

# The Multiple Faces of a Sustainability Strategy

Analysing Finland's Programme  
to Promote Sustainable Consumption  
and Production

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## **ACADEMIC DISSERTATION**

To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki, for public examination in lecture room XII, University main building (Unioninkatu 34, Helsinki) on 20 April 2012, at 12 noon.

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National Consumer Research Centre, Helsinki  
© ANNUKKA BERG and the National Consumer Research Centre  
ISBN 978-951-698-247-5 (paperback)  
ISBN 978-951-698-248-2 (PDF)  
Layout by TIMO JAAKOLA  
Printed in Tampereen yliopistopaino 2012

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# Abstract

This study discusses broad national sustainability programmes as multi-faceted and controversial hybrids. It concentrates on one pioneering case, the Finnish Programme to Promote Sustainable Consumption and Production (SCP) that was published in 2005. It is claimed that much-used effectiveness-focused analytical approaches fail to address some of the key characteristics of the Programme. Empirical analysis combined with a theory review reveals at least four different perspectives from which the Finnish SCP Programme can be fruitfully grasped, viewed and acted upon: the Bullet, Process, Ritual and Depiction perspectives. Together, these make up a *multi-perspective analytical approach* that outlines the programme profile and facilitates comparison of the differences between the acts, expectations and perceptions of various actors.

(1) The Bullet perspective follows the traditional effectiveness approach based on the assumption that broad sustainability programmes have outputs and outcomes that are described in the programme document. (2) According to the Process perspective, the programme process has some effects but their exact form and direction cannot be predetermined due to the institutionally ambiguous context. (3) The Ritual perspective emphasises the symbolic dimension of action, and that the innermost meaning of programme making may go beyond its manifested goals. (4) Last but not least, the Depiction perspective reflects how the programme document and process construct, renew and silence some meaning structures, in this case about SCP.

Analysed from these four perspectives, respectively, it turns out that *Finland's SCP Programme*:

1. has quite scarce outputs compared to the grand challenges and visions presented, the key ones including the establishment of a material-efficiency centre, a research programme and an initiative to green public procurement;
2. has raised awareness of SCP among major actors in the field, which has had various unprompted effects;
3. has had a strong ritual function in renewing Finnish participatory policy-making traditions and faith in the corporatist capabilities of meeting difficult challenges; and
4. reveals how key discursive conflicts in the field are related to contradictions between efficiency and sufficiency, economic growth

and its opposing forces, and regulation versus the so-called new environmental policy instruments.

Given their institutional ambiguity, sustainability programmes should be conducted in a more *transparent* and clearly externalised manner than is necessary in traditional Bullet-style programmes. The setting allows for creativity, flexibility and tailoring. However, neither the ambiguity of the programmes nor the availability of new policy instruments justify the outsourcing of policy-making to actors who do not possess the power or the ability to act on the challenges. Further, in order to find a balanced approach towards SCP, additional institutional support should be given to processes and experiments that develop the *sufficiency and degrowth* ideas. In its current form, criticism of growth only increases the uncertainty and complexity. This, in turn, supports the position of the dominant growth-bound policy narratives.

# Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan sektorirajat ylittäviä poliittisia strategioita ja erityisesti Suomen kestävän kulutuksen ja tuotannon ohjelmaa (KULTU) (2003-2010). Hallinnon ohjelmien oletetaan usein määrittelevän kehityksen toivottavan suunnan ja johtavan yhteiskunnan tavoitteiden viitoittamalle polulle. Tutkimuksessa tuodaan kuitenkin esiin, miten ohjelmien tekeminen voi myös olla rituaali, jolla ennen kaikkea vahvistetaan vallitsevaa poliittista kulttuuria. Lisäksi osoitetaan, miten strategioiden laadinnan prosessi voi olla lopputuloksena syntyvää ohjelmapaperia tärkeämpi, ja miten ohjelmat myös luovat tietynlaisia tapoja hahmottaa haasteita.

KULTU-ohjelma laadittiin laajassa toimikunnassa, jossa oli edustajia muun muassa teollisuuden etujärjestöistä, ympäristöjärjestöistä ja ministeriöistä. Toimikuntatyö oli monelle mukana olleelle mielekäs oppimiskokemus. Se sai osallistujat tekemään KULTU-teemaa edistäviä aloitteita omissa piireissään vielä ohjelmatyön päätyttyä. Myös itse ohjelmalla oli joitakin vaikutuksia: esimerkiksi materiaalitehokkuuden edistämiseksi perustettiin oma keskus ja julkisten hankintojen kestävyyskysymyksiin paneuduttiin kokonaisvaltaisesti.

KULTU-ohjelman kunnianhimoisena visiona oli kuitenkin talous, joka ei ylitä ympäristön kantokykyä. Tällä tiellä ohjelma otti korkeintaan maltillisia askelia. Ohjelma ei esimerkiksi lisännyt verotuksen ympäristöpainotteisuutta, vaikka ekologisen verouudistuksen tärkeyttä korostettiin toimikuntalaisten keskuudessa. Rituaalina KULTU-ohjelma vahvisti laajapohjaiseen sopimiseen perustuvaa poliittista kulttuuria ja uskoa Suomen kykyyn ratkaista kiperiä haasteita. Rajojen asettamisen sijaan ohjelma painotti ekotehokkuutta.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että talouskasvun tavoite on Suomessa vahva, vaikka monet ohjelmatyöhön osallistuneet näkivät kasvutalouden olevan törmäyskurssilla kestävän kehityksen kanssa. Itse asiassa kasvun kritiikki vain loi epävarmuutta talouden kentälle, jolloin perinteiseen kasvumalliin takeruttiin entistä tiukemmin. Tasapainoisempi lähestymistapa talouteen vaatisi, että kohtuullista kulutusta ja kasvupakolle vaihtoehtoisia toimintatapoja kehitettäisiin voimakkaammin.

Mikäli uusia ohjauskeinoja halutaan ottaa käyttöön, kannattaa pureutua sääntelyn tällä hetkellä kohtaamaan periaatteelliseen vastustukseen. Taloudellisten ohjauskeinojen lisääminen taas vaatisi intressiristiriitojen ylittämistä ja informaatio-ohjaus aiempaa kehittyneempiä tapoja viedä viestiä perille. Mikäli laajapohjaisia ohjelmia halutaan käyttää muutoksen

välineenä, kannattaa luopua perinteisestä ajattelutavasta ja hyödyntää ohjelmajärjestelmien tarjoamat monet mahdollisuudet. Ohjelmien laatimiseen osallistuvilla tahoilla tulee kuitenkin avoimesti kertoa, mitä lopulta ollaan tekemässä. Näin ennaltaehkäistään epärealistisia odotuksia ja luodaan mahdollisuuksia mielekkäälle poliittiselle toiminnalle.



# Preface

I would like to begin this thesis with a personal confession: I am an enthusiastic planner. I make daily schedules, draw up weekly lists of things to remember and engage in long-term visioning (you could also call it day-dreaming) about what I want to do in, let's say, five or thirty years. For me, planning makes it easier to do the right things at the right time, to find synergies between different tasks and balance between various spheres of life. It has given me new challenges such as this PhD thesis, which I started to plan when I was still working for an environmental NGO. Then, in the mid-2000s, I realised how important sound scientists and courageous researchers are in pointing out both reasons for concern and reliable solutions to the sustainability challenges we face.

Further, I believe this personal and positive experience of planning was one of the reasons why I became interested in broad sustainability programmes. The fascinating word in sustainable consumption and production (SCP) was consumption. It seemed like a new, refreshing and relevant angle on environmental problems. Moreover, it was an angle that a social scientist could get a hold of. As several sources were claiming that unsustainable consumption and production patterns were key drivers of many of our most serious environmental challenges, a national SCP programme sounded almost like a panacea. I was excited when I learned that Finland was going to be a world pioneer in drawing up an SCP programme.

In my heart I still “knew” that broad sustainability programmes did not quite keep the promises they made. It seemed that I was not alone in my suspicions: some ministry officials suffered from programme fatigue, and during the research process I was even told by a professor that a national SCP programme was a non-issue, something hardly worth studying. Indeed, it had become clear to me, too, that the Finnish SCP programme was not all-mighty. Nevertheless, I felt that it could not be totally ignored, either. After all, dozens of busy people had given a considerable number of hours to the process. In the end, understanding this contradiction was elementary, but it took a while to find the right question to ask.

In general, producing this thesis has made me humble in the face of scientific knowledge. I have realised the amount effort it takes to produce knowledge that is both politically relevant and scientifically valid. I now understand that a research process is essentially like doing a jigsaw puzzle: you cannot put a piece in the middle of emptiness. You need to acquire knowledge about the state of the puzzle and then, if you are lucky and/or

skilful, you will find a piece that fits the whole. You often find a piece that fits around the border, adding to the existing knowledge about a certain theme, but it is more rare to find a missing piece that completes a broader picture. Such cases are considered scientific breakthroughs.

This study represents the cases that add a piece to the border of the puzzle, and it is fair to say that the new pieces I found were not the ones I was looking for in the first place. In general, the research process became both longer and more complicated than I had planned. The School of Social Scientific Research on the Environment (YHTYMÄ), the Finnish Cultural Foundation and Research Funds of the University of Helsinki financed the five-year period of study. I have also received invaluable support from many people.

