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**THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN GLOBAL
CLIMATE RESPONSIBILITY AND
NATIONALISM IN POLICY MAKING**

How is the Finnish role in global climate governance
constructed in parliamentary discussions?

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ABSTRACT

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Climate change is a socio-natural phenomenon that can be described as a shared global challenge. It is simultaneously solved and discussed in the local and global spheres, and this has led to a situation where climate change provides a new window to discuss nationalism and national identity. It is a risk that requires global co-operation so that necessary climate change adjustments are made. This built-in global responsibility and its interplay with nationalism is also the interest in this thesis. Specifically, the topic is approached with a focus on how the Finnish parliamentary discussions construct the idea of climate responsibility together with a nation-state perspective. Furthermore, I am interested in the different identifications that are operationalized in the discussion while domesticating climate change action on national political agenda.

With a methodological framework of discourse analysis, epistemic governance and membership categorization analysis I analyze the discussions in the Finnish parliament related to the 2015 climate law. The analysis reveals how different global actors are utilized within the discussion in a variety of ways, depending on the politician. The referencing to other global actors were vital in the epistemic work of defining national identity in relation to climate change. Finland's moral responsibility and expected actions in relation to climate change are influenced by different reference groups and other actors associated to Finland in the discussion.

Furthermore, MPs speeches reinforce banal nationalism, but at the same time MPs have to assure that Finland will fulfill its global responsibility by reducing emissions. Whether the argument is for or against the proposed climate law, MPs would mainly construct their argument so that it takes into consideration the nation-state. For example, aligning national interests with global interests, or making a demand for international co-operation, wherein national interest can be defended against the external. At the same time however, arguments for national interests are forced to be molded so that they are argued in an international framework and assure that Finland will carry its part.

The discussions also showcase how the premises of the arguments utilized in the epistemic work are not purely local, instead they are part of the imageries of the social world. As MPs make arguments pursuing national interests, they at the same time premise their arguments on global trends, further showcasing how the discussion of climate change is part of global synchronization.

Keywords: domestication, epistemic governance, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, climate change, discourse analysis, membership categorization analysis

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1. Introduction

Climate change as a socio-natural phenomenon differs from region to region, but in a globalized world climate change can be considered a shared challenge. As Jasonoff (2010) puts it, “climate change too, can be linked to a place, but that place is the whole earth” (p. 241). Climate change can be described as a systematic risk due to its global character and origin being attached to our way of living and its effects that happen in one place has consequences globally. This has made climate change an issue that is at the same time being dealt with and discussed in the local and global spheres. For many, this situation has also presented climate change as a new way of observing nationalism and national identity, since it is a global risk that requires global cooperation so that the necessary mitigation requirements are met.

Because of the global nature of climate change, the construction of climate change governance and policies include a number of different actors, and this brings forward many interesting aspects related to spatial scales. For example, climate change has created new ways of measurement and comparison between states. Specifically, categories such as “most polluting countries” or “countries investing most in green energy” can have significant value in political discussion and in the task of convincing other political actors. One can for example come across the argument of why states should change their ways because of climate change, if there are countries that are perceived as not doing as much. Climate change governance simultaneously creates an opportunity and a challenge for nation-states to construct themselves. When tackling climate change by adopting climate related policies, nation-states are faced with a task of incorporating climate change, which has a strong inbuilt global responsibility, and national identity building into decision making.

As a result, the effect that climate change has on nationalism and how it is utilized in relation to national identity has been studied previously for example by Conversi and Friis Hau (2021). They have studied how a left-leaning sub-state nationalism’s agenda is often purposely tied in with environmental and climate conscious rhetoric’s. With a more state nationalism focus, Ridanpää (2021) has studied how carbon footprint is merged together with nationalistic discourses in the Finnish media. Ridanpää’s study showcases, for example, how Finnish stereotypes resonate well with the moral responsibility related to carbon footprint. As

can be seen, climate change has been studied in relation to fortifying national identity, but there is also a strain of thought that proposes that climate change will bring forward a new kind of cosmopolitanism and deterritorialization (Heise, 2008). Furthermore, Ulrich Beck wrote in the 1990's about risk society and how global risks will dilute national incentives and create a way for a new cosmopolitan outlook (1992). Climate change is one example of a global risk as it is impossible to mitigate greenhouse gasses enough without global cooperation.

As seen above, climate change makes way for a discussion relating to state identification, nationalism and cosmopolitanism. In this thesis I aim to take part in this discussion on the interplay between global climate change responsibility and nationalism, with the perspective of world culture and domestication. I approach this with an analysis of Finnish parliamentary discussions related to the 2015 climate law. Within this framework climate change is being considered a global idea or a trend that is created in the world culture and adopted to the national context through domestication. Domestication is the process of introducing new thoughts and policies to national contexts. Alasuutari and Qadir (2013, p. 7) emphasize that this is not a process of diluting national identity, on the contrary, nation-states refer to world-wide models and blueprints as a means to fortify national identity. As Syväterä and Alasuutari (2013) phrase it: "through the process of domestication external influences become seen as domestic" (p. 40). With the concept of domestication, it is possible to understand the process of something international becoming a part of a national context.

The theoretical concepts of world society theory, domestication and epistemic governance can offer new insight to the discussion about climate change and nationalism, as through them it is possible to rethink the sometimes-strict divisions between the local and the global. For example, as the international is included in the domestic through the process of domestication, it offers a new perspective on understanding how climate change becomes part of a national agenda. Domestication is not a one-way street in the sense that only the external influences the national. Rather, the different actors also pay close attention to different policies, options, and ideas that other actors, such as states, have created in their way of adopting trends in the world culture (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 9). This also makes domestication an interesting perspective to utilize in the study of climate change and national identity, because it proposes that the international or cosmopolitan is already in the midst of national thinking. This bottom-up understanding within domestication as well as the inherent

call for international cooperation in climate change create an opportunity to pay attention to how other global actors are utilized in the parliamentary discussion and what kinds of identifications are made related to Finland. I would argue that because there is expected cooperation within climate change, there is a stronger imperative to identify with other global actors as a means of building national identity.

Furthermore, I would argue that climate change brings forward a new spin on the domestication process, since within climate change there is a powerful and vocalized claim for a shared global responsibility and climate action. As climate change action becomes more and more urgent globally, there is a growing pressure for nation-states to adopt in on the national agenda. Due to its effects that vary regionally, there is not necessarily clear policy models that can be adopted by countries. Rather the pressure to take action consists of moral obligations, responsibility, and carbon emission reduction goals. Countries make their own approaches to these trends and Finland's 2015 climate law was one reaction to the growing global climate consciousness. In this master's thesis I aim to approach the challenge of adopting climate change action to national context with a focus on how the Finnish parliamentary discussion constructs the idea of climate responsibility together with a nation-state perspective.

The thesis starts with a theoretical framework and a focus on previous literature on climate change and nationalism. It is an area of discussion which involves many different approaches related to the possibilities and impossibilities of combining climate change responsibility with national identity building. After going through the recent literature in the field I will introduce world society theory, as well as the concepts of synchronization and domestication. Then I'll present the methodology applied in this thesis based on discourse analysis with a perspective of epistemic governance as well as membership categorization analysis. In the end I'll present the findings as well as contemplate on how within the parliamentary discussions other global actors have an important role in the epistemic work of constructing Finland's role in the global climate governance. I will also elaborate on how politicians fortify banal nationalism, but at the same time declare that Finland is a responsible climate actor, one way or another. The discussions also showcases how the premises of the arguments utilized in the epistemic work are not purely local, instead they are part of the imageries of the social world (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2016).

2. Climate change and nationalism

David Storey (2008, p. 89) describes nationalism as an ideology that aims to create and maintain autonomy, identity, and unity for a population. This means that the idea of nationhood is not a “natural” element, rather it is constructed and utilized as a tool to achieve certain political goals. Due to its nature, nationalism can take on many different forms. However, according to Billig (1995) people are keen to pay attention only to the “hot” forms of nationalism, for example nationalism that is associated with far-right politics. In reality nation building is an everyday process embedded in the everyday mechanisms of states. Alasuutari describes (2016) nation-states as having the best resources and opportunities to create in a systematic manner attachment to a national group. A national group can therefore be the most determining factor of identity for an individual, even if it is possible to feel belonging to more than one group. This is not always set in stone, as the credibility and attachment to the constructed identity are situational and under constant change (Alasuutari 2016, p. 17). This has made climate change an interesting opportunity to approach nationalism from a new perspective, and some scholars argue that it has created new challenges as well as opportunities for nationalistic thinking. It also can be argued that nationalism affects the way states react to climate change and position their stand to global action for climate mitigation.

Conversi (2020) recognizes challenges between carbon mitigation and a nationalistic worldview. He argues that due to the rapidly changing knowledge related to climate change and its uncontrollable nature, it cannot be comprehended within the limits of a nationalistic worldview. Conversi (2020, p. 628) emphasizes that “the more governments yield or appeal to state-sanctioned nationalism, the less likely they are to be able to operate and cooperate in a way that urgently requires smoothing down emotional passions about the Other”. He sees that nationalism is in fact one of the biggest obstacles in creating successful climate actions, as is proven by failed international climate meetings. Furthermore, Conversi (2020, p. 629) argues that since nationalism is inherently a boundary-building activity, it is a strain of existence that works against solving climate change.

Where Conversi (2020) sees a challenge between climate change and nationality, Lieven (2020) recognizes a possibility. Lieven discusses in his book *Climate change and the nation state: The case for nationalism in a warming world* how nationalism in fact will play a big

role in the battle against climate change. According to Ridanpää (2021) this type of argument is grounded in realism, as climate change is something that challenges the existence of nation-states, and this creates an incentive for action. Ridanpää discusses this realist approach to nationalism and climate change in his article on carbon footprint discourses and re-conceptualizing Finnish nationalism and national pride. In his article, Ridanpää describes the realist approach to nationalism and climate change as a perspective that highlights how nation-states are institutional forces that are incapable of acting within a framework of international agreements: perceived national interest always comes first before climate cooperation. Therefore, the Paris agreement was considered a success story, since it joined nation-states to a shared goal, but was loose enough that countries can achieve this goal with means that they consider best for them. Ridanpää (2021) also associates to the Paris agreement a change in climate change discourse, in which national comparison to other countries has played a big role in creating nationalistic arguments. This seems to underscore the nature of climate change as a global emergency. His concluding remarks are, that the idea of carbon foot responsibility has spread all around the world, but at the same time it has become part of state-centric nationalistic articulation. He sees in this also a positive possibility, as it might bring climate change thinking closer to everyday lives of citizens (Ridanpää 2021, p. 14).

Positive possibilities of intertwining national and environmental discourses have been discussed by Jones and Ross (2016) as well. They present a case study based on Wales and make note how sustainable development is in some ways synchronized with national identity and values. In a way there is an attempt for creating a “Welsh version” of sustainable development. Combining environmental discourses with national discourses has also increased the imagination of possible futures for the Welsh nation and reimagining what is considered as Welsh. Jones and Ross (2016) see a number of possibilities in combining the aforementioned two discourses and strengthen the notion that national identity is constantly under construction and environmental or climate change discourses are a relevant contributor to this reimagining. Furthermore, Conversi and Friis Hau (2021) have studied how environmental and climate conscious rhetoric can be purposely utilized to advance political goals, in the context of their study left-leaning sub-state nationalism.

Another way of understanding climate change and nationalism is *resource nationalism*. Conversi (2020, p. 630) describes resource nationalism as a national rhetoric in which soil-

rooted national resources are seen as a common good and belonging to the nation, even if only a small portion of the population gain the profits of said resources. Along this economic utilization of resource nationalism, Koch and Perreault (2018, p. 611) define resource nationalism as utilizing nature or natural resources as an expression of national identity through natural resources. For example, in the context of Finland, forests are considered a natural resource and are associated as part of “Finnishness”. The conclusion is that people belonging to a certain state should have the only say on how natural resources are utilized instead of, for example, foreign corporations. In this way it is a straightforward expression of national sovereignty. However, Koch and Perreault (2018, p. 612) point out that resource nationalism is not always led by the state or an economic elite. Often grassroots movements, ordinary citizens or global advocacy networks can utilize the language of resource nationalism when making a case against foreign extractive industries. In Finland’s case, forestry is constantly under discussion and people from different areas of society weigh in on the discussion, visible discourses being for example climate change and ecosystems.

In the next chapter I will focus on the views that recognize how climate change or global issues in general dilute nationalistic way of thinking.

2.1 Cosmopolitanism

In many instances cosmopolitanism has been suggested as an alternative that climate change will bring forward in relation to nationalism. This does not mean cosmopolitanism in its classical sense, for example Conversi (2020, p. 629) sees that the classic Kantian notion of cosmopolitanism has in fact transferred to *survival cosmopolitanism*. He defines this as a new type of global consciousness that is based on the existential threat that climate change creates. This forces people to move and act beyond nation-state boundaries. This is not cosmopolitanism by choice or an elitist ambition to be a “world citizen”, but rather it is ignited by a growing awareness of the threat that the current socioeconomic order is facing.

The above argument is very similar to Becks and Giddens’ views on the risk-society. The basic principle is the notion that climate change and other environmental risks has already transformed our way of understanding the world. As Beck (2011, p. 1348) states it: “In world risk society, therefore, we experience a “cosmopolitan imperative” There is no other anymore! The global other is in our midst. Everybody is connected and confronted with everybody—even if global risks afflict different countries, states, and cultures very differently”.

