, 1; Silvasti et al. 2012, 20), which effects what, where, and when we eat. Emphasizing a vegetarian diet, for example, arouses a lot of discussion as ecological and ethical (Silvasti et al. 2012, 20), an everyday matter. Eating habits are no longer determined only by one's own preferences, but by knowledge of foods health and environmental impacts (Brander 2019). Food and eating habits are inherited also within families and communities from generation to generation and is a part of their members identities (Silvasti et al. 2012, 20). Food culture and consumer choices determine this being the present and future of food production and thus food policy.

Food policy has a long history – even though it appeared to the academic and political literature in the beginning of 1970 century (Lang et al. 2009, 27). This is because, food has been produced and eaten long before that, and someone has made the decisions about what, how and when it happen. Nonetheless, food policy has been recognized as its own political sector not until half a decade ago. Concept has changed over time. Modern food policy has been evolved after the middle of the 20th century (Lang et al. 2009, 27). Before that, food policy focused mainly on agriculture, through its main purpose, which was production, and therefore it was in some cases called farm policy (OECD 1981, 11). Beside agriculture, food policy has traditionally been defined through consumption, and trade (Lang et al. 2009, 8). Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)⁵ defined food policy in 1981 as a policy area that the government implements based on its goals related to food, food production, processing, distribution, and consumption (OECD 1981). In other words, each part of the food system is part of the food policy.

In practice, food policy is dynamic, multidimensional, and multi-scientific sector (Silvasti et al. 2012, 29). As mentioned before, food chain includes the whole journey

⁵ OECD's (1981, 10-17) definition to food policy is wider than presented here. It concludes food economy, nature of food chain, policy-making processes, and history, but it is not necessary to list it here as a whole.

of food from field to table and even further, to recycling. In 2022, a total of 43 540 agricultural and horticultural companies operated in Finland (Natural Resource Centre 2023), which employed almost 340 thousand people (Ruokatieto 2023a). These companies produce some of the food that is consumed in Finland. Share of domestic raw materials is about 80 percent of all raw materials used by the Finnish food industry (Ruokatieto 2023b) and the rest is obtained as imported goods. In an EU economy level, agriculture provides 15 million jobs, which is over 8 percent of the EU's total employment (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 1). Agriculture is therefore not only an expenditure, but also a significant part of the economy.

Food policy has been driven by economics, where global market, centralization, and deregulation which have been seen to be best ways to practice food policy (Silvasti et al. 2012, 28). The economic aspect of food policy considers both fair price for food producers and affordable prices to consumers (Veimer & Verbeke 2006, 169-170). In addition, it considers other steps in food chain system, such as costs of production, logistics and processing raw materials into a final product.

Agriculture is a significant part of the work towards environmental sustainability (Lele 1991, 617). Agriculture is based on natural resources and processes with which they are used (Kuhmonen et al. 2015, 52). Over time, interest in sustainable production and consumption has emerged at all levels of agriculture (Veimer & Verbeke 2006, 169). In addition to the voluntary development across the field of agriculture, development of agriculture needs external impulses (Smedzik-Ambrozy et al. 2019, 2). In the heart of environmental sustainability policies are land usage, and conservation of plants and animals (Kuhmonen et al. 2015, 52-53).

European Union has its Common Agriculture Policies (CAP) which is one of the most old and integrated political sectors that EU has (Kuhmonen et al. 2015, 50). Agriculture is partly funded by EU through subsidies. CAP presents a requirement to the ways agriculture is practiced. This includes climate actions and activities towards sustainable development. CAP does not only consider environmental sustainability, but also social and economic sustainability.

Raw materials obtained from primary production transport to and from processing still within a scope of retail trade. In Finland, between food production and consumption there is a geographical imbalance, which is why food logistics have a major importance in Finland (Ala-Harja et al. 2015, 13). Finland's retail market is structured the most centralized way on a European scale. The largest market share is held by the S-group and Kesko (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 84). In 2023, S-Group's market share of Finnish grocery sales was 48,3 percent and Kesko's 34,3 percent. The third largest market share is Lidl's 9.6 percent (PTY 2024).

It is noteworthy that food policy is not determined only at the state level (Lang et al. 2009, 23), and is therefore not limited to parliamentary decisions and to their realization (Silvasti et al. 2012, 29). The transition to a sustainable food system will not happen by itself, but an active food policy is needed to support it, with the actions of

both the public and private sectors. Citizens and organizations can also act directly to promote the sustainability of the food system (Paloviita et al 2021, 6).

The food supply places a considerable burden on the climate (Silvasti et al. 2012, 44). According to various estimates, up to a one-third of the world's greenhouse emissions come specifically from agriculture and land use (Silvasti et al. 2012, 83; Crippa et al. 2021; Golub et al. 2009, 300), which food production is in many ways. In addition to agriculture and land use, also other stages of the food chain are jointly responsible for the emissions produced by the food system (Sage 2012, 113).

The food system – whether it is the global food system or about the food system in Finnish society – is sensitive to climate change, to which include both extreme weather phenomena and more permanent changes to the climate (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 3). Food production as a means of producing food and as work has become significantly more difficult in many regions and will require increased adaptation measures in the future (Silvasti et al 2012, 12.) The food system, especially food production, must respond to the challenges brought by climate change by finding new production methods that minimize greenhouse gas emissions (Paloviita et al. 2021, 5) and bind up carbon. With the right methods, food production can increase carbon sinks and thus mitigate climate change (Silvasti et al. 2012, 22). To achieve more sustainable food production, changes are needed in, for example, land use, diets, agricultural technologies, and food technologies (Paloviita et al. 2021, 5).

Food policy and especially agriculture are under concerns about sustainability (Waage & Yap 2015, 47). However, food policy has also a lot to offer for sustainable development: there is many things to develop in order to minimize negative impacts and to maximize positive impacts. Because of the societal, environmental, and financial changes, food policy must respond to more diverse challenges. Diverse ways to produce and consume food are strongly related to dimensions of the sustainable development and to individuals' well-being (Silvasti et al. 2012, 26). Sustainable food policy can be thought of being implemented, for example, by paying attention to ecological public health (Lang et al. 2009). This way to define food policy emphasizes health, environment, and society. It sees food as an intersection point to humane, social, and planetary (Lang et al. 2009, 6). These days food policy considers food sovereignty which means different parties (for example countries, regions or communities) right to define best ways to create their food systems (Silvasti et al. 2012, 24). Today, food policy needs to recognize interlinkages between social equality and sustainable ecology (Silvasti et al. 2012, 46).

Some of the SDGs (mentioned earlier in conceptual framework) are related to sustainable food policy. These are 2) End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; 3) Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all ages; 12) Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; and 15) Protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity lost. In Finnish Agenda2030 implementation

evaluation, one of the designated change-groups is Sustainable agricultural and food systems, and it contains SDGs listed above (Haile et al. 2023, 141). The targets imply what needs to be done and when targets should be achieved. At the same time SDG targets guide decision-makers to the direction that food policies need to be developed more sustainably. In the 2030 Agenda roadmap of the Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development, there is defined goals that must be achieved within the theme that relates to food system. These include goals like reducing food system's harmful impacts on climate and environment; reducing food waste; making sure that Finnish food system is profitable and competitive; and promoting food safety and security (FNCSO 2022, 37-38).

Food policy and climate policy are practiced in most political sectors from national policy to municipalities and individual consumer choices. In relation to food system, adaptation to climate change is often mirrored specifically to agricultural activities, although it is also important to take account food processing, manufacturing, transportation, retail, consumption, and post-consumption activities (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 4) such as making and eating food, and food waste.

Land use offers a significant opportunity for carbon sinks to form. Changes in land use are, for example, farming practices in which the soil is not plowed; using green fertilizer instead of industrial ones; planning the green cycle to be more perennial; with composting and by utilizing other techniques (Silvasti et al. 2012, Barreiro-Hurle et al. 2023, 1). So, to say, modern agriculture helps reduce emissions substantially. Carbon storage in the soil improves emission reduction potential and at the same time promote the sustainability of agriculture against problems caused by climate change (Virtanen & Rohweder 2011, 34-35).

Another way to promote sustainability (especially environmental one) is through energy consumption and production. Giving up fossil energy and transitioning to renewable energy in food policy is possible by using, for example by biofuels (Kaljonen et al. 2022, 34). In addition, renewable energy sources include solar, hydropower, wind, and waves (Anani 2019, 13-15).

Dietary changes must be implemented equally. Food consumption has claimed to be major issue in the politics of sustainable food policy (Reisch et al. 2013, 7). It is important that western food habits can be criticized and discussed openly, even considering national acts, such as taxation, so that our eating habits would change to healthier and more sustainable direction (Silvasti et al. 2012, 19-20). In the global food system, there is a clear imbalance between poor and developed countries: malnutrition prevails in many countries (Silvasti et al. 2012, 19), while in western countries overeating is a problem.

When looking at dietary changes, it is good to pay attention to eating water and virtual water that measure how much water has been used for food production. Different amounts of water are needed to produce different species (Sage 2012, 126). Similarly, it is necessary to develop plant-based foods that are more durable, and which cannot be easily distinguished from their animal counterparts (Isomäki 2019,

51). This suggests that there is need to make the changes in food cultures as gentle as possible – there are increasingly plant-based products that are similar – in taste and structure – as animal-based products. Supporting such food innovations and to encouraging to them, is food policy that is influenced by climate policy and sustainability goals.

According to FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) a one-third of the world's food production is lost or wasted (FAO 2013, 6). Food lost means decrease in mass or nutritional value of food (FAO 2013, 8). In other words, food is lost when it is no longer eatable. Losses can be caused by infrastructural challenges such as logistics or lack of technology (FAO 2013, 8) but also by climate change and its effects (Cattaneo et al. 2021), for example dried plants due to heat or rot caused by heavy rains. Food waste, on the other hand, refers to food that would have been eatable but was still wasted (FAO 2013, 9). Food waste and loss are major problems for sustainable food policy. Due to the volume of food waste and loss, the climate impacts are also prominent (Paloviita & Järvelä 2016, 183).

Climate measures taken in the food system to reduce emissions improve climate and responding to climate change facilitates the food system nationally and internationally. Food affects to environment and in turn, environment has impact on what and how food is produced (Lang et al. 2009, 22). Climate measures taken in food production – as in other sectors – are not free. Both, at EU and national level ensure that investment required by climate action, such as financing mechanisms are made possible and that their implementation is profitable (Silvasti et al. 2012, 84). European Union CAP (Common Agriculture Policy) is the region's common agricultural policy program, which newest version is in use from 2023 to 2027. This program includes various support measures to enable more sustainable food production (Barreiro-Hurle et al. 2023, 2). In addition to support measures, the example of food policy as climate policy is different regulatory measures that bind farmers to more sustainable production (Barreiro-Hurle 2023, 1).

However, sustainable food policy is not unproblematic. For instance, it is not free to make all the investments needed to reach sustainability in food systems. For example, high energy prices added to costs of climate acts requires in food production are even putting sustainability in this sector in a reverse gear (Ghenai 2019, 273). This holds the fundamental question of sustainable development: balancing between all of its dimensions. Some criticism has also stated towards ideological polarization that may occur when discussing more climate-friendly agriculture and dietary options (Boer & Aiking 2023, 510). Therefore, it is important that all sustainability policies relating to food system are well justified.

3. POLITICAL VALUES, IDEOLOGIES AND SPECTRUMS

Previous studies have suggested that the relationship between ideologies and sustainable development has not been investigated enough. However, some studies have researched the relationship between political ideologies and sustainable behavior (see Marthur & Moschis 2022; Kidwell et al. 2013). In this chapter I will introduce political values, ideologies, and spectrums. By doing this, I will ground the aim of this thesis, which is to see, if traditional ways to map political parties on a spectrum can show parties' attitudes towards sustainable development and sustainability's dimensions.

*"Puolueiden myötä keskenään kilpailevat ideat ja ideologiat saivat keskeisen sijan politiikassa: jopa siinä määrin, että yhtenä modernin politiikan keskeisenä tunnusmerkkinä voidaan pitää ideologioiden ja ideoiden välistä rauhanomaista kilpailua. Puolueet yhteisen hyvän ideoijina ja ideologiansa ajajina ovat myös elimellinen osa perinteistä edustuksellista demokratiaa."*⁶

(Pekonen 2008, 22)

As Pekonen (2008, 22) claims, in modern politics, different ideologies and ideas battle peacefully to promote common good in a society. Parties' essence is linked to their action of developing societies through their ideas and by their ideologies. If party does not have ideology or agenda, it is difficult for it to gain support from the citizens. Whether the party in question is one of the traditional parties or a party of one cause, it must have something to say, someone to say it and audience that cares to listen.

To understand parties' nature, we must look into the ideologies and values of them. Sometimes it is hard to see the differences between parties' values, ideologies, ideas, attitudes, or agendas. By understanding the ideological features of the parties', it is possible to divide them to groups and map them on political spectrums. Ideologies

⁶ Translation: With parties, competing ideas and ideologies gained a central place in politics: even to the extent that one of the key features of modern politics can be considered peaceful competition between ideologies and ideas. Parties, as creators of the common good and drivers of their ideology, are also an integral part of traditional representative democracy.

offer a possibility to study political thinking (Freedon 1996, 13). They offer a way to review systematic statements or beliefs of particular groups (Kumar 2006, 171). And that is, what I aim to do in this thesis.

This chapter concerns political parties, ideologies, and political spectrums. First, I will briefly introduce the conceptual framework of political parties. Secondly, I examine political values and ideologies, what are their role and does they matter. Thirdly, I will investigate different political spectrums. Here, I will concentrate on traditional left-right spectrum, and two-dimensional political spectrum, but also introducing some of the alternative political spectrums. I will end this chapter by discussing the Finnish context of parties' and their ideologies and values.

3.1. Political Parties: a Brief Conceptual Framework

The idea of party has been already used in writings of Machiavelli and Montesquieu, even though they did not use the term 'party' in their works (Sartori 2005, 5) rather than faction. For example, Hume, and Burke have also placed their thoughts on party as an entity that acts in free government. Hume claims that parties are a consequence of free government, whereas Burke saw parties as a group of men that promote their agreed interests to serve a good for the nation (Sartori 2005, 8) and this formed the theoretical identification of a party. It was Max Weber who served a foundation of the modern tradition of party scholarship (Webb et al. 2002, 1).

Parties seem to have the possibility to use their power in various ways, as Weber argues:

"They may range from naked violence of any kind, to campaigning for votes with coarse or subtle means using money, social influence, power of speech, leading questions, suggestion, and crude hoaxes, to the point of rougher or more elaborate tactics of obstruction within parliamentary bodies." (Weber 2010, 149).

Nowadays parties are legitimate part of political action. They ensure the functioning of democratic institutions in modern states (Müller & Narud 2013, 2). Through literature, parties are often characterized through action. Alonso et al. (2011) claim that parties are actors rather than institutions (2011, 104) whereas Müller and Narud (2013) describe political parties as "vehicles that bridges the gap between voters and government" (2013, 13). Sartori (2005, 24) adds to the list that parties are "an instrument, or an agency, for representing the people by expressing their demands". Representation and acting behalf of those who they represent seems to be in the heart of the parties' existence.

Parties should be as clear as possible with their viewpoints, so that people can understand and then decide whether they embrace it or not (McLaughlin 2004, 232) by providing simplified proposals (Cotta & Russo 2020, 110). This means that parties should not hide their agenda but clarify it. Those parties that belong to some

ideological family needs to respect their ideology in their policies (Cotta & Russo 2020, 110). Ideologies implement the ways parties' address problems and how they would solve them (Mair & Mudde 1998, 220). When parties act based on their values and ideologies, it is easier to voters to choose which party suits best for their own values and ideologies.

3.2. Political Values and Ideologies

Values can be described as individual beliefs that guide individual's behavior. On the other hand, values can be political. Personal values and political values can be very different (Shalom et al. 2010, 422). While personal values can include, for example, family, happiness or health, political values lean to be concepts such as liberty, patriotism, democracy or intergenerationalism. However, personal values have impact on political choices, and therefore they influence on political values (Schwartz et al. 2010, 423). They implement the needs that motivate people and the ways those needs are fulfilled (Veimer & Verbeke 2006, 173). Even though personal and political values differ, they are related to each other. It has been stated that personal values lead people to support ideologies that promotes similar values than the individual's personal values are (Shalom et al. 2010, 423). In this thesis, I am interested in the political values rather than personal ones.

Values can be deeply entrenched (Honson & Urquhart 2003, ix) but they also change and adapt over time (Honson & Urquhart 2003, 109) to match current societal and political themes that emerge. In literature, several researchers have listed possible core political values in different nations perspectives. Economy has been mentioned in the viewpoint of economic individualism (Feldman 1988, 419) and economic security (Jacoby 2006, 709), but also through free enterprise (Feldman 1988, 419; Evans & Neundorf 2020, 1265). Social perspective has been raised with values such as equality (McCann 1997, 565; Jacoby 2006, 709), equality of opportunity or equal opportunity (Feldman 1988, 419; Goren 2005, 881), liberty, and social order (Jacoby 2006, 709). There are also mentions of core political values that relates to moral regulation (Ashton et al. 2005, 18), moral tolerance (Goren 2005, 881) and moral traditionalism (McCann 1997, 565). In addition, there is two political core values that are commonly used when characterizing parties: government intervention (Evans & Neundorf 2020, 1265) and individual freedom (Ashton et al. 2005, 18).

Political identity has been derived from the theories of self-identity, and it refers to the persons self-conception that includes their ideology (Mathur & Moschis 2022, 3). In some research, political identity has named to have role in influencing sustainable behavior (Mathur & Moschis 2022, 3). Political identity, however, does not form ideologies or values, but it rather takes shape based on them.

In the literature, it has been argued that values and ideologies do share a connection (Passini 2020, 709). Indeed, values can be seen as a basis for political

ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes (Todosijevic 2013, 26). Ideologies, on the other hand, can be understood as idea-complexes that include values, understandings, preferences (Freeden 1996, 16), and moral principles (Janoff-Bulman & Carnes 2016, 1). Ideologies can be described as belief systems that embody the thinking of a party (Turner-Zwinkels & Brandt 2023), i.e. playing a role as an identifier of what kind of things a supporter of a certain ideology considers important. But ideologies are more than the issues that political actors such as voters or decision-makers consider important, or even the solutions they have for these issues. Ideologies also relates to political disagreement of political attitudes (Cochrane 2015, 39).

Political attitudes are closely related to political ideologies. It is common to see ideologies as a set of attitudes (Kidwell 2013, 351; Todosijevic 2013, 23). Some see that it is the attitudes that form ideologies (Todosijevic 2013, 26). Some argue that ideologies might constrain political attitudes (Turner-Zwinkels & Brandt 2023), meaning that because of the defining nature of ideology, it might not bend to support all political attitudes. Ideologies arise and shape debates about political choices (Castro & Martins 2021, 73).

Ideologies are combination of rational and emotive thinking that aims to give answers to social problems and political questions (Freeden 1996, 30; Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 3; Jost et al. 2009, 309). They explain what social reality is like according to certain ideology, but also discuss what kind of political actions are needed to achieve ideal society (Ecceshall et al. 2014, 3; Freeden 2003, 2). Marxist approach suggests that human thinking is socially conducted, meaning that individuals thinking, as personal it might feel, is in fact collective (Freeden 1996, 14; Samalin 2018, 729). This supports the thought that ideologies are not born in a vacuum. Rather, they are produced by groups of people (Freeden 1996, 22).

Conservatism, liberalism, and socialism form the 'big three' of major ideological families (Freeden 2016, 1). Other studied ideologies are for example anarchism, nationalism, feminism, and environmentalism. Next, I will briefly introduce a few ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and environmentalism.

Conservatism has developed discussion by being a controversial and complex concept (Pentikäinen 2022, 272). That said, it is not easy to give conservatism only one definition or explanation. Its origin lies in the French Revolution and the class society, where conservatism was an aristocratic ideology (Huntington 1957, 454). Conservatism includes values such as justice, order, balance, and moderation (Huntington 1957, 455). Traditionality is also often related to conservatism. As well as the fact that conservatism includes a certain resistance to rapid changes.

In history, **liberalism** has often been seen as a supporter of radical changes. Liberalism underlines an individualist consistency (Milbank & Pabst 2016, 45; Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 40) and freedom. In addition, liberalism underlines the importance toleration (Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 41). Liberalism can be seen in both left-wing and right-wing parties' policies. However liberal-left and liberal-right

still differ from each other. For example, liberal-left does not support the forces of market fundamentalism, whereas liberal-right does (Milbank & Pabst 2016, 15).

Nationalism refers to the ideology that highlights collective identity and interest of nation or ethnic group. Nationalism gives answers to the questions of relationship between citizen and state, and why we feel obligated to others (Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 117). Nationalism has suffered for the burden that it might be seen as a negative, and reactionary phenomenon (Laine 2022, 67).

Socialism is known to be political and economic ideology, which considers ownership and democratic control. Socialism has also been seen in opposition to capitalism (Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 73). In the heart of socialism is the thought that state should not primarily serve capital, but human (McIntyre 2023, 26). Socialism considers values such as equality, community, and liberty (Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 74). Social democracy means commitment to systemic transformation (McIntyre 2023, 25) in a society.

Environmentalism, which has also been called the green ideology, ecologism, or as green political theory. Environmentalism concerns the relationship between non-human and human worlds (Geoghegan & Wilford 1984, 154). Green ideology relies on co-existence of human and nature in a way that nature guides the human conduct (Freedman 1996, 527). Supporters of green ideology highlight that nature must have a voice in policies (Alonso et al. 2023), meaning that environment must be considered in every decision processes.

3.3. Political Spectrums

Before entering to the political spectrums, it is worth noting that there are different ways to identify and divide parties. As told above, ideologies are one of the main characteristics that parties are divided with. In addition, Rokkan (1970) has categorized parties through four cleavages, which are subject vs dominant culture; churches vs government; primary vs secondary economy and workers vs employers and owners (Mair & Mudde 1998, 215). Another view on dividing parties is party families. In the literature there is four approaches that Mair & Mudde (1998, 214-215) state being origins; belonging to international federations or other transnational groupings; similarities in party policy or ideologies; and party name or label.

Political ideologies are often positioned to the continuum of left-wing and right-wing (Crawford et al. 2017, 384) which is maybe the most known and used political spectrum. The problem that lies here is that left-right spectrum can be understood differently depending on where, and when it is examined (Cochrane 2015, 11) and what is the question that parties are examined about. In addition, political issues can be approached with multiple dimensions (Crawford et al. 2017, 384), which is difficult, if we only use the traditional left-right division.

Next, I will introduce political spectrums, starting with the traditional left-right spectrum. Secondly, I will discuss two-dimensional spectrum, that adds one axis to the left-right continuum.

3.3.1. Traditional Left-Right Spectrum

It is common to characterize political ideologies to spectrum, where on the other side is liberal or left-wing and on the other side conservative or right-wing (Brauer et al. 2017, 574; Crawford 2017, 348; Mathur & Moschic 2022, 3). Left-wing ideology might have some prejudice towards right-wing and the ideas and values that right-wing supports (Crawford et a. 2017, 383).

The origins of the terms of left and right lay in the years of French Revolution, when radical democrats used to sit to the left of the king and supporters of clergymen and aristocrat on the other side (Cochrane 2015, 10; Mathur & Moschis 2022, 3). Represented class has had its influence on left-right division over the history, but it is not only factor that characterizes the supporter in both ends of the continuum. In history, social questions were more strongly bounded to the economic ones. Therefore left-right continuum connects these two themes together. As Otjes (2017, 645) puts it:

“The central idea is that citizens who favour more egalitarian distribution of income also favour more government intervention in the economy.”

The division between left and right has been recognized as a most important ideological dimension in political science (Todosijevic 2013, 23). This can be seen for example in Finnish politic atmosphere. Parties are often defined (by themselves and by the public) by their location on the left-right spectrum. There is the far left, and far right, but also center-left and center-right. Division to left and right simplifies the differences between parties (McLaughlin 2004, 231). This feature is highlighted especially in two-party system. In multiparty systems there is wider range of parties and ideologies that spread across the right-left spectrum.

Left-right political spectrum considers political and social questions, such as the role of government, individual rights, or social justice. It has been suggested that left-right continuum represents the disagreement over equality, and in more detail, equality of power (Joshi 2021, 535).

Left-wing parties are associated with socialism, social democracy, or liberalism (Sznajd-Weron & Sznajd 2005, 594). Left-wing parties has characterized to have optimistic view of human nature (Patton 2015, 67) and they see that people can make their own decisions without governments interference. Left also advocates a more collective approach to economic questions (Sanders 1999. 181) such as taxation or national debt. Liberal-left tends to be open for change in society (Mathur & Moschis 2022, 3-4).

On the other side of the continuum, right-wing is typically associated with conservatism (Sznajd-Weron & Sznajd 2005, 594). In some studies, right-wing is said to have more skeptical view of human nature (Patton 2015, 67) and believe that some higher authority should be present. Right advocates an individualistic approach to economic questions (Sanders 1999, 181) and might prefer stability and resist change (Mathur & Moschis 2022, 3-4).

Time has passed by and the original meanings of left and right have changed since the French Revolution (Lester 1994, 232). The division between the left-wing and right-wing can be contradictory and that is why some people feel like they are moderate left or right (Patton 2015, 1). However, moderate left or moderate right is unprecise characterization. The concepts of left and right, and the meaning of them is unclear and abstract for many (Brauer et al. 2018, 572) by being imprecise (Sznajd-Weron & Sznajd 2005, 594). This makes it hard for one to place themselves on the left-right spectrum.