I have had the privilege to work with two skilful and dedicated supervisors, Professor Ilmo Massa and Professor Janne I. Hukkinen. Ilmo was leading the doctoral seminar on Environmental Policy at the University of Helsinki when I started my PhD studies, and he was the one who helped me to find the case and the financing for five years. His encouragement, forward-looking attitude and robust experience contributed to an inspiring working atmosphere. Janne, in turn, greatly influenced the work from autumn 2008 onwards. What I know about writing a good scientific article I have largely learned from him. His sharp mind and insightful comments significantly improved the quality of the study in the later stages.

I was fortunate to have as my pre-examiners two people I admire both as persons and as researchers, Research Professor Eva Heiskanen and Research Director Per Mickwitz. Their enthusiasm is catching and their high level of both social and intellectual capital is something that few possess. It was a pleasure to finalise the work on the basis of their comments.

The Department of Social Research has been a good place to work. The atmosphere on the third floor, where many PhD students reside, has been warm and supportive. Staff members such as Ritva Kekkinen, Mikko Puukko, Tiina Silvasti and Keijo Rahkonen have contributed to the pleasant working environment. Further, I would like to thank Sanna Ahonen, Giacomo Bottá, Sami Heikkilä, Riie Heikkilä, Susanna Hoikkala, Nina Honkela, Katri Huutoniemi, Anna-Maria Isola, Jan Johansson, Maija Jäppinen, Marja Katisko, Nina Kahma, Jussi Kulonpalo, Maros Krivy, Jarkko Levänen, Jyri Liukko, Riikka Lämsä, Karoliina Majamaa, Liisa Mäkinen, Anne Määttä, Eija Nurminen, Elina Pekkarinen, Chiara Rabbiosi, Paula Saikkonen, Annika Teppo, Sarianne Tikkanen, Heli Tiusanen, Arho Toikka, Tiina Valkendorff, Sampo Villanen and many others for great lunch and coffee company and casual chats in our room or in the corridor. When work or life was hard, you provided both solutions and comfort. Thanks fellows – you rock.

The research seminar on Environmental Policy has been an important reference group. Many people from the third floor went to the same seminar, and it has contributed enormously to my scientific thinking and argumentation. Other influential people involved include Terhi Aro-Heinilä,

Risto Haverinen, Tuuli Hirvilammi, Riikka Paloniemi, Anu-Liisa Rönkä, Olli Salmi, Vilja Varho, and Antto Vihma.

Other key reference groups have been the folks at Helsinki University Centre for Environment (HENVI), the Finnish Society for Environmental Social Sciences (YHYS) and the School of Social Scientific Research on the Environment (YHTYMÄ): for example, Eveliina Asikainen, Jarkko Bamberg, Yrjö Haila, Aino Inkinen, Mikko Jalas, Ari Jokinen, Pekka Jokinen, Jenni Kauppi, Kaisa Korhonen-Kurki, Jere Nieminen, Janna Pietikäinen, Miikka Salo, Minna Santaoja, Rauno Sairinen, and Markus Vinnari. Furthermore, when I had a research exchange period in the former Environmental policy research programme (PTO) of the Finnish Environment Institute I had an excellent opportunity to observe how an efficient research organisation works. I am grateful to Maija Faehnle, Eva Furman, Petrus Kautto, Saara Kupsala, Hanna Mela, Eeva Primmer, Helena Valve, among others, for being good role models and colleagues. I also acknowledge the contributions of reference groups of sustainability and consumption researchers such as those from the National Consumer Research Centre (that has kindly published this thesis) and the Finnish Association of Consumer Research: thanks go to people such as Minna Autio, Tuula Helne, Minna Lammi, Chiara Lombardini-Riipinen, Johanna Moisander, Johanna Mäkelä, Mikko Rask, and Päivi Timonen for providing inspiring examples of how to work.

At the beginning of my doctoral process I had the opportunity to cooperate with two smart Master's students, Heidi Huvila and Marjo Nurminen. Their work helped me to get a hold of the Finnish SCP policy field. I am also grateful to my interviewees, who contributed their time and knowledge and influenced my understanding about the empirical case. In particular, I wish to thank Antero Honkasalo and Taina Nikula from the Ministry of the Environment. Their visionary thinking and agility in promoting SCP with limited resources is something I respect. Further, several skilful language revisers from the Language Centre of the University of Helsinki have carefully checked and corrected my English. Without their help I would have been in trouble. In addition, I want to thank Timo Jaakola for designing the layout of this book.

In international research circles I have had the privilege to meet and to cooperate with several outstanding scholars and professionals, including Sylvia Lorek, Oksana Mont and Arnold Tukker with whom I worked in the SCOPE2 project, Matthew Bentley (UNEP), David Evans (University of Surrey), Doreen Fedrigo-Fazio (EEB), Marleen van de Kerkhof (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Lars Mortensen (EEA), Jouni Paavola (University of Leeds), Emmanuel Prinnet and Vanessa Timmer (One Earth), Jozsef Szlezak (European Topic Centre on SCP), and many others who have taken part in the conferences of the European Sociological Association (especially the Environment and Society Research Network and the Consumption Research Network) and the European Summer School on Earth System Governance.

Last but not least, I must thank my friends and family. I can mention only some of the friends with whom I have shared the ups and downs of the research process. I am grateful to Peggy Bauer, Diego, Tuuli and Runo Bernardini, Teppo Eskelinen, Ulla and Riku Eskelinen, Pilvi, Saila, Lari and Leila Friis, Oliver Fritsch, Hanna Kaisa and Simo Hellsten, Jukka Huhta, Emma Kari, Tuuli Kaskinen, Markus Keskitalo, Adam, Christina Luka and Lyla King, Kaisa Kosonen, Janne Kulmala, Janne and Karoliina Käpylehto, Tapio Laakso, Harri Lammi, Ninni Lehtniemi, Anne Leinonen, Michael Lettenmeier, Pia Lundbom, Anna-Stiina and Samuel Lundqvist, Satu Lähteenoja, Lauri Myllyvirta, Aleksis Neuvonen, Jouni Nissinen, Petteri Nisula, Maria Nuutinen, Aleksis Pillai, Meri Pukarinen, Jasmin Reini, Kaarina Saramäki, Anuliina Savolainen, Kirsi Siekkinen, Anna Starckman, Daniel, Minna, Tatiana and Pentti Stranius, Minna, Päivi and Vilja Suihkonen, Maria Svanström, Salla Tuomivaara, Niklas Vainio, Venla Virkamäki, Elina, Kuura and Pii Venesmäki, and Tim Wessman. My dear relatives, parents Kirsti and Hans Berg, sisters Linda Berg and Pia Tuittila and grandmother Katri Aaltonen have provided both social and practical support during the time that I have been writing this thesis. Thanks a million! My beloved spouse Leo Stranius has shared my dreams, given his support and challenged me to do things better – or at least faster. Our baby Ruska has just been there. And that's what life is all about.

Käpylä, February 2012  
Annukka Berg

# List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I** Berg, A., 2008. Despised regulation, disputed taxation and ineffective information: Bottlenecks for choosing policy tools to promote sustainable consumption and production (Hyljeksityt säännökset, kiistelty verotus ja tehoton tieto: Pullonkauloja kestävä kulutuksen ja tuotannon ohjauskeinojen valinnassa), in: Lammi, M., Mäkelä, J., Varjonen, J. (Eds), *Kulutuksen politiikat arjen muovaa-jana: Kuluttajatutkimuskeskuksen vuosikirja 2008*, Kuluttajatutkimuskeskuksen vuosikirjoja 4. Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus, Helsinki. pp. 66–93. Available at: [http://www.kuluttajatutkimuskeskus.fi/files/5273/12\\_ktk\\_vuosikirja2008.pdf](http://www.kuluttajatutkimuskeskus.fi/files/5273/12_ktk_vuosikirja2008.pdf)
  
- II** Berg, A., 2011. Not roadmaps but toolboxes: Analysing pioneering national programmes for sustainable consumption and production. *Journal of Consumer Policy* 34, 9–23. DOI 10.1007/s10603-010-9129-2. Available at: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/d32470816g364436/?p=e509971ec8504cdb9f9b773113c17e45&pi=10>
  
- III** Berg, A., Hukkinen, J.I., 2011. Beyond effectiveness: The uses of Finland's national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 19, 1788–1797. DOI 10.1016/j.jclepro.2010.12.020. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2010.12.020>
  
- IV** Berg, A., Hukkinen, J.I., 2011. The paradox of growth critique: Narrative analysis of the Finnish sustainable consumption and production debate. *Ecological Economics* 72, 151–160. DOI 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2011.09.024. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2011.09.024>

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

## **Author's contribution**

Articles III and IV were co-authored with Janne I. Hukkinen. In both cases, the author of this thesis had the main responsibility for planning the articles, reviewing the theories and conducting the analyses. However, Hukkinen made a significant contribution in the writing process in terms of making the arguments more clear, going more deeply into the theories and drawing the conclusions.