For Beck, this also brings forward a question on how strangers in the world society can, meaning for example different states, become neighbors that cooperate. This is a political and moral question that, according to Beck, will divide those who can operate successfully in the midst of global crises and those who cannot as thinking exclusively through national terms is not an option anymore. Instead, Beck (2011, p. 1352) proposes cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitization that emphasizes how the interests of nations are linked to each other and to the new shared responsibility of global survival creating “imagined cosmopolitan communities”, where national traits are pushed aside for the sake of global cooperation and communication. The national is seen as becoming part of cosmopolitanism, but for this to be successful, it needs to open up to the outside.

The concept of risk society is discussed also by Ursula K. Heise in her book *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The environmental imagination of the global* as to how the concept of risk society also serves her discussion about deterritorialization. According to Heise (2008: 19): “ecologically oriented thinking has yet to come to terms with one of the central insights of current theories of globalization: namely, that the increasing connectedness of societies around the globe entail the emergence of new forms of culture that are no longer anchored in place, in a process that many theorists have referred to as “deterritorialization.””. Indeed, the emergence of risks that are global in nature can affect everyday reasoning and this way take part in the process of deterritorialization. Heise (2008, p. 152) further argues how risk perception can transform attachment to a local place, either fortifying it or weakening it, depending on the nature of the risk.

2.2 Nationalism and global climate responsibility as normative frameworks

As seen above, national identity is under a lot of theorization and construction. This is not a new emerging interest, as the whole concept of national identity or nationalism has been under scrutiny for a long time. For example, at times talking about nations does not require any territorial bases or desires, and on some instances it can be seen as a territorial strategy aiming to transform national identity to a political state. However, according to Kaplan (2009, p. 248) “The primary debates about nationalism have to do with the constitution of the nation itself.”. This means that for others a nation is seen as something that has a long history and an ethnic identity, whereas others see it as socially constructed. This does not mean that for example, perspective of social constructionism argues that the whole existence of national identity is unstable and uncertain. Rather, national identity is seen as the most stable identity

that people hold and maintain. Instead, the difference is a question of emphasis that gives way to further theorization, for example for the tension between climate responsibility and national identity.

One way of approaching this tension is through the concept of scale. Meaning that people can have multiple identities starting from a certain city, country, continent, political union and so on. At first this seems to contradict the idea of nationalism, but this is not necessarily the case, as political geographers have recognized a distinction between identity and loyalty. Kaplan (2009, p. 252) utilizes an example from the Cold War when Germany was still divided. East Germany was on a road to building a new nation, whereas West Germany still based national identity on the idea that included East German territory and other German lands that previously belonged to Germany. This showcases how a separated country can express highly different spatial positions.

Above is an example of a lower spatial scale, but scale remains an important concept from the perspective of globalization as well. According to Robertson (1995, p. 36) globalization is often assumed something that will exceed locality. Indeed, sometimes processes that are placed under the umbrella of globalization, such as merging global identities and networks are seen as something that moves the world in to a “postnational” direction (Jessop 2011). Environmental challenges such as climate change tap into the same process that is seen as challenging the nation-state as environmental problems are seen as something that can only be solved through global co-operation. An emphasis is on the interconnectedness of people and phenomena that exceed constructed borders (Storey 2012, p. 153). Environmental challenges can be seen as something that forces to be mindful and focus on the exterior and this way they also create an incentive to rethink loyalties, communities, and identities. The national “we” is not necessarily enough if the goal is to maintain a global livable environment.

Lastly this tension between national identity and global climate responsibility can be discussed through Benedict Anderson’s account on imagined communities (2006). Imagined communities are one way of explaining the existence of nations, as Anderson’s sees them as emerging from a large group of people who have no means of knowing each other personally. However, they have conscious awareness of living through life and sharing experiences with a group of people which bounds them together as a national and excludes other people. Beck et al. (2012) build on this conception of imagined communities. Since Anderson’s conception

is based on argument that communities are not created by immediate proximity instead must be constructed, this similar principle can also apply to communities beyond national borders. However, Anderson describes in his theorization of imagined communities how the members of these communities have a very strong loyalty to the nation they belong to, for example willingness to protect the community with their own life. From a climate change perspective this seems to come back to the question of loyalty. Even if humans can identify with different communities through spatial scales, how can one exceed the loyalty towards the national identity or to have strong enough incentive to act for people belonging to imagined cosmopolitan communities. Beck et al. (2012) further problematize this question and recognize that such imagined cosmopolitan communities are not well known and there are a number of different aspects to consider when discussing them. For example, does the construction of said communities start from fear of the future or positive visions? Does mediatization affect our connections to others? Nonetheless, Beck et al. (2012, p. 9) argue that limiting the understanding of communities through “thick” connections, connections that emerge through constant repetition, can underestimate phenomena such as climate change’s possibility to create wider communities than the national.

2.3 Agenda setting in public policy and climate change

It is apparent that climate change is an important topic of discussion in today’s societies. Therefore, agenda setting in public policy is an area which should be paid attention to and contemplate, how an issue becomes a topic of discussion. Birkland (2006) defines agenda setting as “...the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention” (p. 63). Birkland’s characterization is straightforward, but for an issue to become a part of a political agenda there is a number of factors to consider. The attempt to set a desired agenda is a competitive arena, as it is not possible to take all possible problems and solutions into account. Therefore, actors are expected to put a lot of work into persuasion to gain a place for a certain issue among other agendas. Agenda setting is tightly related to media, as problems require exposure for them to be considered an issue (Dearing & Rogers 1996, p. 2).

In the question of how an issue becomes part of the agenda, Princen (2007, pp. 29-30) has elaborated on a number of different aspects. For example, issues can be defined and re-defined affecting the different interest group’s relation to the issue. Depending on the framing, people’s conception and opinions related to the issue differ. The definition of an

issue can also be influenced by different political factors, such as a sudden change in the discussion. An example of this is the IPCC's fifth assessment report published in two parts in 2013 and 2014, which had a major impact on climate discussion and the attention climate change gained. Additionally, institutional factors also have a role in agenda setting, as different institutional frameworks can favor different issues. Lastly, for an issue to be set on the agenda, it should expand so that it involves and concerns a number of different groups. For example, an environmental discussion would not be as impactful if the discussion is conducted only between environmental NGO's. Related to the last point we can also turn to Alasuutari (2015, p. 171) who highlights how in political decision-making all actors consider themselves as acting in the best interest of the nation. However, politics often consists of different parties and stakeholders trying to differently define "the common interest". In the case of a global-scale problem the negotiation of common interest gets further complicated by the multilevel (global, European, national) character of the setting. From worldly perspective, what all the states are inclusively exposed to is the common pressure to put the issue of climate change on political agenda.

In this thesis the question of handling climate change in national political discussion is further approached with the concepts of world cultural such as domestication, synchronization and epistemic governance.

3. Concepts of world culture

According to world society theory, nation-states identities, structures and behavior is shaped by world society models, leading to a situation of global *isomorphism* (Meyer et al., 1997). As a part of neoinstitutionalism, world society theory brings forward a different explanation for modern society than rational choice or functionalism where actors are perceived as making rational choices or consisting of beneficial organizational elements (Alasuutari 2015, p. 163). Instead, global isomorphism is achieved through shared world culture, which creates a situation where states and other actors imitate each other. This happens within the idea that there is a rationalistic, science-based path in the world culture that should be followed. Expert knowledge, provided by scientists, consultants, and such, creates models, organizations and other actors which are then promoted as necessary for society to move forward. This further means that, for example states, are not rational actors in the world, but rather adapt to the world culture and through this take interest in the same trends as other states. A key notion in this is acting in a way that is expected, which is an important ritual in claiming a seat at the table of actors in the world (Alasuutari: 2016, p. 11).

As an example of this, is the environmental ethos that is relevant in today's society, as this trend can also be traced as having global roots. For example, Hironaka and Frank (2000, p. 96) have written how climate change has become an inherent part of the roles of nation-states due to top-down influence. Environmental consciousness gets diffused to nation-states through blueprints that are "drawn in the world society". The level on institutionalization of different blueprints differ in time, but Hironaka and Frank (2000, p. 100) argue that environmental blueprints of national protection have increased significantly. This is not related only to the climate, but also includes for example actions related to pollution or protection of natural areas.

As seen above, the world society theory proposes an alternative view of the world system emphasizing the role of culture. However, even if the world society theory does not treat actors as calculating beings making rational choices, it still leaves out the perspective of how in practice global cultural phenomenon get adopted in the local level. Alasuutari (2015, p. 173) has described it as global social change in which global organizational standards spread and reach larger areas of the world and social life. In this sense it is not necessarily so different as the functionalist theorization of modernity it criticizes, only the thing that is initiating the change is different. Furthermore, shared similarities between nation-states do

not mean that they become copies of each other in the long run. Instead, they seem to hold on to their national “tone”, even when adopting model trends from the broader world. This is further contemplated with the concepts of synchronization and domestication.

3.1 Synchronization

Alasuutari (2016) has criticized world culture theory as treating nation-states with a black box mentality and not going into the practicalities of adopting different policies or trends. He argues how “world polity theory does not account for, or even seek to explain, the persistent sense of national ownership in policy-making, which, in turn, leads to analyses of national differences trumping global homogeneity” (Alasuutari 2016, p. 5). Therefore, it can be more useful to think about global *synchronization* rather than isomorphism. According to Alasuutari (2016, p. 14) the concept of synchronization brings focus to how states are informed by the movements and policy adaptations of other states and what kind of effects this has on them. Through synchronization it is possible to observe how new ideas take place in states. Indeed, synchronization does not mean that global trends, ideas and values have lost their importance. Instead, they maintain their important role as they still are instigators for nation-states to make changes, difference is just nation-states do it in a way that they hold on to their existing “paths” (Alasuutari and Qadir 2014, p. 9).

As previously stated, the concept of synchronization acknowledges the importance of global trends and that nation-states aim to adapt them whilst maintaining their diversity. This process can further be understood by paying attention to how nation-states introduce global trends to the national context as a political tool. This is not a straightforward process where a nation-state adopts, for example, a policy model just as it is. Instead, ideas are mixed, combined and transformed in different ways as they enter the national context, and in this process new policy fashions and movements are created. According to Alasuutari (2016, p. 18), “international influences are primarily introduced to national policy making from within”. Domestic actors have a pivotal role in keeping national politics up to date with global trends. This process is further illustrated with the concept of domestication.

3.2 Domestication

Climate change can be considered as a global script, but this does not mean that it manifests itself on a nation-state level the same way across the world. Rather, nation-states make this climate change script their own through the process of domestication. Domestication is the

process of introducing new thoughts and policies to national contexts. Alasuutari and Qadir (2013, p. 7) emphasize that this is not a process of diluting national identity, on the contrary, nation-states refer to world-wide models and blueprints as means to fortify national identity. Instead of copying policies from other nations-states, policies are constructed with their own national interest in mind. So, in this sense it is not necessarily about hierarchical power structures in which, some entity with more power declares what policies countries need to adopt.

Alasuutari (2013, p. 104) separates two important factors from the domestication process. One is the comparison of individual nation-states to other nation-states in a competitive manner. The assumption is that nation-states compete with each other, which creates a national consciousness, fortifying the national identity even when matters revolve around the global level. The second factor is related to how the global models and comparative data are utilized in the local political discussion as “ammunition” for local domestic issues. The domestication process is also not related to smaller “policy models”; instead, it is about introducing new items and problems to the national political agenda. This further means that the newly introduced item or problem acts as a means of synchronization for a nation-state and brings the global to the domestic and vice-versa (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 10). Finally, after the domestication work described above, different policies are naturalized as inherent parts of the state.

Syväterä & Alasuutari (2013) point out how the domestication of global policy trends happens so that national actors feel that they are acting in full agency. Furthermore, domestication happens so that it strengthens banal nationalism (Billig 1995), meaning that the change at hand, for example a new policy, feels like it is part of the national project and on a path of strengthening it and international elements of the policy are forgotten. Even if national actors do their bidding national interest in mind, this does not mean that the policies adopted or discarded but discussed, only have influence locally. Rather, the national policy discussion has been synchronized which can further create new global policy trends. As Syväterä and Alasuutari (2013, p. 40) phrase it: “The framework of domestication emphasizes the cyclical nature of global change; a process in which embracing global ideas by nation-states constantly generates new world cultural ideas and transforms earlier ones”. Indeed, with domestication it is possible to pay “practical” attention how the global and local

mesh together, which further gives an interesting opportunity to contemplate on climate change and nationalism.

Relevant to the process is also epistemic governance which is introduced in wider detail in the following methodology. In short, epistemic governance notes that nation-states adopt global trends and policies, not because of force, but rather because of the belief that it is the best choice to make for prosperity. Through epistemic work political actors get convinced and aim to convince others in relation to policy solutions. Since the actors base their arguments on the shared global cultural values, it creates synchronicity between nation-states. Alasuutari (2015, p. 177) gives an example of science and rationality. A political actor can for example, aim to influence others by referencing to a scientific figure or institute, leading to a situation where scientific community can have an important role in decision making.