3.3.2. Two-dimensional Political Spectrum

Whereas left-right political spectrum combines socio-economic themes into a one continuum, two-dimensional political spectrum separates them into their own axes (Huber et al. 2023, 990). This two-dimensional political spectrum has also been called political compass. This model has two axes: one for illustrating personal freedom and the other for illustrating economic freedom (Lester 1994, 233; Harman 2018, 5). Here, the vertical axes have liberalism in other, and authoritarianism on the other end of the continuum. The horizontal axes have left on the other, and right on the other side.

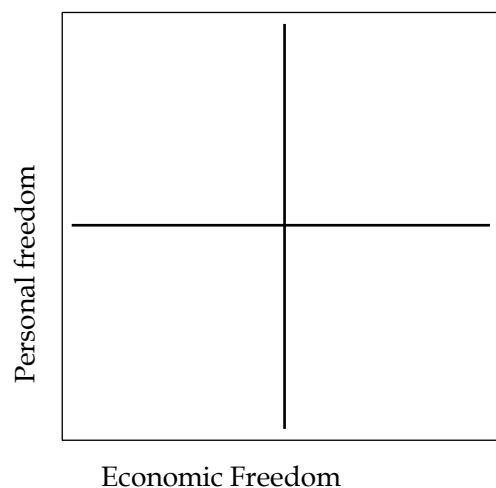


Figure 1: Two-dimensional political spectrum

In some cases (for example Finnish Presidential Election in 2024, political compass has been formed in a way that pro-environmental values are related with liberal side of the axis. Helsingin Sanomat showed four different value axes in their

voting advice application in Presidential election in 2024: greener vs less green; nationalism vs internationalism; liberal value vs conservative values; agrarian vs urban (HS 2024). Even though there were four different divisions, the political compass that was formed to show candidates' values was formed with left-right continuum on the horizontal axis, and on the vertical axis there was national conservative on the other, and liberal green on the other side of the axis. This means that if you support climate actions, you move closer to the liberal green end of the continuum, but if you do not agree that marriage rights should be similar for all, you move closer to the national conservative end of the continuum. Of course, it matters how much weight each value-based question has, but with simplified thought, this is the scenario when you combine pro-environmental value with liberal, in liberal-authoritarian axes.

3.4. Finnish Political Parties

In Finland there is total of 16 parties (Party Register 2024). In this thesis, I am interested in the parties that have at least one member in the Finnish Parliament. Those parties are National Coalition Party (NCP), The Finns Party (Finns), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Centre Party (Centre), The Green League (Greens), The Left Alliance (Left), Christian Democratic Party (CDP), Swedish People Party (Swedish), and Liike Nyt - Movement (Liike Nyt). Parliament has total of 200 members, who are elected every fourth year within electoral regions. Therefore, Parliament has representatives from each side of Finland.

Multi-party system means that we have multiple different parties who can place candidates to run in parliamentary elections (and other elections as well). Compared for example to United States where there are only two large parties. Finland is a pluralistic society where citizens have multiple choices in elections. Therefore, they can choose to vote for the party or the candidate which is closes to their own values and political thoughts. Elected parliaments, or representative institutions, have become dominant form of political practice in Europe (Cotta & Russo 2020, 6).

Multiparty system has its pros and cons. On the one hand people have more parties to find the one that is most suitable for them according to ideology and values. On the other hand, in a multiparty system, the division into right-wing and left-wing parties and the knowledge of which side of the spectrum the party is placed on, is more fragile (Bauer et al. 2017, 555).

Finnish left-wing parties consists of Left Alliance, the Green League, and Social Democratic Party. Right-wing parties in Finland consists of Christian Democratic Party, National Coalition Party, and the Finns Party. The Swedish People Party and Centre Party positions to political center. Most of the parties consider themselves either to center-right or center-left.

Party Families	Characteristic Issues	Ideology
<i>Sociocultural parties</i>		
The Green League Liike Nyt	Environmental protection Alternative option to traditional parties	Environmentalism
Swedish People Party	Language issues	Liberal-Conservatism
<i>Religious parties</i>		
Christian democratic party	Traditional morality/Christian values	Conservatism
<i>Mainstream (left-right) parties</i>		
Left alliance	Equity, environmental protection	Liberalism
Social Democratic party	Welfare state: expansion	Social democratism
Centre Party	Agriculture, decentralization	Centrism
National Coalition party	Market Economy	Liberal-Conservatism
Finns party	Patriotic and just society	Nationalism

TABLE 2: Finnish parties and their characteristics and ideologies

4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will discuss methodological choices that I have made for my thesis. In my thesis, data is collected in two ways: semi-structured interviews for party secretaries and survey for Members of the Finnish Parliament. Even though sustainability and political spectrums have been studied a lot as separate phenomena, they have not been studied together, at least not in a Finnish context. I could not find research literature where the parties could be divided into a spectrum according to sustainability attitudes. In the occasions where there is no existing data, it is useful to collect new data that serves the aim of the research.

I use Galletta's (2013) book *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication* as a roadmap for constructing the interviews. The aim of semi-structured interviews is to provide insights to parties' values and attitudes, but also find out their thought of sustainability and its dimensions. The other goal of the interviews is to ground the research topic in a way that helps me form statements that describe the parties' attitude to sustainability themes and policies. These statements form the survey, the second data collection method of this thesis. The aim of the survey is to find out, how Members of the Parliament from different parties relate to sustainability questions and, finally, to answer to research questions. The survey consists of statements that respondents can comment by given answer options (Likert-scale) and additional possibility to comment each of the statements. I use Petterson's (2000) book *Constructing effective questionnaires* as a guide to forming survey. As a data analysis method, I chose to use content analysis.

Firstly, I will briefly discuss qualitative research, its characteristics, and why this quantitative data and analysis suits best for this thesis. Secondly, I will explain the chosen data collection and analysis methods. This includes semi-structured interviews, the survey, and content analysis to analyze data gotten from both data. I will conclude this chapter with ethical implications. Especially in research where data has been collected from people and consists of their thoughts and opinions, it is particularly important to take care of the ethics of the research.

4.1. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research answers to in-depth questions about phenomena by utilizing collected data (Moser & Korstjens 2017, 271). It is interested above all that relates to human experiences (Lincoln 2021, 3). In the heart of qualitative research is desire to understand better people's experiences, behavior, and perceptions (Moser, Korstjens 2017, 272). In empirical research both, data collection and analysis methods are emphasized (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 26).

In addition to topic, the data is at the heart of political analysis. The research data can be originally spoken or pre-written. Qualitative data can also be created either by the researcher's own influence or completely independently of it (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 15). Richness and complexity are typical characteristics to qualitative data (Alasuutari 2012). The more relevant data can be selected or collected for research, the better is the capacity is for analysis (Weimer & Vining 2017, 339). However, it is distinctive for qualitative research to collect data that enables to examine it different ways (Alasuutari 2012).

In data-driven analysis, research data is specifically at the core – analysis is based on concise processing of the data, from which the aim is ultimately to form theoretical ensemble (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 108). The aim of qualitative data analysis is to find the most relevant points for research (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 137). In political analysis, it may be useful to analyze new data (Weimer & Vining 2017, 334), in which case a different perspective can be brought up compared to other options of data.

4.2. Selected Data Collection and Analysis Methods

In this thesis (Figure 1), the data is collected by using two different methods. First, I constructed five semi-structured interviews. All interviewees were in some state of employment relationship with one of the parties or parties' parliamentary group, that have representatives at the Finnish Parliament. The parties represented in these five interviews are presented later in Table 3. The goal of analyzing the data obtained from the interviews was to create a survey that was addressed to the members of the Finnish Parliament. 28 MPs from 6 parties participated in the survey.

Even before the interviews, it is good idea to consider how the data will be analyzed – how the data will be broken down after collection and how the information relevant to the research will be found from them (Galletta 2013, 17). In other words, it is good to consider what do you do with the data, i.e. why you collect the data in the first place and what questions you want answers from the data. In this thesis, both of the collected data (interviews and survey) were analyzed with content analysis.

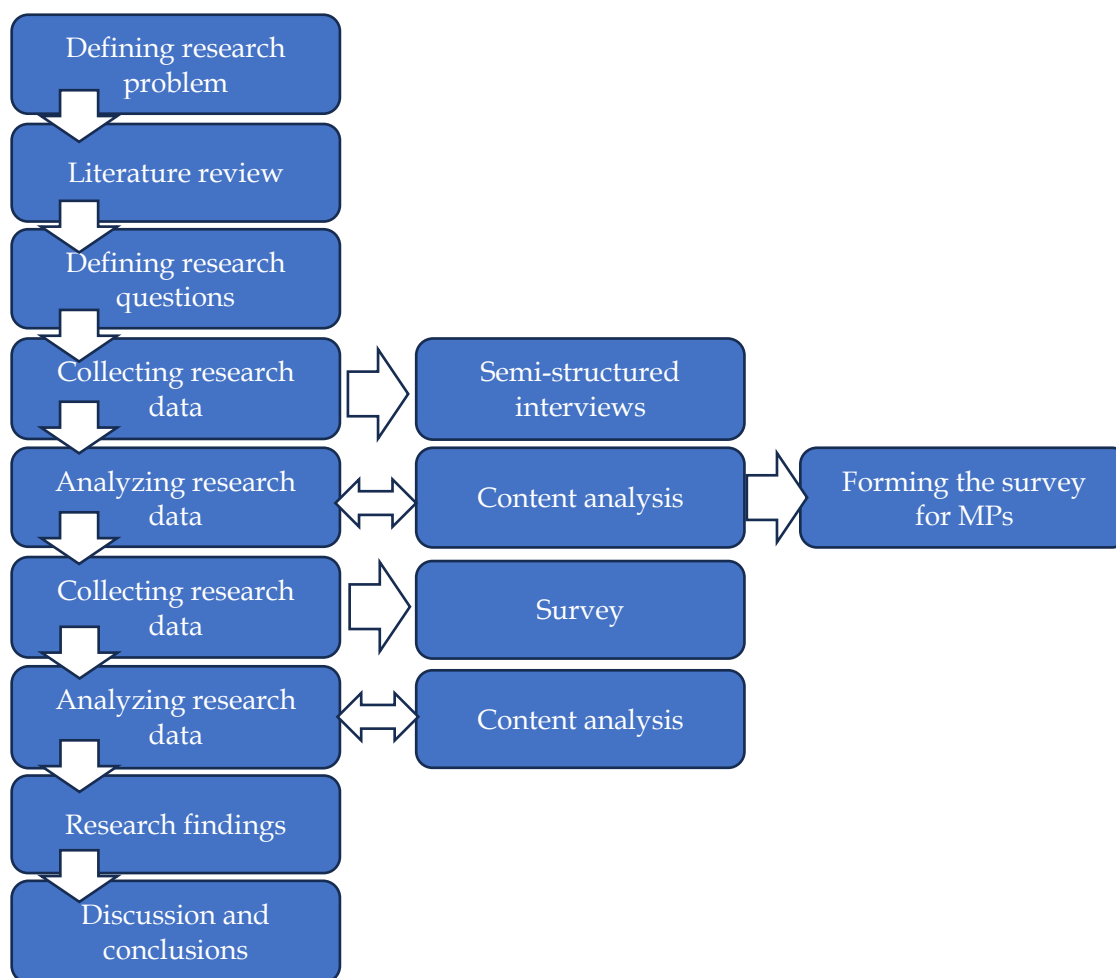


Figure 2: Research process

The choice of interview as a data collection method can be justified by linking it to the interviewed person, their thoughts, motives or experiences, and views. If we want to know something about a person, their thoughts, motives, or experiences, it is natural to study them by asking from the person themselves (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 85; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 84). This is the reason why in this thesis, interviews were used as a one data collection method. Through semi-structured interviews, I was able to collect data that allowed me to get background of parties' values and attitudes before forming the survey.

When selecting interviewees, it is good to consider the information that selected persons have on the topic being studied and their usefulness for research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 85). In this thesis, the interviewees are people who work in politics and more precisely for a party or a parliamentary group. The invitations for an interview were sent for each of the party secretaries of a party that have at least one member in the Finnish Parliament. They had the opportunity to forward the invitation to the person they deemed suitable. The decision to direct the survey to MPs results for the assumption that their work is related to act according to the values and attitudes of their party. Therefore, they have useful knowledge and viewpoints on this matter.

I choose to collect the research data with two staged processes because with interviews I could have only heard thoughts of singular party representative from each party. Even though they are legitimated to answer behalf if their party, individuals' thoughts give a quite narrow picture of the whole party's viewpoints on this kind of complex topic. Therefore, I chose to form a survey for MPs to answer. They have a different kind of mandate for their thoughts as a party representative but also as a representative of their voters. In addition, with the semi-structured interviews I was able to collect data that grounded where parties stand for relating to sustainability questions. With the survey, I was able to see, is there a division within the parties on sustainability questions and is the classical left-right spectrum usable for mapping the parties per sustainability attitudes.

Next, I will introduce selected data collection and analysis methods in more detail. I will start by semi-structured interviews, moving on to the survey. Finally, I will discuss content analysis and the different ways it is advantaged in this thesis.

4.1.1. Semi-structured Interviews

Interviewing is common data collection method in Finland (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 85). In its simplest form, an interview is linguistic communication between two, or more, people (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 48), a conversation led by a researcher or interviewer (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 85) by asking questions to gather information for research (Ruslin et al. 2022, 23; Lincoln 2021, 109). In other words, discussion creates data that would otherwise not be able to gather to the same extent. It is not a casual conversation, but it has a clear purpose that all participants are aware of (Lincoln 2021, 109). Interviewing allows us to discuss – even analyze – the desired topic in the desired way.

As a data collection method, the interview is flexible; it allows you to go through the necessary questions in peace, and if necessary, clarify the questions or the wording used (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 85). The interviews' purpose is to collect information on how a person as an individual or, for example, as part of a community, experiences something: what they think about it or what kind of views they have on it.

Semi-structured interviews quite literally mean that the interview is only partially structured. In practice, this means that the themes are same for each interviewee, but the exact form and order of questions made, have not been decided in advance, nor are they same for each interviewee (Hirsjärvi et al. 2009, 208; Hirsjärvi & Hulme 2001, 47) or at least they have not to be same for all. In semi-structured interviews, interviewees are allowed to answer freely and, as a rule, are not given ready-made answer options (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 86). In different interviews, the researcher can ask various clarifying questions (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 87) to cover the themes with the desired accuracy. The interviewee may also bring their own perspectives to the themes as the interview progresses (Galletta 2013, 24). People's

interpretations and meanings play a central role in this kind of interview (Hirjärvi & Hulme 2001, 48; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 88).

Semi-structured interviewing combines both empirical and theoretical questions (Galletta 2013, 118). Semi-structured interviews enable questions based on the interviewees' own experiences as well as questions that stem from theory (Galletta 2013, 51). During the interview, opportunities may arise for the interviewer and the interviewee to reflect on the connections between the interviewee's experiences and relationships, institutional structures and discourses, and broader societal reflection (Galletta 2013, 94).

Galletta (2013) in her book *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*, divides the semi-structured interview into three parts: 1) opening; 2) deepening; and 3) compiling. The first part is the opening segment of the interview, during which the interviewee should be thanked for participating, sign consent if this has not already been done (Galletta 2013, 46) and go through other things that reflect the roles between the interviewer and the interviewees. In the early stages of the interview, it is advisable to start with questions that orient the deeper discussion and create space for the interviewee to put into words their own experiences and views (Galletta 2013, 47). The interviewee's experiences and views related to the interview topic play a significant role right from the start of the interview, which is why the questions must support the interviewer's position description (Galletta 2013, 48). In the early stages, the researcher's knowledge of the topic and ability to support the interviewee's answers are largely relied on (Galletta 2013, 47) while moving the discussion forward.

In the middle segment, according to Galletta (2013, 49), the questions should be deepened. This part of the interview deals in more depth with the themes that have emerged in the first part of the interview (Galletta 2013, 49), collecting subjective experiences around the research topic in more detail. The concluding segment makes it possible to return to topics that have already been discussed or to new themes that come to mind (Galletta 2013, 51). At this point, it is especially important to ask the interviewee: is there anything more to add. In terms of later analysis, this is also possibly the last place for the researcher to confirm whether everything relevant has already been asked.

4.2.2. Survey

Survey is a convenient tool when studying people, and their knowledge, attitudes, or behaviors (Finka 2002). Through questionnaire, researcher has ability to ask questions from respondents (Vehkalahti 2014, 11). It is a way to gather information (Wolf et al. 2016). Survey that are constructed in internet are flexible and inexpensive way to get self-administered answers (Wolf et al. 2016). In this thesis I use Webropol- survey program to collect answers from respondents. Webropol enables to send the survey

link to large number of respondents. It also enables to filter data without urge to use other programs.

It is important to carefully choose the study population (Stratton 2018, 117). One way to select the survey respondents is to form the target population through a research question (Acharyya & Bhattacharya 2020, 184). In my thesis the research question contains of Finnish parties. Therefore, I chose members of the parliament as a target population. They have a mandate not only from their parties, but also from their voters.

Petterson (2000) suggests in his book *Constructing effective questionnaires* that constructing a questionnaire consists of seven steps presented in Figure x. I will use those steps as a roadmap to construct the survey. First step is to review the information requirements of the problem, opportunity and the decision that led to the need to form a (questionnaire) survey. As discussed earlier, I choose to form a survey based on the semi-structured interviews to get more information about attitudes of members of the Finnish parliament relating to sustainability. The aim of this survey is to see, if sustainability attitudes of the party representatives is comparative to the classical left-right spectrum, or will it differ for it. With the survey, I get to know what kind of differences there are between parties and do the responses differ between respondents within parties.

The second step that Peterson (2000) presents, is to develop research questions. These research questions refer to the questions or statements asked in the survey. These questions are not same as the research questions of the thesis itself. In this thesis survey consist of statements, not questions. This is because the aim of the survey is to gather information about respondent's attitudes. Research statements are formed based on the data collected with semi-structured interviews. The process of forming these statements is illustrated in chapter 6.4. Petterson's (2000) third step to construct a questionnaire is to evaluate each potential question. This includes observing if participants will understand the question, can they answer the question and will they do it. These must be evaluated with every statement, and this will also be done when forming the statements.

Fourt step is to determine if the questions are open-ended or closed-ended (Petterson 2000). If questions are closed, respondents must choose from the options determined by the researcher (Acharyya & Bhattacharya 2020, 176). The survey that I construct consist of both closed-ended questions and open-ended ones. I use 4-point Likert-typed scale. Likert-scale is a scale of answer alternatives that rate a scale of agreement (Acharyya & Bhattacharya 2020, 177; Stratton 2018, 117). Likert-scaale tend to base on an idea that some phenomenon can be measured by these attitudes (Harpe 2015, 837). Usually, Likert-scale consist of five or more answer options. 4-point Likert-typed scale on the other hand offers four answer options: 1) completely disagree; 2) somewhat disagree; 3) somewhat agree; and 4) completely agree. This scale does not include neutral option or a possibility to not tell one's opinion. This kind of modified Likert-scale serves this thesis, because it forces respondents to either agree, or disagree

with the statements presented in the survey. Formed statements were unique and stand-alone, and therefore they will be analyzed as Likert-type items (Boone & Boone 2012) meaning that they are analyzed individually, not as a segment of statements.

Fifth step is to decide on specific wording of each question to be asked (Pettersen 2000). The statements must be as unequivocal as possible. If there is more than one possible way to understand the question, it might complicate the analysis. Sixth step is to determine questionnaire structure. As mentioned above, this survey consists of closed-ended statements that must be answered with forced Likert-scale, and open-ended questions where respondents have change to justify their answers to the statements. The possibility to justify the statements is always given after the statement. Therefore, the survey consists of pairs that include the Likert-scale and the possibility to justify the answer. The final step that Peterson (2000) names is evaluate the questionnaire. This means that before sending the survey forward, it must be taken care of that the survey serves its purpose.

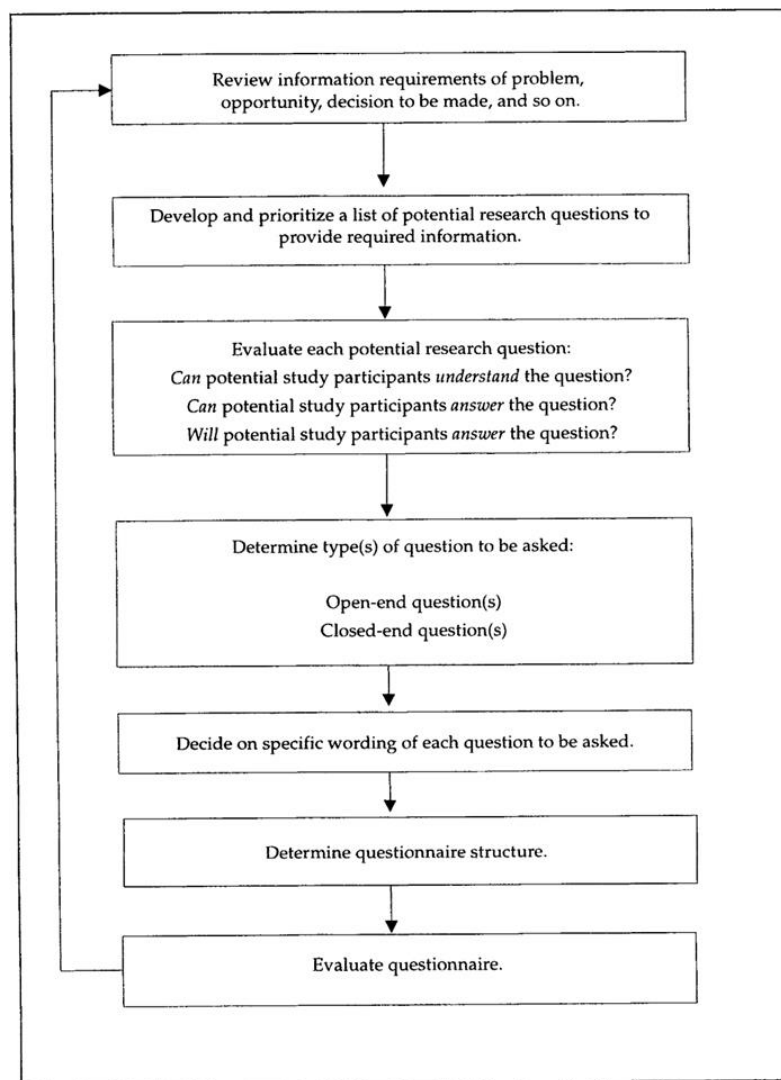


Figure 3: Constructing a Questionnaire (Peterson 2000)

4.2.3. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a widely used basic analysis method (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018. 103). It can be used both in qualitative and quantitative research. In content analysis, the data is processed by searching meanings – which is why it is also called text analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018. 117). On a practical level, content analysis involves interpreting and describing the content of a document verbally (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2019, 119). In other words, the aim is not to repeat what has been said in the data, but to find the messages relevant to the research in the data and focus on processing them. Indeed, it is not enough to just re-organize the data and perform it as an analysis (Aaltonen et al. 2015, 116). In content analysis, conclusions are drawn from the data about the producer of the text, the text itself or its audience (Weber 1990). Here, the focus will be on the producer of the text (interviewees) and its content. In other words, in this thesis I am interested in analyzing what is said and who says it.

First stage of the data-analysis is to collect the data. When listening to interviews, researcher can already pay attention to emphases, and may also gain insights. Second stage is to transcribe the data. For this, there is useful programs, such as Word's transcript-tool. Despite the emphases gotten from listening to interviews and transcribing, the entire text obtained from the data must be analyzed to obtain a complete picture (Weber 1990). This brings us to the third stage of analysis: it is important to get to know closely to the data. The more familiar the material, the easier it is to find different messages and tones.

The fourth stage of content analysis is called data reduction. Data reduction means that researcher simplifies the data by listing those parts of the analysis that are relevant (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 123). For example, those parts that contains long explanations by the interviewer might be irrelevant to the analysis. In other words, all of the data that is not relevant for research questions is irrelevant (Schreier 2012) The fifth stage of the analysis is coding. The means of this stage is to find codes from the data (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, 1279). The start of the coding is to choose the unit of the analysis, such as individual words, sentences, paragraphs, clauses, or phrases. The data contains many different messages from which the researcher must find simplified expressions (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 123). Codebook can be formed based on conceptual framework or theory used in research (Zakaria & Zakaria 2016). At this stage of the analysis, the aim is to know which words or descriptions are repeated in the data and for what purpose they are used (Weber 1990). Coding can be done with specialized software or manually (Zakaria & Zakaria 2016; Neundorf 2016) as it is done in this thesis. Searching for different symbols in text is common for content analysis (Caliandro & Gandini 2016, 192). These can be for example themes that are units of meanings that researcher notices in the data (Guest et al. 2012).

There are three distinct approaches to content analysis that are conventional directed, and summative (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, 1277). In this thesis. I use conventional content analysis to analyze the data got in the interviews. The concept

driven analysis means that the themes used in semi-structured interview are used as a base on the coding (Schreier 2012). Therefore, it is also drawing upon an interview guide. Schreier (2012) claims that the guide used for data collection can also be used as a deductive framework for building a coding frame. I will also use data-driven analysis, which gives an opportunity to find new viewpoints.