# Abbreviations

EU	European Union
HENVI	Helsinki University Centre for Environment
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NEPI	New environmental policy instrument
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
R&D	Research and development
SCP	Sustainable consumption and production
SD	Sustainable development
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UK	United Kingdom
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WWF	World Wide Fund For Nature





# 1 Introduction

What comes to your mind if someone mentions the word “policy programme” or “sustainability strategy”? Perhaps you think about a booklet with problem descriptions, policy goals and proposals. Perhaps your conception is more action-oriented, people sitting in meetings or hearings, negotiating, perhaps even concretely creating something new. Your first reaction could range from “dull paperwork” through “symbolic politics” to “brilliant strategic thinking”.

Making broad sustainability programmes has become widespread global practice: more than 30 countries around the world have developed or are developing a programme to promote sustainable consumption and production (SCP), for example (UNEP 2008). The reason is clear: climate change, the loss of natural resources, the extinction of species and the proliferation of waste are some of the results of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production (Mickwitz et al. 2011; see also European Commission 2004; Johannesburg Plan of Implementation 2002; UNEP 2008). Human societies are on their way to crossing – or have already crossed – the threshold of serious adverse environmental change (IPCC 2007; Millenium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; Rockström et al. 2009). However, on a deeper level, SCP is not only about the environment but also addresses broader societal concerns about how individual well-being and quality of life have been overshadowed by the quest for sustained economic growth (Hobson 2004).

In pursuit of more sustainable consumption and production patterns, strategic programming could help to balance the different challenges, approaches and interventions. According to the UNEP (2008), an SCP programme should connect long-term visions to medium-term targets and short-term actions (see also UNDESA 2001). Meanwhile, the European Commission (2004) refers to national programmes as key tools with which to implement SCP (see also Lafferty & Meadowcroft 2002). This thesis develops an analytical approach that is well equipped to evaluate the various successes and failures of broad sustainability programmes, particularly those that fall beyond the stringent effectiveness perspective. The Finnish SCP Programme is the focus of the study.

In terms of policy analysis, sustainability programmes are an interestingly contradictory phenomenon. Broad policy programmes could be seen as a reflection of the societal *planning tradition* that peaked in the 1960s and 1970s (House 2006; Mintzberg et al. 1998; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005) whereas sustainability discourse emphasises broad participation, learn-

ing and a *process orientation* as practical means of implementing sustainable development (Bagheri & Hjorth 2007; Frame 2008; Jordan 2008; Morse 2008; Newman 2007).

Many analyses of sustainability programmes refer to normatively laden literature and manuals provided by institutions such as the UN (e.g., UN-DESA 2001) and the OECD (e.g., 2001, 2006) (Cherp et al. 2004; Dalal-Clayton et al. 1994; Dalal-Clayton & Bass 2006; Mog 2004; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004, see Lafferty 2004b for a critique on this issue). At the same time, studies on such programmes are influenced by the academic traditions of programme evaluation and implementation analysis that seek to understand the goals and means of the programme and the effectiveness of transforming inputs into outputs and outcomes (Chen 2005; Leeuw 2003; Weiss 1998; see also Mickwitz 2006).

However, several recent effectiveness-focused analyses provide relatively grim reading about the meaningfulness and relevance of broad sustainability programmes (e.g., Niestroy 2005; Ramboll 2009; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004; UNEP 2008; see also Nilsson 2005; on the failure of horizontal policy programmes prioritised by the Finnish government, see Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010). In the case of Finland's SCP Programme, too, few outputs or outcomes can be unambiguously associated with its implementation even though the process itself has been praised (Articles II & III; Honkasalo 2011; Huvila 2007; Nikula 2008; UNEP 2008). Should the programme leaders just try harder and follow the guidelines more closely? Is there a mechanism or clique that waters down the processes? Alternatively, is there a "hidden agenda" that makes the programmes meaningful and legitimate (Hajer 2003) despite their striking ineffectiveness? How could we enhance understanding of the whole practice of programme development? These are some of the questions that motivated this study.

Hildén (2007) suggests that broad policy programmes should be seen as reflections of *network governance* (see also Castells 2010; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Article III). Inherent in network governance are two conditions: a) institutional ambiguity, which means that no agreed-upon norms or procedures predetermine a legitimate policy process; and b) multi-signification, meaning that actors may conceive of the world in very different terms (Hajer & Versteeg 2005). In a case that reflects institutional ambiguity, the policy-analysis process should be open-minded and include a wide-ranging search for an understanding that facilitates meaningful and legitimate political actions (Hajer 2003). Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) call this the interpretive and pragmatic approach to deliberative policy analysis.

Following a close reading of the literature, the empirical material and, finally, the articles included in this thesis, I have attempted to grasp the ways in which various actors in various contexts might view the Finnish

SCP Programme and its process of emergence. What was the Programme about? What issues have come to light? What should (have) happen(ed)? In addressing these questions I have adopted a *multi-perspective approach* to analysing broad sustainability programmes.

Given that the case deals with *sustainable consumption and production*, the study also reflects the dynamics of SCP, meaning its structures and governing principles. In this sense it contributes to the existing corpus of SCP literature in, first of all, discussing the efficiency versus sufficiency controversy (Article II) and the preference for “new” environmental policy instruments (Article I), and secondly in explaining through the in-depth analysis of growth narratives why the critique is remarkably toothless in promoting change in real life policy-making (Article IV).

My research questions are the following:

1. What functions do broad sustainability programmes have?
2. What actions and meanings did the Finnish SCP Programme engender?
3. What does the case contribute in terms of finding fruitful ways of analysing and developing broad policy programmes and the SCP field in general?

The author’s PhD thesis comprises this summary and four articles. The ways in which the articles contribute to the research questions are summarised below.

- I      *Despised regulation, disputed taxation and ineffective information: Bottlenecks in choosing policy tools to promote sustainable consumption and production* This article discusses the different aspects and bottlenecks that affect the choice of SCP policy instruments. Thus, it specifically addresses research question (2) concerning the actions and meanings engendered by the SCP Programme. It also touches on the other research questions (1 & 3) in claiming that fostering certain policy tools is a key function of policy programmes, and that the instrument palette offered by the SCP Programme had certain biases: it strongly promotes economic instruments and especially informational devices, and at the same time dismisses traditional governmental regulation. Meanings and images attached to consumers, their freedoms and responsibilities, heavily affect discourses about suitable policy tools for promoting SCP. Ideas about shared responsibilities may provide fruitful grounds for future work, but could also lead to unfair “outsourcing”.

- II *Not roadmaps but toolboxes: Analysing pioneering national programmes for sustainable consumption and production* The second article continues the discussion connected to research question (2) about key actions and meanings related to the Finnish SCP Programme. The principles of efficiency and deliberation are key organising principles in the field, whereas the principle of sufficiency is overshadowed. The Finnish Programme is a mixed toolbox that demonstrates only limited commitment to and coordination towards meeting the challenges and goals described in the programme text. This finding, in turn, relates to the other research questions (1 & 3) concerning how best to foster understanding and the development of sustainability programmes. Given that the Finnish SCP Programme cannot be described as a credible roadmap leading to envisioned change, traditional effectiveness-centred evaluation is a less fruitful alternative for the future (3).
- III *Beyond effectiveness: the uses of Finland's national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production* Article III takes up the challenge raised in Article II. Co-authored with Janne I. Hukkinen, it has relevance for the three research questions (1–3) addressed in this thesis. In general, the approach developed in the article gives a structure to this summary and thus to the doctoral thesis as a whole. The main objective was to develop an approach that would depict the variety of things that happened under the auspices of the Finnish SCP Programme and beyond. From the interviews conducted with relevant actors in the process we tracked five different categories of programme use: scripted, deliberative, political, ritual and unprompted. The Committee members generally expected scripted use: the implementation of the Programme as it stands in the programme document. However, it was mainly deliberative and ritual use that turned out to be successful. The article thus highlights transparency and the need to rethink suitable forms and desirable uses for these programmes in each particular case.
- IV *The paradox of growth critique: Narrative analysis of the Finnish sustainable consumption and production debate* The article, which is co-authored with Janne I. Hukkinen, mostly concerns research question about the meanings associated with the SCP field (2). The aim is to go beneath the surface of the efficiency vs. sufficiency controversy by tracing growth narratives from interviews with members of Finland's SCP Committee. Two different growth stories prevailed: the Vulnerable growth economy and the Eco-efficient growth economy. In addition, two nonstories emerged:

Growth critique and De-growth economy. Even though the Vulnerable growth economy in particular was broadly contested in the interviews, a monopoly of growth stories prevails. The article suggests steps that would support the completion of the Degrowth narrative and lead to more balanced policy deliberation, thus answering research question (3).

Chapter 2 below gives the necessary theoretical background for understanding and analysing broad sustainability programmes and the dynamics of the SCP field. Chapter 3 describes the case and the analysis methods in more detail. The analysis in Chapter 4 describes the four different perspectives that have been developed in dialogue with both the empirical material and various theoretical approaches. The final chapters 5 and 6 summarise and discuss the results of the analysis.