4. Research questions

Climate change responsibility can be argued to create a pressure for climate change action, where it is expected to be part of public policy agenda. As seen in the literature review, this creates an interesting discussion around cosmopolitanism and nationalism, that can be further investigated with the concepts of domestication and epistemic governance. With domestication it is possible to observe the practicalities of adapting an international trend into a local context, as well as pay attention to the way other actors are utilized in the discussion. These perspectives also shed light on how global issues, such as climate change, are taken into national political agenda.

The research questions are:

- What kinds of identifications, such as global, national, regional, or local are brought up in the discussion?
 - How are these identifications portrayed and operationalized in the discussion?
- How does the multiscale nature of climate change affect the domestication of it in the debate on the new climate law in the Finnish parliament?

5. Methodology

In this master's thesis the data will be analyzed using discourse analysis with a guiding viewpoint of epistemic governance and membership categorization analysis (MCA). Discourse analysis is interested in language and in the understanding of how the use of language is part of constructing a specific version of events. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, p. 12) describes the interest in language as observation of the ways meaning is produced differently in various situation. From this point of view language is a very flexible and agile resource that can be utilized in a multitude of ways, depending on the situation. Language and the social reality are intertwined, and discourse analysis seeks to illuminate this relationship. In discourse analysis the researcher takes a position deriving from social constructionism. Therefore, the researcher is not interested in finding some sort of objective truth from the data but rather information on how people construct different meanings to an event with discursive resources (Willig 2013, p. 5). One way of observing this is focusing on language and how it is used to create different discourses and how language reflects as well as constructs social reality. In the context of this thesis, a parliament as an arena holds a lot of value in opinion building and is the key arena in passing new laws. As Jokinen (2016, p. 145) argues, the language of politics and the debates it is utilized in can have significant societal outcomes. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to how different issues are discussed and how language is used in debates.

According to Jokinen et al. (2016, p. 25) discourse analysis can be a misleading name for the methodology, since it should actually be thought of as a loose theoretical background. It can be more beneficial to understand discursive analysis as a viewpoint that allows the utilization of different emphases and methodological tools. Similar thoughts are presented by Willig (2014, p. 5), who argues that in discourse analysis there is not necessarily a concrete method that one can follow step by step. Instead, it is a perspective based on a theoretical framework that gives insight to the text and language of interest and provides tools to recognize significant patterns of interest.

Whether you use the term discourse or system of meaning, it is good to be aware that different systems of meaning or discourses exists in a plurality. Indeed, different systems of meaning exist side by side and sometimes compete with each other (Jokinen et al. 2016, p. 36). Suoninen (2016, p. 43) makes further clarifications to the process of identifying systems of meaning in a text. Firstly, it is relevant to know that systems of meaning do not exist as a

full, easily detectible units in the text. Instead, they are in small pieces, and the understanding of the system of meaning develops as researcher gets familiarized with the data. Secondly, discourses do not allude to the “themes” of the discussion, for example talking about climate change is not a climate theme. Interesting systems of meaning are instead the use of language that makes possible to understand multiple things through it. For example, through discourse of individualism it is possible to make understandable subjects such as hobbies or education. Thirdly, Suoninen (2016) points out that the interesting aspect of discourse analysis is the existence of contradiction. Indeed, the interpretation of different systems of meaning should not rely on the existing constructions in the brain of the researcher. Instead, it should rely on the differences and contradictions appearing in the used language. Lastly, the use of words or symbols often have another symbolical meaning besides their literal one. This meaning can sometimes be difficult to detect but can still hold value to the analysis.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will next go through some of the basic concepts relevant for this master thesis. I will further elaborate the discursive viewpoint of epistemic governance and MCA in the following chapters.

5.1 Context of decision-making

The researcher of discourse is interested in how language is present in reality. Behind this interest is the idea that language as a system acts differently and is utilized differently in diverse situations. The meaning of words, expressions, text, or discourse is never stable, simple, or permanent in meaning, rather it is always contextual and dynamic (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, p. 29). Therefore, knowing and elaborating the *context* of the meaning observed is important for the sake of the analysis. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009, p. 31) further elaborate how context can be referred to a small part of the surrounding reality. However, even when focusing on a specific context, at the same time the larger and overlapping contexts are always present. The researcher can focus in on a certain context but should at the same time recognize the presence of other historical, institutional, or societal contexts. For example, the focus in this master’s thesis is on the Finnish parliament, so at a first glance it would seem that context of observed discourses would be in Finland, the parliament discussion at hand, comment rounds that happened before the parliamentary discussion and so on. In reality, especially considering the global nature of climate change governance, the contexts related are much wider and the decision-making related to climate change is also intertwined with other “separate” policy fields such as energy policy.

Furthermore, Jokinen et al. (2016, p. 30) discuss that paying attention to context is important since discourses and repertoires are transformed in different social situations. This means that the data being analyzed is regarded as something belonging to certain time and a place. They bring forward a number of different “types” of contexts, such as cultural context and conversational context. Cultural context requires an amount of cultural knowledge from a researcher related to the topic. Conversational context relates to the development of the discussion as different speeches, arguments and positions do not appear from nothing, instead they are built upon previous turns of speaking. For example, in a situation where people are introducing themselves in a meeting, there is an agreed upon way on how it should be done. Even if “the floor is open” for everybody to introduce themselves freely, there still are expectations or context on how it should be done (Jokinen 2016, p. 31).

The previous example of conversational context is apparent also in realm of political speech. Jokinen (2016, p. 145) discusses the role that debate has in discourses, especially the act of legitimization and argumentation. Jokinen points out that political speech is a certain type of genre, which has its own preconditions. By invoking the concept of argumentative positions by Michael Billig (1987) she recognizes how opposing and defending arguments are situation-specific positions on a public discussion and these opposing and defending arguments are related to each other. Through different rhetoric attempts, discussion participants aim to persuade listeners to their positions. This debate can happen in a varied of ways, it can be contradictory, defensive, direct or indirect and pre-emptive, in a way that certain positions are shaken even before they appear. Indeed, debating is also an important part of epistemic work, as different actors aim to persuade enough support for different laws, or even sway others against the law.

5.2 Epistemic governance as analytic framework

According to Alasuutari and Qadir (2014, p. 68) epistemic governance can be thought of as actor’s attempt to gain influence by affecting others understanding of reality. As Alasuutari and Qadir (2014) argue, epistemic work is focused on three different layers of social work: the ontology of the environment, actors and identification and norms and ideals. Since policy decisions are made based on the already existing understanding of the world, different actors aim to govern by influencing people’s understanding of reality. Actors conduct epistemic work, often unconsciously, hoping to affect hegemonic views and definitions in different situations. Alasuutari and Qadir (2014, p. 72) elaborate this by formulating three questions, in

which epistemic work is conducted into three different aspects of the social world: *what is the environment, who are the actors and what is virtuous and acceptable*". Furthermore, they emphasize that there are no ontological claims without including all three aspects and on each level it is possible to divide them into a paradigmatic and a focused practical dimension.

The three different layers are present when political actors aim to do epistemic work. The *ontology of environment* refers to the actors aim to affect what is considered as reality and right or truthful in different situations. The *actors and identification* side of epistemic governance aims to influence people's understanding of themselves and others as actors. Aspects of this, such as an understanding of which community people belong to and what other actors there are in the world, are being shaped. Alasuutari and Qadir (2014, p. 75) present "strengthening and appealing to the nation and national interest as a prime example of epistemic work on actors and identifications". Alasuutari (2011, p. 230) describes how in the modernization narrative the international and national layers are intertwined. The international layer might be left unnoticed as the referencing often contradicts what is called banal nationalism. Policy suggestions are done by presenting them as a way for national success. Syväterä and Alasuutari (2013, p. 49) emphasize "that conforming to global policy trends is made in such a way that domestic policy actors can maintain their sense of agency". Lastly epistemic governance can be seen at work on people's *norms and ideals* and the application of them to different situations. An actor might utilize commonly shared principles and ideals to convince others. There are general values and principles such as rationality or equality, but also emerging new values that might catch on, such as sustainability. This kind of epistemic work however is not contradictory to science and claims of rationality (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, p. 77) The three different aspects are crystallized by Alasuutari & Qadir (2014: 78) as revolving "*around constructions of what the world is, who we are, and what is good or desirable*". When a political actor attempts to make a change, they proceed by influencing all of the aforementioned layers. One way of doing this is, for example, defying something already established.

While discussing climate change, these sides highlighted via epistemic governance are present as well. How we see the world, our role in it and what kind of actions should be taken into consideration related to climate change, all have an impact on how we can approach it and what kind of a future we will have with it. Therefore, epistemic governance provides a new aspect to observe climate change related policy making and to observe how the global

trends related to climate change become adapted on a national level. It also offers a window to observe how, in the premises of this master's thesis, Finland sees its role in the network of climate governance. As stated before, all aspects of the three different epistemic work are at play at the same time. However, in this master's thesis the focus is on how other global actors are utilized in the parliamentary discussion and what kind identifications are made related to Finland and because of this, the main focus is on actors and identifications of the epistemic work. This also merges well with membership categorization analysis introduced in the following chapter.

5.3 Membership categorization analysis

Membership categorization analysis (MCA) comes from the work of Harvey Sack (1972), who was interested in different rules and categories that come up in the speeches of people that belong to the same cultural group (Housley & Fitzgerald 2017, p. 2). It is based on an idea that social identity is something that people actively use, achieve, negotiate, and attribute qualities to in their everyday social interactions. In other words: Harvey Sack was interested in the "lived work of social identity of how people do things with identities as social categories" (Housley & Fitzgerald 2017, p. 3). Indeed, MCA is a way to observe this utilization of categories in human interaction. However, Housley and Fitzgerald (2017, p. 4) point out that the focus is not in recognizing that people utilize social categories in their interaction. Rather the focus is on categories and their attributes that make them to be utilized in different social situations: how social categories are brought to life in different situations.

Membership categorization analysis is saturated with different concepts but there are three main notions to be recognized: *membership categories*, *membership categorization devices (MCD)* and *category-bound predicates and activities*. Personal categories, such as drummer, singer, and guitarist can be called membership categories and they further create a membership category device, a collective category, that can be called a band. It is possible for categories belong to a number of different MCD's at the same time. For example, the singer in a band can be a member in the unit of a family. Categories are recognized as belonging to different MCD's through a variety of rules of applications, such as *standardized relational pairs*, *economy rule* and *consistency rule*. Standardized relational pairs are class of categories in which mentioning one category brings forward an implication to another category, for example, doctor and patient or student and a teacher seem to make common sense. The kinds of pairs it is possible to invoke by mentioning one category is related to context, and in some

instances some pairs might appear stronger than others. For example, existing pair student and teacher have greater relevancy in school than outside of it (Housley & Fitzgerald 2017, p. 8). On another note, the economy rule emphasizes that often it is relevant to utilize only one category in a situation, even if people belong to a number of different ones. For example, in a tournament for team sports it is necessary only to be understood as a teammate. According to consistency rule, two categories that are utilized close to each other, can be considered as belonging to the same device, for example using categories father and daughter, create an understanding of a device called family (Stokoe 2012, p. 281).

In addition to previously described rules of application it is necessary to pay attention to category-bound activities and predicates as in characteristics. Category-bound activities describe how some activities are in a common-sense manner tied to certain categories. For example, a teacher provides students with new knowledge. With these category-bound activities and predicates it is also possible to observe morality in talk as the act of categorization constantly define and affirm the conditions how one belongs to certain category. As Stokoe argues (2003, p. 322) “When people engage in the morally oriented activities of describing, judging or making claims about others, their activities both reflect and compose moral reality. Categorization is bound up with moral and hierarchical structures such that, in the ongoing construction of MCDs, there are ‘morally flavoured’ activities that both constitute and reflect social and cultural divisions”.

Indeed, predicates assigned to different categories define obligations or rights that are associated with certain categories. For example, Stokoe (2003) showcases how women can be assigned with different categories such as “mother” or “doctor”, and each of these categories has different category-bound activities that are expected to be fulfilled. Furthermore, recognizing that categories fail to fulfill their category bound activities, creates a situation where this lacking appropriate behavior can be morally judged. An example of this would be a doctor constantly failing to cure their patients. Relevant to this is Jayyusi’s (1984, p. 20) distinction between categories and categorization. Categorization is action where other members actively categorize others through characterizations. Categories on the other are culturally already existing conceptions that are being utilized in categorization. Overall, categorization is not neutral work, instead it makes normative assumptions and judgements about behavior and identities. According to Jayyusi (1984, pp. 19, 26, 43) categories have different normative standards and moral conceptions. This way categorization also leads to

constructing identities, social norms as well as influences social actions. For example, Rautajoki (2012) has recognized how membership categorization is a tool for moral casting. This means that the categories invoked create a further trajectory for moral responsibility. For example, in a setting of a television program, the host, by introducing their guests through a certain category, makes the guests morally accountable for their category, for example nationality. In a journalistic setting, the individuals participating in the discussion take on the membership of the nationality, which overrides the individuals' actions. This leads to a situation where the participant is morally obliged to speak for the larger crowd of the nation, even in a situation where the individuals' actions are not aligned with the larger group. Furthermore, individuals are usually eager to be included in the category even under moral accusations especially in the context of national membership.