However, the structural coding is more common in studies that are strongly structured, it could be also used to code data that has been collected with, for example, semi-structured interview. The problems that can be headed with structural coding is when researcher uses coding tools or software's. Then, the program might not work if the questions asked are not in same order in different interviews or questions are asked with different words (Guest et al. 2012). I do not use any programs to analyze the interview data, so in my case I use structural coding to present the themes even though they are not conducted in the same order in every interview.

Content analysis of the survey data happens also with content analysis. What is worth to note, is that there is only little literature or discussion of using content analysis to analyze data which has been collected using Likert-typed scale. Other noticeable thing is that usually Likert-typed scale is analyzed with quantitative methods. However, it is not necessary here, because in quantitative analysis measures such as means and medians, and those are not relevant in this thesis.

4.3. Ethical Implications

The researcher's role is emphasized in a semi-structured interview (Galletta 2013, 75), when the interview structure and question layouts are not set in stone. By a researcher it is an important role to recognize what the interviewee says, possibly for what purpose want to grasp more closely or what needs a deeper examination. Qualitative research involves reflexivity, especially through conceptual framework (Galletta 2013, 77). Reflexivity requires vigilance and understanding from the researcher about the extent to which the researcher can interview without the method or ignoring ethics (Galletta 2013, 104). The interviewer not only hears but listens actively and shows that they are listening (Hyvärinen et al. 2017). It should be noted that the order and depth of the questions matter (Galletta 2013, 45) and this regard the researcher's role in the final data formation is inevitably significant. The researcher can be seen as an instrument which ask questions, reacts to the interviewee's answers, encourages and on the other hand restrains a deeper treatment of certain topics (Galletta 2013, 104). As already mentioned above, during semi-structured interview it is already possible to influence which themes are discussed and how precisely they are handled. It would be naïve to claim that this would not affect to the outcome and analysis of the interview.

Before the interviews, interviewees were informed about the research and the interview process. They were informed with announcement regarding the student's

interview (Appendix 1) privacy notice (Appendix 2), and consent to the processing of personal data (Appendix 3). All the interviewees signed the consents.

In the beginning of the interviews, I grounded the situation by explaining what will happen throughout the interview. I also explained some of the concepts that were raised in the interviews (sustainability's dimensions) so that all the interviewees had the same knowledge before starting the interview. With some of the interviewees I also discussed about their role as a party representative and that they would appreciate if I kept it clear in my thesis that their sayings are mostly their own viewpoints, even though they represented their party. Therefore, I must note that I do not consider the interviewees' sayings as a declaration of the parties' policies, but more as a party representative's verbal formulations about the party's policies, values, and attitudes.

5. INTERVIEWS

In this chapter, I present the interviews conducted for the research, themes of the interview, and the beginning of the analysis process. As explained in the previous chapter, I used semi-structured interviews to collect data, which with I formed survey for the MPs. In total of five parties agreed to participate on this stage of my study. The interviews consisted of four main themes, in addition to the introduction and ending of the interviews. Because the aim of the interviews was to collect data that implements parties' attitudes towards sustainable development and sustainability, the themes also considered sustainability and its dimensions.

5.1. Presenting the Semi-structured Interviews

Five semi-structured interviews were carried out during January-February 2024. One of the interviews were conducted in person (face-to-face), and four of them was organized in web, via Zoom. All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. The interviews where from 47 minutes to 66 minutes long, in total of about four and a half hours. All the interviews were conducted in Finnish.

The interview invitations were sent to the party secretaries of each parliamentary party. Interviewees were chosen because of their position in the party organization. Reasoning behind this consist of their general knowledge on their parties' thoughts and policy ideas. However, I recognize that party secretaries might not have enough time to participate to the interview and therefore they were given the opportunity to forward the invitation. It turned out to be difficult to find a time and interviewees in those cases where the party secretary was not able to participate.

Social democratic party (SDP), Centre party (Centre), Left Alliance (Left), National Coalition Party (NCP), and Christian Democratic Party (CDP) participated in the interview. Finns Party (Finns), The Swedish People's Party of Finland (Swedish), The Green League (Greens), and Liike Nyt -movement (Liike Nyt) did not want or did not have time to participate to the interviews. Finns Party and the Green

League did not answer to the invitation at all, despite the reminders. Party secretary of Liike Nyt -movement was willing to participate but eventually we could not find fitting time for the interview. Because some parties were represented by someone else than the party secretary, the names and interviewee's roles are presented in Table 3. It is a shame that I was not able to interview all the parties planned, but all in all the sampling went well, because there is representation of both ends of left-right division.

Party	Name	Interviewee's role
National Coalition Party	Eero Haapalehto	Parliamentary Group's Natural Resources and Environmental Policy Advisor
Social Democratic Party	Mikkel Näkkäljärvi	Party Secretary
Centre Party	Antti Siika-aho	Party Secretary
Left Alliance	Henrik Jaakkola	Coordinator of Politics and Organization Activities
Christian Democratic Party	Tapio Luoma-aho	Special Advisor of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry

TABLE 3: Interviewees

Because some of the interviewees were not party secretaries, there was a notion in a couple of the interviews (NCP and DCP) that the interviewee would appreciate if their sayings were not strictly taken as a declaration of their parties' policies, but more as their own viewpoints of their parties' policies relating to sustainability. Therefore, the interviews are analyzed as general thoughts of a party member or party representative, not as a party guideline.

5.2. Themes of the Interviews

As discussed in Chapter 2, sustainability can be understood through three dimensions: economic, social, and environmental. In addition to these, there is other dimensions, but they are not included in this stage of thesis. In the interviews I concentrate on economic, social, and environmental sustainability. The aim of this thesis is to study Finnish parties' values and attitudes and their relation to sustainability. These are the base for the interview themes.

I used Galletta's (2013) guide for the semi-structured interviews (introduced in chapter 4.1.1.). The interview questions were formed through the research problem, conceptual and theoretical framework (Galletta 2013, 72). In this study, the structure of the interviews was following: 1) introduction of the interview; 2) Party's attitudes and values; 3) economic sustainability; 4) social sustainability; 5) environmental sustainability; 6) Additional viewpoints. Table 4 here illustrates the themes and the aims of them.

Theme	The aim of the themes
Introduction to the interview	The aim of this is to make sure that interviewees have the initial knowledge about how the interview is conducted and what are the dimensions of sustainable development, that are in question.
Theme 1: Party's attitudes and values	The aim of this theme is to explore parties' values, and do they think that their values relate to sustainability. In this part of the interview, it is also discussed what parties think about the division of responsibility and freedom.
Theme 2: Economic sustainability	The aim of this theme is to study how do parties understand economic sustainability and find out what they keep important relating to economic sustainability.
Theme 3: Social sustainability	The aim of this theme is to study how do parties understand social sustainability and find out what they keep important relating to social sustainability.
Theme 4: Environmental sustainability	The aim of this theme is to study how do parties understand environmental sustainability and find out what they keep important relating to the environmental sustainability.
Additional viewpoints	The aim of this part of the interview is to conclude the thoughts presented in the interview, give interviewees an opportunity to add something they feel important, and clarify if necessary.

TABLE 4: Structure of the semi-structured interviews

The aim of introduction to the interview is to make sure that interviewees have the initial knowledge about how the interview is conducted and what are the dimensions of sustainable development, that are in question. It is important to treat the interviewee as a person, not only as a source of information (Hyvärinen et al. 2017) and therefore I wanted to make sure that everyone has same knowledge of the interview and its topics. This implicates the opening segment of the interviews (Galletta 2013, 46-47).

Themes two to four demonstrates the deepening segment of the interview, where the subject of the interview is discussed in more detail. The first actual theme of the interviews is parties' values and attitudes. The aim of this theme is to explore parties' values, and do they think that their values relate to sustainability. In this part of the interview, it is also discussed what parties think about the division of responsibility and freedom.

From second to fourth theme are the sustainability's dimensions: economic, social, and environmental. The aim of these themes is to study how do parties understand economic, social, and environmental sustainability and find out what they keep important relating to economic, social, and environmental sustainability. Studies show that people understand different concepts differently and this has influence on their answers on questions (Brauer et al. 2017, 554). At the same time, the aim of these themes is to show, with which kind of policy strategies or policies parties promote sustainability, or on the other hand, if they do not have those policies planned or have interest to promote sustainability. In the end of the interview, in the concluding

segment, interviewees had change to add viewpoints that they wanted to process further, and specify their sayings, if needed.

The interviews were transcribed shortly after each interview. I used Microsoft Word’s transcription-tool. Some parts of the recordings were too unclear for the transcription-tool to capture right words, so I still needed to go through the recordings of each interview and check that the transcription was successful. The aim of the transcriptions is to give a written version of the data that was originally recorded as an audiotape. Because I am not particularly interested in language itself, but the meanings of the sayings. Therefore, I chose to write denaturalized transcription that suits for research that are interested in the content of the interview. This method ignores verbal and non-verbal sounds (for example laughing or hand-movement) and concentrates on spoken words (Oliver et al. 2005, 1277-1278.) Therefore, I left out stuttering, pauses and filler words⁷, such as “*niinku*”, “*öö*”. Because the interviews were conducted in Finnish, the quotations in this thesis are presented both in Finnish and in English.

5.3. Analysis

After the semi-structured interviews, the collected and transcribed data was analyzed. The next stage of analysis was to read the data and find all the relevant material. After getting to know the data I started the coding. Coding was made manually without any software. The themes of the interviews were logical frame to work with. For starters I chose to use the themes of the interviews as the “codes”. First of the interview themes consists of values and attitudes. I divided this into two structural codes: values in general, and values and sustainability. Other codes followed the themes of the semi-structured interviews. The codebook, which includes themes, structural code names, and both brief and full definitions of the codes, is presented in Table 5. The means of this codebook is to make the analysis process clearer. Working with the codebook made the categorizing the data easier.

Interview theme	Structural code name	Structural code definition
Values and attitudes	Values in general	Brief definition: Party’s core values in general. Full definition: Participants views on which are their party’s core values.
	Values and sustainability	Brief definition: Values that relates to sustainability. Full definition: Participant opinions of their party’s values that relates to sustainability or

⁷ “*Niinku*” translates to “*like*” or “*well*” whereas “*öö*” translates to “*er*”.

		one or more of the sustainability's dimensions (economic, social, or environmental).
Economic sustainability	Economic sustainability	Brief definition: Party's viewpoints of economic sustainability. Full definition: Participants views on how their party understands economic sustainability and does their party have any policies with which they try to promote economic sustainability.
Social sustainability	Social sustainability	Brief definition: Party's viewpoints of social sustainability. Full definition: Participants views on how their party understands social sustainability and does their party have any policies with which they try to promote social sustainability.
Environmental sustainability	Environmental sustainability	Brief definition: Party's viewpoints of environmental sustainability. Full definition: Participants views on how their party understands environmental sustainability and does their party have any policies with which they try to promote environmental sustainability.

TABLE 5: Structural coding

6. FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

In this chapter, I will introduce findings of the interview analysis. As a reminder, this is only a half stone of this research. With these findings, I form survey for MPs. As told earlier in chapter 5.1., some of the interviewees were not party secretaries and they hoped that their sayings are not strictly taken as a declaration of their parties' policies, but more as their own viewpoints of their parties' policies relating to sustainability. Therefore, manifestos or other documents that consist of parties' viewpoints would perhaps have given a more structured picture of the political orientations of the parties. However, the interviews gave good insights that illustrates parties' viewpoints in a more personal level.

In this chapter, I will present the findings of the semi-structured interviews. I will begin with discussing the values and attitudes of the parties. After that I will briefly look at the responsibility in the viewpoint of sustainable development. Finally, I will discuss sustainability' dimensions, one by one, in order to examine interviewees' insights of sustainability policies.

6.1. Values and Attitudes

The first theme in the interviews and therefore first theme to discuss here, is parties' values, and do they think that those values relate to sustainability. Table 6 shows which are the core values of the parties' and interviewees' considerations of the relationship between their values and sustainability. Some of the interviewees mentioned that their values can be checked from their website or principle-program, and this was done in those occasions. One explanation for this differentiation between the values in parties' websites and in the interviews might be that participants concentrated on those values that they found most suitable for the topic (sustainability) and therefore did not mention all the values their party has. Other explanation might be that participants feel some values are more suitable for them and therefore they mention those values as the core values of their party. There is no

clear explanation for this, and therefore the analysis and later findings are made based on the values that emerged in the interviews.

Party	Core values	Values possible relation to sustainable development.
National Coalition Party	Freedom	To social sustainability.
	Responsibility	To sustainability in general.
	Equality of opportunity	Equality of opportunity was only mentioned briefly and was not related to sustainability.
	Patriotism	To sustainability in general.
	Civilization	Civilization is related to the value of responsibility and therefore to sustainability in general.
	Democracy	To social sustainability.
Social Democratic Party	Freedom	To environmental sustainability.
	Equality	To environmental sustainability.
	Internationality	To sustainability in general.
	Solidarity	To sustainability in general.
Centre Party ⁸	Intergenerationalism	To sustainable development in general.
	Domesticity	Domesticity was mentioned briefly when explaining party's thoughts of policy tools to promote sustainability.
Left Alliance	Equity	To sustainability in general.
	Ecology	Ecology is related to environmental sustainability.
Christian Democratic Party ⁹	Human Dignity	To sustainable development in general.
	Intergenerationalism	To sustainable development in general.

TABLE 6 Parties' values and their relation to sustainability

Values are in many ways the basis for party politics. On the one hand they separate the parties from each other. By knowing each parties' values voter can either find a common ground in the party or feel that they do not share the same values. However, some parties share same values but might conceptualize them differently or use them to achieve different goals. On the other hand, values are a guideline for

⁸ Siika-aho (Centre) said in the interview that all of Centre Party's values relates to sustainability and the values can be checked in Centre Party's website. In their website their values are listed to be responsibility and freedom; communality and caring; equality and justice; civilization; intergenerationalism and moderation; sustainable relationship with nature; and locality (Keskusta 2024).

⁹ Luoma-aho (CDP) said in the interview that Christian Democrats' values could be seen in their principle program. In their program the values listed are human dignity; freedom and responsibility; equality and equity; integrity; closeness and proximity decision principle (Kristillisdemokraati 2017).

party representatives and members. They share their values or at least some of them and they act based on their values.

First, I will discuss those values that were related to sustainability or sustainable development in general. These values are responsibility (NCP); patriotism (NCP); civilization (NCP); internationality (SDP); solidarity (SDP); intergenerationalism (Centre and CDP); equity (Left); and human dignity (CDP). As seen above and in Table 6, most of the values were related to sustainability in general. One point of view to this is that sustainability's dimensions are strongly linked to another. Then it might be difficult to link the value to just one dimension of sustainability. Other point of view is that values are base for all the policies that parties promote.

After discussing values related to sustainability and sustainable development in general, I will move to those values that interviewee's related to social and environmental sustainability. These values are freedom (NCP); and democracy (NCP) related to social sustainability, freedom (SDP); equality (SDP); and ecology (Left) that was related to environmental sustainability. Interestingly, none of the values mentioned in the interviews were directly linked to economic sustainability. As seen above, freedom was related to different dimensions of sustainability, depending on the interviewee and party represented: NCP's interviewee relates freedom to social sustainability, whereas SDP's interviewee relates freedom to environmental sustainability.

Responsibility, in addition to freedom, are further discussed in the next chapter, but because Haapalehto from National Coalition Party, listed responsibility as one of his party's values, I will introduce his thoughts here. Haapalehto thought that responsibility is related to sustainable development in general. He justifies this by saying:

"No vapauden vastapainona sitten tää vastuu omasta tekemisestä on toinen ihan keskeinen ydinarvo ja siihen liittyy sitten juuri sitten vastuu siitä, että mitä, miten käyttää, jokainen käyttää tätä vapautta ja miten tietysti myös erilaiset instituutiot, erilaisten instituutioiden vastuu - - kestävyuden näkökulmasta niin kuin keskeisimpiä oikeastaan on sitten tää vastuukysymys."¹⁰ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Another value that Haapalehto (NCP) mentioned was **patriotism**. Patriotism is quite traditional value that, in a way relates to responsibility towards one's country. Haapalehto (NCP) express patriotism specifically through the protection of the motherland:

¹⁰ Well, as a counterbalance to freedom, responsibility for one's own doing is another very central core value, and that related to the responsibility for what, how to use, how everyone uses this freedom and of course how different institutions, different institutions' responsibility - - from the viewpoint of sustainability, this question of responsibility is actually a center issue. (Haapalehto, NCP)

“Kestävyys, tai tavallaan sitäkin kautta, että, että me varjellaan meidän isänmaata juuri, juuri sillä tavalla, että sitä - - rakennetaan kestävästi.”¹¹ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Continuing with the values of National Coalition Party, Haapalehto (NCP) states that **civilization** also relates to sustainable development in general. He claims that civilized individuals have the capability to act in a way that respects others freedom, and with responsibility towards environment:

“Sivistyneet yksilöt osaavat, tai niin kuin vain sivistyksen kautta me eletään, saavutetaan sitten sen kaltainen yhteiskunta, jossa jokainen yksilö käyttää - - ihmiset ovat riittävän sivistyneitä, jotta kykenevät sitten käyttämään vapautta just sillä tavalla, että eivät, osaavat olla loukkaamatta toisten vastaavasti vapautta ja siihen sivistykseen kuuluu myös vastuu ympäristöstä.”¹² (Haapalehto, NCP)

Intergenerationalism as a value also concerns environment, but also other aspects of sustainable development. Siika-aho from Centre Party considered intergenerationalism almost as synonym of sustainable development:

“Nykyisistäkin arvoista kun puhutaan vaikka ylisukupolvisuudesta, niin sehän kytkeytyy hyvin vahvasti tähän kestäväen kehityksen tematiikkaan. Ylisukupolvisuus arvona, eli ajatus siitä, että, että yhteiskuntaa pitää rakentaa niin, että se on tulevana vuosina kaikkien palveluksessa ja kestää ajan muutokset - - Ylisukupolvisuus on yhtä, kun nämä kestäväen kehityksen teemat.”¹³ (Siika-aho, Centre)

Even though Näkkäljärvi (SDP) did not arise intergenerationalism as a core value, he talked about it in context of intergenerational poorness and intergenerational equity. Same kind of thought was raised by Jaakkola (Left) who did not mention intergenerationalism as a concept, but noted:

“Haluamme varmistaa paremman tulevaisuuden seuraaville polville, niin siinä - - ollaan sen kestäväen kehityksen tilassa. Eli ajatus siitä, että ei tavallaan riitä, että nykyisellä sukupolvella on ne materiaaliset tarpeet turvattu, jos ne on pois seuraavilta polvilta.”¹⁴ (Jaakkola, Left)

¹¹ Sustainability, or in a way also through the fact that we protect our homeland precisely, in the way that it - - is built sustainably. (Haapalehto, NCP)

¹² Civilized individuals know how, or as it is, only through civilization that we live, we will then achieve a society like that, where every individual uses - - people are civilized enough to then be able to use freedom precisely in the way that they don't, know how not to infringe on the freedom of others and to that civilization also includes responsibility for the environment. (Haapalehto, NCP)

¹³ Even with current values, when we talk about intergenerationalism, it is very strongly connected to this theme of sustainable development. Intergenerationality as a value, or the idea that society must be built so that it is at the service of everyone in the coming years and withstands the changes of time - - intergenerationality is the same as these themes of sustainable development. (Siika-aho, Centre)

¹⁴ We want to enable better future for the next generations, so there - - we are in the atmosphere of sustainable development. The thought of, that it is not enough that the current generation has secured material needs, if they are excluded from next generations. (Jaakkola, Left)

Luoma-aho (Christian Democratic Party) also noted that intergenerationalism is an important value, which is directly related to sustainable development.

Näkkäljärvi from Social Democratic Party was only one that listed **solidarity** and **internationality** as their core values. He justified this by stating that these are global questions in a same way that sustainable development is:

*"Siinä on tää solidaarisuus ja kansainvälisyys myös sitä kautta, että kyllähän nää vahvasti on globaalin solidaarisuuden kysymyksiä."*¹⁵ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Another value, that was only mentioned by one party was **equity**. Jaakkola (Left) stated that:

*"Vasemmistoliiton mielestä oikeus päättää ja oikeus olla kuuluvat meille kaikille - - jokainen meistä ansaitsee hyvän elämän."*¹⁶ (Jaakkola, Left)

Good life belongs also to the value of **human dignity**, which Luoma-Aho (CDP) raised as one of his party's core values. He did not justify why he thought it relates to sustainable development. However, human dignity is strongly part of sustainability policies through Agenda 2030, so maybe further justification is not even needed.

Social sustainability considers the well-being of people and communities. Therefore, it is reasonable that Haapalehto (NCP) stated that two of his party's core values: **democracy** and **freedom** relate to social sustainability. He states that everyone should have freedom to live their life in a way they wish for:

*"Vapaus tietysti liittyy siihen, että jokaisella on vapaus, tota vapaus toteuttaa itseään ja elää haluamansa kaltaista elämää ilman, että sitten rajoittaa vastaavasti toiselta tätä samaa vapautta"*¹⁷ (Haapalehto, NCP)

On the other hand, Näkkäljärvi (SDP) relates freedom to environmental sustainability:

*"Kyllä se silloin vapautteen kietoutuu myös, että onko ihminen vapaa, vapaa tota vaikka harjoittamaan omia elinkeinoja, jos se ympäristönäkökulmasta elinkeino käy mahdottomaksi."*¹⁸ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

In my opinion, Näkkäljärvi's (SDP) point of view also relates to economic sustainability through the livelihoods. Näkkäljärvi (SDP) also relates **equality** with environmental sustainability. He simply states that:

¹⁵ There is solidarity and internationality in it, also through the fact that these are definitely issues of global solidarity. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

¹⁶ The Left Alliance thinks that the right to decide and the right to be belongs to us all - - everyone of us deserves a good life. (Jaakkola, Left)

¹⁷ Freedom, of course, is related to the fact that everyone has freedom, freedom to implement oneself and live the life one wants, without restricting the same freedom from another. (Haapalehto, NCP)

¹⁸ In that case, freedom is also intertwined with whether a person is free, free to pursue his own means of livelihood if, from an environmental point of view, that means of livelihood becomes impossible. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

“No tietenkin vahvasti tasa-arvo on sillä tavalla, että kyllähän vaikkapa nämä ekologisen kestävyuden näkökulmat niin on iso tasa-arvokysymys.”¹⁹ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Surprisingly, Jaakkola from Left Alliance was only one that named ecology as his party’s core value. He related ecology strongly with climate policies, and through them to environmental sustainability.

6.2. Responsibility of Sustainability Policies

In addition to the values, the first interview theme aimed to explore parties’ thoughts of the division between freedom and responsibility. Responsibility and freedom are themes that relates to the left-right political spectrum. Left-wing parties tend to favor governmental responsibility in economic questions, whereas right-wing parties tend to prefer more individual perspective. In other words, traditionally left-wing parties want that everyone participates to pay the economic burden through taxation etc. while right-wing parties do not.

First viewpoint here is, who has the responsibility to act, and in this case, decide on sustainability policies? This aspect of responsibility was related by interviewees to individuals, societies, other institutions and in global matter. Jaakkola (Left) claimed that society should carry the heaviest load on the responsibility:

“Joo, on kyllä se lopulta siis valtiolta. - - Että kyllä se on myös valtiot ja Suomi ja niinku julkinen valta, joka on vastuussa monesta, mutta ennen kaikkea julkisen vallan vastuulla olisi luoda sitä sääntelyä, että millä me suojellaan meidän metsät, millä me suojellaan meidän vesistöt, millä me rajoitetaan päästöjä.”²⁰ (Jaakkola, Left)

Also, Haapalehto from National Coalition Party recognized the society’s responsibility as a promoter of sustainability policies. Jaakkola (Left) continued by claiming that parties and politicians has responsibility for sustainability policies. Other interviewees did not raise themselves as responsible as a politician, but rather as individuals and members of society.

Global responsibility was mentioned in different ways in the interviews. For example, Siika-aho (Centre Party) claims that Finland, as a small country cannot solve global problems alone:

“Mehän emme pysty pienenä Suomena, pienenä pohjoisena maana kantamaan koko maailman murheita. Siksi johtuen tietenkin siitä, että me pienenä kansantaloutena joudumme kuitenkin ajattelemaan myös omaa tulevaisuuttamme ja sitä kautta se

¹⁹ Well, of course, there is a strong equality in the way that, for example, these aspects of ecological sustainability are a big equality perspective. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

²⁰ Yes, finally it is the governmental power. - - That yes, it is also the states and Finland and the public authority, which is responsible for many things, but above all the responsibility of the public authority should be to create the regulation that how do we protect our forests, how do we protect our waterways, how do we limit emissions. (Jaakkola, Left)

edellyttää sitä, että päätökset on regionaalisia, elikkä vähintään koko Euroopan mittalaajuisia, mutta isommassa kuvassa myös globaaleja.”²¹ (Siika-aho, Centre)

Siika-aho (Centre) adds that Finland needs to participate in sustainability policies, and other countries’ pollution is not a reason to Finland or its citizens to look away from the problem:

”Että siitähän tässä on kysymys, että mun mielestä niinku se, että Kiina tai Intia tai muu päästelee hiilipäästöjä taivaalle mielin määrin, niin se ei ole suinkaan peruste suomalaiselle yksittäiselle kuluttajalle tai Suomelle edes maana sikailta ihan miten haluaa, vaan meidänkin täytyy näyttää esimerkkiä.”²²

Haapalehto (NCP) also sees that responsibility must be shared globally, especially in perspective of climate change:

”Ilmastonmuutos on globaali haaste ja sen selättäminen on ensisijaisesti globaali, pitää ratkaista globaalilla tasolla, eli kaikkien maapallon ihmisten kesken.”²³

Some of the parties saw that European Union has also responsibility for sustainability policies. Jaakkola (Left) claims that European Union’s responsibility is to create regulation that oblige member states.