## 2 Theoretical background

Environmental policy has traditionally focused on how to transform production through pollution control and eco-efficiency rather than on consumption (Southerton et al. 2004). The Rio Summit (1992) represented a watershed in the international community's way of thinking, and the focus of environmental policy was officially shifted from production alone to *consumption and production* (Hobson 2004; Manoochehri 2002; Murphy & Cohen 2001; Spaargaren 1997; UNEP 2008). A 10-year framework of programmes on regional and national SCP initiatives was agreed on in the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 (Clark 2007). Some key SCP policy challenges include achieving the decoupling of economic growth from environmental degradation, meeting basic needs, and preventing the rebound effect when efficiency improvements are outstripped by growing consumption (Jackson 2009; Polimeni et al. 2009; UNEP 2008; see also Articles II & IV).

Sustainability provides a *framework within which to reconcile conflicts and search for synergies* between different interests and sectors, namely the ecological, the economic and the social (Dryzek 1997; Hopwood et al. 2005; Jordan 2008). From this point of view, participation, dialogue and learning are the practical means through which to achieve sustainable development (Bagheri & Hjorth 2007; Frame 2008; Jordan 2008; Morse 2008; Newman 2007; see also Article III; on criticism of this approach see Mintzberg 1994). In the European context, national programmes are considered to be among the key SCP implementation tools (European Commission 2004; see also Lafferty & Meadowcroft 2002). Working in concert with other socio-economic strategies, an SCP programme can help to institutionalise sustainability elements and processes for negotiation on issues where interests differ (UNEP 2008). The following sections discuss in more detail the challenges and potential for developing and analysing broad sustainability programmes, and the dynamics of the SCP.

### 2.1 Understanding broad sustainability programmes

There is a considerable amount of literature on sustainable development (see Schubert & Láng 2005 for a review) and national sustainability programmes and strategies (see, e.g., Cherp et al. 2004; Lafferty & Meadowcroft 2002; Kenny & Meadowcroft 1999; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et

al. 2004). The idea of programmed development has its roots in the societal planning tradition that reached a high point in the 1960s and 70s, but was prevalent in various policy fields into the 1990s (House 2006; Mintzberg et al. 1998; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005, on green plans, see Johnson 2008). According to the *planning school*, having formal plans or strategies implies that an organisation ought to follow detailed prescribed objectives and/or actions covering a certain period (Mintzberg 1994; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005). Following the charging of the planning school with the fallacies of predetermination, detachment and formalization, a counter-position known as the *learning school* (Mintzberg et al. 1998; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005) has emerged, advocating informal strategy formation and mutual adjustment among a variety of actors. It is thus closely linked to Lindblom's (1959) idea of incrementalism and "muddling through".

The planning and learning schools could be seen as the two extreme standpoints along the continuum of strategy and programme formation (Mintzberg et al. 1998). The literature dealing with the evaluation and analysis of broad policy programmes and sustainability strategies offers a variety of *perspectives*, by which I mean ways of perceiving, discussing and acting on programmes. Given the aim in this thesis to find fruitful ways of analysing and developing broad policy programmes, and national sustainability and SCP programmes in particular, the focus in this section is on the expectations in the various streams of literature of these programmes. What is the ideal in terms of how such a programme should operate? Where are the criteria for its development and analysis drawn from? The answers to these questions comprise the programme's designated function. Chapter 4 in this summary analyses the different perspectives on Finland's SCP Programme and its various uses are discussed in Article III.

The key questions concerning the criteria for programme development and analysis relate to the *process* and the *goals* (see also Dalal-Clayton & Bass 2006). Do the projected ideals derive from a) the programme itself (e.g., Chen 2005; Leeuw 2003; Weiss 1998), b) the related literature on sustainable development and/or strategic planning, for example (e.g., Cherp et al. 2004; Dalal-Clayton et al. 1994; Dalal-Clayton & Bass 2006; Mog 2004; Steurer and Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004), or c) another source such as a separate process involving various actors such as stakeholders, peers or experts (e.g., Niestroy 2005; Dalal-Clayton & Bass 2006; Störmer & Schubert 2007; UNEP 2008)? There is a clear difference between the first and third alternatives as regards the predetermination, or flexibility, of the *criteria*. Whereas a single document might provide a rather well defined picture of the expectations placed on a programme, an assortment of documents related to the topic it covers rarely does so - to say nothing of the diversity and contradictory nature of criteria that may result from a participative evaluation process (see also Article III).

Lists of normative criteria for analysing SCP programmes tend to re-

flect traditional politics (see e.g., Hacker & Pierson 2010) in terms of (government) commitment and, sometimes, resourcing (Cherp et al. 2004; Lafferty 2004a; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005). In general, however, the role of *politics* is ambiguous in the context of sustainability programmes and their analysis. On the one hand, moving towards sustainable development is often assumed to mean large-scale transition – something that hardly happens without conflict (Lafferty 2004a), whereas sustainability discourse, on the other hand, is distinctively consensus-oriented (Dryzek 1997; Lafferty & Meadowcroft 2002). Anyone analysing sustainability programmes can expect to encounter this controversy in one way or another, and the analytical tools should therefore be capable of dealing with discrepancies in what is being said, thought and done, for example.

It would seem from my *review of the literature on sustainability programmes* that the approaches fall into three broad and partially overlapping categories, which are named and briefly described below (see also Lafferty 2004b for a similar list of discourses on sustainability strategies). It should be noted that these categories are ideal types formed for analytical purposes on the basis of the existing literature, and that concrete cases may combine elements from more than one of them. Furthermore, they are not presented in any order of preference. Each stream has its strengths and weaknesses, and each may be useful in certain cases. The categories are:

1. *Effectiveness evaluation*, which traces programme inputs, outputs and outcomes and seeks to understand how these interlink.
2. *Normative literature* and guidebooks on sustainable development and broad sustainability programmes that derive the analytical criteria from the respective stream. Within this tradition, a distinction can be made between the literature that a) emphasises the ambitious integrative goals of sustainability and b) perceives sustainable development rather as a particular type of on-going process.
3. *Deliberative policy analysis*, which may in practice come very close to process-oriented sustainability analysis. In principle, however, this stream has a lighter normative loading and a stronger focus on bottom-up empirical analysis than is typical of the literature on sustainability.

As these short descriptions already show, these three analytical approaches differ in the extent to which they set predetermined criteria for programme processes and goals. The way these categories are reflected in the literature is described in more detail below. Figure 1 illustrates the relationships between the approaches.



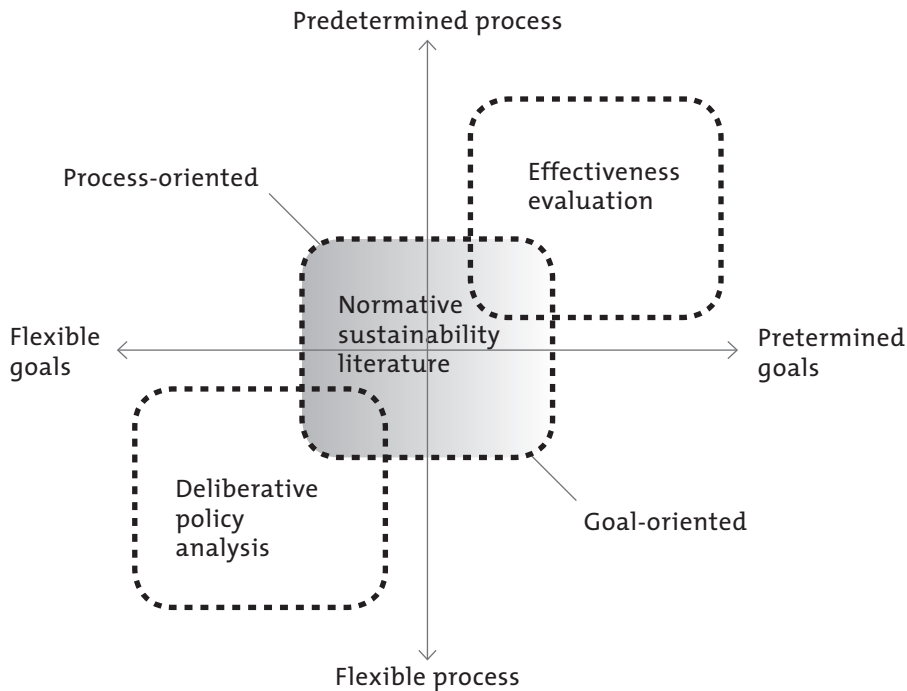


Figure 1. Flexibility vs. predetermination of goals and processes in the different analytical approaches to broad sustainability programmes

(1) The *effectiveness evaluation* stream considers the broad sustainability programme an instrument for a particular kind of change (Lafferty 2004a, 2004b; see also Article III, in which this kind of approach is called scripted use). Such a programme encompasses a documented plan and action consistent with it (Owen & Rogers 1999). Thus, the aim of the analysis or evaluation is to construct the inputs, components and outcomes of the programme, and possibly to reveal the theory of how these interlink (see e.g., Chen 2005; Leeuw 2003; Weiss 1998; on the effectiveness evaluation of sustainable-consumption policy instruments, see Wolff & Schönherr 2011). The official goals represent an entry point into the matter of programme intention (Weiss 1998).