The notion of categorization also makes MCA an interesting method for studying political discussion around climate change and introducing new laws to national context. Housley & Fitzgerald (2010) propose that MCA is indeed a good tool for analyzing political discussions since it reveals how the utilization of categories benefit the task of persuasion. Since climate change can be described to be a phenomenon that is to be solved on a global and local scale, it is not irrelevant how different actors navigate in the plethora of different climate actors. The categories utilized are not culturally stable but are instead constantly reconstructed and in this way it also constructs social. An example of how a somewhat ambiguous concept can be utilized in a political discussion and in the act of persuasion is provided by Rautajoki and Fitzgerald (2022). They have investigated how the word "solidarity" is utilized in the European parliament to serve different political goals. Through "solidarity" participants in the discussion referenced to various different actors and invoked different meaning and practical definitions for the word. With the utilization of "solidarity" and different constellation of actors related to it, politicians promote their political goals.

The different categories are also utilized to make sense of a new situation, in the context of this master's thesis climate change and the proposed climate law. It could be argued that focusing on different categories that are utilized in the parliamentary discussion it is possible to pay attention to different ways climate change is made sense of as a situation that's gravity is becoming more and more clear as time moved forward.

5.4 Data

As this thesis' data I will be using the Finnish parliamentary discussions related to the Finnish climate law of 2015. The data can be found in video formation and in transcripts through the parliament's website. The preliminary debate was held 10th of June in 2014 (64/2014 vp), second discussion 25th of February in 2015 (160/2014 vp) and the last discussion was held 3th of March in 2015 (163/2014 vp). Final plenary sessions, when the voting occurred, and the law was accepted was held on 6th of March in 2015 (166/2014 vp).

I chose to focus on parliamentary speech data as parliaments are an interesting focus in relation to national identity, as they have an important role in constructing said identity. Furthermore, I chose the Finnish parliament since as a country Finland is keen on thinking that it is a "green" or "nature" country, and this provides an interesting aspect as well to see how Finland adapts to the global responsibility. This is also an interesting window to a time before the Paris agreement, which can be considered the most important international climate agreement so far. Furthermore, the data was also easily accessible through parliaments websites and provided in two different formats.

The process of passing a new law in Finland starts with a preliminary debate. Before this, some actor, such as the government, a citizen's initiative or a member of parliament forwards a law proposal to the parliament. In the preliminary debate MPs provide different opinions and arguments related to the proposed law, and after the debate the law is forwarded to a suitable committee. The committee work on a report related to the law which is then forwarded to the parliament for a first session. This discussion begins with a broad discussion, moving on to the specific. At this point the MPs have a right to make suggestions for the content of the law. At instances the committee responsible for the report, which is the basis of the first session, can even propose discarding the proposed law. In the second session of the law MPs usually vote for or against the law. From this the law moves on, if accepted, to the president of the republic for approval (Eduskunta, 2022).

As seen above, the climate law had three separate discussions, the first one being the preliminary debate, the first and second sessions and lastly the day the law got voted and in the end approved. The reason why there is a separate date for the voting, is that The Finns Party party proposed that the law would be dismissed. The second handling therefore was a

situation where some of the True Finns voiced their concerns, but the discussion was very short and there was present only six MPs. However, the first two discussions are fairly long, approximately 3 hours and 45 minutes, and 2 hours.

I began working with the data by getting familiar with it. Firstly, I watched the video recordings of the discussions and highlighted interesting aspects of the discussion to the transcript. After this, I transferred the data to Atlas.ti for the purpose of further coding the data. At this point I classified the data based on different actors that are mentioned in the data, for example, Finland, the EU, Europe, Canada and the USA. I also included more abstract actors such as “international” and “developed country” as codes. Often these codes overlapped in speeches and a number of different actors are present in the same speech. After locating different actors, I proceeded to pay attention to the themes of the discussion related to the prementioned existing codes. For example, sometimes the climate law was discussed in relation to Finland through bureaucracy. A speaker would question the need for the law because it would add more unnecessary bureaucracy, and this was one of the often-occurring themes in the discussion.

After coding different actors and themes, I would further outline and combine relevant codes and themes for this thesis and for further analysis. The discussions were in Finnish, and the systematic analysis was done on the Finnish version of the extracts. After the analysis I would translate the extracts into English, while maintaining original the tone and message of the speech, so that it remained in line with the previous analysis.

5.5 Ethical considerations

The data utilized in this thesis is public, as the Finnish government provides free access to the transcripts and recordings of the discussions. The debaters present consists of public figures as they all are publicly elected politician. Their names are also clearly present and associated to their own speeches in the transcripts. As the research objects in this thesis are politicians and members of the Finnish parliament, thus holding for example, legislative power, their names are also visible in this thesis.

As stated in the chapter about discourse analysis, the contextuality of the data in this master’s thesis should be kept as the data originates from the year 2015. The same year that Finland implemented the new climate law, the Paris agreement came to be. Besides the Paris

agreement, climate change discussion has transformed a lot, for example due to influential IPCC reports and growing international bottom-up civil movements. Indeed, the discussion in this data has happened in the context of 2015, which is good to bear in mind. As Hajer argues (1996: 17) “Environmental discourse is time- and space-specific”, meaning that our current understanding of environment, such as climate, can differ from that of 2015.

6. Analysis

The following first two chapters highlight the role that international comparison has on making an argument for new policies. It is not irrelevant how and which countries are brought up in the discussion, as this reveals for example to what reference groups Finland is associated to. It is careful work what other countries are chosen to be included in the argument or work of persuasion (Ferrera et al. 2019, 5). Ferrera et al. (2019) have studied the construction of reference groups in Spain and Portugal during the economic crises. In their research they found out that actors, by referencing to different countries, utilize other actors to distance themselves from them or, reference to countries that they see as supporting their own argument. For example, when proposing a new law, they might reference to a country that has done well in the said policy field. This is apparent also in the following data examples. How MPs reference to other countries plays an important role in the convincing process.

6.1 Situating Finland in global climate governance through international comparison

International comparison has a part in the creation of a national consciousness and in making an argument for the trend that is being domesticated (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013). This is the case also in the Finnish parliamentary discussion and this comparison work is involved in situating Finland to the global climate governance. Some countries are seen as more suitable for Finland to be associated with and referencing to these actors contribute to the convincing process in the parliamentary discussions. These identifications also have a role in constructing and positioning Finland with regards to global climate change action. International identifications are called upon to make national claims. The following paragraph by Petteri Orpo (64/2014 vp) illustrates this matter:

Extract 1. *Constructing a desired reference group. (Petteri Orpo, Coalition Party, 64/2014 vp)*

“We are stepping into a new, sustainable economy. A sustainable economy should be built here and not drive Finnish labor and industry away to more polluting countries. For example, in India the production of electricity is about four times as polluting as it is in Finland. Carbon leakage is not good for either

Finland or the climate. On the contrary, we have an opportunity to help all the countries in the world by developing clean technology.

There are two things at play here: attitude and actions. A clear change in attitudes has happened in the world. Someone here referred to new decisions and policies in the United States in the fight against climate change. This is an everyday occurrence in developed countries, and will put businesses on the move, because in the work done to combat climate change and in environmental protection there is potential for jobs and new growth. This can be seen in Finland: the attitude has changed both in society – at the level of the state and municipalities, at the level of the civil servants – and in businesses. A lot is happening.”

In the speech Finland is positioned in a categorical setting that includes the USA but excludes India. By way of cultural familiarity and his further reference, a listener understands that the categorization is one between standardized relational pair of developed and developing countries. Orpo further emphasizes this division later by referencing to USA as an example of developed country. Being categorized within the former brings with it a loose set of normative duties that apply to the member of this category. One duty, which comes up in the speech, is the duty “to help other countries around the world”. This help comes not by way of aid in this instance, but by way of technological innovation that can be adopted by other countries. Orpo adds some attributes to the category of a developed country, namely the right kind of “attitude and actions”, that are par for the course for countries in this category. A change in attitudes and actions bring with them a bundle of “new decisions and policies” with regards to climate change. Orpo claims that Finland is no exception to this: the attitude in Finland has changed in the Finnish society broadly.

Alasuutari and Qadir (2019, p. 115) have written about how parliamentarians make references to other countries for the sake of an argument. One of the tropes utilized is the need to be included into a desired community of nations. In the case of climate change, and in reference to Orpo’s speech there is a certain progressive group that Finland should be included within, which further includes Finland to race to be among the top actors within climate change governance. The logical next step is to move on to the new decisions and policies, or the proposed climate law. Here we can see a way of using a categorization as a

device of argument: Finland is X. Being X brings with it set of normative duties, that go from A to B. Finland has done A, and now it's time for B. Global responsibility is present in the paragraphs but situated below the national context. For example, Orpo argues that the path to helping others passes through national development. In Finland's context this is especially relevant, since Finnish production is argued to be much cleaner than that of India's.

In addition to the speeches related to Finland taking an impactful part in climate governance or in other ways benefitting from climate change, there are also speeches that are more reluctant in the visions of climate future and Finland. In these speeches, actions within the Finnish borders are seen as insignificant in the global scale. There is a division between international and national action and if climate action should be taken, there is a question of which of the two it should take place in. National actions are not necessarily seen as part of the larger movement of climate action as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 2. Placing meaningful climate action outside of Finland. (Timo V. Korhonen, Centre Party, 6/4/2014 vp)

“Secondly, in my view the largest effect in holding back climate change comes by way of international climate negotiations and global climate agreement. I think our environmental civil servants and this political action and skill should focus on this and not necessarily spend time playing at our own little sandbox. The results of our international negotiations don't necessarily bode well for our environmental governance negotiators, so more has to be done about it. All in all, we must in Finland do actions that increase domestic renewable energy, and we must try to everything possible so that Finnish business does as well as possible.”

Korhonen questions the need of having a climate law, by referencing to “the international” as well as diminishing Finland's role in possible emission mitigation by describing Finland as “our little sandbox”. This creates an understanding that climate change as an issue of governance is too much for Finland to achieve meaningful things in a national context. This is emphasized by referencing to “failed” environmental negotiations by Finnish environmental officials. Korhonen argues that Finnish climate actors should dedicate their time and skills to the international level instead of the national. He is placing meaningful climate action outside the borders of nation-state, to the international sphere.

In both extracts the climate change is discussed through national development, but despite this shared starting point, the speeches frame the situation quite differently. Orpo's speech creates a vision of climate change as a possibility to Finland, as a catalyst for development. Finland's potential is emphasized, and this is portrayed also as having positive impact in the global climate future. Climate change is seen as something that will create national opportunities and therefore should be taken into account in the national policy making. In the latter paragraph by Korhonen the tone is different with emphasis on Finland's insignificance in relation to climate actions. Finland does not need a climate law, since the important decisions are made on a global level, and this is the place where Finland's energy for creating climate policies should be focused. The focus on national economic development and creating possibilities for green energy are not placed in the same mode of action as global climate governance.

Moreover, as Korhonen diminishes Finland's role as a meaningful actor in its own right, he at the same time assumes that Finland can somehow convince the countries he considers meaningful in the context of repelling climate change by way of international negotiations. Indeed, Finland seems to belong to two different categories of climate action depending on where the influence should take place. In the same paragraph Finland transforms from a largely unimpactful actor in dealing with climate change directly in the national context to an impactful actor in the sphere of international negotiation and agreements.

6.2 Playing the blame game: assigning the polluters

Another important aspect of international comparison in the climate change discussion is pointing out the actors who are seen as the most responsible for producing greenhouse gasses. This information is utilized in arguments in favor of the climate law as well as in arguments questioning or against it. Overall, in the debate, there is an understanding that Finland belongs to the category of "lesser polluters", releasing less greenhouse gasses to the atmosphere than other countries. At the same time however, there is also present a recognition that Finland belongs to a category of "rich countries" or "developed countries" and through this association should reduce its emissions. Nonetheless, the amount of greenhouse gasses emitted is an important way of positioning different categories under the categorical settings of "biggest polluters" or "lesser polluters". This categorization of countries further determines the duties, expectations, and roles that countries have in relation

to climate change. This applies to Finland also as MP's utilize Finland's position in the pollution comparison as means to legitimize or delegitimize Finland's climate actions. For others it is an incentive to "aid" other countries, whether this be a positive side effect of Finland's national development or pure global responsibility. For example, Ropponen (64/2014 vp) argues:

Extract 3. *Defining Finland's climate actions through comparing emissions. (Merja Mäkisalo-Ropponen, Social Democratic Party of Finland, 64/2014 vp)*

"Honorable speaker! It is true that Finland or even Europe can't alone mitigate climate change while China produces the most emissions in the world. If China, India and the USA don't participate in this communal work, the actions of other mean only little. On the other hand, there is an attitude-shift happening also in China, since 75 percent of the Chinese are now worried about the climate and water resources. Even on the governance level in China it is admitted that climate change poses them an economic threat.

Now Finland should be actively exporting its environmental know-how especially to China, and in this way, we can create more jobs via an active climate policy. The turnover of cleantech is growing globally all the time. That can be built into a new Finnish competitive edge since Finland is one of the leading cleantech countries.