Haapalehto (NCP) claims that individuals’ responsibility has important role in sustainability policies:

”Kyllä yhtä lailla myös jokaisella yksilöllä, sivistyneellä yksilöllä on oma vastuunsa ja roolinsa siinä, että me pystytään luomaan kestävämpi elinympäristö sitten, jotta koko maapallon kestävyys myöskin ratkaistaan.”²⁴ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Siika-aho (Centre) joins this viewpoint by explaining:

”Me katsomme, että kaikki lähtee itsestä aina, siitä itsekasvatuksen ja itseymmärryksen ajatuksista. Siitä, että jokaisella meillä on vastuu lähiympäristöstämme sekä henkisestä,

²¹ As small Finland, as a small northern country, we cannot bear the sorrows of the world. Therefore, of course, because we, as small national economy, still have to think about our own future, and thus it requires that the decisions are regional, i.e. at least European-wide, but also global in the bigger picture. (Siika-aho, Centre)

²² That’s what’s at issue here, that in my opinion, the fact that China or India or others are releasing carbon emissions into the atmosphere as much as they want, is by no means a reason for the individual Finnish consumer or Finland, even as a country, to do whatever they want, but we too have to set an example. (Siika-aho, Centre)

²³ Climate change is global challenge and solving it is primarily global, it has to be solved on a global level, i.e. among all the people on earth. (Haapalehto, NCP)

²⁴ Yes, equally, every individual, civilized individual has their own responsibility and role in that we are able to create a more sustainable living environment, so that the sustainability of the entire earth is also solved. (Haapalehto, NCP)

että materiaalisesta ja siitä, että me - - toimimme niin, että emme aiheuta enemmän hallaa kuin mitä välttämätöntä on.”²⁵ (Siika-aho, Centre)

He continues by stating that:

“Kyllä me - - yksilön vastuuta korostamme. Mutta sitten samalla, että kyllähän - - semmoisen ison kuvan ja suunnanmuutokset tapahtuu politiikan keinoin ja siksi - - tarvitaan poliittisia puolueita kuten Keskustaa, jotta - - tämä muutos olisi oikeudenmukaista.”²⁶ (Siika-aho, Centre)

It seems that when it comes to sustainability policies, responsibilities are to be distributed evenly, so that no one must bear an unreasonably heavy burden. Another point of view to the discussion of responsibility is, how much can sustainability policies limit individual's life?

Interviewees had similar viewpoints to the fact that everyone needs to participate to achieve sustainability. However, when it came to the question of individual's freedom, differences could be found.

Siika-aho from Centre Party states that his party sees that all policy actions somehow limit but also enable one's freedom:

“Aika aikansa kutakin vaatii ratkaisunsa, että kyllähän meillä kaikki lait, verotus, yleiset käytännöt on ihmisten vapauden jossakin määrin rajoittamista ja samalla se on myös niiden vapauksien mahdollistamista.”²⁷ (Siika-aho, Centre)

Jaakkola (Left) approaches the question through the differences of left-wing and right-wing:

“No siinä on vähän kyse kanssa oikeistolaisesta ja vasemmistolaisen vapauskäsitteen eroista. Eli oikeistolainen usein lähtee siitä, että vapaus on vapaus kuluttaa ja vapaus omistaa, siinä missä vasemmistolainen lähtee siitä, että kyllä se on vapaus olla, oikeus elää hyvää elämää, voida hyvin ja ikään kuin turvata se hyvä elämä muille ihmisille ja syntymättömille polville.”²⁸ (Jaakkola, Left)

²⁵ We consider that everything always starts from the self, from the thoughts of self-education and self-understanding. That each of us has a responsibility for our immediate environment, both spiritual and material, and that we - - act in such a way that we do not cause more frost than is necessary. (Siika-aho, Centre)

²⁶ Yes, we - - emphasize individual responsibility. But then at the same time, yes - - changes of such a big picture and direction take place through political means and therefore - - political parties like the Center are needed so that - - this change would be fair. (Siika-aho, Centre)

²⁷ From time to time, everyone requires their own solution, because yes, all our laws, taxation, general practices are to some extent limiting people's freedom and at the same time it is also enabling their freedoms. (Siika-aho, Centre)

²⁸ Well, it is also a bit about the differences between right-wing and left-wing conceptions of freedom. In the other words, a right-winger often assumes that freedom is the freedom to spend and the freedom to own, while a leftist assumes that yes, it is freedom to be, right to live a good life, to be well and, as it were, to secure that good life for other people and unborn generations (Jaakkola, Left)

However, Haapalehto, representing the right-wing National Coalition Party, did not mention the economic freedom in his answers. Instead, he states that freedom should be limited only if necessary, continuing his thought by questioning, what are the boundaries of necessity.

6.3. Sustainability's Dimensions

All dimensions of sustainability are equally important. Interviewees saw, as it is also argued in the literature, that these dimensions are not easy to separate from each other. Actions towards promoting one of the sustainability's dimensions affects to other dimensions. For example, Näkkäljärvi (SDP) argued that in his party, sustainability's dimensions are understood as an equal entity:

"Meillä on aika pitkään puolueessa puhuttu näistä nimenomaan tasavertaisina asioina ja nimenomaan yhdessä."²⁹ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Siika-aho (Centre Party) shared this vision:

"Ei näitä voi arvottaa sillä tavalla niin kuin *rankingiin*, vaan kyllä nää kaikki toisiinsa lomiintuu."³⁰ (Siika-aho, Centre)

While interviewees recognized that sustainability's dimensions are strongly related to each other, they separated them from each other in their own rhetoric. Most notable confrontation was between economic and environmental dimensions in a perspective that they might have negative impact on each other. For example, Luoma-Aho (CDP) argued that when going to the actions that sustainability's dimensions are promoted with and practiced, some disharmony might appear:

"Joskus kestävyiden osa-alueet sotii toisiaan vastaan ja sitten on myös tilanteita, joissa, jos me säädetään jostakin kestävyystavoitteesta maanosan laajuisella, tai varsinkin ei tavoitteesta vaan toimenpiteestä maanosan laajuisella tasolla, niin se ei välttämättä, se saattaa olla, että - - jossakin seudulla se on hyvä, mutta toisaalla saattaa olla, että se kääntyy täysin jopa itseään vastaan."³¹ (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

This refers to the European Union level rather than the national. In a national level, the conflict between dimensions can also be seen, as Haapalehto (NCP) puts it:

²⁹ For quite a long time, we in the party have talked about these specifically as equal issues and specifically together. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

³⁰ You cannot value these by ranking, but these all are intertwined. (Siika-aho, Centre)

³¹ Sometimes the dimensions of sustainability fight against each other, and then there are also situations where, if we regulate a continent-wide sustainability goal, or especially not a goal but a measure on a continent-wide level, then it might not necessarily, it might be that - - in some region it is good, but at other region it may turn completely against itself. (Luoma-aho, CDP)

“Lyhyellä aikavälillä on aika lailla kiistatonta, että hyvinvointia on kasvatettu ja taloudellisen kestävyden astetta on vahvistettu toimilla, jotka on heikentäneet ympäristökestävyyttä.”³² (Haapalehto, NCP)

In addition to the tools that sustainability is promoted, also the timeframe affects to the outcomes. Sustainable development is a long-term goal, even though if reflected to the Agenda 2030 the target year is getting closer.

Next, I will discuss sustainability's dimensions, one by one, starting of economic sustainability, moving into social sustainability, and concluding the chapter with discussing environmental sustainability. Because sustainability's dimensions are not easily separated, as just argued above, interlinkages are seen in up-coming sub-chapters.

6.3.1. Economic Sustainability

One interesting question is, how does parties understand economic sustainability, and what it takes for economic to be sustainable? Haapalehto (NCP) states that economic sustainability is very important, and it is highlighted in their party's politics. What comes to the measures of economy being sustainable, Haapalehto (NCP) states that it is sustainable when incomes and expenditures are in balance. He also sees that economic sustainability is acutely threatened. What I think he refers with this is the increase in the total amount of debt taken on by the Finnish government. Luoma-aho (Christian Democratic Party) also worries about the debt that Finnish government have, but also, as he puts it:

“...tavallaan semmoinen yli varojen eläminen.”³³ (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

This refers to the over-spending, both with economic and environmental resources, which is one of the significant issues relating to sustainable development.

As well, Siika-aho (Centre Party) points out, that in daily politics economic sustainability might be referred to debt reduction in rhetoric:

“Sitten päivänpolitiikassa taloudellinen kestävyys voi hyvinkin helposti olla retoriikassa velan taittamista ja kestävyttä sen kannalta, että valtio ei velkaannu liikaa.”³⁴ (Siika-aho, Centre)

³² In the short term, it is pretty much undeniable that well-being has been increased and the degree of economic sustainability has been strengthened by actions that have weakened environmental sustainability. (Haapalehto, NCP)

³³ ...in a way, living beyond one's means. (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

³⁴ Then in daily politics, economic sustainability can very easily be debt reduction and sustainability in rhetoric, in terms of the state not getting into too much debt...” (Siika-aho, Centre)

To ground this viewpoint little bit more, Finland's debt in relation to its gross domestic product (GDP) was 55,4 percent in the end of 2023 (State Treasury 2024) which is significant share of governmental economy.

Luoma-Aho (Christian Democratic Party) approaches his party's worry about debt and income transfer also on European level:

"Vaikkapa nyt - - no kriittinen suhtautuminen Euroopan unionin kehittämiseen kohti tämmöistä - - yhä laajempaa tulonsiirto, niin sanottua tulonsiirtounionia ja tavallaan semmoinen Suomen kansallisen - - edun puolustaminen sitten tällaisessa - - eurooppalaisessa kontekstissa..."³⁵ (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

However, Siika-aho (Centre Party) makes a note about the European Union subsidies in a more positive tone:

"Hyvä esimerkki tästä on tämä vihreä siirtymä, joka on - - EU:n iso ja tärkein tavoite yli vuosikymmenille, niin jotta se toimii, niin se edellyttää sitä ja tulee edellyttämään kiihtyvissä määrin sitä, että on myös yleiseurooppalaisia tukimekanismeja, joita Suomen kaltaiset ratkaisija-asemassa olevat maat voi hyödyntää, jotta onnistumme koko Euroopan mittatasolla tavoitteet saavuttamaan."³⁶ (Siika-aho, Centre)

What comes to the ways NCP is ready to use in order to achieve economic sustainability, Haapalehto (NCP) says that:

"...meillä on valmius tehdä mitä tahansa julkiseen talouteen vaikuttavia toimia sen vahvistamiseksi ja sen taloudellisen kestävyuden vahvistamiseksi."³⁷ (Haapalehto, NCP)

However, Haapalehto (NCP) excludes questions related to the safety from the "any actions". As a most important tool that NCP provides is:

"Ehkä se tärkein keino - - käytännön tasolle vietyä - - valmius toteuttaa julkiseen talouteen säästöjä kautta linjan - - valmius myös korottaa veroja siltä osin, kun se on välttämätöntä siihen tavoitteeseen pääsemiseksi. Toki tietysti me nähdään, että - - yksilön vapautta pitäisi rajoittaa mahdollisimman vähän ja - - varsinkin tämmöiset yksilöön kohdistuvat, työn verotus, niin on - - vahva rajoitus siihen. - - kuten todettu, niin taloudellinen kestävyys on meille siinä määrin tärkeää, että me voidaan tämmöinen yksilönvapauteen liittyvä rajoitustoimenpide tehdä kuin verottaa, ja jopa joltain osin

³⁵ Even now - - well, the critical attitude towards the development of the European Union towards these - - ever wider income transfers, the so-called income transfer union and in a way the same defense of Finland's national - - interest in this kind of - - European context..." (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

³⁶ A good example of this is this green transition, which has been - - the EU's big and most important goal for more than decades, so in order for it to work, it requires and will increasingly require that there are pan-European support mechanisms, so that countries in the position of solving, such as Finland can be utilized so that we succeed in achieving the goals on a European scale. (Siika-aho, Centre)

³⁷ ...we are ready to take any actions affecting the public economy in order to strengthen it and strengthen its financial sustainability. (Haapalehto, NCP)

koventaakin sitä verotusta, jos se on jo taloudellisen kestävyuden kannalta sitten välttämätöntä.”³⁸ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Siika-aho (Centre Party) takes another approach to defining economic sustainability:

“Kyllähän se ennen kaikkea on kytkeytynyt siihen ympäristölliseen kestävyuteen. Ne ei voi olla, ne ei ole kaksi erillistä asiaa, vaan ne on - - kahleilla kiinni toisissaan. Meille se taloudellinen kestävyys on noita äsken mainittuja tuota rikkaiden, uusiutuvien luonnonvarojen käyttöä, siitä kumpuavaa kokonaista teollisuuden - - eetosta, tuotannon eetosta, jota kautta sitten kumpuaa se yhteiskunnan - - hyvinvointiyhteiskunnan ylläpitäminen.”³⁹ (Siika-aho, Centre)

It seems that Siika-aho (Centre) refers to the renewable natural resources as a base for economic activity and therefore he links economic sustainability close to environmental sustainability. Jaakkola (Left) joins this point of view by stating:

“Jos me ei järjestetä meidän taloutta oikein, niin me ei saada hyvinvointia ihmisille eikä myöskään saada turvattua sitä, että - - luonto selviää turmelemattomana, ei että ilmastonmuutos ei karkaa käsistä.”⁴⁰ (Jaakkola, Left)

Both Siika-aho’s (Centre) and Jaakkola’s (Left) viewpoints seems to implement that economic sustainability is a way to ensure that society has ability to practice environmental sustainability.

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) sees that economic sustainability for SDP is based on securing the financial base of the welfare state.

“Me halutaan, että ihmisellä on tasavertaiset mahdollisuudet elämään - - hyvä yhteiskunta on sellainen, jossa ihmisillä on mahdollisuus menestyä, mutta myös epäonnistua ja saada uusi mahdollisuus. - - Ja kenestä vaan - - pitäisi voida tulla mitä

³⁸ Perhaps the most important means - - when taken to a practical level - - readiness to implement savings in the public economy across the board - - readiness to also increase taxes to the extent that it is necessary to reach that goal. Of course, we see that - - the individual’s freedom should be limited as little as possible and - - especially those that are aimed at the individual, the taxation of work, so there is - - a strong restriction on that. - - as stated, economic sustainability is important to us to such an extent that we can do such a restrictive measure related to individual freedom rather than taxation, and even to some extent make that taxation tougher, if it is already necessary from the point of view of economic sustainability. (Haapalehto, NCP)

³⁹ After all, it is primarily connected to environmental sustainability. They cannot be, they are not two separate things, but they are - - chained to each other. For us, that economic sustainability is those just mentioned, that use of rich, renewable natural resources, the whole ethos of industry, the ethos of production that springs from it, through which it then springs the maintenance of society - - a welfare society. (Siika-aho, Centre)

⁴⁰ If we do not organize our economy correctly, then we won’t get well-being for people, nor will we get to ensure that - - nature will survive unspoiled, not that climate change won’t get out of hand. (Jaakkola, Left)

tahansa, niin kyllä se lähtee siitä, että meillä pitää olla nää - - yhteiskunnan tärkeät palvelut kunnossa.”⁴¹

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) sees that taxation plays an important role in guaranteeing economic sustainability:

”Ollaan pidetty tärkeänä sitä, että esimerkiksi veropohjaa ei lähdetä rapauttamaan, että veropohja tai Suomen - - verotusjärjestelmä kuitenkin on se mikä meistä tehnyt pohjoismaisen hyvinvointivaltion on se, että meillä on kuitenkin suhteellisen kattava tää veropohja ja kaikki osallistuu näiden palveluiden ja muun rahoittamiseen.”⁴²

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) also recognize employment measures, productivity measures, and expenditure adjustments as ways to maintain financial base of welfare state.

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) claims that fair transition, which includes transition from unsustainable practices to the more sustainable ones, is important to consider economically and socially, in order to promote environmental sustainability. He gives an example of this:

”Eli kyllä se oikeudenmukainen siirtymä on - - tätä tässä mielessä hyvin tärkeää, että ei voi lätkäistä vain jotain lihaveroa ja sitten - - todetaan, että tältä pohjalta eteenpäin, vaan jos jotakin vaikka verotuksellisia muutoksia tehdään, niin sitten ne pitää tehdä - - hallitusti. Sitten samalla katsoa, että aiheuttaako se tarvetta vaikka kompensoida pienituloisille jotenkin asiaa.” (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)⁴³

Another example from Näkkäljärvi (SDP) relates to economic responsibility of society towards consumers and producers so that fair transition is possible:

”Oikeudenmukaisen siirtymän ajatuksessa, että pitää sitten - - jos jotain tällaista, vaikka ekologiseen kestävyteen liittyvää vastuuta ja sääntelyä lisätään, niin sitten jollain tavalla pitäisi pyrkiä kompensoimaan sitä ja mahdollistaa se. - - Mutta jotta se oikeudenmukainen siirtymä voidaan turvata sekä kuluttajille että tuottajille, niin kyllä siinä varmaan on näin, että siinä - - se yhteiskunnalla laaja.”⁴⁴ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁴¹ We want that people have equal opportunities in life - - a good society is one where people have the opportunity to succeed, but also to fail and get a new chance. - - And anyone - - should be able to become anything, so it starts from the fact that we have to have these - - important services of society in order. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁴² It has been considered important that, for example, the tax base is not eroded, that the tax base or Finland’s - - taxation system is what made us a Nordic welfare state is that we have relatively comprehensive tax base and everything contributes to the financing of these services and other. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁴³ So, yes, the fair transition is - - this is very important in this sense, that you can’t just slap on some meat tax and then - - let’s say that moving forward on this basis, but if some fiscal changes are made, then they have to be done - - in a controlled way. Then, at the same time, see if it creates a need to somehow compensate low-income earners. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁴⁴ In the idea of a fair transition, then - - if something like this, for example, responsibility and regulation related to ecological sustainability is increased, then in some way we should try to compensate for it and make it possible. - - But in order to ensure a fair transition for both consumers and producers, it must be like this, that it - - is widespread in society.” (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Research and innovation are strongly related to both promoting economic and environmental sustainability. Jaakkola (Left) supports this by stating:

“Se, että vahvemmin valtio pistäis rahat kiinni sellaiseen teollisuuteen ja sellaiseen tutkimukseen, mikä edesauttaa tätä vihreää siirtymää, mutta ei se todellakaan oo vaan alas ajamista, että siis toki me myös - - me ylikulutetaan, että meidän täytyy löytää ja siirtyä elämäntapaan, mikä kuluttaa vähemmän, mutta se ei tarkoita sitä, että me vaan - - ollaan taloudellisesti toimettomia, vaan että siirrytään uudenlaisiin, että me luodaan uutta työtä, kehitetään uutta taloudellista toiminnallisuutta Suomeen.”⁴⁵ (Jaakkola, Left)

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) sees that society via taxpayers, must have a role on providing climate policies in food system, but also producers need to participate even though their responsibilities as a payer should not be unreasonable.

SDP sees that the financial burden should be shared fairly with generations:

“Taloudellisesti kestävä politiikka on sellaista, missä ei - - tavallaan taloudellinen rasite asioista ei - - liikaa lankea jonkun yhden sukupolven kannettavaksi, vaan taloudellisen kestävyuden ajatukseen kuuluisi myös tietynlainen ajatus semmoisesta sukupolvisopimuksesta, jossa eri sukupolvet saavat yhteiskunnalta asioita, eri sukupolvet maksavat ja ne on - - jo jossain määrin edes oikeudenmukaisessa suhteessa.”⁴⁶ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Näkkäljärvi also claims that this intergenerational justice relates to environmental sustainability as well through viable planet Earth.

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) also concerns about the polarization of society, and the importance of togetherness:

“Puolueessa paljon siitä puhutaan, hieno ajatus siitä, että mahdollisimman monella ihmisellä olisi yhteiskunnassa sellainen samassa veneessä olemisen kokemus ja sellainen kokemus, että yhteiskuntaa, ei niin kun kansaa haeta kahtia, niin kyllä taloudellisen kestävyuden ajatus liittyy myös vähän tähän, että täytyy turvata se, että mahdollisimman monella ihmisellä olisi semmoinen kokemus, että - - osallistutaan yhteiskunnan rakentamiseen - - omalla panoksella ja myös sitten saa jotakin.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The fact that the state would put more money into the kind of industry and the kind of research that helps this green transition but it's really not just driving down, so of course we also - - we overspend, so we need to find and move to a lifestyle that consumes less, but that doesn't mean that we just - - are economically inactive, but that we move to a new kind, that we create new work, develop new economic functionality in Finland. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁴⁶ An economically sustainable policy is one where - - in a way, the financial burden of things does not - - fall too much on one generation, but the idea of economic sustainability would also include a certain kind of idea of a generational agreement, where different generations receive things from society, different generations pay, and they are - - already to some extent even in a fair relationship. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁴⁷ There is a lot of talk about it in the party, the great idea that as many people as possible in society should have the experience of being in the same boat and such an experience that society, not like when you try to divide the nation, yes, the idea of economic sustainability is also a little related to this, that you have to secure it, that as many people as possible have the same experience, that - - we participate in building society - - with our own contribution and also then get something back. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

It is clear that economic sustainability affects to societies, businesses and individuals. Who then should pay for sustainability policies? There was a mutual understanding between right-wing party NCP and Left Alliance's representative of who should pay.

"Oleellista on se, että saastuttamisen pitäisi myös näkyä siinä, että sen ei pidä olla ilmaista, että jos yritys tuottaa paljon päästöjä, niin se täytyy myös nähdä siinä, että se on kallista."⁴⁸ (Jaakkola, Left)

"Niin, kenellä on vastuu maksaa niistä kestävyystoimenpiteistä? No siis niillä, jotka - - aiheuttaa sen haitan ja särön siihen kestävyYTEEN, että siellä on se ensisijainen vastuu. Mutta siis lopultahan se palautuu sitten jokaisen meistä vastuuseen huolehtia, että - - jokaisella on vastuu maapallon kestävyYdestä - - ja sieltä on johdettavissa se - - yhteiskunnallinen vastuu varmistaa, että se tapahtuu oikeudenmukaisella tavalla."⁴⁹ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Sustainable development calls for changing our economy for consuming and using natural resources to the more sustainable direction. One considerable choice is circular economy. Interviewees characterized circular economy as a useful tool. Luoma-Aho (CDP) thinks that circular economy might not be the most central theme for their party, but all in all the attitude towards circular economy is very positive. For some of the interviewed party representatives, circular economy seemed to be central even in the longer term. Siika-aho (Centre) states that circular economy is an important goal to Centre Party:

"Meillähän - - kaikissa ilmasto- ja ympäristöpolitiikan ja talouspolitiikan linjauksissa, niin kiertotalous kumpuaa siellä esille. Että, se on olennainen osa puolueen retoriikkaa ja kun puhumme biotaloudesta niin puhumme aina bio- ja kiertotaloudesta. Ja mitä se kiertotalous käytännössä on, niin se pohjautuu siihen - - että emme holtittomasti käytä uusiutuvia luonnonvaroja vaan pyrimme siihen, että niistä muodostuu ketju, niiden käytöstä muodostuu ketjuja - - sehän on kiertotaloutta, että sä pystyt sivuvirroista valmistamaan tuotteita tai energiaa tai muuta."⁵⁰ (Siika-aho, Centre)

⁴⁸ It is essential that pollution should also be reflected in the fact that it should not be free, that if a company produces a lot of emissions, it must also be seen in the fact that it is expensive. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁴⁹ So, who is responsible for paying for those sustainability measures? Well, those who - - cause that inconvenience and distortion to the sustainability, there is the primary responsibility. But in the end, it comes back to the responsibility of each of us to ensure that - - everyone has responsibility for the sustainability of the Earth - - and from there it can be derived - - social responsibility to ensure that it happens in a fair way."