Effectiveness evaluation reflects ideals that Hajer and Versteeg (2005) refer to as “normal” classical-modernist policy thinking. This staged approach to programme development is well established among some key institutional actors who actively promote and analyse broad national policy strategies (Lafferty 2004b; OECD 2006; UNDESA 2001). For example, UNEP (2008) has published guidelines for developing SCP programmes that reflect traditional evaluation and implementation analysis. In general, effectiveness evaluation of environmental policies has become increasingly popular in the European context, particularly because of pressure from the European

Union but also because other international organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank highlight it (Mickwitz 2006).

According to the UNEP's (2008) SCP guidelines, the development of a programme is supposed to follow a 10-step approach that includes phases such as establishing an advisory board, defining objectives, setting targets and implementing the programme. The approach is very faithful to effectiveness thinking. For example, "[o]nce official approval is granted, programme implementation can begin... As much as possible, the measures and steps proposed in the programme should be followed" (ibid., 56). However, in many other cases, learning and flexibility are also emphasised in the context of sustainability programmes, even though a staged approach is otherwise followed (e.g., Swanson et al. 2004).

The straightforwardness of effectiveness evaluation makes it practical in terms of revealing flaws in the implementation, for example. It could therefore be used to identify accountability problems such as failed promises of leaders and policy-makers (Mickwitz 2006). At the same time, the use of stiff top-down process logic in the context of sustainability programmes has also been criticised. Lafferty (2004b) points out that attempts to formulate the transition to sustainability as a neat top-down process glosses over some key characteristics of sustainable development such as the central role of learning. It should also be noted that the general field of policy evaluation has shifted its focus way beyond mere effectiveness. Some of the most frequently cited authors in the field discuss aspects such as constructivist evaluation, which highlights the culturally and politically bounded nature of evaluation (Lincoln & Guba 1989), and realistic evaluation with its emphasis on the fact that people, not programmes, make things change (Pawson & Tilley 1997).

In fact, the popular theory-oriented approaches to evaluation (see e.g., Blamey & Mackenzie 2007; Chen 2005; Leeuw 2003; Mason & Barnes 2007; Stame 2004; Weiss 1998) share with the present study the ambition to open the black box of programmes. Weiss (1998), for example, emphasises that evaluators should understand exactly how the programme under study is expected to bring about the required change. On the other hand, she states that evaluation may not be worthwhile if the programme has unclear goals, for example, and the people involved cannot agree on what it is trying to achieve. However, sustainability programmes are "wicked, messy and clumsy" (Frame 2008) by nature. In addressing this ambiguity, researchers and analysts have often extended the criteria beyond effectiveness and added some other normative elements to the list. This stream of literature is discussed next.

(2) *Normative literature and guidelines* produced by key actors in the field are reflected in many studies on national sustainability programmes (Cherp et al. 2004; Lafferty 2004a, 2004b; Mog 2004; Plummer 2006; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004). Typical features include references

to OECD and UN publications (e.g., OECD 2001, 2006; UNDESA 2001) and lists of criteria covering the contents and processes of ideal programmes. A typical list of criteria for drawing up strategic principles for sustainability includes the integration of economic, social and environmental pillars, the participation of stakeholders, country ownership and commitment, a comprehensive and coordinated policy process, and targeting, resourcing and monitoring (Cherp et al. 2004; see also OECD 2001, 2006; UNDESA 2001).

In general, the sustainability criteria promoted by the OECD and other influential institutional actors are very similar to those laid out in the 1970s, before the break-through of sustainability discourse (see e.g., Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989). Furthermore, they are quite bold. However, as Steurer and Martinuzzi (2005) point out, sustainability programmes often end just up gathering dust on shelves and thus have a very limited policy impact (for additional critical points, see also Dalal-Clayton et al. 1994; Lafferty & Meadowcroft 2002; Niestroy 2005; Nilsson 2005; Swanson et al. 2004). Even UNEP's (2008) manual for developing SCP programmes concludes that, as sustainability strategies use valuable time and resources, "they often do more harm than good, particularly when uncoordinated and unsustainable" (ibid., 34). Still, the mainstream programme-development model is maintained.

Within this stream further division can be made between a) works that emphasise the importance of meeting the content criteria and goals of sustainability and b) those that weight the process dimension. The rationale for emphasising *content- and goal-oriented* criteria is that undue emphasis on governance issues may result in a loss of focus on sustainability concerns in integrated appraisals (Kidd & Fischer 2007). A typical approach is to introduce sustainability indicators in the analysis or evaluation (Mog 2004; Rosenström 2009). This is also the main approach that UNEP (2008) recommends for national SCP programmes.

At the same time, many authors suggest that participation and social learning are practical means of implementing sustainable development (Bagheri & Hjort 2007; Frame 2008; Jordan 2008; Morse 2008; Newman 2007). Examples of *process-oriented* criteria for sustainability programmes include the nature of the participation, the success of institution- and capacity-building efforts, the adaptability of the ideas being promoted, accounting for diversity, understanding local knowledge and recognising the influence of external conditions (Mog 2004). It appears from the literature review that current sustainability strategies are more successful when evaluated against these process-centred criteria as opposed to content and goal-oriented criteria. For example, analyses of European sustainability strategies emphasise how the programmes have introduced new forms and tools of governance, and increased understanding and inter-ministerial coordination (Niestroy 2005; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005).

(3) *Deliberative policy analysis* (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003) is a seldom utilised but in principle applicable approach to analysing sustainability programmes in times of network governance (cf. Castells 2010; Hajer & Vers-teeg; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Hildén 2007). Given that many sustainability strategies appear to be more successful when analysed as a normative process (e.g., Niestroy 2005; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005), it is worthwhile deepening that approach. Deliberative policy analysis enhances understanding about programme processes and the various meanings related to programme making. Meanwhile, it relieves the normative burden inherited from the literature and manuals on sustainability.

One reason for adopting this alternative analytical perspective would be the contradictory and disappointing nature of results obtained from other, more traditional forms of analysis (e.g., concerning the Finnish SCP Programme, see Articles II & III; Honkasalo 2011; Huvila 2007; Nikula 2008; about related Finnish cases, cf. Ramboll 2009; Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010). As Roe (1992, 558) stated two decades ago, “[t]wenty years of social science research evaluating public sector activities has left the research indelibly tied to the dismal finding that few, if any, large-scale government programs work anywhere as planned”. On a more general level, Hajer (2009) points out that classical modernist government suffers from implementation, learning and legitimacy deficits. Thus, new, networked means of policy-making are constantly emerging, and broad policy and sustainability programmes could be seen as reflections of this development (Hildén 2007). A challenge for the policy analyst is that the performance of the network itself matters for implementation success. Thus, accountability becomes fragmented (DeGroff & Cargo 2009).

Ideas of network governance and deliberative policy analysis relate to a broader interpretive turn and to pioneering work by authors such as Murray Edelman, John Dryzek, Frank Fischer and Douglas Torgerson in the realm of policy sciences in the 1970s and 80s (Yanow 2000). Deliberative policy analysis (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003) takes account of the fact that politics is concerned not only with outcomes but also with the rules of the game and the social capacity for system adaptation (Innes & Booher 2003). It incorporates the tensions and conflicts generated by the impact of the newer networked forms of policymaking, and therefore provides tools for analysing the *political* dimension of programme making. Deliberative policy analysis describes how the programme and the process of shaping it are used to promote certain agendas and/or to prepare the political ground for future change.

The notion of network governance shifts attention from the programme itself to the *actors* involved in the *process*. Instead of just taking part in a pre-determined exercise, they actively shape the process and use the opportunities offered by the programme for their own purposes (Bressers 2004; see also Article III). For example, some of the members of the SCP Commit-

tee were on board just to protect their interests. Thus, their commitment to certain proposals may be quite vague (UNEP 2008), and they may, more or less openly, even oppose their implementation.

Network governance poses various challenges for policy analysts. Cases subjected to deliberative policy analysis reflect no pre-given rules governing how a legitimate decision is to be taken or what kinds of rituals denote that implementation is forthcoming (Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003). The criteria for meaningful intervention are derived from the process itself (Hajer 2003; see also Article III).

Another key dimension in addition to the process is the analysis of *meanings*. Although sustainable development could be considered the first global discourse coalition in environmental politics, studies reveal that it is still understood in a variety of ways (Dryzek 1997; Hajer 1995; Hopwood 2005; Redclift 2005). Therefore, the meaning of “sustainability” as a goal in a programme process cannot be taken for granted (Articles II & IV). Further, it is not only a question of what specific policies mean, but also of *how* they mean it (Article I). The role of the interpretive analyst is to map the architecture of debate relative to the policy issue under investigation by identifying the language and the understandings and actions related to it (Yanow 2000). Chapter 4 develops and applies a multi-perspective approach based on deliberative policy analysis.