Finland's goal is to keep its top position and strengthen it amongst the cleantech countries. Our goal must be that Finland becomes a cleantech superpower. A goal can even be to create tens of thousands of new jobs. At this time, we should rapidly invest in the commercialization of cleantech, so that other countries don't arrive there first. The competition is hard in these markets, but with our know-how we can compete. "

This example from Ropponen (64/2014 vp) showcases the utilization of comparing polluters in a way that encourages Finland to take climate actions as it brings forward opportunities for Finland's national development as well as positive global climate outcomes. At first Ropponen concurs with the notion that some countries are not as invested in reducing greenhouse gasses in a manner that Finland and Europe are implied to be. Ropponen argues that Europe's or Finland's actions can have little to no impact on climate change if China, India or the USA do not take part in the communal work. By describing the emission

reduction as “communal work” Ropponen implies that it is something that should include all countries, but at the moment this is not seen as the case. By this Ropponen creates an impression of agreeing with the idea that Finland, as well as Europe through the consistency rule, are somewhat acting more responsibly in the battle against climate change.

Despite the previous acknowledgment, Ropponen also brings forward similarities between the Finnish and the Chinese populations. She references to polling on the worry Chinese people experience related to climate change. Previously in the discussion Ropponen herself referenced to a study done by Kera ry:” *A study commissioned by Kera ry and done by Taloustutkimus says that the climate law is supported by 4 out of 5 Finns.*” This way she creates similarity between Finland and China and creates an understanding of climate change as a shared concern. In a similar manner as Orpo (Extract 1.) straightforwardly argued that there is a situation of change happening, Ropponen produces similar understanding of a shared concern waiting for somebody to act on, and this creates an opportunity for Finland. Ropponen also makes a slight distinction between the Chinese population and the government. The population is worried of climate change wholly whereas the government has “admitted” that there are possible economic consequences related to climate change. Indeed, since in reality heavy polluting countries are worried about climate change, China acting as an example, this presents an opportunity to Finland to battle against climate change as well as create national development.

Ropponen further continues with taking part on a recurring notion of how Finland’s national development as well as climate change actions are different sides of the same coin. In her speech, she brings forward an example of cleantech and the possibilities it creates for Finland as well as internationally as a solution for heavy polluters of climate change. Furthermore, this pursuit of cleantech is packaged into a situation of competition. Instead of Finland pursuing cleantech technology purely for the sake of climate, it is a question of urgency and competition as Ropponen argues that “we should rapidly invest”. For Finland to benefit from this development, it has to act now. Despite Ropponen’s recognition of countries that are heavy polluters, and doubt towards their possible actions, there is the sense of urgency, that can be approached in multiple ways.

The conception in MCA that categories can belong to a number of different categorical devices and groups with different responsibilities and expected behavior is relevant also in

Ropponen's speech, as there exists the need to find balance between global climate responsibility and responsibility towards Finland through economic development. The latter can be considered as being an already existing category-bound activity for nation-states, whereas climate change action is being introduced as a new category-bound activity. Indeed, in Ropponen's case it seems to be necessary to frame climate action through national development. Pursuing cleantech is not argued to be necessary solely because it has a presumed positive effect on climate change. This might be one of the reasons to pursue it, but Ropponen also sells this idea by referencing to the possibilities of Finland becoming a cleantech "superpower" and with this status bringing forward a number of new jobs. Finland's category related responsibilities are brought forward as an argument for climate action. In this manner, climate change is also presented as something that further creates competition, or rather taps into an existing competition between nation-states. Through this idea of competition, it is possible to pursue already culturally established actions of nation-state, such as economic development, as well as the situational new expected action, climate change prevention.

Lastly Ropponen's speech highlights how the differences between nation-state's presumed worry and previous actions or characterization also creates different expectations for future. Finland and China are both places in the categorical setting of "worried countries" about climate change. This, however, does not create an understanding that China might act on its own as well when it comes reducing emissions. This can be discussed through Jauyysi's notion (1984, p. 28) on how previous expectations and notion of different actors also give premises to predict the future behaviors of said actors. Indeed, the overall categorization of China in the discussions is that it is a large country that pollutes a lot, which can therefore create a prediction that it will not act sufficiently in relation to climate change even if the population is largely worried. Overall, the amount of pollution is a powerful indicator in the discussions that is used to categorize other countries in the present as well to the future.

6.3 Negotiation of national interests and global responsibilities

It is apparent in the data that there exists a view both in the parliamentary discussions and more broadly that national economic interests and global responsibilities of a nation-state form a contradiction. On the one hand, a nation-state strives to have more production of various kinds, but on the other it is expected to somehow regulate the emissions of its

producers. According to Storey (2012, p. 52) states have multiple roles related for example, to providing public goods, regulating the economy, and defending its territory. In the speeches it is evident that climate change governance or international pressures are seen as something that can threaten Finnish national economic development and way of living. One way of observing this threat is through the EU, which in the Finnish context is often portrayed as the first steppingstone in going from the national to the international scale. It is interesting that the EU, which has no direct link to the proposed law, is used both as an argument against the legislation and in the legitimization of the law. I'll further elaborate this with Heikkilä's (64/2014 vp) speech:

Extract 4. *Cost of environmental legislation to Finland. (Lauri Heikkilä Finns Party, 64/2014)*

“I heard the minister say, that the climate law won't cause economic hinderance. As a member of the committee of agriculture and forestry for the past three years I have heard about those extra regulations and hinderances that agriculture must deal with and lately in an increasing manner these have come out of the European clean air package and other things related to air quality protection. There are nitrate directives, ammonia too, there are gathering systems related to carbon dioxide and greenhouse gases, and when in agriculture they have to be gathered in a dispersed way from small sources, it will be very expensive.”.

In the paragraph, Heikkilä questions the Minister for the environment Niinistö's statement that the proposed climate law does not bring forward any new financial burdens. The reasoning for this disbelief is founded on the recent past and in different directives the EU has directed towards agriculture. Heikkilä elaborates the argument by listing different directives and control systems that concern chemicals that are often used in farming: the nitrate directive and rules concerning ammonia, carbon dioxide and greenhouse gasses. The impression is that these top-down assigned directives are a financial burden and since climate law falls into the same group of regulations related to environmental protection, it could be assumed that it will be expensive as well. By bringing directives and regulations like this to the discussion Heikkilä proposes that the climate law might as well be a law that is an inconvenience to Finland. There already exists supranational pressures on Finland, and it

would not make sense to add national legislative pressure on top of that as well. Heikkilä further continues:

Extract 5. Supranational influence creating losses for Finland. (Lauri Heikkilä, Finns Party, 64/2014 vp)

“I have learnt a new term in the last year, carbon leakage, or that which it means: the jobs of heavy industry and industry that consumes energy have had to be transferred to low-wage countries, so that the production can be profitable, and Finland has lost jobs. That too is due to these climate laws. Of course, peat burning, burning of wood and particle emissions and particle directives that come from the EU are also related to climate. Of course, I am in favor of having air that is clean so that we have breathable air, and we can live, but some moderation is needed. Finland is a small country.”

In the same speech Heikkilä moves on from agriculture to heavy industry. Heikkilä introduces the concept of “carbon leakage” to the discussion. Again, he provides a case against EU directives and governance by arguing that EU is the reason why Finland has lost its jobs to “cheap countries”. Here he introduces a new category that juxtaposes Finland, a cheap labor country. This category pairing of cheap and expensive countries partly overlaps with the pairing of developed and developing countries, since the context is carbon leakage. When discussing carbon leakage, Heikkilä concurs with the notion that the standard category-bound activity of a nation-state, national development and well-being, is in conflict with the newer category-bound activity, climate action. Heikkilä proposes a “reasonable” approach that isn’t too ambitious when it comes to climate action. He still maintains that there is a fundamental contradiction that we need to be wary of, since Finland has according to him lost jobs due to climate action. For Heikkilä, carbon leakage is a direct consequence of “climate laws”. Heikkilä presents a case against the proposed climate law by referencing to EU and warns against possible negative effects.

By linking climate change to “breathable air”, Heikkilä sets a very loose and flexible framework for climate change action. This framework allows for Finnish economic development and job growth without the constraint of limiting emissions, presumably so long as the air stays breathable. Heikkilä asks for some “reasonability” and reminds that “Finland is a small country”. By referencing the relatively small size of the Finnish population,

Heikkilä adds another feature to the category of Finland in the context of global climate change: Finland is not the problem, and furthermore cannot influence climate change by its own actions. The last phrase further places Finland as a defendant against EU legislation, climate law and in a larger scale global climate governance.

In both paragraphs of Heikkilä's speech, the EU is associated with governing activities that hinder Finland's national well-being and economic prosperity. In other words, the national sphere's relation to the supranational or international sphere is seen to be a one-way relation, where the latter puts out hindering responsibilities on the former. Following Rautajoki's (2012) notion of moral casting, Heikkilä's utilization of EU is a good example of how the category EU is invoked in the discussions in a certain role and further creates a "plotline" for the climate law and environmental actions as a whole. This kind of association towards the EU is quite well-known in Finland as well as in other parts of Europe. The EU has been seen as too involved in member states national policymaking and this has led to frustration and counteractivities, the most drastic example being Brexit. Heikkilä leans to this idea of the EU that creates an incentive against the proposed climate law.

6.3.1 Preserving national interests in international co-operation

The international sphere and the responsibilities it brings has lots of different sides to it in the discussion. In the view represented by Heikkilä (extract 4-5.), it mainly acts as a hinderance to national economic interests. As has already emerged from the previous extracts the proposed climate law and climate change action as a whole is frequently discussed through an economic lens. This is apparent whether the argument is for, or against, or somewhere in between in relation to the climate law. As considered before, there is an underlying conflict between the national prosperity and global climate responsibility. As making economic development possible is an important expected action for nation states, climate change action is often discussed through this notion. Jayyusi (1984, p. 43) has discussed constitutive features of categorization. Categories have category-relevant as well as category-required skills. This means that there are skills that are defining in nature for the category as well as skills that are plausible in the context of said category, but not necessarily constitutive of it. These skills related to category have also a moral element, meaning that if a person fails to fulfill the duties and rights that are categorized upon her because of her skills, it is seen as morally dubious. Jayyusi writes about skills related to categories in relation to humans, as in

doctor or a lawyer, but a similar principle can be recognized in the roles of nation-states. Different duties seen as formulative of nation-states are expected to be fulfilled, and climate change is often discussed in reference to said duties. This is further elaborated through Outi Mäkelä's (64/2014 vp) speech:

Extract 6. *International co-operation with national interests in mind. (Outi Mäkelä, Coalition Party, 64/2014 vp)*

“An important matter is also that the climate law won't bring new hinderances to businesses. I am happy about Finnish environmental policy, which has been done by the principle of “environmental smartness can be easy and economically reasonable”. These national actions that have been undertaken are of course important, but climate change can only be repelled with international cooperation. In this co-operation we must also protect the interests of our own country through international co-operation. In this cooperation we must also hold our own better than we have been. I am reminded of the meeting in Durban, where our carbon sinks, Finnish forests, suddenly became an emission from an international perspective. This cannot happen henceforth. I would ask the minister, is there something still to be done about this?”.

Mäkelä starts by applauding Finland's previous environmental politics as not burdening the overall business-sector. She creates an understanding that Finland's climate and other environmental actions are conducted so that they take into account the business-sector, and that this kind of climate action is indeed possible. In the speech Finland is placed in a group of nations that are taking climate change action into account in a smart way. As she states, “environmental smartness can be easy and economically sound”.

However, despite Finland's national actions, Mäkelä emphasizes that climate change can be prevented only through international co-operation, thus seeing that international responsibilities are in fact something to be pursued. However, by elaborating on this notion of the importance of international climate co-operation, Mäkelä creates a division between Finland and the rest of the world and a conflict between the two. For Mäkelä, international co-operation presents a situation where Finland has to stand up for itself in the future, and even more than before. She gives an example of the Durban meeting, where Finland's forests are discussed in a way that describes them as emissions. As she proposes, situations like this

should not happen in the future. Mäkelä highlights this absurdity of placing forests as emissions by describing them as carbon sinks, emphasizing their role in absorbing emissions. Indeed, as Finland is already in the group of solid climate actors, it makes little to no sense to question the role of Finland's forests. Finland's forests act as a warning example for listeners, as they are something of a national pride and hold an important role in Finland's economy. Mäkelä highlights how climate solution in the manner of international co-operation is both necessary but also challenges Finland's interests, if participated in unwisely. Here the international sphere, although maintained as the only way to solve climate change, is still in conflict with national interests. The subtext of Mäkelä's speech is that international cooperation, although necessary, better not hinder Finland. The national interest reigns supreme, even when international action is considered vital. This extract further showcases, the balancing act between previous national category-bound activities that needs to be fulfilled as well as new expected activities.

6.3.2 National interests equals fulfilling global responsibilities

Another way of looking at the relationship between the national interest and global responsibility is to claim they are aligned. The previous paragraphs have already presented how Finland's characteristics might play in the international field of climate change. As speeches by Mäkelä or Ropponen showcase, it is quite common in the discussion that Finland is already seen as doing well as a climate change actor. This also creates a situation where, since Finland is doing so well, the best course of action is not to try to reduce Finland's emissions further and risking Finnish economic development. This is further elaborated through part of a speech by Heikki Autto (64/2014 vp):

Extract 7. Aligning national interests with global climate emissions. (Heikki Autto, Coalition Party, 64/2014 vp)

” What is the problem, which this law aims to solve? If it is climate change, shouldn't the goal be the reduction of global emissions? I think that Finnish labor is an ecological act, and the climate law should mean that it ensures investment and jobs coming to Finland, so that we can reduce global emissions. I we compare – I am allowed this example, even though this law relates to the sector outside of the carbon trading regime – electricity production, here in Finland it is electricity can be produced with half the emissions which the

United States produces and with a quarter of that of China's. Therefore, carbon leakage which due to the failed climate policy of the EU has been obvious, has led to rises in emissions. I ask minister Niinistö: shouldn't a Finnish climate law be of the sort that aims for global emission reductions? Then the main focus would be that Finnish labor is environmentally friendly, investment in Finland will save the climate globally."