⁵⁰ We have - - in all our climate and environmental policies and economic policies, the circular economy emerges there. That is an essential part of the party's rhetoric and when we talk about the bioeconomy, we always talk about the bioeconomy and the circular economy. And what the circular economy is in practice, it is based on - - that we do not recklessly use renewable natural resources, but strive for them to form a chain, their use forms chains - - it is a circular economy that you can use side streams to make products or energy or other." (Siika-aho, Centre)

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) sees that circular economy has a partial role in politics, and it could be promoted. However, he claims that it cannot be only solution, but we also need to decrease consumption in a global level:

"Kyllä sillä - - tietty rooli on ja mitä pidemmälle voidaan tätä [kiertotaloutta] edistää, että asioita pystyy uudelleen käyttämään, vaikka eri muodoissa ja näin, niin kyllä sillä joku rooli on. Mutta kyllä mie olen siinä käsityksessä, että pelkällä kiertotaloudella tämä ei hoidu, vaan pitää myös - - pyrkiä ylipäätään vähentämään kulutusta globaalisti, että ylipäätään kuluttaminen ja muu päästöjä aiheuttava toiminta, niin sitä pitää pystyä globaalisti vähentämään ja kiertotalous on varmaan - - täydentävä osa sitten tätä."⁵¹
(Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Haapalehto (NCP) also recognizes circular economy as long-term policy goal of National Coalition Party:

"Kiertotalous on semmoinen ollut semmoinen hyvin pitkän linjan, kokoomuksen ajattelun ydintä. - - Kiertotalous on sellainen - - konkretiaan viety sovellus tästä ajatuksesta sikäli, että - - erilaiset - - materiaalivirrat kuormittaa ympäristöä, niin - - ne on - - ikään kuin välttämätöntä saada, saada kiertämään - - ja tavallaan siis sitä kautta, kun meidän käyttämät materiaalit tai päästöt esimerkiksi kiertää täysin yhteiskunnassa sellaisinaan, niin silloinhan me ollaan saavutettu kestävä, ympäristökestävä yhteiskunta, kun ne [materiaalit] täysin kiertää."⁵² (Haapalehto, NCP)

Jaakkola (Left) approaches circular economy from a perspective of commodity:

"Korjaamisen ja kierrättämisen pitäisi olla paljon edullisempaa. Sitä pitäisi tukea ja vastaavasti sen pitäisi olla kallista olla kierrättämättä. - Tuotteet pitäisi olla kestävämpiä ja sitä varten me voidaan kehittää niin kansallisesti kuin EU:n tasolla - - laatustandardeja - - mutta just se, että se ei ole pelkästään kuluttajan tasolla, vaan se on laajemmin koko yhteiskunnan tasolla ja myös siellä tuotantopuolella, että sielläkin kierrätetään ja satsataan esimerkiksi tutkimukseen mikä - - kehittää enemmän sellaisia menetelmiä, millä me voidaan hyödyntää jo - - olemassa olevia materiaaleja."⁵³

⁵¹ Yes, it - - has a certain role and further this [circular economy] can be promoted, that things can be reused, even in different forms and such, then yes it has a role. But yes, I believe this cannot be done with the circular economy alone, but also - - strive to reduce consumption globally, that in general, consumption and other activities that cause emissions, then it must be able to be reduced globally, and the circular economy is probably - - a complementary part of this. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁵² The circular economy has always been the very core of the long-term thinking of the National Coalition Party - - The circular economy is such a - - concrete application of this idea that - - different - - material flows burden the environment, so - - they are - - as if it is necessary to get, to circulate - - and in a way, therefore, when the materials we use or emissions, for example, are completely circulated in society as they are, then we have achieved a sustainable society when they [materials] are completely circulated. (Haapalehto, NCP)

⁵³ Repairing and recycling should be much cheaper. It should be subsidized and correspondingly it should be expensive not to recycle. - - The products should be more sustainable, and for that we can develop both nationally and at the EU level - - quality standards - - but precisely the fact that it is not only at the level of society as a whole and also there on the production side, that there is also recycling and let's invest for, example, in research which - - develops more methods that allow us to utilize already - - existing materials. (Jaakkola, Left).

In conclusion to economic sustainability, party representatives that participated in the interviews considered its complexity in a way that shows its significance to the societies and individuals. Leading thought in each interview was that it is important that transition towards more sustainable ways to act, is fair for everyone and that economic burden is shared.

6.3.2. Social Sustainability

Social sustainability concerns with themes such as equality, democracy and general well-being of people and communities. In addition, it includes social issues that need to be addressed. In the interviews, social acceptance was raised as one significant theme. These relates to the fair transition that was already discussed in the previous chapter.

Jaakkola (Left) relates social sustainability strongly to equality:

“Sosiaalinen kestävyys vaatii - - just sitä, että - - huolimatta siitä, että tuletko rikkaasta vai köyhästä perheestä, niin - - sulla on mahdollisuus - - terveydenhuoltoon, mahdollisuus koulutukseen, mahdollisuus toimeentuloon ja hyvään elämään.” (Jaakkola, Left)⁵⁴

Sikka-aho (Centre) refers to something similar, when he claims:

“Suomen kaltaisessa hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa, jotta ihmiset olisivat, kokisivat - - saavansa yhteiskunnalta yhdenvertaisesti asuinpaikasta riippumatta, niin sosiaalinen kestävyys on siksi välttämätöntä, jotta pystymme maana talsimaan samaa matkaa isommassa kuvassa kestäväen kehityksen saralla.”⁵⁵ (Siika-aho, Centre)

The difference between Jaakkola’s (Left) and Siika-aho’s (Centre) statements is that Siika-aho (Centre) highlights equality between people living in different regions, while Jaakkola (Left) highlights equality between people with different financial situations.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter that discusses parties’ values, one of the National Coalition Party’s values is democracy, which they relate to social sustainability. Haapalehto (NCP) sees that democracy and plural party system helps to promote social sustainability:

“Kokoomus näkee demokraattisen järjestelmän, joka elää - - jatkuvan kansaa kuuntelevan ja kansalaisyhteiskuntaa huomioivan - - yhteiskunnan ympärille, jossa - -

⁵⁴ Social sustainability requires - - precisely that - - regardless of whether you come from a rich or poor family - - you have a chance - - for health care, a chance for education, a chance for livelihood and a good life. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁵⁵ In a welfare society like Finland, in order for people to be, to feel - - that they receive equally from society regardless of where they live, social sustainability is therefore necessary so that we as a country can take the same journey in the bigger picture in the field of sustainable development. (Siika-aho, Centre)

mahdollisimman laajalla, mieluiten siis jokaisella on mahdollisuus osallistua päätöksentekoon ja - - saada oma äänensä kuuluviin - - osana sitä päätöksentekoa ja se on tietysti just sen - - sosiaalisen kestävyuden ytimessä, että - - jokainen kokee olevansa - - mahdollisimman vahvaa osallisuutta Suomessa.”⁵⁶ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) concerns about several different social problems that Finland faces and needs to solve:

“Yksi tärkeä toimi - - mitä ajetaan ja mihin pitää aktiivisesti Suomessa etsiä ratkaisua on - - tämmöinen oppimis- ja osaamiseröjen kaventaminen - - Sosiaalisista ongelmista tietysti se - - että eriarvoisuuden kaventaminen ylipäätään, josta tullaan sitten myös siihen taloudelliseen eriarvoisuuteen. - - Meillä on tota myös työntekijöitä, jotka tekee pienipalkkaisia töitä, jotka tuota niin eivät omalla työllään tule toimeen. Se on ihan minusta merkittävä sosiaalinen ongelma, koska emme halua myöskään semmoista yhteiskuntaa, jossa ihmiset joutuu tekemään monta työtä, että saavat - - edes elinkustannukset maksettua. - - Sitten on myös ikäihmisten köyhyyttä. - - Tietysti puhutaan aika paljon tästä nuorten syrjäytymisestä ihan yleisesti ilmiönä.” (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)⁵⁷

This winding and long list of various social problems shows that in order to achieve social sustainability, the most diverse questions must be answered, which in Näkkäljärvi’s (SDP) list are united by the promotion of equality in society.

Näkkäljärvi (SDP) also raises a concern about climate refugees:

“Säännöllisin väliajoin nousee sekin näkökulma keskusteluun, että meillä on ilmastopakolaisuutta, että ihmisiä menettää tai jo menettänyt ja muuttaa pois kodeistaan. - - Kaikenlaista pakolaisuutta pitäisi hillitä ja sitten tämä - - ilmastopakolaisuus, paremman elämän etsiminen sen takia, että omat elinolosuhteet käyvät mahdottomiksi, niin se on - - yks ulottuvuus.”⁵⁸ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Luoma-Aho (CDP) also lists many different themes that his party relates to social sustainability, such as perspective of health care, social and health reform, social

⁵⁶ National Coalition Party sees a democratic system that lives - - constantly listens to the people and takes civil society into account - - around a society where - - as widely as possible, preferably everyone has the opportunity to participate in decision-making and - - have their voice heard - - as part of that decision-making and that is of course precisely at the core of - - social sustainability, that - - everyone feels that they are - - as strongly included as possible in Finland. (Haapalehto, NCP)

⁵⁷ One important action, that is being driven and for which answers need to be actively sought is - - the narrowing of learning and skills gaps. - - Of social problems, of course - - that narrowing of inequality in general, which then also leads to economic equality. - - We also have employees who do low-paid jobs, who can’t get by with their own work. It’s significant social problem in my opinion, because we also don’t want a society like that, where people have to have multiple jobs to get - - even the cost of living paid. Then there is also the poverty of the elderly. - - Of course, there is quite a lot of talk about this exclusion of young people as a phenomenon in general. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁵⁸ Periodically, the perspective that we have climate refugees, that people are losing or have already lost and moved out their homes, also comes up in the discussion. - - All kinds of refugees should be mitigated and then this - - climate refugees, the search for better life because one’s own living conditions become impossible, that is - - one dimension. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

security reform, substance abuse policy, and housekeeping care support. He states that social sustainability highlights in his party's policies as concerns of these topics.

In a perspective of food system, Jaakkola (Left) claims that with financial support, it is possible to social acceptance of sustainable food policy. He also claims that it matters which kind of food production belongs under the subsidies system:

*"Tuetaan tällä hetkellä esimerkiksi eläinperäistä maataloutta tosi vahvasti, enkä mä lähtisi niitä kaikkia tukia lakkauttamaan mutta mä sanoisin, että meidän pitäisi suunnata niitä tukia enemmän esimerkiksi kasvipäraseen tuotantoon."*⁵⁹ (Jaakkola, Left)

Security of maintenance was raised as a measure of social sustainability in some of the interviews. Jaakkola (Left) sees that farmers and agriculture in general has value on this matter:

*"Se, että ei pelkästään kielletä ja oteta pois viljelijöiltä, vaan myös tuodaan - - tilalle toimivia ratkaisuja ja sisäistetään se, mikä - - usein täällä kehä kolmosen sisäpuolella unohtuu, että - - Suomelle on äärimmäisen tärkeää pitää huolta huoltovarmuudesta. Se, että meillä on maataloutta, on ihan kohtalonkysymys Suomelle."*⁶⁰ (Jaakkola, Left)

With a spirit of decentralization, Siika-aho (Centre) raises a question of regional policy in the discussion:

*"Terve aluepolitiikkahan on tämän sosiaalisen kestävyuden keskeinen elementti. Johtuen jo ihan siitä, että uusiutuvat luonnonvarat, se ympäristöllinen kestävyys on, tapahtuu viime kädessä alueella, missä luonnonvarat sijaitsee. Siksi on - - tärkeätä, että eri puolella Suomea asuu ihmisiä. - - Viime vuosien kriisit on ehkä osoittaneet sen, että sosiaalinen kestävyys on yhtä kuin alueellinen kestävyys."*⁶¹ (Siika-aho, Centre)

Regional policies were raised also by Jaakkola (Left) as a one way to promote social sustainability:

*"Meidän hyvinvointivaltiota huolehtiminen on tässä - - tosi avain asemassa. Se, että me huolehditään, että me ei päästetä alueita eriytymään, se että Suomessa voi kaikkialla asua ja että peruspalvelut on saatavissa - - ihmisillä."*⁶² (Jaakkola, Left)

⁵⁹ At the moment, for example, animal-based agriculture is supported very strongly, and I wouldn't go and abolish all those subsidies, but I would say that we should direct more of those subsidies to, for example, plant-based production. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁶⁰ The fact that it is not only forbidden and taken away from the farmers, but also brought - - solutions that work instead and internalized, which - - is often forgotten here inside the circle of three, that - - it is extremely important for Finland to take care of security of supply. The fact that we have agriculture is a matter of destiny for Finland. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁶¹ A sound regional policy is a key element of this social sustainability. Due to the very fact that renewable natural resources, that is environmental sustainability, ultimately takes place in the area where the natural resources are located. That is why it is - - important that people live in different parts of Finland. - - The crises of recent years perhaps shown that social sustainability is equal to regional sustainability. (Siika-aho, Centre)

⁶² Taking care of our welfare state is really key here. The fact that we take care that we don't allow regions to separate, that you can live everywhere in Finland and that basic services are available to - - people. (Jaakkola, Left)

It is interesting that Siika-aho (Centre Party) refers to the “*crises of recent years*” which, I believe, is related to Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion in Ukraine. Jaakkola (Left Alliance) also mentions the war in Ukraine, when talking about social sustainability and more in detail, about affordability of food.

Haapalehto (NCP) sees that food production is part of social sustainability:

“...ruoantuotanto on oikeastaan myös osa siis tätä sosiaalista kestävyyttä ja niin kiinteällä tavalla oikeastaan, että - - se paine siihen - - ympäristökestävyyteen jää selvästi - - vähäisemmäksi kuin muilla sektoreilla, että se näkyy siinä että - - maatalouteen liittyvät - - toimenpiteet, joita - - toteutetaan, on - - selvästi ainakin päästövähennykseltään maltillisempia kuin - - muille sektoreille toteutettavat...”⁶³ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Näkkäläjäarvi (SDP) gave a thought to food production in perspective of environmental and social sustainability. He claimed that while environmental sustainability is considered, ethical production must also be considered in order to maintain social acceptance:

“Kyllä sitä [keskustelua] on käyty esimerkiksi siitä näkökulmasta, että ruoantuotannon vaikkapa, niin sen pitää olla ekologisesti kestävä, mutta sen pitää olla myös eettisesti kestävä, jotta tavallaan se saa semmoisen sosiaalisen hyväksynnän. - - Että kyllä aika paljon nykyään ihmiset varmaan miettii sitä ruoan tavallaan - - minkälaista ruokaa syö - - tän sosiaalisen hyväksynnän kautta - - osalle se on ihan periaatteellinen asia, että ei, ei syö vaikka liharuokaa ollenkaan.”⁶⁴ (Näkkäläjäarvi, SDP)

He also states that:

“Kyllä jonkun verran on sellaista - - tietysti puhuttu, että tavallaan sosiaalinen hyväksyntä ja ruoantuotanto - - meilläkin hyvin tiedetään, että näillä ruoantuottajilla on hyvin erilaisia - - taloudellisia tilanteita. - - Moni ruoantuottaja toimii, toimii sillä tavalla, että on aikamoisessa niukkuudessa, niin kyllä jollain tavalla pitäisi pystyä - - tukemaan.”⁶⁵ (Näkkäläjäarvi, SDP)

⁶³ ...food production is actually also a part of this social sustainability and in such a fixed way, actually, that - - the pressure on it - - environmental sustainability is clearly - - less than in other sectors, which is reflected in the fact that - - measures related to agriculture, which - - are implemented, are - - clearly more moderate, at least in terms of emission reduction, than - - those implemented for other sectors... (Haapalehto, NCP)

⁶⁴ Yes, that [discussion] has been held, for example, from the point of view that food production, for example, must be environmentally sustainable, but it must also be ethically sustainable, so that in a way it gets the same social acceptance. - - That yes, quite a lot nowadays people probably think about the food in a way - - what kind of food they eat - - through this social acceptance - - for some it is a matter of principle that no they do not eat meat at all. (Näkkäläjäarvi, SDP)

⁶⁵ Yes, there has been some - - of course it has been talked that, in a way, social acceptance and food production - - we also know very well that these food producers have very different - - financial situations - - Many food producers operate, operate in such a way that they are in quite a state of scarcity, so we should be able to - - support them in some way. (Näkkäläjäarvi, SDP)

Jaakkola (Left) also concerned of the social sustainability of environmental policies and in a way that social acceptance remains strong:

“Tosi oleellista on, että kaikki ilmastotoimet toteutetaan sosiaalisesti kestäväällä tavalla. -
- että me ei niin kun köyhdytetä ihmisiä ja me ei viedä työpaikkoja ilman, että me tarjotaan tilalle vaihtoehtoista toimeentuloa, että me tuetaan - - ihmisiä tässä mittavassa muutoksessa.”⁶⁶ (Jaakkola, Left)

Siika-aho's (Centre) thought about social sustainability's relationship with environmental sustainability and people's mental resources concludes well this chapter:

“Yhteiskunnallinenkin kestävyys ja pärjääminen edellyttää sitä, että ympäristöllisesti kehitys on kestävä ja jotta ihmisten henkiset voimavarat ja henkiset taidot voidaan valjastaa - - suomalaisen yhteiskunnan kehittämiseen.”⁶⁷ (Siika-aho, Centre)

If the society and its citizens do not have resilience to address the various changes that are needed, the change towards sustainable development is very difficult, if not impossible.

6.3.3. Environmental Sustainability

Environmental sustainability requires various activities to achieve. To address environmental sustainability, there is need for not only economic investments, but social changes that include change of attitudes. It is worth to remind that environmental sustainability does not only include adapting and mitigating to climate change, but also biodiversity loss and the ways that we use our natural resources.

Näkkäläjärvi (SDP) notes that environmental sustainability itself has many dimensions:

“...siinä on tää - - luonnon monimuotoisuus, joka on - - kasvavissa määrin - - ongelmaksi tunnistettu. - - Ja sitten on tietenkin tää - - ilmastonmuutokseen liittyvä ekologinen kestävyys. - - Nähdään, että siinä on paikallinen, alueellinen, kansallinen, kansainvälinen ulottuvuus ja sitten siinä puhutaan - - tietysti kaikista erilaisista luontoon ja ympäristöön liittyvistä asioista - -vaikkapa merien tilasta - - eläinlajeista - - ja jopa niin kun sukupuutosta. Tietysti puhutaan hyönteisistä, kasveista...”⁶⁸ (Näkkäläjärvi, SDP)

⁶⁶ It is really essential that all climate measures are implemented in a socially sustainable way. - - that we don't impoverish people and we will not take away jobs without offering an alternative livelihood, that we support - - people in this major change. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁶⁷ Social sustainability and survival also require that development is environmentally sustainable and that people's mental resources and mental skills can be harnessed - - for the development of Finnish society. (Siika-aho, Centre)

⁶⁸ ...there is this - - the diversity of nature which is - - increasingly, recognized as a problem. - - And the of course, there is this - - environmental sustainability related to climate change. - - We see that it has a local, regional, national, international dimension, and then, we talk about - - of course, all kinds of

In addition to environmental problems, Näkkäljärvi (SDP) looked for opportunities in the environmental dimension. He founded on within the role of forests:

“Tietenkin tää metsät on yksi keskustelunaihe, joka on vahvasti ekologisen kestävyuden kannalta semmoinen aihe, missä koko ajan pitää hakea tasapainoa ja koko ajan - - pyrkiä jotenkin toimimaan tasapainossa, koska siinä metsässäkin on paitsi nää luonnon monimuotoisuuden näkökulmat, siinä on hiilinieluihin liittyvät näkökulmat, siinä on - - metsänomistajien oikeuksiin liittyvät - - omaisuuden suojaan liittyvät näkökulmat ja sitten se on tietenkin iso elinkeino ja työllistäjä ja vientisektori.”⁶⁹ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

There is, as he argued, several perspectives that need to be taken account. Forests, however, serve both economic and environmental answers through its renewable nature and capability to sequester carbon.

In addition to national activities, parties considered global political actions also important. For example, Näkkäljärvi (SDP) approached this theme by asking about the global responsibility:

“Voi kysyä, että onko oikein, että teollistuneissa maissa - - eletään yltäkylläisyydessä ja, ja ekologisesti monessa mielessä kestävämmällä tavalla.”⁷⁰ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Haapalehto (NCP) takes this worry to the ambitious direction by stating:

“Meidän puolue linjaa, että, että me haetaan nimenomaan - - globaaleja ratkaisuja. - - Mikä kokoomuksen ajattelussa on pitkään korostanut, että, että pyritään edelläkävijyyteen ikään kuin näissä ratkaisuissa - - ja pyritään myös, pyritään itse tietysti hyötymään siitä myös sikäli, että, että sillä voidaan - - viennin arvoa kasvattaa.”⁷¹ (Haapalehto, NCP)

International cooperation and agreements, such as the agreement in Paris Climate Summit play important role when adapting and mitigating to climate change and therefore promoting sustainable development and especially environmental sustainability. Näkkäljärvi (SDP) considers this approach important also in future.

things related to nature and environment - - even about the state of the seas - - animal species - - and even extinction. Of course we are talking about insects, plants...” (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁶⁹ Of course, forests are one topic of discussion, which is strongly related to environmental sustainability, where you must constantly seek balance and all time - - strive somehow to operate in balance, because the forest also has these perspectives of biodiversity, it has perspectives related to carbon sinks, - - it relates to the rights of forest owners - - aspects related to the protection of property and then of course it is a large business and employer and export sector. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁷⁰ You can ask if it is right than in industrialized countries - - we live in abundance and, and environmentally in many ways, in an unsustainable way. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

⁷¹ Our party's policy is that we are specifically looking for - - global solutions, - - What has been emphasized in the thinking of the coalition for a long time is that we aim to pioneers, as it were, in these solutions - - and we also aim, of course, we also aim to benefit from it to the extent that it can - - increase the value of exports. (Haapalehto, NCP)

He adds that European Union is important partner as well to promote environmental sustainability through economic tools:

“No sitten on tää kauppapolitiikka, joka on niinku EU:n tärkeä ulottuvuus - - EU-toimi käyttää sitä taloudellista valtaa, regulatiivista valtaa, mikä EU:lla on - - tän ekologisen, ekologisesti kestävä elämän edistämiseksi koko maailmassa ja samalla painostaen muita maita ja - - muissa maissa toimivia yrityksiä - - toimimaan ekologisesti kestävämmällä tavalla. - - EU:n päästökauppa ja sitten - - kauppapolitiikkaan liittyvät ehdot eli vaikkapa nää hiilitullit niin on - - tärkeitä instrumentteja EU-tasolla.”⁷² (Näkkäläjärv, SDP)

Näkkäläjärv (SDP) notes that even though Finland should be ambitious about its climate and natural policies, in an EU level, we must also consider the national benefit, and at least not agree with such regulations that do not advance sustainability in Finland:

“Hyvin vahvasti näen, että ne pitää olla, Suomen niin kun ikään kuin tehdä vastuullista ilmasto- ja ympäristöpolitiikkaa - - ja olla tietyllä tavalla suunnannäyttjä niin maailmalla kuin - - EU:ssa, mutta että siinäkin on tasapaino - - oltava, että me ei tehdä semmoisia ratkaisuja, jotka on vaikka meidän - - elinkeinoelämälle - -kohtuuton ja aiheuttaa just sitten... eli kyllä siinä niin kun tasapainon hakemista on.”⁷³ (Näkkäläjärv, SDP).

As stated in the chapter 2, food production is a major source of emissions. Interviewees reflected this topic in their answers. For example, Näkkäläjärv (SDP) suggested that through the regulation of agricultural subsidies, there might be chance to renew food production:

“Varmasti yksi semmoinen arvioimisen paikka on kuitenkin nämä - - maatalouden päästöt on - - asia, jolle varmasti maataloustukijärjestelmän tai maatalouteen liittyvän - - lainsäädännön kautta, niin on varmasti ihan tarpeen arvioida sitä, että kuinka niitä hyödyntämällä - - pystytään, eli tätä sääntelypuolta, että taloudellista puolta hyödyntämällä voidaan ohjata - - maataloutta uudistumaan.”⁷⁴(Näkkäläjärv, SDP)

⁷² Well then there is this trade policy, which is such an important dimension of the EU - - the EU as an institution uses the economic power, regulatory power that the EU has - - to promote this environmental, environmentally sustainable life throughout the world and at the same time putting pressure on the other countries and - - companies operating in other countries - - to operate in a more environmentally sustainable way. - - EU emissions trading then - -the terms related to trade policy, i.e. for example these carbon tariffs are - - important instruments at the EU level. (Näkkäläjärv, SDP)

⁷³ I very strongly see that it must be, Finland must, in a way, make responsible climate and environmental policy - and in a certain way be a trendsetter both in the world and - - in the EU, but that there also must be balance - - that we do not make solutions which are, for example, unreasonable for our - - business life - - and then cause... so yes, there is a certain search for balance. (Näkkäläjärv, SDP)

⁷⁴ Certainly, one such place for evaluation is these - - agricultural emissions is - - a matter for which, certainly through the agricultural support subsidies system or agriculture-related - - legislation, it is certainly necessary to assess how by utilizing them - - it is possible, i.e. this regulatory side, that by utilizing the economic side, it is possible to direct - - agriculture to renew itself. (Näkkäläjärv, SDP)

Luoma-Aho (CDP) addressed some criticism over the slowness of tagging the emissions of food production:

“Tosiasiahan on niin kun se, että vaikkapa ruoantuotannon kasvihuonepäästöt - - ei ole muuttunut miksiäkään vuosikausiin. Ja siihen on tehtävissä joitakin asioita, joiden vaikutus on - - aika pieni, ellei - - tehdä jotain radikaalia.”⁷⁵ (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

Another critical approach that Luoma-Aho (CDP) gave is that it is difficult to promote environmental sustainability more ambitiously when the current goals are already very ambitious.