## 2.2 Key questions in promoting sustainable consumption and production

Public policies often create sets of meaning categories or invoke and reflect category structures already in use in a polity (Yanow 2000). An analysis of meaning structures is a crucial stage in the analysis of policy processes in network governance (Articles I-IV; Hajer 2003; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Yanow 2000). In the case of SCP, key meaning categories include those related to efficiency of production and sufficiency of consumption (Article II; Princen 2003; see also Fuchs & Lorek 2005; Jackson 2006b; Szlezak et al. 2008). At the core of the efficiency versus sufficiency contradiction stands the growth question. To what extent is an increase in eco-efficiency able to compensate for growing levels of consumption (Article IV; Jackson 2009; Polimeni et al. 2009)? How can one influence demand (Articles I & IV; Haunstrup Christensen et al. 2007; Jackson 2006a; Thøgersen & Crompton 2009)? What are suitable tools for promoting SCP (Article I; Bemelmans-Vidéc et al. 2005; Rubik et al. 2009; Tukker et al. 2008)? This section provides a basis on which to identify the various organising principles, narratives and discourses in the field of SCP.

Organising principles are rules and procedures that structure and regularise social behaviour by promoting particular values and ideas (Article II;

Princen 2003). According to Princen (ibid.), co-operation, or *deliberation* (Article II), and *efficiency* are the two classes of organising principles that prevail in the policy fields of the economy, natural resources and the environment. For the present purposes, this means the SCP field. Deliberation promotes public participation, information sharing and consensus. Meanwhile, efficiency supports principles that are sensitive to technical and economic aims such as intensification and economies of scale. The key question in efficiency is ratio: the proportion of output to input (see also Polimeni et al. 2009). At the same time, *sufficiency* refers to ideas such as restraint and precaution (Princen 2003; see also Fuchs & Lorek 2005), and thus attaches special significance to the sustainable consumption and demand side of SCP. Article II analyses the roles of efficiency, sufficiency and deliberation in the Finnish SCP Programme, and the Depiction section in Chapter 4 (4.4) gives a summary of the results.

When the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development decided to develop a 10-year framework of programmes on SCP, the focus was firmly on eco-efficiency (Jackson 2006b). Eco-efficiency is an important strategic element in the broader *ecological modernisation* discourse that German social scientists Joseph Huber and Martin Jänicke identified in the early 1980s (Article IV; Dryzek 1997; Massa 2009; Spaargaren 1997). The basic idea is that the capitalist economy needs to be restructured along more environmentally sound lines. Thus ecological modernisation breaks with strategies requiring radical social change and highlights optimistic win-win possibilities between the environment and the economy. Environmental limits are not explicitly denied so much as ignored (Dryzek 1997; Hajer 1995; Hajer 1996; Spaargaren 1997; Orsato & Clegg 2005).

During the 1990s consumers and citizens were increasingly assigned the responsibility of contributing to more sustainable development. For example, Agenda 21 of the Rio Summit (1992) included a chapter on changing consumption patterns (Haunstrup Christensen et al. 2007; Hobson 2004; Jackson 2006b; Manoochchri 2002; Murphy & Cohen 2001; Seyfang 2004). The *sustainable consumption* debate has its roots both in long-standing concerns about natural-resource depletion and in the analysis of economic-demand behaviour (Manoochchri 2002; see also Article II). Thorstein Veblen's (2007) Theory of the Leisure Class is often considered one of the classics in the field (Jackson 2006b). Veblen finds humans to be conspicuous consumers who compete, contrary to reason and their better knowledge.

Nowadays sustainable consumption could be considered a vital policy discourse that enables deeper and broader questions about the nature of the good life and the course of human progress to be addressed (Hobson 2004; Jackson 2006b). So far, however, progress has been visible mainly in the eco-efficiency of consumption and production chains and in the provision of consumer information (Fuchs & Lorek 2005; Szlezak et al. 2008; see also Articles I & II). Individualistic policy approaches have been criticised

because they constantly create discursive traps in individuals' lives, thus leading to a blame-the-victim mentality (Articles I & II; Hobson 2002, 2004; Maniates 2002; Moisander 2001; Seyfang 2004; Thøgersen 2005; on the role of consumer research in constructing different "green consumers", see Heiskanen 2005). According to empirical analyses, successful policies promoting SCP adopt a *systemic perspective* on change, and bring technological development, institutional structures, and information in balance (Haunstrup Christensen et al. 2007; Jackson 2006a; Tukker et al. 2008). However, as Haunstrup Christensen et al. (ibid.) point out, this applies only when sustainable consumption does not conflict with economic growth.

Many schools of economic thought claim that *economic growth* is the driving force behind social and environmental progress: enhancing growth has been a dominant theme in politics and public discourse (Article IV; Kallis et al. 2009; Spangenberg 2009). The dominance has not prevailed uncontested, however, and the usefulness of "growth fetishism" has been questioned from both social and environmental perspectives (Spangenberg 2009; van den Bergh 2009; see also Massa 2009). Many authors (e.g., Grinevald 2008; Jackson 2009; Latouche 2010; Massa 2009) trace the roots of the growth critique back to classical economists such as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. Mill, for example, foresaw an economic "stationary state" in which growth would have to stop (Jackson 2009).

Currently, economic growth and its environmental limits are among the key themes in ecological economics, which has been influenced by well-known writers and academics such as Boulding (1968), Georgescu-Roegen (1971), Meadows et al. (1972), Schumacher (1973), Kapp (1975), and Daly (1977) (Edwards-Jones et al. 2000; Massa 2009). The most recent surge of discussion on *sustainable degrowth* (e.g., Baykan 2007; Fournier 2008; Latouche 2010; Martínez-Alier et al. 2010) is going on within and beyond the realms of ecological economics. The idea of degrowth can be traced back to the French term "la décroissance" and the work of Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen in the 1970s (Martínez-Alier et al. 2010). It is a key concept in Article IV and in the narrative policy analysis introduced as a part of the Depiction perspective in Chapter 4 of this summary.

From many perspectives, the literature on degrowth echoes the previously mentioned broader academic critique of growth and the search for sustainable economic alternatives. Degrowth *repoliticises* the naturalness of economics and the growth imperative by viewing them as historical phenomena (e.g., Latouche 2010; Fournier 2008; Martínez-Alier et al. 2010). It is suggested that without an unconditional growth objective there will be more political space for all types of policies aimed at improving social welfare to the detriment of growth, or the rate of growth (van den Bergh 2009). As alternatives to consumerism and economism, degrowth foregrounds democracy and citizenship (e.g., Fournier 2008; Martínez-Alier et al. 2010; see also Article IV).

Public policies and programmes invoke not only meaning structures related to certain topics but also categories that deal with the ways in which these topics are governed (Article I; Yanow 2000): for example, choices of policy instruments reflect policy styles (Howlett 1991; Linder & Peters 1989) and governmentalities (Foucault 1991; Sairinen 2000). *Environmental policy tools* could be categorised as governmental regulation and “new” environmental policy instruments such as economic tools, and informational devices (Jordan et al. 2003; see also Bemelmans-Videc et al. 2005; Lafferty 2004; Sairinen 2000). In the context of SCP (Article I; see also Rubik et al. 2009), examples of traditional regulation include banning certain harmful substances, setting goals and defining product standards. The functioning of economic instruments such as taxes, subsidies and trading schemes is based on budgetary restrictions and the price calculations of different actors. Meanwhile, examples of informational devices include consumer labels, expert services and research. These tools represent an attempt to introduce change through knowledge creation and dissemination. There has been a move towards introducing new environmental policy instruments since the 1980s, both in Finland and abroad (Jordan et al. 2003; Lafferty 2004; Sairinen 2000). This theme is discussed further in Article I and Chapter 4.4.



## 3 The case and methods

### 3.1 The case study

Case-study methods have become increasingly popular in social research since the 1980s, and studies of specific programmes have emerged as an integral part of evaluation research (Hammersley & Gomm 2000; Yin 2003). According to Yin (2009, 18), “[a] case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon *in depth* and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Typical characteristics of case studies include: a) they investigate one or a few cases in considerable depth; b) the research topics are defined broadly and holistically; c) they address exploratory “what”, “how” or “why” questions; d) they cover complex naturally occurring social conditions and processes; and e) they rely on multiple sources of evidence (Hammersley & Gomm 2000; Laine et al. 2007; Yin 2003, 2009). All these characteristics apply to the present study.

A key step in case-study research is to determine the case and carefully define *what it is a case of* (Yin 2003). Cases may be critical in testing well-formulated theories, or extreme or typical occurrences (Laine et al. 2007; Yin 2009). For example, this research is, first and foremost a case study of broad national sustainability programmes, even though the SCP angle is a vital part of it. The goal is to shed light on these programmes as a phenomenon by developing a holistic understanding of a case that is typical<sup>1</sup> in the Finnish context and also part of a broader international process promoting SCP (Rouhinen 2006; UNEP 2008). The case-study approach would appear to be appropriate given that the research topic is wide and the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context (Yin 2003).

A further challenge is to find out if all the facts that are relevant in the context of the case agree with or support its interpretation (Ragin 1994). Although one might claim that the main concern of a case study is to understand the case itself, the limits and possibilities of theoretical inference and empirical *generalisation* are eloquently debated in the literature. For example, Yin (2009) argues that analytical generalisation, meaning that a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results, is both possible and desirable in case studies. However,

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\* See Chapter 3.2 for typical features of the Finnish governance model and programmes promoting sustainability. These features include a deliberative approach aimed at institutional learning and the continuation of the work regardless of changes in the governing coalition.

some other authors dismiss this traditional ideal and suggest approaches such as “naturalistic generalisation” that recognise the similarities of objects and issues in and out of the context of the research (Stake 2000; for further alternatives, see e.g., Lincoln & Guba 2000).