Autto starts by asking a question of what the proposed law is supposed to solve. He argues, that since, or if, it is climate change, the solution should be the reduction of global emissions. As Autto argues "I think that Finnish labor is an ecological act, and the climate law should mean that it ensures investment and jobs coming to Finland, so that we can reduce global emissions". Here Autto attempts to solve the contradiction where a nation-state's category bound activities seem to cancel each other out. Autto sees that the very act of ensuring Finnish economic development itself fulfills the category-bound activity of climate action. In fact, there lies no contradiction between national economic development and global emission responsibilities. Also, through this setting, Autto separates Finland and the rest of the world in different categories as well as directs different category-bound activities to them. Finland is presented as a country that is already ahead of other countries when it comes to ecological economic development. Through categorical comparison this creates an implication that other countries are not doing as well. Further in the speech this is also emphasized with examples of emissions USA and China create. Since Finland is already doing so well with sustainable economic life, Finland is not necessarily expected to any national reductions to emissions, rather it should attract foreign investments.

Autto's argument differs from the likes of Orpo, as in this case Finland's exceptionality creates an opportunity, but this does not necessarily mean a situation where Finland actively tries to claim a place in the table of international climate leaders. Instead of Finland actively reaching out to the external, the speech creates an understanding where the external should approach Finland if it knew what was good for it. National changes are perhaps to be made, but they are not necessarily aiming to increase climate friendliness as Finland has already reached a certain level in it that others have not. By referring to carbon leakage, Autto further emphasizes that environmental actions can have economic consequences as driving businesses elsewhere. In a global perspective this creates further emissions as the companies

will go to a more polluting country, hence Finland should do something to attract said investments because of Finland's already existing level of sustainability.

Since climate action's major juxtaposition is between it and economic development, there are attempts in the discussion to try to align the two. The importance of making climate law sound appealing through an economic lens is highlighted also in the comparison between other countries as a way to legitimize the climate law. For example, Oras Tynkkynen (64/2014 vp) argues for the climate law by referencing to an example from the UK. During the discussion about Finnish climate law, UK already had one. What was noteworthy for Tynkkynen was that the employers' associations in the UK advocated for the British climate law. Indeed, according to Tynkkynen, "*industry saw that a climate law, the long-term planning it brings, acts in accordance with the competitiveness of a country, not as a threat to it*". Making an argument through the economic lens is important for the legitimacy of the climate law since economic factors are its major obstacle in the discussion.

6.3.3 Referencing to the total emissions to dismiss global responsibility

The underlying contradiction between national development and global emission responsibilities can be dismissed by aligning the two as Autto does or for example, by referencing Finland's relative size. As stated before, the total amount of pollution created by different countries affects how countries are expected to act. The comparison between heavy polluters and light polluters also creates discourses where it is not Finland's role to act upon reducing greenhouse emissions. Instead, it acts as an instance to delegitimize the need for a new climate law or climate action altogether. For example, Reijo Tossavainen (64/2014 vp) utilizes the example of China as a means to showcase how it is futile for Finland to embark on a journey to reduce greenhouse gases.

Extract 8. *Global emissions reducing the need for national climate action. (Reijo Tossavainen, Finns Party, 64/2014 vp)*

"Honorable speaker! When discussing climate change, one must not forget about the scale of things, for example in China emissions grow in two weeks the same amount that it takes for Finland in a year. The growth in two weeks in China is the same as all Finnish emissions in a year.

Although we take in our country the so-called climate awareness and actions and policies derived from that to the extreme, it has almost no effect on a global scale. It has an effect, however, to Finnish welfare in this country. The Sulfur Directive is a very negative example of this. It doesn't do to be naïve. It is better to be a realist.”

Tossavainen starts by introducing measurements that create an extreme understanding on how different the production of greenhouse gasses are in China and Finland. This depiction of China's rapidly growing emissions makes Finland's climate action futile. Where Ropponen (Extract 3) argues for an opportunity that other countries inability to reduce emissions create, Tossavainen utilizes this as ammunition against establishing too much climate action in Finland. The mediated message is that since Finland is a country with a small total amount of pollution produced compared to other countries, such as China, its climate actions have little to no impact globally. Instead, taking climate actions would affect the well-being of the Finnish people. Tossavainen solves the contradiction between national interest and global responsibility by referencing that the relatively small size of Finland, which makes the contradiction so insignificant it need not be paid attention to.

Tossavainen's reference to the sulfur directive, which is a legislative requirement for EU's member countries, seems to be utilized as an example of an environmental law that is international in its nature and has had negative economic impacts in Finland. This further creates an implication that the global nature of climate change response is harmful to Finland and Finland should be wary of this. Through this Tossavainen taps into the same suspicion of the international co-operation and agreements as Mäkelä (Extract 6.). Furthermore, Tossavainen argues “It doesn't do to be naïve. It is better to be a realist”. Through Tossavainen's view, international responsibilities seem to be nothing but a hinderance to Finnish development.

6.4 Taking climate responsibility

Despite the presentation of Finland as the one of the less-consequential polluters in the world and utilizing this image in arguing against or defending the climate law or other climate actions being the most common trope in the discussion, there are some speeches that

categorize Finland as a country that has responsibility because of how it can be categorized when it comes to pollution or other characteristics, for example Myller (160/2014 vp) argues:

Extract 9. Finland takes its place as a responsible actor (Riitta Myller, Social Democratic Party of Finland, 160/2014 vp)

” Honorable speaker! Here it has been discussed and even debated, who bears the responsibility to tackle climate change. I think the responsibility falls on us all and everyone wherever they are. At this time the fact however remains, that we know who will suffer most from climate change. The poorest of the globe will suffer, those, who have in no way contributed to climate change. Finland has its place to do its part and has its place in the European union to do its part, and we have to be in the group, who takes these matters as far as possible and pushes the EU to a situation, where it has answers to give to solving climate change in negotiation tables, by offering know-how, technology, cooperating with the poorest countries and by this way solving this issue.

The above paragraph further showcases how the moral responsibility of climate change is projected to some countries and not to others, depending on the supposed “contribution” to climate change. In her speech Myller shifts the responsibility away from the “poor countries” of the world, as they are not seen as responsible for climate emissions. These poor countries are also portrayed as being those that suffer the most because of climate change and at the same time are not responsible for the emissions. Furthermore, through standardized relational pairs, it can be assumed that Finland belongs to a group of “rich countries”, and they have the responsibility to act on climate change since they are countries that have contributed to it. Myller utilizes the phrase “...the responsibility falls on us all and everyone wherever they are”, which gives an implication that it is not necessary to stare at emission numbers, but instead act despite the differences in total emission scales.

This example also highlights the relationship between the EU and Finland. When it comes to climate change governance the EU has multiple roles; as previously showcased the EU can be seen as element of interference related to Finnish way of doing things, however, it also acts as a portal for Finland to reach international tables of discussion as a part of the EU and it provides a way for Finland to introduce Finnish ideals of climate governance to the international sphere. In the speech the EU is presented as an actor that makes it possible for

Finland to work through and develop climate action. Instead of Finland going to the international tables to “offer competency, technology and co-operation” as a contributor only on its own right, these are partly achieved by working through the European Union. On the shoulders of Finland as well as the EU is to be in the group that creates solutions as it is their responsibility. On some instances EU’s role as a governing entity can be seen portrayed as overly restricting (Extract 4), but for others it is important actor in climate governance, and national policy making should be capable of adjusting to the interests of EU. For example, Vehkaperä (64/2014 vp) asks as a part of her speech, if Finland’s own climate law is flexible enough to adjust to the energy- and climate solutions that the European parliament propose. Vehkaperä places Finland’s climate actions as respondent to EU’s demands and as a part of bigger EU’s or global climate actions. In a similar vein as Vehkaperä, Niinistö (64/2014 vp) scales the climate law outside of national borders:

Extract 10. *National legislation as a part of international climate governance.* (Ville Niinistö, *Green League*, 64/2014 vp)

” An international climate agreement is reached only when all the countries participate, and this climate law has already garnered positive attention: look, EU-countries are doing something, maybe we too can do more. Lately the EU has been losing its leadership position in climate policy, and it is important that we too will deploy this for the sake of new technology.”

In the above paragraph Niinistö emphasizes the international importance of the climate law. He operates on three different spatial scales: the national, EU wide and the international. Firstly, he places Finland in the category of EU-countries and the climate law under actions that EU-countries make. He sees that, not only is Finland making a national statement with the climate law, but Finland as a part of EU will be making a statement as an EU-country to the international community. Niinistö also sees the proposed climate law as a part of the revival of EU’s climate leadership. Lastly, he creates a division between EU and the international, meaning the rest of the world, by assuming that Finland as an EU-country gives the EU signaling power to the international sphere. Changes in the EU can trigger a change in other parts of the world by acting as an example. In this view represented by Niinistö, the international acts as an avenue for the national to affect climate change, where small deeds can be magnified to cause major changes.

6.4.1 Realities of climate change: what are we up against?

As climate change is a phenomenon that manifests itself differently in different locations, there are different possible ways of portraying it. Climate change can also be considered as a phenomenon that amplifies other natural occurrences instead of “creating” occurrences that can be straightforwardly linked back to it; through this notion it is possible to further elaborate different ways climate change can be talked about. Furthermore, the way climate change is represented further affects how it should be approached. Referencing to possible consequences related to climate change further creates a moral incentive to act upon climate change. This is achieved resorting to international examples, larger frameworks of a “global whole” and by appealing to national factors. For example, Haapanen (160/2014 vp) makes a reference to Canada as a means to amplify possible consequences to Finland:

Extract 11. *Local and global examples of climate future. (Satu Haapanen, Green League, 160/2014 vp)*

Honorable Speaker! On a committee trip to Canada with representative Heikkilä we noted together, how climate change had affected forest destruction of massive areas. Forest destructions are increasing, and one would think that this would interest also representative Lindström, who know the paper industry. Is it not in the defense of paper industry, forestry, that we intervene in time? Now is not nearly too early. The destruction has already happened in many parts of the world, as average temperatures rise. This is most convincing evidence that we must do our part.

Haapanen starts by referencing to a trip to Canada that she made with a fellow MP from Finns Party. Together with Heikkiä they concurred that climate change has affected Canada negatively through destruction of forests. Referencing to Canada creates a plausible reference group for understanding climate change effects from the Finnish perspective, as Canada and Finland are countries that share a number of different category related predicates, such as large areas of forest's, snowy winters and important pulp and paper industries. This is apparent for Haapanen as she asks if it is not for the best interest of pulp and paper industry to intervene early to climate change. By this Haapanen also taps into the economic perspective that has been popular in the discussions, as climate change will negatively affect

an important industry in Finland, therefore something should be done, in the case of this discussion the proposed climate law.

Haapanen moves on with her speech by claiming that similar forest destructions are also happening globally, bringing forth another example that emphasizes the need to act on climate change. At this point in the speech extract, Haapanen has brought up Finland, Canada as well a global level and there are two things to point out from this use of categories. Firstly, Haapanen has through examples created a possible future, where Finland will suffer from forest destruction due to climate change, creating a moral incentive to act on it. Secondly, Haapanen also points out a similarity between Finland and the rest of the world, by showcasing how climate change affects different places in a similar manner. This emphasizes climate change as being a shared problem and brings climate consequences to a more national level, as the other MPs can possibly resonate with the destruction of forest fires, further creating possible sympathy for those who experience it. Within this Haapanen sees an incentive to act as she argues “we need to do our own part”. The global nature of climate change is not missing in the Finnish parliament, as it is often referred as a shared problem. For example, Anna Kontula describes climate change as such:

Extract 12. *Shared problem of the humankind creates a challenge of governance. (Anna Kontula, Left Alliance, 160/2014 vp)*

Climate change is the number one question for humankind. Its economic costs are evaluated at the billions, not to mention all the human suffering and ecological destruction, of which we have yet to see but the prologue. Due to the willing slowness of decision making we have already lost the change to stop human made global warming. Now we are battling whether the warming will be stopped before a full-scale environmental crisis. Seeing the size of the task ahead, the climate law is a light instrument. It tells us where we should be headed but not how to get there. Some of the biggest polluters are mostly not in this legislation’s jurisdiction. This is a framework law, which concerns mostly the sectors outside the invalid emission trading scheme. Moreover, the 80 % emission reduction goal within it is not enough to stop the climate from warming to the critical level.