“Tavallaan esimerkiksi tässä tilanteessa, - - kun on vaikeampi, vaikea tehdä jotenkin niin kun jotain enemmän vaikka - - edellisen hallituksen, vaikka ilmastopolitiikka oli niin kunnianhimoista, että se tavallaan - - 2035 hiilineutraaliustavoite itsessään on jo tosi tiukka, että se ei todennäköisesti tule toteutumaan. - - Mitä tavoitteita voi asettaa, jos Suomen tavoite on jo epärealistisen tiukka ja kunnianhimoisen?”⁷⁶ (Luoma-aho, CDP)

In addition to regulation that requires actions, there is voluntary conservation programs, such as Metso and Helmi. Näkkäljärvi (SDP) sees it valuable to further develop these programs:

“Kyllä kannatamme lämpimästi tietyllä tavalla tämä niin kun kannustamine vapaaehtoisiiin toimiin - - Metso-ohjelmat ja Helmi-ohjelmat, niin näähän on ollut - - tosi hyvä tähän metsäkeskusteluun nimenomaan vastaus, ja ehkä siitä päästään siihen että laajemminkin soisi pohdittavan ja valmisteltavan erilaisia tämmöisiä - - vapaaehtoisia ekologiseen kompensatioon liittyviä malleja sekä Suomessa, että EU-tasolla.”⁷⁷ (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

Besides climate policies and food policies, biodiversity was one of the topics that interviewees considered important for promoting environmental sustainability. Haapalehto (NCP) presented it as a cross-cutting theme in his party's policies:

“No siis se on semmoinen - - läpileikkaava asia niin kun kautta linjan kun politiikkavaihtoehtoja pohditaan - - ja että millaisia vaikutuksia - - voi olla, että se on

⁷⁵ The reality is that, for example, the greenhouse emissions of food production - - have not changed for years. And there are some things that can be done about it, the effect of which is - - quite small unless - - something radical is done.” (Luoma-Aho, CDP)

⁷⁶ In a way, for example in this situation, - - when it is more difficult, difficult to, for example do something more - - the previous government's climate policy was so ambitious, that it somehow - - the 2035 carbon neutrality goal itself is already really strict, it probably won't come true. - - What goals can be set if Finland's goal is already unrealistically strict and ambitious? (Luoma-aho, CDP)

⁷⁷ We warmly support this in a certain way, so when encouraging voluntary actions - - the Metso programs and the Helmi programs, then this has been - - a really good answer to this forest discussion in particular, and maybe from that we will get to the point that, on a wider scale, various such things should be thought about and prepared - - voluntary models related to ecological compensation both in Finland and at the EU level. (Näkkäljärvi, SDP)

semmoinen, se on osa meidän - - ympäristöllistä, siis hyvin keskeinen osa ympäristöllistä kestävyyttä ja tosi - - paikallinen vielä.”⁷⁸ (Haapalehto, NCP)

Left Alliance is ready to go quite far with securing environment. Jaakkola (Left) states that:

“Yksi konkreettinen vaatimus, mikä, mä en oo varma, että onko millään muulla puolueella, on, että me haluttaisiin luonnontuhonnan kriminalisoitavan - - se, että tällainen ecocide rikosnimike kriminalisoitais kansainvälisen rikostuomioistuimen Rooman perussäännössä, eli - - että saataisiin vastuuseen, oli sitten niin yksityisiä tai valtiollisia toimijoita, jotka - - tekee tällaista - - mittavan, massiivisen mittaluokan luonnontuhontaa.”⁷⁹ (Jaakkola, Left)

In some of the interviews, environmental sustainability was discussed as an opposition to other dimensions of sustainability. Jaakkola (Left) claims that nature and environmental sustainability is the starting point for promoting other dimensions of sustainability:

“Ja sitten olisi - - ymmärrettävää ajatella, että ympäristöllinen, luontoarvo on - - se keskeisin, koska ei ole taloutta kuolleella planeetalla, ei oo sosiaalisia arvoja kuolleella planeetalla.”⁸⁰ (Jaakkola, Left)

6.4. From Analysis to Survey Statements

After the analysis of the interview data, it is time to move on to forming statements for the survey. Here, I will briefly introduce how I decided which themes should be added in the survey statements. I will start by presenting a list of requirements for the themes that will form the survey questions:

1. The theme needed to be mentioned in more than one interview.
2. The themes needed to serve the aim of this thesis, i.e. help to answer the research questions.
3. The survey needed to include themes from each of the sustainability's dimensions.

⁷⁸ Well, it is like that - a cutting-edge thing, so when policy options are considered across the board - - and what kind of effects - - it could be that it's like that, it's part of our - - environmental, so a very central part of environmental sustainability and really - - still local.” (Haapalehto, NCP)

⁷⁹ One concrete demand, which I am not sure that any other party has, is that we would like natural destruction to be criminalized - -that such an ecocide crime title would be criminalized in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, that is - - that we would be held accountable, no matter how private or state actors who - - commit this kind of - - natural destruction on a noteworthy, massive scale. (Jaakkola, Left)

⁸⁰ And then it would be - - understandable to think that environmental, value of nature is - - the most central, because there is no economy on dead planet, no social values on dead planet. (Jaakkola, Left)

Through these requirements I chose to form the statements from following themes: taxation; additional national debt that enables promotion of environmental sustainability; the ambitiousness of climate policies nationally; plant-based diets; circular economy; EU agricultural subsidies; carbon pricing mechanisms; helping developing countries to promote sustainable development; and government compensations to ensure social sustainability while promoting environmental sustainability. The starting point here is to assume that left-wing parties will answer in a similar way with each other, and in a same way, right-wing parties will answer similarly with each other. With these statements I will test whether left-right division will be seen in the answers, or if they differ between the parties or within parties.

Taxation was mentioned by National Coalition Party, and through Left Alliances arguing about society's significant role as a payer of the sustainability policies. NCP saw taxation to promote sustainability only if necessary. On the other hand, Left Alliance highlighted the role of society as a regulator and payer of sustainability policies. Therefore, I assume that:

- a) Right-wing parties are not eager to increase taxation, and
- b) left-wing parties see that, if necessary, taxation can be increased.

Even though this assumption illustrates the traditional left-right division, I would like to see, if the answers differ because the reason for taxation increasing is sustainable development together with economic sustainability.

The second chosen topic is **additional national debt that would enable promotion of environmental sustainability**. This theme was addressed by National Coalition Party and Christian Democratic Party. Both were worried about the state level of economic sustainability. NCP's representative claimed that his party is ready to take any action to achieve economic sustainability. Because both parties had strong attitudes about the urgent of achieving economic sustainability. Moreover, because the assumption within left-right division is that left-wing parties are more open to radical actions and consider that government has strong economic responsibility, I assume that:

- a) Right-wing parties would not like to take additional national debt, even though it might help to promote environmental sustainability, and
- b) left-wing parties are ready to take additional national debt to promote environmental sustainability.

The ambitiousness of climate policies in a national level was mentioned in CDP's and Left's interviews. Left Alliance's representative argued strongly that we need to do more, or we will not succeed with Finland's carbon neutrality goal, neither do we succeed to achieve environmental sustainability. However, Christian Democratic Party's representative claimed that because we have not done enough to

taggle climate crisis, the goal about carbon neutrality is simply itself too ambitious. Therefore, I assume that:

- a) Right-wing parties do not want to address even more ambitious climate policies, and
- b) left-wing parties are eager to promote more ambitious climate policies.

Fourth selected topic considers **plant-based diets** in a way to promote environmental sustainability in food policies. Social Democratic Party, and Left Alliance approached this topic through the need for more sustainable food production and consumption. Because these left-wing parties supported the transition to plant-based diets, I assume that:

- a) Right-wing parties prefer market-based transition towards plant-based diets, and highlight individuals own decision in this matter, and
- b) left-wing parties agree with government level regulation in order to transition to more plant-based diets, which would be good for environment.

Circular economy was mentioned in each of the interviews, and all in all, in a positive way. Circular economy is an example of the tool that benefits both economies and environment. Therefore, I assume that,

- a) promoting circular economy will not arise resistance within either left- or right-wing parties.

The European Union's agricultural subsidies were mentioned by Centre Party, Social Democratic Party, and Christian Democratic Party. SDP claimed that agricultural subsidies should guide food production in a more sustainable direction than it currently requires. Centre Party also saw EU subsidies as a good way to fund changes towards more sustainable production. Because Centre party is not left-wing party (neither it is a left-wing party), I assume that:

- a) Right-wing parties do not resist, that agricultural subsidies are used to guide food production to the more sustainable direction, neither they are eager to require more actions from food producers, and
- b) left-wing parties are willing to let EUs regulate the ways which it guides agricultural subsidies toward more sustainable direction.

As a concrete tool to practice economic and environmental sustainability, **carbon pricing mechanisms** were mentioned by SDP, and NCP. Both agreed that carbon pricing mechanisms are useful tool. These might be because carbon pricing mechanism leans more to the dimension of economic sustainability, and it is mainly

beneficial. Because both left-wing and right-wing parties agreed in this topic, I assume that,

- a) Promoting carbon pricing mechanisms will not arise resistance within either, left- or right-wing parties.

Helping developing countries is, in a way, exception in this list of topics picked up from the interviews. The perspective of developing countries was not addressed in the interviews. However, both Social Democratic Party and National Coalition Party claimed that sustainability must be considered also in global level. SDP's representative stated that solidarity and internationality are their core values. In addition, he suggested that the problem of climate refugee must be taken seriously. National Coalition Party, on the other hand saw global responsibility mean that every citizen on planet Earth must participate to taggle climate crisis. Therefore, I assume that,

- a) Right-wing parties understand the urgency to help developing countries to achieve sustainable development, by giving tools to promote sustainability, but not at any cost, and
- b) left-wing parties feel that it is obvious to promote sustainable development everywhere to assure good life for all.

Final topic that I have chosen is **government compensations to ensure social sustainability while promoting environmental sustainability**. This theme was mentioned by SDP and Left Alliance. I assume that,

- a) Right-wing parties do not want government to pay compensations if it is not necessary, and
- b) left-wing parties are more eager to compensate in order to promote social sustainability, and equality.

7. SURVEY FOR MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT

In this chapter, I will present the survey for Members of the Parliament, the survey questions and the responses gotten from the survey. Only 28 from 200 MPs responded to the survey. This sampling is unfortunately small, but it gives some insight into the question of whether left-right political spectrum suits for questions of sustainable development or does the answers of the survey distribute differently.

I will start this chapter by presenting the survey, then moving to the analysis. The analysis follows the order of the statements.

7.1. Presenting the Survey

Survey was carried out during April 2024. Survey was organized with Webropol-format. Survey contained nine statements that had four answer options and an opportunity to ground given answers by explaining it with short note after each statement. Survey was conducted in Finnish. The survey was answered anonymously. There was no need to know the respondents' name, because only the represented party mattered. MPs had given two weeks to answer the survey.

Survey invitations were sent to each MP (each email was sent in pairs that included MP and their assistant) (Appendix 4). Survey answerers were chosen, because of their representative role in Finnish society, in politics, and as legislators. The aim was to reach in this way representatives of all parties whose values and attitudes are studied in this thesis. From the point of view of representativeness and coverage, the goal was to get answers from each party, or at least representatively from both right-wing and left-wing parties.

All in all, 28 MPs from 6 parties answered to the survey. MPs from the following parties participated in the survey: National Coalition Party, Finns Party, Social Democratic Party, Centre Party, Left Alliance, and The Green League. MPs from Christian Democratic Party, The Swedish People's Party, and Liike Nyt -movement did not respond to the survey (Table 7). The number of respondents turned out to be

a disappointment, and getting responses to the survey was even more difficult than I anticipated. I needed to expand the time given to answering so that I could get more answers, but even then, I was not able to get more than x answers. The small number of answers affects to the findings of this thesis. Fortunately, I was able to get answers from different sides of the left-right spectrum.

Table 7 shows how many of the MPs from different parties answered to the survey. Because there were no respondents from Christian Democratic Party, The Finns Party, or Liike Nyt-movement, these parties are not included to the analysis in this chapter.

Parliamentary Groups	Number of the seats for representatives	Answerers
National Coalition Party Parliamentary Group	48	3
Finns Party Parliamentary Group	46	4
Social Democratic Parliamentary Group	43	8
Centre Party Parliamentary Group	23	6
Green Parliamentary Group	13	5
Left Alliance Parliamentary Group	11	2
Swedish Parliamentary Group	10	0
Christian Democratic Parliamentary Group	5	0
Liike Nyt- Movement's Parliamentary Group	1	0
In total	200 MP's	28 MP's

TABLE 7: Parliamentary Groups, number of the seats for representatives, and number of respondents.

In this thesis, the survey constructed on given Likert scale answer options to the questions. Each question had four answer possibilities: 1) completely disagree; 2) somewhat disagree; 3) somewhat agree; and 4) completely agree. In addition, participants had opportunity to justify their answers, but this was only voluntary. The survey's statements are presented in Table x.

1. In order to achieve sustainable development and promote economic sustainability, taxation should not be reduced but increased.
2. In order to promote environmental sustainability, Finland can take on additional debt.
3. In order to achieve environmental sustainability and Finland's carbon neutrality goal (year 2035) we must pursue more ambitious climate policy than at present.
4. Policies must incentivize the transition to plant-based diets, because market-driven change is too slow.
5. The transition to a circular economy should be promoted as essential for environmental sustainability, even if it requires changes to current production and consumption patterns.
6. The EU's agriculture subsidies must guide agriculture to renew itself in an even more environmentally friendly direction.
7. Carbon pricing mechanisms (such as carbon taxes) are effective tools for incentivizing emissions reductions.
8. In order to achieve sustainable development globally, Finland must pursue policies that promote sustainable development also in developing countries.
9. In order to achieve social sustainability, the transition towards net zero emissions must be fair for everyone, and therefore the government must compensate for the losses caused by the transition

TABLE 8: The survey statements.

7.2. Presenting the Responses

Even though both interview data and survey data are analyzed with content analysis, the analysis progress differently. The first stage was same for both: the data collection itself. However, there was methodological differences between these data collection methods and therefore with analysis. While semi-structured interviews functioned in themselves as the first step of the analysis with interviewer's possibility to choose the questions as the interview progressed, survey questions / statements were same for each participant.

Another difference between the analysis of data gotten from the interviews and the survey answers is that in the survey participants had to give shorter answers. Also, in the survey, participants gave two kinds of answers: ones that options had given in advance (Likert -scale) and ones that were open. The analysis of these answers was of course bound together, but still considered partly separately. Even though the analysis of the data collected by survey follows the content analysis methodology, it still differs a bit from the analysis of the interview data.

First step of the analysis was to divide the answers by the party that the participants represent. After this, tabulate was formed. Tables 9 to 17 present the division of the answers in the survey. They demonstrate how participants in different parties answered in the scale 'completely disagree' to 'completely agree' on each

statement. In addition, showing the possible differences between parties, this will illustrate the possible differences between the MPs in same party.

Because there was an opportunity to justify the answers given in the interviews, and the survey was anonymous, answers are personalized by their party. In those parties' that more than one respondent gave a written answer, the answers are separated by marking their answers with numbers. As an example, two MPs from Green League answered to the first statement and therefore their answers are separated by marking them "Person 1, Greens" and "Person 2, Greens".

Because of the small sample of responses, findings of this thesis cannot be used as a generalization of MPs' attitudes from different parties. Still, I will do the analysis based on the answers that I got.

STATEMENT I

The first statement of the survey was: *in order to achieve sustainable development and promote economic sustainability, taxation should not be reduced but increased.* My assumption of the answers was that right-wing parties would not be eager to increase taxation, and left-wing parties would see that, if necessary, taxation could be increased. As seen in Table 9, the division of the answers follow quite strongly the left-right division.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	1	1
Green League	-	-	3	2
Social Democratic Party	-	-	5	3
Centre Party	-	5	1	-
National Coalition Party	1	2	-	-
The Finns Party	1	3	-	-

TABLE 9: Statement I

Only party where this statement divided answers was Center Party, and even there only with one "somewhat agree" against five "somewhat disagree". Otherwise, right-wing parties (NCP and Finns) responded with "strongly disagree" and "somewhat disagree." On the other side, left-wing parties (Left, Greens, and SDP) answered with "somewhat agree" and "strongly agree". In more detail there was less strongly agree answers than others.

In voluntary answers, there was mutual agreement of the ways taxation could be developed towards higher taxation of environmentally harmful products. For example, respondents from Green League and National Coalition Party suggested this:

“Tarvitaan haitoille hinta eli verotettava asioita, joita emme halua. Se pakottaisi yrityksiä ja kuluttajia etsimään keinoja välttää haittoja ja kehittämään ympäristöystävällisempiä tuotteita ja saisi kiertotalouteen vauhtia. Veroja pitää käyttää ohjaamiseen entistä enemmän, tarvitaan siis uusia veroja ja painopisteen muutosta työn verotuksesta haittojen ja kulutuksen veroihin.”⁸¹ (Person 1, Green)

“Olennaista on verotuksen painopisteen siirtäminen työn ja yrittämisen verottamisesta ympäristö- ja terveyshaittojen verottamiseen. Tässä taloustilanteessa kokonaisveroasteen alentaminen ei ole mielestäni realismia.”⁸² (Person 2, Green)

“Vaikka verotuksen painopistettä on syytä muuttaa työn verotuksesta kohti haittaveroja, ei kokonaisveroastetta tule nostaa. Mitä parempi ostovoima kuluttajilla on, sitä paremmat mahdollisuudet heillä on tehdä kestäviä kulutusvalintoja.”⁸³ (Person 1, NCP)

Therefore, there was some understanding, that taxation could be used to promote environmental sustainability, even though overall the taxation did not generate mutual attitudes between left- and right-wing parties.

STATEMENT II

The second statement of the survey was: *in order to promote environmental sustainability, Finland can take on additional debt.* My assumption of the answers was that right-wing parties would not like to take additional national debt, even though it might help to promote environmental sustainability, and left-wing parties are ready to take additional debt to promote environmental sustainability.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	2	-
Green League	-	1	4	-
Social Democratic Party	-	-	5	3
Centre Party	-	5	1	-
National Coalition Party	1	1	1	-
The Finns Party	1	3	-	-

⁸¹ We need price for the disadvantaged, i.e. taxation for the things we don't want. It would force companies and consumers to find ways to avoid harm and develop more environmentally friendly products, and would give momentum to the circular economy. Taxes must be used for guidance even more, so new taxes and a change in focus from work taxation to taxes on harm and consumption are needed. (Person 1, Green)

⁸² It is essential to shift the focus of taxation from taxing work and entrepreneurship to taxing environmental and health harms. In this economic situation, lowering the total tax rate is not realistic, in my opinion. (person 2, Green)

⁸³ Even though the focus of taxation should be changed from labor taxation towards disadvantageous taxes, the overall tax rate should not be increased. The better purchasing power consumers have, the better opportunities they have to make sustainable consumption choices. (Person 1, NCP)

TABLE 10: Statement 2

This statement, in a way, puts environmental sustainability and economic sustainability against each other. This statement showed more division within the parties. There were opposite responses in Green League's, Centre Party's and National Coalition Party's representatives' answers. Left Alliance agreed with this statement together with Social Democratic Party respondents. The Finns Party respondents on the other hand did not agree with this statement at all.

What was surprising was that only three SDP's MPs agreed strongly with the statement that in order to promote environmental sustainability, Finland can take additional debt. Similarly to the previous statement, Centre's representatives were not unanimous.

Answers to this statement seem to illustrate that the environmental themes divide parties' representatives' attitudes when related to economic sustainability. On the one hand, one of four Green MPs would not take additional debt, even though that would help promoting environmental sustainability. On the other hand, three NCP MPs all answered differently to this statement from strongly disagreeing to somewhat agreeing.

The pro-debt respondents justified their answers by stating that:

*"Velkaa voidaan tarvita siirtymän vauhdittamiseksi. Toisaalta käyttömenoja voidaan supistaa muualta, jolloin olemassa oleva velka kohdistuisi nykyistä enemmän ympäristön kestävyden saavuttamiseksi."*⁸⁴ (Person 1, Green)

*"Vihreän siirtymän investointeihin ja niiden tukiin kannattaa lainarahalla osallistua, koska puhdas teknologia ja sen kehittäminen on tärkeä osa-alue ympäristön kestävyden kannalta, mutta myös kestävään talouteen siirryttäessä."*⁸⁵ (Person 1, SDP)

*"Voi ottaa, mutta korkeintaan puhtaiden investointien vauhdittamiseen. Osa isoista projekteista, kuten ydinvoimainvestoinnit tai perustutkimuksesta tuotteistaminen PPP-mekanismien avulla voi olla jopa välttämätöntä julkisella rahalla/velkarahalla."*⁸⁶ (Person 1, NCP)

Other answers to this statement highlighted the importance of environmental sustainability, and some of them suggested additional ways to improve economic sustainability at the same time with environmental sustainability:

⁸⁴ Debt may be needed to accelerate the transition, On the other hand, operating expenses can be reduced elsewhere, in which case the existing debt would be directed more towards achieving environmental sustainability. (Person 1, Green)

⁸⁵ It is worthwhile to participate in green transition investments and their subsidies with loan money, because clean technology and its development is an important area in terms of environmental sustainability, but also in the transition to a sustainable economy. (Person 1, SDP)

⁸⁶You can take it, but at most to speed up clean investments. Some of the big projects, such as nuclear power investments or the commercialization of basic research using PPP mechanisms, may even be necessary with public money/debt money. (Person 1, NCP)

"Ympäristövelka on meidän suurin velkamme. Olemme vuosisatoja eläneet kestäättömästi kuluttaen luonnonvaroja. Nyt sen lopettamiselle on kiire."⁸⁷ (Person 2, SDP)

"On selvää, että ilmastokriisin tuhojen korjaaminen maksaisi moninkertaisesti verrattuna ennalta estämiseen ja erityisesti liikenteen tai energian ratkaisuissa lisävelanotto saattaa olla tarpeen. Siirtymää mahdollista tukea myös esim. veroratkaisuin."⁸⁸ (Person 3, SDP)

"Velkaantuminen on saatava taittumaan. Ilmastokestävä politiikka ei kuitenkaan välttämättä ole ristiriidassa kestävä julkisen talouden kanssa, vaan tavoitteet on viisailla valinnoilla yhdistettävissä."⁸⁹ (Person 1, Centre)

STATEMENT III

The third statement of the survey was: *in order to achieve environmental sustainability and Finland's carbon neutrality goal (year 2035) we must pursue more ambitious climate policy than at present.* My assumption of the answers was that right-wing parties would not want to address more ambitious climate policies, and left-wing parties would be more eager to promote more ambitious climate policies.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	1	1
Green League	-	-	-	5
Social Democratic Party	-	-	3	5
Centre Party	1	3	1	1
National Coalition Party	-	2	1	-
The Finns Party	2	1	1	-

TABLE 11: Statement 3

This statement, as the previous one, is strongly related to environmental sustainability. Here, the left-wing parties all agreed, either somewhat or strongly, that we need to pursue more ambitious climate policy than at present. However, this divided the answers from Center Party, National Coalition Party and the Finns Party. Especially Centre's MPs answers differentiated in this particular statement. It would have been interesting to get justification from each of Centre's MPs to this question, but unfortunately I got just one:

⁸⁷ The environmental debt is our biggest debt. For centuries, we have lived unsustainably, consuming natural resources. Now it's urgent to stop it. (Person 2, SDP)

⁸⁸ It is clear that repairing the damage caused by the climate crisis would cost many times more than preventing it in advance, and especially in the case of transport or energy solutions, additional debt may be necessary. The transition can also be supported with e.g. tax solutions. (Person 3, SDP)

⁸⁹ "Indebtedness must be reduced. However, a climate-resilient policy is not necessarily in conflict with sustainable public finances, but the goals can be combined with wise choices. (Person 1, Centre)

"Suomen ilmastopolitiikka ja tavoitteet ovat jo nykyisellään varsin erittäin kunnianhimoisia. Oleellista on toimia niiden mukaisesti ja saada myös muut maat toimimaan vastaavasti."⁹⁰ (Person 1, Centre)

MP from Finns Party agreed with this view by stating:

"Suomi on jo nyt tässä kärkimaita, pitäisi saada suurvallatkin mukaan."⁹¹ (Person 1, Finns)

Critical views were presented by left-wing parties MPs:

"Ilmastokriisin pysäyttämällä on kiire. Selvitykset osoittavat että nykytoimet eivät riitä ilmastolakiin kirjatun hiilineutraaliustavoitteen saavuttamiseen. Tarvitaan siis lisätoimia niin päästöjen vähentämiseen kuin hiilinielun kasvattamiseen."⁹² (Person 2, Green)

"Nykyinen hallitus ei tule saavuttamaan tavoitteita ja se johtaa myös siihen, että jäämme puhtaan teknologian kehittämisen kilpailussa takamatkalle."⁹³ (Person 1, SDP)

In addition, National Coalition Party's representative stated that climate policies must be ambitious, but not with any price:

"Ilmastopolitiikan pitää olla kunnianhimoista, mutta ei hinnalla millä hyvänsä. Myöskään vuosi 2035 ei välttämättä ole mielekäs tavoite, jos hinta karkaa käsistä. Mutta kunnianhimoista on myös investointien esteiden purkaminen, ydinenergialain uudistaminen ydinvoimamyönteisemmäksi ja vaikkapa hiilitullien asettaminen."⁹⁴(Person 1, NCP)

STATEMENT IV

The fourth statement of the survey was: *policies must incentivize the transition to plant-based diets, because market-driven change is too slow. My assumption for this statement was that right-wing parties would prefer market-based transition towards plant-based diets, and highlight individuals own decision in this matter, and left-wing*

⁹⁰ Finland's climate policy and goals are already quite ambitious. It is essential to act in accordance with them and to get other countries to act accordingly. (Person 1, Centre)

⁹¹ Finland is already one of the top countries here, we should get the big powers involved. (Person 1, Finns)

⁹² Stopping the climate crisis is urgent. The studies show that the current actions are not enough to achieve the carbon neutrality goal written in the climate act. Therefore, additional measures are needed both to reduce emissions and to increase the carbon sink. (Person 2, Green)

⁹³ The current government will not achieve the goals and it will also lead to us falling behind in the competition for the development of clean technology. (Person 1, SDP)

⁹⁴ "Climate policy must be ambitious, but not at any price. Also, the year 2035 is not necessarily a meaningful goal if the price gets out of hand. But it is also ambitious to remove obstacles to investments, reform the Nuclear Energy Act to make it more favorable to nuclear power and, for example, set carbon tariffs. (Person 1, NCP)

parties would agree with government level regulation in order to transition to more plant-based diets, which would be good for environment.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	1	1
Green League	-	-	-	5
Social Democratic Party	2	-	2	4
Centre Party	2	3	1	-
National Coalition Party	1	2	-	-
The Finns Party	2	2	-	-

TABLE 12: Statement 4

Again, this statement related to environmental sustainability by consumption and production habits. MPs from Left Alliance and Green League all agreed that policies should incentivize the transition towards plant-based diets because market-driven change is too slow. On the other side, MPs from NCP and Finns answers suggest that government should not intervene in this matter, but the market should continue to be able to guide consumption habits also in relation to food. There was some division in the responses of SDP and Centre Party.