In this research I compare the fruitful perspectives adopted in the context of Finland’s SCP programme – and the different “faces” identified – with approaches used previously in analyses of broad sustainability programmes. In this sense, the study reflects the principles of analytical generalisation (e.g., Yin 2009): the findings indicate that there should be more diversity in approach. Nevertheless, the new, more fine-tuned approach presented in the study is intended to enrich rather than substitute previous methods of analysis. One case study on a single national sustainability programme cannot claim to provide a method that would be applicable in all cases covering broad national policy programmes. The method may or may not be applicable. In this sense, the approach of the study could also be described as naturalistic generalisation (Stake 2000). The point is not to confirm one truth, but rather to learn about a phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2001). The generalisation potential of the study is discussed further in Chapter 6.4.

### 3.2 Background: governance and sustainability in Finland

Finland’s *administrative structure* is based on policy sectors coordinated by twelve ministries. The governmental institutions, structures and ideals are considered rather flexible (Saari 2006). Finnish citizenry trusts the public administration as a partner in economic development and service delivery (OECD 2010). The ideas of new public management have influenced public-sector reforms, especially since the 1980s (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004; Temmes 1998, 2008). Consequences of these reforms include the substantial delegation of powers to the communal level, more independence for the ministries, and a strengthening of the role of political steering (Temmes 2008). All in all, the reforms have been rather radical, and the number of state employees has decreased sharply since the peak in 1988 (Temmes 1998, 2008). Nevertheless, they have been adopted smoothly and continuously (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004).

Finnish politics is nowadays almost completely Government-driven (Raunio & Wiberg 2008). The programmes of coalition governments are robust, and Finland is a leader in identifying and giving high-level commitment to horizontal priorities. The horizontal instruments include the Government Programme, the Government Strategy Document, results-based management, and inter-ministerial committees and working groups (Kivimaa & Mickwitz 2009). However, the Government programmes in particular reduce the agility of the Finnish public sector. Furthermore, experi-

ence has shown that mere visions are not enough (OECD 2010). In practical terms, *horizontality* has been considered a weakness of Finnish public administration (Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010). Sufficient collaboration, follow-up and resources are needed in order to implement horizontal goals (OECD 2010).

A special programme-management initiative was introduced at the beginning of the new millennium as a key part of the Finnish central-government reform (Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2009). The aims were to strengthen the political leadership, enhance networked governance and promote the systematic follow-up of the Government Programme (Valtion keskushallinnon uudistaminen 2003). However, evaluation of the initiative suggests that the added value of even the most highly prioritised horizontal policy programmes has been restricted: the main achievements include the creation of communication networks and the highlighting of themes that the Government has wanted to promote (Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010; see also Ramboll 2009).

Still, Finland has been scoring well in many international *sustainability* comparisons, (e.g., the Sustainable Society Index 2010; see also Ramboll 2009). The country receives credit for the active and long-term advancement of sustainability strategies (Aizalnieks 2007; Niestroy 2005). At the same time, the use of natural resources is high, and Finns have a relatively large ecological footprint (Seppälä et al. 2009; WWF International 2010). A key reason behind this significant resource use is the energy- and material-intensive industry in the country. Environmental regulations, R&D programmes and industry initiatives have contributed to advances in eco-efficiency. Still, Finns find SCP one of the most challenging policy fields (Niestroy 2005).

The Finnish environmental governance model has been labelled *environmental corporatism* (Hukkinen 1995a, 1995b; see also Pekkarinen et al. 1992), or *neocorporatism* (Sairinen 2000). The model cherishes consensus, learning and dialogue among political parties, trade unions, industries, and in some cases NGOs (Honkasalo 2011; Koskinen 1995; Rouhinen 2006; Saari 2006). Rouhinen (2006) describes the following typical features of the institutional structure promoting sustainable development in Finland in the new millennium. (1) The working method adopted enhances institutional learning, the aim in the deliberative programme work being to identify strategic lines and goals. (2) Governmental sectors carry the responsibility for programme implementation but the action is coordinated by a secretariat led by the Ministry of the Environment. The work continues regardless of changes in the ruling governmental coalition. (3) Research and development programmes enhance the knowledge base and support innovation for sustainable development.

The tradition of consensus is also reflected in Finnish *sustainability strategies* that tend to avoid conflict (Article III; Niestroy 2005; Ramboll

2009). From a longer-term perspective, however, certain actors have clearly been more powerful than others in fields such as environmental and energy policy, which are critical in terms of sustainability. The strong actors include the cabinet, especially the two leading parties, the Ministries of Employment and the Economy, the Environment and Finance, the large energy producers, the Confederation of Finnish Industries (EK), Finnish Energy Industries, and the Technical Research Centre of Finland. Meanwhile, NGOs have been named as weak actors in the field (Koskinen 1995; Ruostetsaari 2010; see also Article III).

### 3.3 Finland's SCP Programme and process

Finland was one of the pioneering countries when it developed a national SCP programme in 2003–2005. It was drawn up in response to the decision to create a 10-year framework of programmes on SCP at the Johannesburg Summit (2002). A 31-member *committee* and a secretariat worked for a year and a half on Finland's Programme with a view to arriving at a consensual proposal. Forty-eight specialists from a wide range of backgrounds contributed to the work in hearings and working groups in order to "prepare for the Finnish Government a proposal for a programme on ecologically, socially and economically sustainable ways of production and consumption" (Ympäristöministeriö 2003b). The major goals of the process included the promotion of material and energy efficiency in all phases of a product's life cycle, and advancing environmental education as well as production and know-how based on environmental technology (Ympäristöministeriö 2003b; see also Article II).

The members of the SCP Committee and the secretariat represented both governmental and non-governmental organisations: ministries, businesses, environmental organisations and research institutes (see Appendix 2 for a full list). Half of them represented the public sector, and the other half organisations and research. Different interests and sectors were rather evenly represented, except the social sector: a third of the members had a background in business and economics, a third in environmental and consumer affairs and a third in other sectors.

Attendance at the meetings was not recorded in detail for this study. However, the interviews revealed that there was an inner circle in the Committee, the members of which were more active than the others. Some thought this inner circle was the working committee or the secretariat of the SCP Committee, whereas others regarded it as a broader group of active members. Among these active, loud and visible members were representatives of the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation, the Confederation of Finnish Industries, Parliament's Environment Committee and the Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners. The Central Organisa-

tion of Finnish Trade Unions used another strategy in that its representative did not participate much in the committee process, but was active in the last few meetings at which the final wording of the programme was decided.

The Programme document “Getting more and better from less – Proposals for Finland’s national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production” was unanimously accepted in June 2005. It offers a vision for the year 2025, with mainly qualitative targets and 73 *proposals* for action (see also Articles I & II). Appendix 1 gives the contents of the Programme.

The Finnish Government dealt with the Programme by discussing it in one of its unofficial meetings in 2006 (Honkasalo 2011). During the meeting it adopted a *prioritised* list of proposals which included (1) the development of long-term economic instruments to promote SCP, (2) an action plan on ecological public procurement, (3) the establishment of a material efficiency service centre, (4) the promotion of sustainable development through education, research and other policy tools, and (5) initiating stakeholder dialogue in order to set material and energy-efficiency goals (Huvila 2007; Nikula 2008). The implementation of the Programme is also mentioned in other official contexts such as the Government Programme for the years 2007–2011 (Prime Minister’s Office 2007).

The making and implementation of the Finnish SCP programme in 2003–2010 occurred at a time when climate policy was gaining new prominence in Finland and abroad. The development was fuelled by the publication of the Fourth Assessment Report by the IPCC (2007) and the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change (2006). What was also of relevance to the international environmental policy of the time was the run-up to the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen (2009). Developments in climate policy were reflected in Finland in the publication of two long-term climate and energy strategies (Valtioneuvosto 2005, 2008), for example, and a report on the future of climate and energy policy (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2009). Furthermore, the SCP programme coincided with the publication of certain other related programmes, such as the national strategy for sustainable development (Prime Minister’s Office 2006) and the Government’s report on natural resources (TEM 2010). All in all, the implementation period of the Finnish SCP programme was an active time in terms of environmental policy discussion. However, the global financial crisis started to attract more and more attention in the media and in the minds of the people in the late 2000s, presumably at the cost of the environment. The proposals and outputs of the Finnish SCP Programme are analysed and discussed specifically in Chapters 4.1 and 4.4 (see also Articles I–III). Meanwhile, Chapters 4.1 and 4.2 focus on the process (see also Articles II & III).

### 3.4 The research material and method

Interviews, observations and documents provide fruitful material for analysis in case studies based on interpretive methods (Yanow 2000; Yin 2009). The use of multiple sources of evidence and triangulation are also typical (Yin 2003, 2009). This study is based on analyses of interviews and documents. In a key role are the *20 focused interviews* conducted with members, the secretariat and specialists of Finland's SCP Committee. The case is exploratory, with fieldwork and data collection undertaken prior to the final definition of the study questions and hypotheses (Yin 2003). I closely monitored the development of the Finnish, European and global SCP policies by attending various seminars, conferences and workshops, following the media and maintaining contact with the key officials in charge of the Finnish process.