Kontula starts by stating that climate change is the number one question for humankind. This is further emphasized by evoking different areas of human life that climate change is affecting. This realization of the nature of climate change further affects the way it should be approached. Following the problematization of the issue at hand by Kontula, the shared problem of humankind creates governing problems. This is apparent as Kontula attempts to navigate through different governing tools from local to regional to global. By default, Kontula sees that the climate law is not an efficient enough legislation to begin with. As she argues “it tells us where we should be headed but not how to get there”. Kontula continues by elaborating how the climate law does not apply to the biggest polluters, the emission reduction goal is not ambitious enough and it does not hit where it should as the lacking emission trading scheme is excluded from the law.

Above, the challenge of finding the right tools and expectations of a national law to reach a level of global significance, showcases how climate change, since its scope of effects and responsibility of solving it spreads across many actors outside of national borders, also affects the way national legislation is considered. The question remains, how is Finland’s national legislation expected to be relevant in grand scheme of things? This an underlying issue seen in national legislation, and many MPs in the discussion advocate finding some way to affect change beyond national borders. This way climate change seems to blur the line of national and international action, as MPs try to locate how the national legislation is placed in the grand scheme of climate governance.

6.4.2 Climate law as a message to others

As climate change is seen as a global matter, there was also an element in the discussion which showcased how MPs recognized the message value of the climate law. Since climate change is a global phenomenon, and as it is evident from the already analyzed data, nation-states observe and evaluate other nation-states. Referencing to what other countries think of Finland and what is wanted for them to think about Finland appears also in the data and it is used as a way to legitimize the climate law. For example, Wallinheimo (64/2014 vp) applauds the climate law as it shifts Finland’s trajectory to a right path. He emphasizes this by referencing to expectations that other nation-states have:

Extract 13. *Meeting up international expectations. (Sinuhe Wallinheimo, Coalition Party 64/2014 vp)*

“For many foreigners, Finland’s slow progress has come even as a surprise. There were different expectations for a country, whose reputation for example in China, is flawless when it comes to clean air and resource-efficient production.”

In the above extract, Wallinheimo makes a somewhat surprising reference to China as a country which’s expectations related to climate action Finland has not yet met. This is a surprise in the sense that China is widely brought up in a rather negative manner throughout the discussions. In a similar vein Satu Haapanen (160/2014 vp) argues for the climate law:

Extract 14. *National and international political figures emphasizing the importance of Finland’s example. (Satu Haapanen, Green League, 160/2014 vp)*

Finland has an effect on how the Earth’s climate policy will transform. Finland’s example has an effect, and also the president of the republic has highlighted the climate law as an impactful method of mitigating climate change. This is what he said in his meeting with the secretary general of the UN in a climate summit in New York in September 2014:” We can’t do everything for the entire Earth, but Finland with its example and now with particular acts guides the way in preventing climate change.”

In both speech extracts international recognition of Finland’s climate path comes through as an important factor for why the climate law should be passed on. Especially Haapanen creates significant emphasis on this by referencing to a number of different actors. Haapanen starts by making a claim that Finland has a part in the way Earth’s climate policies will look like in the future. This is done through the power of Finnish example in which the climate law is one component. Further emphasis is on this is created by referencing to the category of president of the republic, which during the time of the discussion was the current sitting president Sauli Niinistö. This is a powerful reference to a national figure, as Niinistö’s time as a president has always been receiving wide support from the Finnish citizens. This is the case today, and it was the case also in 2015 as a poll by Helsingin Sanomat found out that 86 percent of the Finnish population believed that Niinistö has done he’s job well or very well

(Liiten 2015). By bringing up Niinistö, Haapanen further creates believe in that the climate law will have a role in mitigating climate change as an example.

Besides referencing to an important national figure to legitimize the exemplary power of the climate law, Haapanen also emphasizes this by invoking an international character as well. She quotes a discussion that Niinistö has had with the secretary general of the UN concerning the climate law and Finland's role related to climate change. By bringing forward a conversation that an important national figure has had with an important international figure, Haapanen creates further believe that the climate law will be, or even already is, an important signal and an example for the international as national actions make way to the international co-operation and prevention of climate change. Haapanen's example of the conversation proves this point to be true even at the present, as there is discussions of the Finnish climate law on an international arena, even when it is not yet operating.

	Avoiding responsibility	Taking responsibility
Nation-state perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland can't do anything due to its geographical factors e.g., size or population • Stressing the economic strain that climate action would bring about • Finland is already green, so it doesn't have to do anything 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking responsibility but national interests always come first • Following Finland's national interests fulfils global responsibilities • Global responsibility creates situations to pursue national prosperity • Finland as an example to other nation-states
Global perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bigger polluters null Finland's actions • External influence threatens national sovereignty • Invoking international co-operation as means to move the climate governance outside of Finnish borders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland has moral responsibility since it belongs to certain reference groups • Finland has certain expectation internationally • Finland is part of coalitions (EU) and should act accordingly

Table 1. Arguments grouped by the degree of responsibility taken and the dominant perspective

The above table 1. groups different arguments present in the discussion as well as positions they create in relation to global climate governance. On the vertical axis are presented national and global perspectives, and the horizontal axis presents the degree of climate responsibility taken in the argument. As it has emerged from the analysis, often the national arguments are built upon other actors, in the case of climate change discussion international actors. Therefore, in the table the arguments position depends on the operationalization of different climate actors. For example, the argument for taking responsibility because Finland can be an example for other nation-states is more reliant on other actors than the argument based on taking responsibility but making sure that national interest comes firsts. The latter is more national in its perspective even though it as well includes other actors in its reasoning, therefore it is placed in the far end of national perspective. It must be stressed further, that in every argument present in Table 1, Finland's position is understood one way or another through other actors, in some cases more clearly than others, hence the continuous nature of the scale.

Furthermore, from the arguments presented in the table it comes across, how politicians can make the same arguments from slightly different perspectives. For example, the discussion of Finland's national characteristics such as its surface area or population as means to delegitimize the law is very similar to the argument of bigger polluters nullifying Finland's global impact. However, the perspective is somewhat different, as in the other the starting point for the argument is more national and in the other international.

7. Findings and discussion

The interest of this thesis was on the interplay of nationalism and global climate responsibility in national policy making. Specifically, I aimed to approach the topic with a focus on how the Finnish parliamentary discussions construct the idea of climate responsibility together with a nation-state perspective. I was interested in the different identifications that are operationalized in the discussion while domesticating climate change action on national political agenda.

The first two parts will focus on the findings and research questions. After I will move on to a broader discussion, limitations, and future research. The analysis illuminated a number of interesting aspects, starting with the utilization of other global actors.

7.1.1 Complex skein of global climate actors

International comparison and the building of desired reference groups (Ferrera et al., 2019) influence the set of duties that Finland has in relation to climate change. The way different actors are brought up in the discussion and for what purpose differs, and the same actor can be utilized for encouraging climate action as well as for restraining from it. For example, depending on the speaker, China is portrayed as responsible for producing significant number of emissions, indifferent of reducing emissions, or worried about climate change or progressive and investing on new technologies. Consequently, these different categorizations also affect how Finland's role is constructed in relation to climate change governance. Indeed, Finland does not make its climate change decisions in a vacuum but rather in relation to other actors. The way that countries were present in the discussion and how Finland was associated with them differs, but in general other countries were utilized as a way to make sense of Finland's role in climate change governance.

As discussed above, categorizations of other countries affect how Finland is constructed in relation to climate change on international arena. This is evident in the use of reference groups. In presenting an argument, MPs often relied on countries that were seen as sharing some characteristics similar to Finland or characteristics otherwise desired to be associated with Finland. Within the discussions speakers also utilized some pre-existing groups such as "developed countries" and "underdeveloped countries". These groups have different

predicates associated with them which further transfers to the discussion of climate change as well. For example, Orpo (Extract 1) discusses how developed countries are “forward thinking” and have an “right attitude” for working to reduce emissions. This is a group that Finland wanted to be associated to, and therefore similar attributes were attached to Finland. At the same time obtaining these features brings forward a certain set of duties as well as a moral responsibility to act on climate change.

However, even if Finland was keenly associated to certain actors, this does not mean that within the discussion MPs happily embraced the responsibility related to different categorizations. Instead, MPs also had ways to distance them from the responsibility while also maintaining their role in the reference group. For example, different global actors could be something that Finland should be wary of as they can't always be trusted to do their part in the mitigation process. This would further affect how Finland approaches climate action, for example, if it will pursue a leading role in the mitigation or if it will discard climate action as a risk for the national economy. At the same time however, it was important to send a message or an impression that Finland is part of the international co-operation. This was presented as fulfilling expectations or pursuing national recognition or not being considered as an outsider in terms of taking responsibility. Present was also an element of competition: climate change was seen as something that will open up new business opportunities, technological innovations, and newly constructed roles in international politics, which were seen as situations where Finland could succeed in competition with other countries.

To further emphasize the changing roles Finland and other actors have in global climate governance, I will turn to Jayuusi (1984) and her description on how through MCA it is possible to observe different hierarchies between categories. Within the data, different categories were positioned in various hierarchical structures, depending on the predicates that were associated to them. For example, even if Finland was the central figure in the discussion, it was not always considered to be the leading actor within climate change governance. Instead, other countries such as the USA, a supranational coalition like EU or a more abstract “international” sphere could be introduced in the discussion as initiators of positive climate actions or as an example of a change in attitude that must be followed. Similarly, Finland can also act as a leader or an example to other actors. Such was the case in Ropponen's (Extract 3) speech related to China. China did not have enough competence to

pursue desirable climate technology, whereas Finland had the potential to deliver this to them.

There was also present referencing to more vague classifications of “poor countries” or “less-developed” countries that needed help from richer countries, in which Finland was included. In this way Finland was belonging to categories that have predicates such as forward thinking, innovative, and to these predicates were related expected behavior of reacting to climate change in a way that produces technological innovations, economic growth as well as helping this way other regions of the world. In juxtaposition, some regions of the world were described as more passive and waiting for richer countries such as Finland or a continent like Europe to act. Within this framework, actors that were associated to be more competent in battling climate change also were morally responsible to act on it, be part of international cooperation and show results of mitigation. However, as a contrary statement to the previous, the moral responsibility to reduce emissions was not necessarily always associated to the assumed attributes of a country. The amount of pollution also played an important part in directing moral responsibility to different countries. For example, China was not necessarily placed in the same group as Finland as the progressive countries when it comes to climate change. However, it was a country that was a frequent example of a heavy polluter, bringing forth a moral responsibility to act on it.

Overall, it can be recognized how the complex utilization of different actors is part of the persuasion of others in the Finnish parliament. The categories, categorization and identifications in the discussions are flickering in stability. Depending on the political goals of the MP, actors can be portrayed in a variety of ways, or an attribute previously associated to an actor is utilized in a different manner to pursue different political realities. I would argue that there was not present a clear-cut identification, as countries that were seen as preferable associations to Finland in some aspect could also be utilized in a critical manner. It was clearer to recognize categorization such as “poor countries” that Finland was not associated to, since they were representing something opposite to what was seen as defining Finland, this way confirming the characteristics seen as more desirable to Finland. The closest identification could be argued to be the EU, as it was at instances placed above Finland’s own climate pursuits, and Finland’s actions could also be seen as fulfilling the EU’s climate leadership, however this too was often contested. Nonetheless it was clear how

different global climate actors are vital in the constant work on defining who we are and what we should do in the international arena of climate change action.

7.1.2 Fitting the global responsibility of climate change into the local

Other interest within this master's thesis was the transfer of global responsibility for climate change action into a local context of political decision-making. More specifically of interest was how the global nature of climate change governance affects the process of domestication in national parliament. International comparison has an important role in making an argument, whether it be for or against the proposed climate law. Finland is compared to other countries and vice-versa, and this creates a number of different arguments that most of the time acted to fortify national identity. In the introduction I proposed that since climate change is a global phenomenon with a built-in global responsibility to act on it, it might dilute the aspects of banal nationalism in the discussions. I would argue that within the discussions there exists a specific tone of finding a balance between global responsibilities and nation-states expected duties. Banal nationalism is profoundly present in the speeches and colors almost every argument made. At the same time however, MPs also have to argue or prove that the global responsibility is being fulfilled. I will elaborate on this in the following chapter.

Within the discussion MPs manage to hold on to a national view while discussing a phenomenon of such a global scale as climate change. There was a clear inclination to framing different aspects, even the global ones, through a national context. This was apparent in the multiple ways climate change was discussed through economic competence. Whether the argument was for or against the proposed climate law, the national economy entered the discussion. For example, the global nature of climate change could be utilized as a scape goat, as the discussions and solutions of climate change were situated outside of Finnish borders. This did not mean that the speaker did not want to "solve" climate change, but it was not seen possible to achieve nationally, hence the call for international co-operation. As the solution for climate change is outside of Finnish borders, there is no need to strain the Finnish economy with climate legislation. This urging of international co-operation also gives the possibility to "defend" primarily national interests. This is apparent, for example, in the frequent reference to the EU and its directives. An international demand for political action provides a setting, wherein national interests can be defended against the external. In other

words, a call for international action can actually feed nationalism. Also, when the guideline for making adjustments comes from an entity outside of national borders it might be easier to comply, since the demand for change is equal to other countries and national politicians have the opportunity to criticize them while implementing the demand.