The key here might be the market-driven change. Right-wing parties tend to prefer that individuals can make their own decisions relating to how they use their finances. Left-wing parties on the other hand are eager to speed the change towards more sustainable consumption. In fact, Green League's representative claims that:

*"Kestäviä valintoja ei pidä sysätä pelkästään kuluttajien harteille. Suomen tulisi asettaa selkeä tavoite eläinperäisten tuotteiden vähentämiselle (vihreät ovat esittäneet eläinperäisten tuotteiden kuluttamisen puolittamista vuoteen 2030 mennessä. Suomeen tarvitaan kasvipohjaisen ruuan investointipaketti kotimaisen kasvispohjaisen ruuan vauhdittamiseen. Lisäksi maataloustukia on ohjattava kannustamaan kasvipohjaisen ruuan tuotantoon."*⁹⁵ (Person 2, Green)

Social Democrats MP address this issue by the significant emissions of food production and consumption:

"Ruokavalio aiheuttaa kolmasosan päästöistä, joten on selvää, että muutos tarvitaan vaikka liikenteen tai energian päästäjä saataisiin alenemaan. Suomessa on myös paljon

⁹⁵ Sustainable choices should not be pushed solely on the shoulders of consumers. Finland should set a clear goal for reducing animal-based products (the Greens have proposed halving the consumption of animal-based products by 2030. Finland needs a plant-based food investment package to boost domestic plant-based food. In addition, agricultural subsidies must be directed to encourage the production of plant-based food. (Person 2, Green)

ruoantuotannon kasvi- tai ilmapohjaisia innovaatioita, jotka hyötyisivät kunnianhimoisemmasta ruokapolitiikasta.”⁹⁶ (Person 3, SDP)

On the other side of the left-right division, NCP’s MP stated that:

”Tällaiset päätökset kuuluvat lähtökohtaisesti yksilöiden omalle vastuulle. Esimerkiksi haittaveroilla voidaan tietysti ohjata kuluttajien käytöstä vaikkapa ruoantuotannon päästöjen funktiona, mutta muuten ruokavaliio ei ole asiaa, johon julkisen sektorin tulee puuttua. Myös vähähiilinen lihantuotanto on mahdollista jo nyt, ja entistä enemmän tulevaisuudessa.”⁹⁷ (Person 1, NCP)

STATEMENT V

The fifth statement of the survey was: *the transition to a circular economy should be promoted as essential for environment sustainability, even if it requires changes to current production and consumption patterns.* My assumption for this statement was that promoting circular economy would not arise resistance within either left- or rightwing parties.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	-	2
Green League	-	-	-	5
Social Democratic Party	-	-	1	7
Centre Party	-	-	4	2
National Coalition Party	-	-	3	-
The Finns Party	-	1	3	-

TABLE 13: Statement 5

In the interviews there seemed to be a mutual agreement on the positive impacts of circular economy which can also be seen here. Therefore, my assumption about this statement turned out to be correct. Only one respondent from Finns Party somewhat disagreed with this statement. The justifications to this statement were also unanimous. They consisted of the facts that currently humankind lives unsustainably, and that temperance in all our policies is worthwhile. In addition, MP from Green League suggested that to solve current environmental crisis, we need to change our

⁹⁶ Food intake causes a third of emissions, so it is clear that a change is needed even if traffic or energy emissions can be reduced. There are also many plant- or air-based innovations in food production in Finland that would benefit from a more ambitious food policy. (Person 3, SDP)

⁹⁷ Such decisions basically fall under the responsibility of individuals. For example, harmful taxes can of course be used to guide consumers' consumption, for example, as a function of food production emissions, but otherwise diet is not an issue that the public sector should intervene in. Low-carbon meat production is also possible now, and even more so in the future. (Person 1, NCP)

production and consumption habits, and significantly reduce the consumption of natural resources.

STATEMENT VI

The sixth statement of the survey was: *the EUs agriculture subsidies must guide agriculture to renew itself in an even more environmentally friendly direction*. My assumption to this statement was that right-wing parties do not resist, that agricultural subsidies are used to guide food production to the more sustainable direction, neither they are eager to require more actions from food producers, and left-wing parties are willing to let EUs regulate the ways which it guides agricultural subsidies toward more sustainable direction.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	--	2
Green League	-	-	-	5
Social Democratic Party	-	-	1	7
Centre Party	-	3	3	-
National Coalition Party	-	-	2	1
The Finns Party	-	2	2	-

TABLE 14: Statement 6

Even though this statement relates to both environmental and economic sustainability, and in previous statements that has raised differing opinions within the parties, agriculture and more sustainable food production seems to be a topic, where it does not divide party representatives as strongly than in other occasions.

This statement divided answers within Centre Party and Finns Party. Half of both parties' respondents answered somewhat disagree and other half answered somewhat agree. Interestingly, both parties' origins are in agrarian ideology. This might be why the answers are divided within these parties. On the one hand, we must find ways to improve food productions sustainability and on the other hand, there is the desire to give food producers opportunity to focus on their work without any new regulations and requirements.

In the justifications of this statement, some of the MPs raised concerns of the requirements of EUs agricultural subsidies, and how they may differ between member states. Especially MPs from Centre Party stated these concerns:

"EU:n maatalouspolitiikassa on tärkeää ottaa huomioon eri jäsenmaiden ja alueiden toisistaan eroavat luonnonolosuhteet ja tuotanto-olosuhteet, jotta ruoantuotannon harjoittaminen on mahdollista koko EU:n alueella myös tulevaisuudessa.

Tuotantostandardien ja -kriteereiden pitää myös olla samat kaikilla tuottajilla koko sisämarkkinan ja yhteisen politiikan alueella.”⁹⁸ (Person 1, Centre)

”Kyllä suomalainen ruoka on maailman puhtainta ja olisi hyvä, että myös muut EU-maat keskittyisivät ruuan tuotannon puhtauteen ja ekologisuuteen. Tietenkin tukijärjestelmässä pitää huomioida myös eri maitten ominaispiirteet kuten sääolosuhteet.”⁹⁹ (Person 2, Centre)

STATEMENT VII

The seventh statement of the survey was to: *carbon pricing mechanisms (such as carbon taxes) are effective tools for incentivizing emissions reductions*. My assumption to this statement was that promoting carbon pricing mechanisms will not arise resistance within either, left- or right-wing parties.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	1	1
Green League	-	-	1	4
Social Democratic Party	-	-	6	2
Centre Party	-	1	4	1
National Coalition Party	-	-	2	1
The Finns Party	1	-	3	-

TABLE 15: Statement 7

In the interviews there seemed to be a mutual agreement on the positive impacts of carbon pricing mechanisms which can also be seen here. Therefore, my assumption about this statement turned out to be somewhat correct. One MP from Centre Party somewhat disagreed with this statement, and one MP from Finns Party strongly disagreed with this statement. Those MPs who agreed with this statement claimed that EU's carbon trading policies are a concrete way to move towards environmental goals.

There was couple of mentions about polluter pays -principle, which means that pollution should not be free. One skeptic viewpoint was raised by Finns Party's MP:

”On varmaan, mutta verokertymä tästä jää muutenkin pieneksi tulevaisuudessa muiden kuten tuulen, auringon ja ydinvoiman myötä.”¹⁰⁰ (Person 1, Finns)

⁹⁸ In the EU's agricultural policy, it is important to take into account the different natural conditions and production conditions of the different member countries and regions, so that food production is possible throughout the EU in the future as well. Production standards and criteria must also be the same for all producers in the entire internal market and common policy area. (Person 1, Centre)

⁹⁹ Yes, Finnish food is the cleanest in the world and it would be good if other EU countries also focused on the cleanliness and ecology of food production. Of course, the support system must also take into account the characteristics of different countries, such as weather conditions. (Person 2, Center)

¹⁰⁰ It probably is, but the tax collection from this will be small anyway in the future with other sources such as wind, solar and nuclear power. (Person 1, Finns)

STATEMENT VIII

The eight statement of the survey was: *in order to achieve sustainable development globally, Finland must pursue policies that promote sustainable development also in developing countries.* My assumption to this thesis was that right-wing parties understand the urgency to help developing countries to achieve sustainable development, by giving tools to promote sustainability, but not at any cost, and left-wing parties feel that it is obvious to promote sustainable development everywhere to assure good life for all.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	-	2
Green League	-	-	-	5
Social Democratic Party	-	-	1	7
Centre Party	-	-	4	2
National Coalition Party	-	-	3	-
The Finns Party	-	1	1	2

TABLE 16: Statement 8

This statement was related to social sustainability and as can be seen above, there was again fairly common view that sustainable development needs to be promoted globally, and Finland should help to promote it in developing countries. In the interviews there were also quite mutual understanding that Finland can not solve the problems of sustainable development, and especially environmental issues, by itself. This view was strengthened by the answers to this statement:

"Kehittyneillä mailla on velvollisuus auttaa kehittyviä maita ratkomaan ympäristökriisejä sosiaalisesti kestäväällä tavalla. Hyvinvointimme on rakennettu ympäristön kustannuksella ja haitat näkyvät kovimmin kehittyvissä maissa."¹⁰¹ (Person 2, Green)

"Ongelmat köyhimmissä maissa näkyvät globaalissa maailmassa myös omassa elämässämme."¹⁰² (Person 2, SDP)

"Ehdottomasti pitää. Suomella on vielä paljon nykyistä enemmän annettavaa kansainvälisen ilmastodiplomatian edistämiseksi."¹⁰³ (Person 1, Centre)

¹⁰¹ Developed countries have an obligation to help developing countries solve environmental crises in a socially sustainable way. Our well-being has been built at the expense of the environment, and the disadvantages are most visible in developing countries. (Person 2, Green)

¹⁰² Problems in the poorest countries are visible in the global world also in our own lives. (Person 2, SDP)

¹⁰³ Absolutely must. Finland still has much more to contribute to the promotion of international climate diplomacy. (Person 1, Centre)

Although, one MP from Finns party somewhat disagreed with this statement, and claimed that this is:

”Melko mahdoton tehtävä.”¹⁰⁴ (Person 1, Finns)

STATEMENT IX

The ninth, and the final statement of the survey was: *in order to achieve social sustainability, the transition towards net zero emissions must be fair for everyone, and therefore the government must compensate for the losses caused by the transition.* My assumption for this statement was that right-wing parties do not want government to pay compensations if it is not necessary, and left-wing parties are more eager to compensate in order to promote social sustainability, and equality.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Left Alliance	-	-	-	2
Green League	-	-	2	3
Social Democratic Party	-	-	4	4
Centre Party	-	1	5	-
National Coalition Party	-	3	-	-
The Finns Party	-	2	2	-

TABLE 17: Statement 9

This statement relates to both economic and social sustainability. It combines the questions of responsibility and the intervention of government. My assumption of the answers was not completely wrong, even though answers were divided within Centre Party and Finns Party. Those who agreed with the statement that transition towards net zero emissions must be fair for everyone, and therefore government must compensate for the losses caused by the transition, argued that:

”Muutosta tulee tukea niin ettei kukaan joudu kohtuuttomaan tilanteeseen.”¹⁰⁵ (Person 1, Green)

”Sosiaalinen oikeudenmukaisuus on tärkeää muutoksen hyväksyttävyyden kannalta. On tärkeää, että pidämme yhteiskunnassa kaikki mukana.”¹⁰⁶ (Person 2, Green)

”Siirtymä onnistuu vain, jos ihmiset kokevat sen oikeudenmukaiseksi.”¹⁰⁷ (Person 2, SDP)

¹⁰⁴ A rather impossible task. (Person 1, Finns)

¹⁰⁵ The change must be supported so that no one finds themselves in an unreasonable situation. (Person 1, Green)

¹⁰⁶ Social justice is important in terms of the acceptability of change. It is important that we keep everyone involved in society. (Person 2, Green)

¹⁰⁷ The transition will only succeed if people feel it is fair. (Person 2, SDP)

”Suuri haaste on, että päästöjen tiedetään kasvavan yksilötasolla tulotason mukana. Kuitenkin rajoitustoimet osuvat herkemmin vähemmän päästöjä aiheuttaviin alempiin tuloluokkiin. Tätä tulisi kompensoida esimerkiksi sosiaaliturvalla. Vaihtoehtoisesti voidaan kehittää jonkinlaisia kulutuskiintiöitä.”¹⁰⁸ (Person 3, SDP)

In turn, those who did not agree with these, argued that this is either difficult to implement in society, or that:

”Ketään ei tietenkään voida ajaa absoluuttiseen köyhyyteen ilmastopolitiikalla. Mutta toisaalta ilmastopolitiikka ei voi myöskään johtaa tulonsiirtojen kasvamiseen sosiaalisen oikeudenmukaisuuden nimissä. Jos näin tapahtuu, efektiivisesti veroprogressio kasvaa ja ilmastotyö alemmissä tulodesiileissä vesittyy.”¹⁰⁹ (Person 1, NCP)

¹⁰⁸ The big challenge is that emissions are known to increase at the individual level along with the income level. However, the restrictive measures fall more sensitively on the lower income categories that cause less emissions. This should be compensated with, for example, social security. Alternatively, some kind of consumption quotas can be developed. (Person 3, SDP)

¹⁰⁹ Of course, no one can be driven into absolute poverty with climate policy. But on the other hand, climate policy cannot lead to an increase in income transfers in the name of social justice either. If this happens, tax progression will effectively increase and the climate work in the lower income deciles will be watered down. (Person 1, NCP)

8. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will further discuss the findings of this thesis. I will start by considering sustainability's dimensions. Sustainable development seemed to be acceptable policy goal for all the parties that participated to this study. However, there was differences in emphasis in the views of the parties. Secondly, I will briefly discuss the values that party representatives connected to the sustainable development and its dimensions. In addition, I will present my thoughts about including environment to the political spectrums and the ways political parties are positioned on them.

8.1. Sustainability's Dimensions

Overall, it seems that sustainable future is suitable goal for all parties. What I have learn from the data is, that while in theory sustainability's dimensions depend on each other, in practice, they are often separated. To promote one or more of the dimensions, might mean that one or more of the dimensions are left behind, or even has negative impacts to each other. Also, the timeframe for each sustainability's dimensions seems to differ.

In the interviews, interviewees were asked to think, which of the sustainability's dimensions is most urgent in Finnish society, and which of sustainability's dimensions gets too little attention. There were both left-wing and right-wing parties that answered similarly, thinking that environmental sustainability and especially climate change is not discussed and promoted enough in current policies. There were no mentions of the quantity of "enough attention" but if looked to the survey and the answers to the third statement¹¹⁰, over half of the respondents though that climate policies should be even more ambitious. This was also seen in the answers of the interviews:

¹¹⁰ Statement 3: In order to achieve environmental sustainability and Finland's carbon neutrality goal (year 2035) we must pursue more ambitious climate policy than at present.

“No ilmasto, luonto ympäristö ehdottomasti. Se on vaan - - se paradoksi on se, että ilmastonmuutoksen suhteen me ollaan auttamattomasti myöhässä. - - mitkä tahansa, kuinka radikaalit tahansa toimet on riittämättömiä, mutta sitten samalla, johtuen just tästä taloudellisesta ja sosiaalisesta ja poliittisesta ulottuvuudesta, niin me saadaan edes pieniä, vähäisiä toimia edistettyä.”¹¹¹ (Jaakkola, Left)

“No kyllä mä ajattelen, että ilmastonmuutoksesta keskustellaan aika vähän. Että nyt luontokadosta on keskusteltu jonkun verran, mutta - - tietysti ympäristö, ympäristön kestävyyteen liittyvistä asioista musta kyllä keskustellaan siis liian vähän.”¹¹² (Haapalehto, NCP)

Siika-aho from Center Party, on the other hand, thought that it is social sustainability that does not get enough attention and even that this dimension of sustainability is treated with disdain.

“Sosiaalinen kestävyys jää liian vähälle huomiolle ja tota, tai sitä väheksytään.” (Siika-aho (Centre))

Even though environmental sustainability rose to possibly the most important position in terms of this research both in the interviews and in the survey, the role of social and economic sustainability should not be forgotten, let alone belittled. After all, as has been pointed out on several occasions in this thesis, sustainable development is an entity in which all three dimensions are important for achieving sustainable development. Mirroring this to the Agenda2030 agreement, promoting environmental sustainability alone is not enough. Although the promotion of environmental sustainability could respond the problems of climate change, ignoring other dimensions would cause other problems as the process progresses, which could have equally disastrous consequences.

8.2. Values

Values are both deeply entrenched and adaptive to the changes (Honson & Urquhart). I argue that they also are usable to justify different political themes and targets. This thesis gives insight into this matter. Overall, the values that were listed by party representative in the interviews, were quite universal and easily explained to relate to the sustainability in general. By the interviews and the survey, there was no clear evidence that parties' core values would be related to the sustainability attitudes in a

¹¹¹ Well climate, nature, environment definitely. It's just - - the paradox is that we are helplessly late when it comes to climate change. - - any measures, no matter how radical, are insufficient, but at the same time, due to this economic, social and political dimension, we can even promote small, minor actions. (Jaakkola, Left)

¹¹² Well, I think that climate change is discussed quite a bit. That now the loss of nature has been discussed to some extent, but - - of course the environment, issues related to the sustainability of the environment are discussed too little. (Haapalehto, NCP)

negative way. Moreover, it seems that values such as responsibility, intergenerationalism, equality, and solidarity are useful concepts to use while discussing sustainable development.

Responsibility was mentioned as a core value by National Coalition Party. However, it was raised in other parties' interviews as well. If considered through the interviews, National Coalition Party seemed to consider responsibility through all the sustainability's dimensions. Left Alliance, however, sees it strongly through the responsibility to act to adapt and mitigate to climate change. All in all, responsibility relates to sustainability in a fundamental way. The way responsibility is understood may differ, but whether it is responsibility towards each other, next generations, economy or environment, it still promotes sustainable development.

Intergenerationalism joins responsibility as a value that many of the interviewees did not mention as a core value, but still considered in some extent. Intergenerationalism encapsulates the essence of sustainable development: to leave the planet in better conditions for next generations. This value, as well as responsibility, was approached in different directions. Centre Party approached it through sustainability in general, including all its dimensions. Left Alliance considered it through environmental sustainability, and Social Democratic Party through social sustainability.

These values point out that parties have common interfaced regarding sustainability and its meaning. Even though there were no values that would have been opposite to each other, it was interesting to look at these, as a base for each parties' attitudes and ideologies.

8.3. Including Environment to Political Spectrums

The most fascinating and significant finding of this thesis is that the traditional left-right spectrum is not entirely capable to map parties through their sustainability attitudes and values. It seems that sustainability – and most of all environmental sustainability – divides MPs even within parties. The left-right division was still present in some statements in some extent. However, the statements that related to environment, there was more leaning to the agreement of its importance and urgency to promote it than denying its importance. Also, the tools presented in the statements were somewhat agreed in statements. Through the data, it seems that regardless of whether one or two continuums are used to define the political spectrum, the positioning of the parties would change. This leads also to the fact that there would be less polarization between parties.

One possibility to map parties' position relating to environmental sustainability, as well as economic and social sustainability is to consider pro-environmental attitudes as a left-wings characteristics. Here, supporting environmental sustainability moves the spectrum leftwards, meaning that those parties that are considered strongly

to the right, would move closer to the center, because of their answers that aim to support environmental sustainability. This way to map parties' positioning is even more difficult than with traditional left-right continuum, because there is more determining factors.

Another possibility to map parties' position relating to environmental sustainability as well as economic and social sustainability is to add axis of environmental attitude to the traditional left-right spectrum. Then the horizontal axis would illustrate the socio-economic left-right division, and vertical axis would illustrate either negative or positive attitudes towards environmental sustainability. Here, political spectrum is modified by giving up the liberal-authoritarian axis, which also does not serve its purpose in environmental questions. This would leave the liberal-authoritarian axis out of the two-dimensional political spectrum. Therefore, this kind of political spectrum would not be suitable for all questions (for example considering parties' attitudes towards narcotics or diverse of genders). It would, however, give insight into parties' attitudes relating to sustainability issues, such as business subsidies for polluting companies or the effects of climate change on human health.

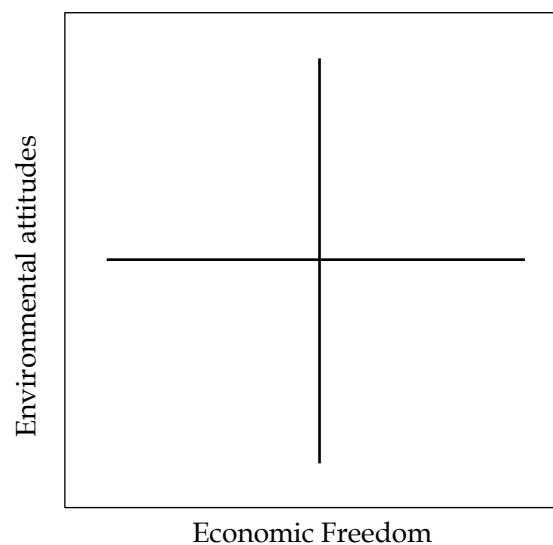


Figure 4: Two-dimensional political spectrum that concerns environmental attitudes.

The assumption that pro-environmental values and liberalism could be presented in the same end of the two-dimensional axis or as a part of left-wing attitudes rather than right-wing, seem to be relevant with those parties that are positioned more left than center-left, meaning that in Finland this kind of positioning suits for Green League and Left Alliance. In other parties that participated to the survey (SDP, Centre, NCP and Finns) would not be so simply positioned through their environmental attitudes. This is because there were so much division between party representatives.

One problem that remains is that political spectrums cannot answer complex questions. They can only point the direction, without explaining themselves further. As has been stated in this thesis, sustainable development is complex concept, and it combines economic, social, and environmental questions. Therefore, wide questions such as, do parties think sustainable development should be promoted in Finnish society, are not relevant.

Next, I will further investigate, how different parties positioning might change, if environmental dimension would be considered, and how they would promote sustainability. I will combine here the answers of the interviews, and the survey responses. I will start with the left-wing parties and move on rightwards. I will examine all parties that participated either to the semi-structured interviews, to the survey, or both. Therefore, I will not discuss Swedish People Party or Liike Nyt - Movement.

Looking into the answers of two **Left Alliance's** MPs to the statements, there was not one statement that the answers would have divided to the agree and disagree. There were some statements that the answers differed from somewhat agree and strongly agree, but this does not implement significant differences inside the party. Based on the responses of the Left MPs, and compared to the responses of other parties, the Left's position on the political spectrum remains the same on the left-right axis. Likewise, the Left strongly supports environmental sustainability and would therefore rank quite close to the end of the continuum that points pro-environmental attitude.

Left Alliance seems to want approach the promotion of sustainable development strongly through society, including taxation, regulation, and supporting individuals to adapt more environmentally sustainable lifestyles. They supported all the tools that were presented in the statements, from plant-based diets to carbon pricing and compensation policies. The question that remains is whether Left, considers economic sustainability as important that environmental sustainability. If looking at the statements that considered debt and taxation, it seems that they do not care the costs of the sustainability policies, if society covers the costs, not individuals.

When evaluating **the Greens'** responses to the survey's claims, it becomes clear that the responses supported the promotion of environmental sustainability. However, when environmental sustainability and economic sustainability were partly presented as opposites in the same statement (Statement 2), differences between the respondents arose. This illustrates that in the left-right spectrum Greens would not necessarily place on as left as the Left Alliance. In a continuum of environmental attitudes however, Green's would position quite close to the pro-environmental end. However, if there would be only the left-right division that includes the pro-environmental attitudes in left side of the spectrum, Green's might move slightly closer to the left end of the continuum.

Similarly to the Left, Greens do not hesitate to promote environmental sustainability, and all tools can be used. One of the respondents, however, did not

agree to take additional national debt. This illustrates, that in addition to the environmental sustainability, we must also address the economic sustainability.

Social Democratic Party's MPs shared the agreement in most of the statements. Only exception was made by the fourth statement, which dealt with the transition to a plant-based diet with the help of regulation if the market works too slowly. This statement combined all the sustainability's dimensions, which can explain the division of answers. Therefore, as an only statement that divided SDP's MPs answers, it might not determine party's position in a spectrum as strongly than other statements. SDP's MPs answered similarly than Green's and Left's MPs. It seems that within environmental questions, SDP moves quite close to the other left-wing parties.

All the sustainability's dimensions were strongly raised in their representative's interview. In contrast to Left and Greens, SDP worried more about the social sustainability compared to the environmental sustainability. However, if we strictly look only to the statement responses, the left-parties hardly differ at all with agreement to use the tools suggested in the statements.

Unlike the left-wing parties, in the **Centre Party** the answers were divided in all but two statements (Statement 5 and 7). All other statement there was both disagreement and agreement in Centre's MPs responses. There are two possible explanations. First one is simply that Centre is a centric party. It does not belong to either left or right side of the spectrum. The other is, that the theme of environment itself divides the answers of the MPs. It seems that Centre Party remains where it currently is, in the middle of the left-right division.

Centre was not very precise with its tools. In the interviews their representative mainly focused to the importance of circular economy as an answer to how to achieve environmental and economic sustainability. In the survey Centre's MPs were not eager to increase taxation nor take additional debt. It seems that they saw this as a weakening for economic sustainability. As said in the previous chapter, Centre's interviewee himself argued that social sustainability is not promoted enough. However, he did not have any other answers than that everyone should be able to live and make a living where they want.

The responses of the **National Coalition Party's** MPs to the survey confirm the observations made about parties leaning towards left. The NCP, known as the right-wing party, leaned in several statements to support the same responses as the representative of the left-wing parties. However, such statements in which the economy and the environment were at least partly opposed to each other, the MPs of the coalition were inclined to primarily support the promotion of economic sustainability.

NCP clearly would first want to concentrate on economic sustainability, and then move to promote other sustainability's dimensions. One of their MPs voluntary answers to the third statement concludes it well: *climate policy must be ambitious, but not at any price*. Whereas left-wing parties seem to see that environment is a basis of all policies, NCP sees that it is economy that directs our policies.

It is difficult to say, whether **Christian Democratic Party** would move anywhere if environmental sustainability would be considered. This is because of two reasons. First, CDP's MPs did not respond to the survey, which makes it impossible to analyze, what would have been their answer. Secondly, in the interview, CDP's representative was not so eager to promote more ambitious climate policies, nor did he think that environmental sustainability would be greater question of food production. Therefore, I would say, that CDP would not move leftwards. But as said, I cannot make any conclusions because CDP participated only to the interviews.

In the same way as the NCP, the answers of **Finns** were both opposed to and parallel to the answers of the left. Overall, compared to other parties, Finns had stronger opposition to the claims. Still, it seems, that even as a far-right party, Finns leans slightly closer to the left, when concerning environmental sustainability. It is difficult to argue, which tools Finns would use to promote sustainable development, because they disagreed in many of the suggestions made in the survey, and they did not participate in the interview.

8. CONCLUSION

Is it relevant to take some theme from the politics and study how political parties' values and attitudes relate to it? Is it relevant to change the way we divide our parties on the political spectrum? These are some of the questions that I have thought about over the past months. My answer is yes. The leading thought through this thesis was that sustainability is much more than just adapting and mitigating to climate change. It is more than UN's Agenda 2030 and the SDG's.

In personal life, we need to do choices every day that relates to sustainability. Whether we choose to eat meat for lunch or go to work by bus rather than car, our decisions have economic, social, and environmental impacts. Making sustainable or un-sustainable decisions relates to our health and well-being, economy of individuals and nations, our jobs, what we ate or is there any food to eat, our infrastructure, our nature etc. Even though climate change must be stopped or at least control, the way that climate change policies are done matters. If they are too aggressive and ambitious, they might have negative impact on social and economic sustainability. It might mean that many citizens lose their jobs or that the payments of those policies are distributed unequally.

In political life, we should easily see, whether political parties' values about environment and other dimensions of sustainability are similar or different to ours. Therefore, it was interesting to explore parties' values and attitudes in relation to sustainable development. The value of sustainable development seems to be in its diversity and complexity. It defines so many different policies, that there is something for everyone. It combines political values from freedom to intergenerationalism and ecology. It includes seeking answers to problems in every aspect of life. It is not easy for someone to not support sustainable development. Therefore, I think that there is potential in it. The value of sustainable development can be simplified, in my opinion, to the sentence that I have included to the name of my thesis: we want to ensure better future for next generations. Who would not want that?

In this thesis, I have explored and analyzed the dimensions of sustainability and the attitudes and values of Finnish parliamentary parties' relation with these topics. I have used two-phased data collection, which included five semi-structured interviews

and survey for the members of the Finnish Parliament. With collected data, I studied, sustainability attitudes of the Finnish political parties in relation to traditional left-right political spectrum. In this chapter I will present the key findings through two research questions and discuss the methodological choices of this thesis. In addition, I will present some insights for further studies.

9.1. Answering to the research questions

The first research question was: *How does the combination of sustainable development's dimensions influence the positioning of political parties on the political spectrum?* Firstly, the combination of sustainable development's dimensions refers to all sustainability's dimensions. As an entity, sustainable development has some influence on parties positioning on the spectrum. However, if we only examine the environmental dimension of sustainability, it seems clear that it has influence to the positioning of political parties on the political spectrum.

Including the environmental dimension on to socio-economic left-right division, or to the two-dimensional political spectrum where social, and economic dimensions are also represented, parties seem to move leftwards or at least closer to the pro-environmental end of the continuum. Here, I have assumed that parties' attitudes towards social and economic sustainability correspond to their thoughts on these themes in general. Therefore, environment is the new factor that has been analyzed closely in this thesis. The strength of the influence of the environmental dimension depends on the political spectrum used and the questions with which the positioning of the parties' is made.

The second research question was: *What are the differences in sustainability attitudes and values among Finnish parliamentary parties, and how do these differences manifest in their policy positions and legislative priorities?* There was both similarities and differences on the sustainability attitudes and values of the parties, as well as different approaches of the ways which parties would promote sustainability. However, the parties were much more like-minded on sustainability issues than I assumed. The biggest differences were between left-wing and right-wing parties, and between environmental and economic dimensions of sustainability.

The differences between the parties emerged especially in which of the dimensions of sustainability receive too little attention, or which should be promoted most urgently. It is also noteworthy that there were particularly little differences in sustainability attitudes between the left-wing parties, while on the other hand there was more dispersion between the right-wing and center-right parties.

9.2. Insights to the Chosen Methodology

Through two-phased data collection, careful analysis, and critical interpretation, I have provided insights on the topics of sustainable development, sustainability, and political ideologies as well as political spectrums. This thesis has confirmed the significance of sustainable development in the perspective of Finnish political parties' thoughts in a way that was possible in this timeframe and with data that was collected.

As said before, data-collection was quite problematic. It turned out to be difficult to organize semi-structured interviews, or in more directly said, get interviewees. Similarly, it turned out to be difficult to get answers to the survey. Fortunately, I was able to get at least small number of answerers both in the interviews and the survey. However, if I would have had more time and resources, I might have had more answers to both. The problem relies on the timeframe that this thesis was constructed. The semi-structured interviews were carried out in January to February 2024 and the analysis took place in February to March. I was able to form the survey and sent it to the MPs in April. If I would not have extended the response time, I would have had under 10 % responses of the entire sample (200 MPs). Now I was able to get 28 responses in total, which was a disappointment, but still better sample than with the earlier deadline. It seems clear to me, that the findings of this thesis would have been even more significant, if the sample would have been larger.

Another difficulty in this thesis was that it was carried out in English. To lower the threshold for participation, semi-structured interviews and the survey were carried out using Finnish as a language of the data-collection. This turn out being time consuming, because the translations needed to be done carefully and by respecting the original language. In other words, I did not only need to transcript the interviews but also translate them.

8.3. Further Studies

The themes of this thesis have grown to be important to me and more perspectives have emerged while the research has been proceeded. Here, I will introduce some suggestions for further studies. Firstly, as has been argued earlier in this thesis, European Union has significant role in Finnish sustainability policies. It would be interesting to explore, whether parties in European Parliament share similar values than the Finnish counterparts, about the attitudes and policy tools relating to sustainability. Another interesting question relating to the EU-level is, if Finland has some characteristics of sustainability policies that other member states does not share. Third perspective on European Union level is the upcoming European Parliament elections. It has been predicted that the right-wing parties will grow their seats in this election. Therefore, it would be interesting to study, how does this change effect to the environment and food policy in an EU level.

Completely other perspective for the further study considers circular economy. One of the statements in this thesis considered promoting circular economy in order to achieve sustainability. It would be interesting to go even further, and study, whether immaterial economy share similar mutual understanding between parties. This, of course, is a narrower topic, but it is still related to the promotion of sustainable development.

Finally, further research of the political spectrum that considers environmental sustainability could combine environmental questions together with other questions that have been traditionally analyzed in liberal-authoritarian axis. Then it would be possible to explore environment's role in two-dimensional political spectrum in more detail.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview invitation

Arvoisa, [Puoluesihteerin nimi],

Tutkin pro gradu-tutkielmassani suomalaisten puolueiden asenteita ja arvoja liittyen kestävään kehitykseen ja kestävyYTEEN. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, eroavatko puolueiden asenteet kestävyyskysymyksiin toisistaan ja millaisin toimin puolueet tavoittelevat kestävää yhteiskuntaa.

Haastattelukutsu:

Toivon, että Sinä puoluesihteerinä voisit osallistua haastatteluun, edustaen puolueesi näkemyksiä. Mikäli aikataulu (joka esitetään kirjeen loppupuolella) on Sinulle haastava tai koet jollakin puoluetoimistonne työntekijällä olevan erityistä osaamista kestävyysteemoihin liittyen, voi haastattelukutsun lähettää edelleen haluamallenne henkilölle.

Haastattelukutsu on lähetetty kunkin eduskuntapuolueen puoluesihteerille.

Tutkimuksen toteutus

Haastattelussa käsitellään puolueiden asenteita kestävään kehitykseen ja näiden vaikutuksia laajemmin Suomen poliittiseen ympäristöön. Haastattelu voidaan järjestää etänä, Zoom-alustan kautta tai Helsingissä, esimerkiksi puoluetoimistollanne tai muussa, yhdessä sopimassamme paikassa. Haastatteluun olisi hyvä varata noin 60 minuuttia.

Haastattelun vastauksia käytetään kansanedustajille lähetettävän kyselyn kysymysten muodostamisessa.

Aikataulu

Opinnäytetyöni tulee valmistumaan kevään 2024 aikana. Toiveeni olisi järjestää haastattelut tammikuun aikana (viikoilla 1-5). Tämän jälkeen käyn vastaukset läpi ja muodostan niiden pohjalta kyselyn kansanedustajille. Tavoitteena on lähettää kysely kansanedustajien vastattavaksi viikolla 7.

Mikäli haluatte osallistua tutkimukseeni, kuulen mielelläni, mikä ajankohta sopisi Sinulle haastattelun järjestämiseksi. Vastaan myös mielelläni mahdollisiin kysymyksiinne.

Mikäli ette halua osallistua tutkimukseen, toivon tässäkin tapauksessa vastausta.

Parhain terveisin,

Iida Hämäläinen
Maisteriopiskelija
Politiikan tutkimus
Jyväskylän yliopisto

IN ENGLISH

Dear [Party Representative's Name]

In my master's thesis, I explore Finnish parliamentary parties' attitudes and values related to sustainable development and sustainability. The aim of my thesis is to study, does parties' attitudes to sustainability questions differ and what policy tools parties suggest reaching sustainable society.

Interview invitation

I wish that You, as a party secretary, could participate to this interview, representing your party's viewpoints. If the timeframe (introduced later on this letter) is difficult to You, or if some of your office's expert has special competence on theme of sustainable development, You can forward this invitation to the person of Your choice.

Interview invitations has been sent to the party secretary of each parliamentary party.

Research implementation

The interview discusses the parties' attitudes towards sustainable development and their effects on the wider political environment in Finland. The interview can be arranged remotely, via the Zoom platform, or in Helsinki, for example at Your party office or another place we agree on. It would be good to reverse around 60 minutes for the interview.

Timeframe

My thesis will be completed in the spring of 2024. My wish would be to organize the interviews during January (weeks 1-5). After that, I go through the answers and create a survey for MPs based on them. The goal is to send the survey to MPs in week 7.

If You want to participate in my research, I would be happy to hear what time would suit You to organize an interview. I will also be happy to answer any questions you may have.

If You do not want to participate in the study, I would like an answer in this case as well.

Sincerely,

Ida Hämäläinen

Master program

Political Science

University of Jyväskylä

Appendix 2: Privacy notice

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja
filosofian laitos

- Tutkittavan suostumus (tietosuoja-asetuksen artikla 6.1.a, erityiset henkilötietoryhmät 9.2.a)

6. Henkilötietojen siirto EU/ETA ulkopuolelle

Henkilötietoja siirretään EU/ETA ulkopuolelle Microsoftin käyttö- ja tukipalveluiden toteuttamiseksi.

7. Henkilötietojen suojaaminen

- Käyttäjätunnuksella
 Salasanalla

Haastattelussa saatavaa aineistoa säilytetään ainoastaan tutkimuksen ajan tutkijan puhelimella ja tietokoneella. Osana pro gradu -tutkielmaa voidaan käyttää suoria lainauksia haastatteluista.

8. Henkilötietojen käsittely tutkimuksen päättymisen jälkeen

Henkilörekisteri hävitetään viimeistään pro gradu -tutkielman valmistuttua, arviolta kesäkuuhun 2024 mennessä.

9. Rekisteröidyn oikeudet

Suostumuksen peruuttaminen (tietosuoja-asetuksen 7 artikla) (jos perusteena käytetään suostumusta ks. kohta 4)

Sinulla on oikeus peruuttaa antamasi suostumus, mikäli henkilötietojen käsittely perustuu suostumukseen. Suostumuksen peruuttaminen ei vaikuta suostumuksen perusteella ennen sen peruuttamista suoritettujen käsittelyjen lainmukaisuuteen.

Oikeus saada pääsy tietoihin (tietosuoja-asetuksen 15 artikla) Sinulla on oikeus saada tieto siitä, käsitelläänkö henkilötietojasi ja mitä henkilötietojasi käsitellään. Voit myös halutessasi pyytää jäljennöksen käsiteltävistä henkilötiedoista.

Oikeus tietojen oikaisemiseen (tietosuoja-asetuksen 16 artikla) Jos käsiteltävissä henkilötiedoissasi on epätarkkuuksia tai virheitä, sinulla on oikeus pyytää niiden oikaisua tai täydennystä.

Oikeus tietojen poistamiseen (tietosuoja-asetuksen 17 artikla) Sinulla on oikeus vaatia henkilötietojasi poistamista tietyissä tapauksissa.

- Tutkittavan suostumus (tietosuoja-asetuksen artikla 6.1.a, erityiset henkilötietoryhmät 9.2.a)

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Oikeus tietojen poistamiseen (tietosuoja-asetuksen 17 artikla) Sinulla on oikeus vaatia henkilötietojasi poistamista tietyissä tapauksissa.

Oikeus käsittelyn rajoittamiseen (tietosuoja-asetuksen 18 artikla) Sinulla on oikeus henkilötietojesi käsittelyn rajoittamiseen tietyissä tilanteissa kuten, jos kiistät henkilötietojesi paikkansapitävyyden.

Oikeuksista poikkeaminen: Tässä kuvatuista oikeuksista saatetaan tietyissä yksittäistapauksissa poiketa tietosuoja-asetuksessa ja Suomen tietosuojalaissa säädetyillä perusteilla siltä osin, kuin oikeudet estävät tieteellisen ja historiallisen tutkimustarkoituksen tai tilastollisen tarkoituksen saavuttamisen tai vaikeuttavat sitä suuresti. Tarvetta poiketa oikeuksista arvioidaan aina tapauskohtaisesti. Oikeuksista voidaan poiketa myös jos rekisteröityä ei pystytä tai ei enää pystytä tunnistamaan.

Vastustamisoikeus (tietosuoja-asetuksen 21 artikla) (jos perusteena käytetään oikeutettua etua ks. kohta 4) Sinulla on oikeus vastustaa henkilötietojesi käsittelyä, jos käsittely perustuu oikeutettuun etuun.

Profilointi ja automatisoitu päätöksenteko

Tutkimuksessa henkilötietojasi ei käytetä automaattiseen päätöksentekoon. Tutkimuksessa henkilötietojen käsittelyn tarkoituksena ei ole henkilökohtaisten ominaisuuksiesi arviointi, ts. Profilointi vaan henkilötietojasi ja ominaisuuksia arvioidaan laajemman tieteellisen tutkimuksen näkökulmasta

Rekisteröidyn oikeuksien toteuttaminen. Jos sinulla on kysyttävää rekisteröidyn oikeuksista, voit olla yhteydessä rekisterinpitäjään (ks. kohta 1).

Sinulla on oikeus tehdä valitus erityisesti vakinaisen asuin- tai työpaikkasi sijainnin mukaiselle valvontaviranomaiselle, mikäli katsot, että henkilötietojen käsittelyssä rikotaan EU:n yleistä tietosuoja-asetusta (EU) 2016/679. Suomessa valvontaviranomainen on tietosuojavaaltuutettu. Tietosuojavaaltuutetun toimiston ajantasaiset yhteystiedot: <https://tietosuoja.fi/etusivu>

Appendix 3: Consent to the processing of personal data

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Iida Hämläinen
Maisterin tutkielma
POLS7005
Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja
filosofian laitos

SUOSTUMUS HENKILÖTIETOJEN KÄSITTELYYN JA OSALLISTUMISEEN

Minua on pyydetty osallistumaan tutkimukseen, jonka tarkoituksena on käsitellä suomalaisten puolueiden kestävyysasenteita ja -arvoja.

Olen lukenut ja ymmärtänyt saamani kirjallisen tiedotteen ja tietosuojailmoituksen. Olen saanut riittävää selvityksen tutkimuksesta ja sen yhteydessä suoritettavasta henkilötietojen keräämisestä, käsittelystä ja luovuttamisesta. Minulla on ollut mahdollisuus esittää kysymyksiä ja olen saanut riittävän vastauksen kaikkiin tutkimusta koskeviin kysymyksiin.

Minulla on ollut riittävästi aikaa harkita osallistumistani. Olen saanut riittävät tiedot oikeuksistani, tutkimuksen/selvityksen tarkoituksesta ja sen toteutuksesta sekä hyödyistä ja riskeistä. Minua ei ole painostettu eikä houkuteltu osallistumaan.

Ymmärrän, että osallistumiseni on vapaaehtoista ja että voin keskeyttää osallistumisen milloin tahansa tai peruuttaa henkilötietojen käsittelyyn antamani suostumuksen. Peruuttaessasi suostumukseni henkilötietojeni käsittelyyn, minusta siihen mennessä kerättyjä henkilötietoja, näytteitä ja muita tietoja ei voida käsitellä osana tutkimusta, vaan ne hävitetään, mikäli niiden poistaminen aineistosta on mahdollista. Keskeyttämisellä tai suostumuksen peruuttamisella ei ole minulle haitallisia seurauksia.

Suostumuksen peruuttaminen: sähköpostitse (hamaivz@jyu.fi)

Annän suostumuksen henkilötietojeni käsittelyyn:

- Kyllä
- Ei

**Annän suostumukseni seuraavien erityisten henkilötietoryhmien käsittelyyn:
Poliittinen mielipide**

- Kyllä
- Ei

Päivämäärä:

Allekirjoitus tai muu aktiivinen toimi kuten sähköpostivastaus

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Iida Hämläinen
Maisterin tutkielma
POLS7005
Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja
filosofian laitos

Tutkimuksen tekijä säilyttää suostumusta tietoturvallisesti niin kauan kuin henkilötietojen käsittely kestää.

Appendix 4: Survey Invitation

Arvoisa x eduskuntaryhmän pääsihteeri,

lähestyn teitä nöyrän avunpyynnön kanssa.

Lähetin kaikille kansanedustajille kutsun osallistua pro -gradu tutkimukseni kyselyyn viime viikolla (maanantaina 15.4.). Tietooni on tullut ikävä tieto, että ainakin osalla kansanedustajista viestini on juuttunut roskapostikaranteeniin, huolimatta siitä, että lähetin sähköpostit yksi kerrallaan kullekin kansanedustajalle ja tämän avustajalle.

Tiedustelisinkin, olisitteko voinut olla avuksi ja välittää oheisen viestin eduskuntaryhmäsi kansanedustajille. Kyseessä on hieman muokattu versio viestistä, jolla lähestyin kansanedustajia reilu viikko sitten.

Ystävällisin terveisin,

*Maisteriopiskelija
Politiikan tutkimus
Jyväskylän yliopisto
iida.i.hamalainen@jyu.fi*

Arvoisa kansanedustaja,

lähestyn teitä eduskuntaryhmänne pääsihteerin kautta pro gradu -tutkielmani kyselyn muistutuskutsun tiimoilta. Valitettavasti osa lähetetyistä kutsuista on joutunut sähköpostinne roskapostikaranteeniin. Kyselyyn on vielä mahdollista vastata maanantaihin 29.4.2024 klo 21 saakka.

Lämmin kiitos heille, jotka ovat jo osallistuneet lyhyeen kyselyyni.

Tutkin pro gradu -tutkimuksessani suomalaisten puolueiden asenteita ja arvoja liittyen kestävään kehitykseen ja kestävyYTEEN. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, eroavatko puolueiden asenteet kestävyyskysymyksiin toisistaan ja millaisin toimin puolueet tavoittelevat kestävää yhteiskuntaa.

Pyydän mitä nöyrimmin Teitä osallistumaan tutkimukseeni vastaamalla oheiseen kyselyyn.

Kutsu osallistumaan kyselyyn:

Toivon, että Sinä kansanedustajana voisit osallistua kyselyyn. Kysely on anonyymi, mutta edustamasi puolue tulee ilmoittaa kyselyn alussa. Kyselyyn vastaaminen vie muutaman minuutin.

Kysely koostuu väittämistä, joihin on kuhunkin neljä (4) vastausvaihtoehtoa (täysin samaa mieltä, jokseenkin samaa mieltä, jokseenkin eri mieltä, täysin eri mieltä), sekä mahdollisuudesta perustella lyhyesti vastauksia. Tämän sähköpostin lopussa on listaus kyselyn sisältämistä väittämistä.

Kutsu vastata kyselyyn on lähetetty kaikille kansanedustajille.

Aikataulu:

Kyselyyn vastaaminen on mahdollista **29.4.2024 klo 21** saakka. Tämän jälkeen linkki kyselyyn suljetaan.

Tutkimuksen toteutus:

Kysely on muodostettu aiemmassa vaiheessa tekemiäni eri puolueiden edustajien haastatteluiden pohjalta. Haastatteluiden pohjalta muodostuneet väittämät, joihin kyselyssä tulee vastata ovat:

1. Kestävän kehityksen saavuttamiseksi ja taloudellisen kestävyuden edistämiseksi verotusta ei tule vähentää vaan lisätä.
2. Suomi voi ottaa lisää velkaa ympäristön kestävyuden saavuttamiseksi.
3. Suomessa tulee harjoittaa nykyistä kunnianhimoisempaa ilmastopolitiikkaa ympäristön kestävyuden ja Suomen hiilineutraaliustavoitteen (vuosi 2035) saavuttamiseksi.
4. Poliitiikan tulee kannustaa kasvispohjaiseen ruokavalioon siirtymistä, koska markkinavetoinen muutos on liian hidasta.
5. Siirtyminen kiertotalouteen on ympäristön kestävyuden kannalta välttämätöntä ja sitä tulee edistää, vaikka se vaatisi muutoksia nykyisiin tuotanto- ja kulutustottumuksiin.
6. EU:n maataloustukien tulee ohjata maataloutta uudistumaan nykyistä ympäristöystävällisempään suuntaan.
7. Hiilen hinnoittelumekanismit (esim. hiilivero) ovat tehokkaita välineitä päästöjen vähentämiseen.
8. Suomen tulee harjoittaa kestävästä kehityksestä edistävää politiikkaa myös kehitysmaissa, jotta kestävä kehitys saavutetaan globaalisti.

9. Sosiaalisen kestävyuden edistämiseksi yhteiskunnan on korvattava nettonollapäästöihin siirtymisen aiheuttamia kustannuksia silloin, kun ne asettavat ihmiset epäoikeudenmukaiseen asemaan.

Kyselyyn voi vastata tämän linkin kautta:

<https://link.webpolsurveys.com/S/3E008B1C790D0381>

Pro gradu -tutkimukseni kieli on englanti, mutta tämä kysely toteutetaan suomeksi.

Mikäli Teillä heräsi kysyttävää, vastaan mielelläni.

Parhain terveisin,

Iida Hämäläinen

*Maisteriopiskelija
Politiikan tutkimus
Jyväskylän yliopisto
hamaiyz@jyu.fi*

Tutkielman ohjaaja: Sergei Prozorov (sergei.prozorov@jyu.fi)