On another note, global climate goals and national development were also seen as something that work together. In fact, if Finland continues in the same manner, the exterior will invest in Finland and therefore create even more positive impacts globally. Indeed, one favored discourse within the parliamentary discussion was one of global solutions emerging through national interests, resembling the famous notion of the invisible hand. At some instances the approach was even more starkly national as climate change was introduced to fellow MPs as an opportunity, something that Finland could tap into and compete in with other countries, gain economic benefit, create new innovations and through this also help other actors in reducing greenhouse gasses. In this sense it is also interesting how within the discussion Finland has in a way already naturalized Finland's climate responsibility. Or rather, Finland has naturalized some sort of "greenness" that translates also to the arguments for and against the climate law. At instances the sustainable Finland discourse is an unquestioned truth that works for the benefit of holding on to the national interest even when there is a demand to act for the sake of the global whole.

In conclusion, domestication gives an interesting framework to make sense of the extracts in the data, as MPs are discussing a national legislation related to a global problem. Alasuutari (2011) has written, how in epistemic work the international can often be unnoticed or become an undercurrent for banal nationalism. This is also what makes the discussion in the data remarkable: the ability to rely on banal nationalism even when being aware of the climate responsibility. In fact, MPs had multiple ways of discussing around the international responsibility, such as aligning national interests with global interests. Following the path of national development leads to fulfilling the global responsibility as well. Even in situations where the MP would advocate for a more active pursuit of climate action, such as in situations where Finland would pursue goals abroad, this would be presented in the frame of benefitting also in a strictly national context. In the following chapter and discussion, I will further delve on the maintaining of national perspective all the while making claims of fulfilling global climate responsibility.

7.2 Porous aspects of nationalism

As it has already come clear, the discussion and speeches by MPs contained a lot of references to international actors, mainly other countries and the EU. The way these actors were present in the discussion varied, but they had an important role in the persuasion work done by the MPs. At the same time, the arguments on what are necessary climate actions reinforced banal nationalism. I'll further contemplate this setting through world culture theory, epistemic governance, and domestication. Overall, climate change could be argued to be seen as a shared problem within the discussions. During the discussions there is little to no denial that climate change exists, that it poses a threat of some manner, and that it affects the whole globe and states need to act on it somehow. However, this does not straightforwardly mean that Finnish MPs advocate for taking part in the responsibility of reducing global emissions. There is an incentive to act, but it does not overrule other expectations of a nation-state that Finland needs to fulfill. Indeed, in most instances actions for climate change were advocated in a way that they do not contradict any other fulfillment of a nation-state. Furthermore, in arguments that implied some sort of global responsibility or aiding others, this argument too was most of the time constructed as such that it benefits the Finnish nation at the same time.

The molding together of the national and international can be contemplated further through previous studies of domestication. In studying the UNESCO program and its global spreading, Alasuutari and Kangas (2020) determine that its success was based on two factors: the process of domestication and peer pressure. The existence of peer pressure is apparent also in the data used in this thesis, as there is a pursuit to associate Finland to certain groups of countries which further creates moral responsibility for Finland to act. As for the process of domestication, Alasuutari and Kangas (2020, p. 7) point out how the success of the UNESCO program was partly premised on the fact that it highlighted local cultures and distinctiveness, and thus it did not threaten national sovereignty. Within the data of this thesis the threat to national sovereignty, for example through economic factors, was often present in the discussions. In light of this notion, it could be argued that domestication of global climate change responsibility would not be as straightforward due to the expectations that are laid upon nation-states to act in the name of global responsibility. However, the law was passed with wide support, despite the concern present in the discussion. It could be argued that in the case of the climate law, the degree of global responsibility taken exceeded the assumed threat

to national sovereignty posed by enacting climate policies. It should be noted that, for example, Ridanpää (2021) has discussed how the Paris agreement was considered a success story in its time, as it succeeded in creating a climate agreement between nation-states. One of the reasons for this success, Ridanpää points out, was that the agreement was loose enough so that countries could approach it in the manner they saw suitable for themselves, thus not posing a major threat to national sovereignty.

Continuing with the discussion related to national loyalties, it is difficult to argue that within the parliamentary discussions the knowledge of a shared global responsibility diminishes loyalties to the Finnish nation. Surely there are actors that are seen as positive associations and there is an assurance as to how Finland will do its part in the reduction of emissions, but these aspects are generally brought up so that they construct and benefit some national characteristics or pursuits. However, even if this is the case, at the same time it is apparent how Finland is part of global synchronization and in this manner also national interests are part of world culture and trends. I'll approach this argument through social imageries by Alasuutari & Qadir (2016). They have recognized three influential imageries of social reality: functionalism, society as hierarchy and competing blocs of social world. The argument is that when politicians through epistemic work try to influence others and create certain kinds of actions, they usually place their arguments within the parameters presented by these three imageries. For example, starting of with the first functional imagery which is based on methodological nationalism and nation-states scripted path of progress, evolvment and modernity that is to be followed. This is present also in the discussion about the climate law, as technological development is argued as being a part of moving forward with climate change as well as bringing prosperity to Finland, or by dividing countries based on their assumed "development".

Within the discussion there is also present the imagery of society as a hierarchy, meaning that the world is possible to scale to different actors that can hold power over each other, a certain chain of command. For example, in the discussion MPs present EU as an actor that has power over Finland when it comes to environmental legislation, and at instances Finland is also encouraged to pursue "leadership" related to climate change. Lastly within the discussion is also the third imagery of competing blocks of social world, as climate change action is framed at instances as a competition, where one can emerge as a leader and a trailblazer for solving climate change. This is also present as a suspicion to the exterior or other countries,

as within the discussion there exists a fear that others are not doing as much and if Finland does too much in reducing emissions, it will weaken its own relative position in some other aspect. With the above examples, I aim to showcase how within the discussion of the Finnish parliament, the MPs rely on shared imageries of the social world that create premises to the arguments made. As MPs make national claims they take part in the shared imageries while discussing climate change. For example, there is a need to be progressive and partake in some global competition even in the context of climate change. This further showcases how a synchronization is present in a situation of global change as it is in the case of climate change.

However, the presence of global imageries also leads to a question of whether these existing imageries further stand in the way of creating some sort of international communities as discussed in the cosmopolitan literature. Competition, evolutionary nation-state development and hierarchies can be argued to strengthen the view of methodological nationalism, where we think nation-states as the basic building blocks of a world society. For example, competition or seeing nation-states as projects following a functionalist path does not necessarily promote joining together at the face of global crisis. At the same time, climate change is a global emergency to which nation-states have to react with cooperation, even if it happens in the paradigms of the previously said three imageries. Overall, even if it is not possible to speculate as to where climate change's governance leads to in the future from the perspective of these imageries, it is possible to argue that since nation-states do the epistemic work from the same premises, it can lead to a somewhat same direction.

Building on to the discussion of whether climate change responsibility challenges the national view or not, I will highlight few other aspects from the data. As Conversi (2020) argues, nationalism is inherently a border building activity. However, with a perspective of world culture and domestication it seems that at the same time as national borders and interests are held up, they are more porous than expected. Even if the arguments within the data were mostly built upon a national context, at the same time Finland is also wanted to appear as taking responsibility, as it would not be a good look not to, since this would for example, contradict the assumed existing ideas about Finland.

Following on the question of national appearances, a country's image and its utilization in political discussion, I will approach it further via Alasuutari and Vähä-Savo (2018). They

conducted research on the ways in which a country's image is referenced as a part of an argument in the US congress. The study highlighted two different ways of invoking country image. Firstly, by referencing to projected country images, which means outside expectation projected towards the country. The second way is national self-image, which means the expectations layered upon the national by the nation itself. In the case of the US, the Members of Congress are keen on referencing the national self-image in making arguments about different policies, rather than projected country images. As for this thesis, it was apparent that both ways of referencing to country image were utilized in the discussion. Regardless of being for or against the climate law, both ways of referencing to national image were used. For example, the idea of Finland as a green nation can be an encouragement for leading the world into a climate friendly future and really taking on the task of reducing emissions, or it can encourage to not act as Finland has already achieved a certain goal. Within the discussion, this idea of already green Finland is argued from national perspective, as well as seen as something that is expected of Finland.

The above outline leads to a reflection on being part of climate change responsibility, as reducing global emissions requires international co-operation for getting meaningful results. One country reducing its emissions is not enough for changing the trajectory of climate change. In such a situation, it could be argued that nation-states are more aware on what kind of image they send outside as well as are more aware of the way their climate actions are perceived. Whether or not the nation-state is truly doing its part, it is important to appear as doing its part, and also to keep tabs on how their actions are perceived. However, Finland and the US are different kinds of countries, and necessarily in the US Congress the discussion related to climate change consists of less referencing to projected country images. As the US is one of the biggest emitters in the world, it can actually be impactful to reference to a national self-image as the US's national emission reduction can have a meaningful impact globally.

Furthermore, climate change responsibility creates a situation where other actors are held accountable even more starkly, as it is evident from the discussion in this thesis. Often some countries were brought up in the discussion as not doing enough, guiding how Finland will approach climate change. In a similar manner, as Finnish MPs refer to climate discussion and possible laws from other countries, the MPs recognize the messaging value of the climate law. They are hoping to lead by example, all the while following the example of other

countries by utilizing them as a tool for an argument. This showcases the two-way characteristic of domestication, as national policies further create and enforce global cultural ideas. To this day there are around 2633 different laws globally related to climate change one way or another (Climate Change Laws of the World...2022). Not all of them are climate laws such as the Finnish one, but nonetheless they are aimed at slowing down or coping with climate change. Lastly, within the discussion there was a clear recognition for the importance of global co-operation for the reduction of greenhouse gasses. MPs act on the pressure of bringing climate change action on national decision-making. Once again the demand for co-operation was evoked from different premises. Other countries were also an important reference group for understanding the consequences climate change might have, further creating an understanding of climate change as a shared problem.

It is good to note that as national governance is only one constructor of national identity, focusing on it gives one example of the ways national identity can be utilized in political persuasion. However, it can be utilized by other actors as well for example, as the climate discussion has developed from the year 2015, there has emerged a number of different grassroots movements whose loyalties could be argued to have changed due to climate change. For example, Extinction Rebellion demands changes from the Finnish government as well as disrupts public space through civil disobedience. Their actions might be local, but Extinction Rebellion Finland is part of an international network, and the demands are the same or almost the same in every location they are active. In movements like this, the need to act on climate change has overridden national loyalties or at least the expectation laid to a citizen by a government. Activism like this do not mean that an actor necessarily feels a stronger identification to some international community: they can act for the sake of the Finnish people even if they are against the actions of a government. Overall, in this manner climate change can challenge loyalties and identities often associated to nation-state.

In conclusion, as it was shown in the first chapter of the findings, the way other actors are present in the discussion is multiple and complex and an important part of defining who we are and what is our role in relation to climate change. Different association create different moral responsibilities and Finnish MPs aim to further navigate in this skein of global actors, simultaneously protecting national interests and actively creating an impression of responsible global climate actor. If other international actors were utilized in the discussion in a flexible manner, such was the case with Finland as well. Different characterizations and

visions of Finland were brought up in the discussion by MPs in the pursuit of making a good argument related to the climate law. The viewpoints of synchronization, domestication and epistemic governance helps to understand climate change governance, as they show how the utilization of other actors portrays Finland to be part of world cultural trends and in this manner, in the end pursuing shared climate goals. Banal nationalism and methodological nationalism are apparent in the speeches, but this does not mean that the ideas that MPs utilize or pursue are purely local. Perhaps in this way climate change has led to some sort of “deterritorialization” as national interests are forced to be molded so that they have to be argued in an international framework. It is peculiar that at the same time politicians uphold banal nationalism whilst making an argument that provides for national interests as well as makes promises for reducing emissions. This is not always the case, but even within the arguments against the climate law politicians often relied on convincing that this is for the sake of both the global and national well-being.

7.3 Limitations and further research

As hinted at the end of the previous chapter, focusing on parliamentary discussions is only one part of the domestication process, and similar principles of research can have very different outcomes when implemented in a different setting, for example, communications of an NGO or media discourses about climate change. As governments are important actors in constructing and portraying national identities, focusing on them presents an interesting insight into the ways nationalism and national identity are utilized in a political discussion and in the persuasion work. The focus on this thesis was on one country and this is something that could be expanded in the future. Especially in the case of climate change, which manifests differently in different location, there can be varied motives to raise the issue to a national agenda. Despite the focus on one country, the analysis illuminated the ways how domestication of such an international issue occurs in the national context and how other climate actors are operationalized in the domestication process. It is apparent how national identity is a flexible political tool in the persuasion work and utilized in a similar manner as other actors in the discussion. This flexibility also allows MPs to navigate their arguments within an issue of such global character as climate change responsibility. This notion creates further opportunities for discussion as presented below.

For future research there are a lot of options to deepen the knowledge of the relationship between nationalism and climate change. A clear way of moving forward with the topic is to conduct comparative research between different countries and their parliaments. In the case of Finland, because there is a new climate law under works, it could be possible to conduct comparative research with a longer time frame by including the recent discussions to the data. This would be interesting also because the current data in this thesis is located before the Paris agreement, so the discussions happening after Paris agreement would pose an interesting situation where it could be observed, whether such an important international climate agreement has had an effect on the way in which climate change discussion is conducted. It would also be interesting to compare the different ways the solutions to climate change are verbalized. For example, in the current data there was a lot of belief in technological solutions. Conducting comparative research on this would offer interesting insight in the global trends on how climate change will be solved, or if there are national differences.

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