The majority of the interviews for the study took place in 2007, more than 18 months after the publication of the programme (see Appendix 3 and Table 1 for a list of the interviewees). The main themes addressed included the SCP Programme process and participation, the contents of the Programme and its implementation, and the general dynamics of the policy field (see Appendix 4 for more details). The interview material was transcribed and coded – in other words thematically categorised – with the help of Atlas.TI, which yielded 217 codes. The codes and code families were produced as inductively as possible, and both individual words and longer quotations were coded. The code families included groups such as key themes in SCP, the deliberative working methods of the Finnish SCP Committee, and the roles of different actors in meeting SCP challenges. During the coding the transcribed interviews were meticulously read twice in order to ensure consistency.

The coding resulted in a good understanding of the potentially interesting themes of the material and their variations. The coded material was later utilised for many purposes: analysing the choice of policy tools to promote SCP (Article I), the different uses of the SCP Programme (Article III), and narratives on sustainability and growth (Article IV). In all these cases the codes were used to find the right quotations for closer analysis. When I conducted these final analyses I rearranged the material in order to trace the different ideas about SCP policy tools (Article I), categories of programme use (Article III) and the components of growth stories and non-stories (Article IV). However, I tried to maintain a hold on the original interview material and its contents. For example, in the case of Article IV I checked the validity of the constructed narratives by going back to the original interviews.

The various *documents* and reports produced in the context of the Finnish SCP Programme also provided valuable material for the analyses, and are listed separately in the references (see also Table 1). The material largely

Interviewees	Interviews in Finland	The Finnish SCP Programme	Other written case material
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Actors on the Finnish SCP Committee: 21</li> <li>Ministries: 8</li> <li>NGOs: 5</li> <li>Business interest groups: 3</li> <li>Academics: 3</li> <li>Others: 2</li> <li>- For comparative purposes, expert interviewees in Sweden and the UK (for more details, see Berg 2008): 8</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conducted in: 05/2006–03/2007</li> <li>- Questions: 30</li> <li>- Total duration: 25 h 33 min</li> <li>- Average duration/interview: 80 min</li> <li>- Transcribed pages: 331</li> <li>- Thematic codes in Atlas.TI: 217</li> <li>- In addition: regular correspondence and talks with key representatives of the Finnish Ministry of the Environment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Published in: 05/2006</li> <li>- Consists of: a proposals section with visions, goals and actions + background memorandum</li> <li>- Pages: 146</li> <li>- Proposals for action: 73 (see Tables 3 &amp; 4 for details)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Documents and reports related to the Finnish SCP Programme (for more details, see the separate section in the references): 35</li> <li>- For comparative purposes, documents about the cases of Sweden and the UK (for more details, see Article II): 14</li> </ul>

Table 1. The research material for the case study in numbers

consists of official governmental documents as well as thematic papers, and background and implementation reports related to Finland’s SCP programme. Some documents produced in the context of European and international SCP processes are also listed.

The depth of analysis of the documentary material varied widely: whereas the Finnish SCP Programme document, in particular, was meticulously analysed, some of the thematic papers were merely leafed through. Much of the material provided only background information. However, one article included in this thesis was based almost entirely on the documents: Article II analyses the Finnish SCP Programme and also compares it with the programmes of two other SCP frontrunners, Sweden and the UK. In order to complement this comparative analysis presented in Article II I conducted some expert interviews in Sweden and the UK. In sum, Table 1 gives the key facts about the research material.

## 4 A multi-perspective analysis of Finland's SCP Programme

The aim of this case study was to develop new understanding about broad sustainability programmes and ways of analysing and developing them in times of network governance (Castells 2010; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Hildén 2007). This has meant proceeding beyond the traditional effectiveness perspective and reading closely the various actions and meanings related to Finland's Programme to promote SCP. Articles I, II and IV in particular concentrate on the important meaning structures reflecting the dynamics and governing the ideals of the SCP field, whereas the actions that have occurred under the auspices of the Programme, or that have been linked with it, are the focus of the analyses in Articles II and III. The approaches are distinctively empirical and the practical conducting of the analyses is transparently described in each article.

In order to proceed from a scattered set of approaches, meanings and actions to a synthesis I categorised the original analytical processes on the basis of their perspectives on broad policy programmes. What I mean by "perspectives" here refers to how sustainability programmes are perceived, understood and acted upon: what a programme is, what it does and what occurs during the process.

The categorisation of programme uses (provided in Article III) was the starting point in this synthesising analysis. Article III analyses Finland's SCP programme in terms of how different actors seek to use the process. Five use categories are identified: scripted, deliberative, political, ritual and unprompted.

Investigation of these use categories through an analysis of their respective approaches to the SCP programme was based on the notion that deliberative, political and unprompted use actually share the same perspective: the programme is seen as a policy process but its form and direction are relatively undetermined. The process provides opportunities for learning about and networking around SCP, but it also sparks off various autonomous political interventions that are only loosely connected to the Finnish programme. In this summary I call this simply the *Process* perspective. Empirically based, it bears a close resemblance to certain theoretical approaches introduced in Chapter 2, particularly with regard to the literature on process-centred sustainability (see e.g., Bagheri and Hjort 2007; Frame 2008; Jordan 2008; Morse 2008; Newman 2007), network governance and deliberative policy analysis (Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Hildén 2007)



Perceptions of the essence and functions of policy programmes were rather loose in the deliberative, political and unprompted use categories. However, scripted use, which refers to the implementation of action proposals, goals and visions as described in the programme document (see Article III), represented a rather strict approach. Thus, the process entails a well-defined change towards predetermined goals that are usually expressed in the programme document. This way of perceiving a programme is clearly different from any other. Because the categorisation described in this summary article is based more on what the programme is doing than on how the key actors are using it, I have called this approach the *Bullet* perspective. It is familiar from effectiveness evaluation (e.g., Chen 2005; Weiss 1998) as well the literature on goal-oriented sustainability thinking (e.g., Mog 2004; Niestroy 2005; UNEP 2008).

The use categorisation provided in Article III also has a ritual dimension. Rituals could be described as expressive acts or performative modes that are situation-specific and regularly repeated (Yanow 2000). Thus, inherent in the ritual approach is, first of all, the idea that the mere act of programme making has a symbolic significance. Whereas a change process may have ritual aspects – think of a political initiation ritual, for example – rituals also have strong connections to the past and thus a renewing character. Therefore, framing a programme process as a ritual may mean emphasising stability at the cost of change. Further, it is important to find out what exactly is being expressed, fixed or renewed in the ritual as it may fall far beyond the boundaries of the programme process in question. For example, a ritual may reinforce political trust and the impression that a society is capable of dealing with complex policy issues. Thus, the *Ritual* perspective represents a radically different viewpoint compared to the *Bullet* perspective. Of the theoretical approaches presented in Chapter 2, the *Ritual* perspective relates to the interpretive and deliberative policy-analysis traditions (e.g., Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Yanow 2000). Further, it pertains to Edelman's (1985) idea of symbolic politics.

There is a rather heavy concentration on actions in the use categorisation (Article III). The meanings related to Finland's SCP programme are considered in more detail in Articles I, II and IV. When I was reviewing these articles and the approaches they took to the programme it became evident that they all discussed it as an object and/or a process producing and renewing meaning structures such as discourses and narratives, but also particular governing principles. Consequently, I called the programme perspective of these articles *Depiction*, given that it takes into account the special status of a broad national policy programme as a text, and therefore the meanings it reinforces and silences carry a special value. Furthermore, interviewing actors who have been involved in a programme process is potentially fruitful because the common experience may have developed deeper understanding and shared discourses. The *Depiction* perspective

thus relates to the interpretive and deliberative policy-analysis traditions, and particularly to the ones that emphasise the importance of meaning structures, discourses and narratives (e.g., Hajer 1995; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Roe 1992, 1994; Yanow 2000).

In sum, the synthesising analysis of the approaches applied in the interpretive case study of Finland's national SCP programme resulted in the discovery of four potentially fruitful perspectives for analysing broad sustainability programmes:

1. the Bullet perspective, which views a programme as a well-defined strategic instrument;
2. the Process perspective, which sees it as an initiator of an ambiguous and political governance process;
3. the Ritual perspective, which reviews programme making as an expressive act that carries symbolic meanings beyond its instrumental functions; and
4. the Depiction perspective, which discusses the meanings constructed, renewed and silenced by the programme and the process.

The four programme perspectives *differ* from one another in at least the following ways:

- In how they perceive some key characteristics of broad policy programmes, which affects the emphasis on either actions or meanings, for example.
- In their theoretical underpinnings and the methodological paths they suggest, such as effectiveness evaluation, normative sustainability literature and deliberative policy analysis (cf. Chapter 2.1).
- In the clarity and predetermination of both the process- and the goal-related criteria that the perspectives suggest (cf. Figure 1): Are the programme goals determined in advance or do they evolve during the implementation stage? Is the programme process fixed or flexible?
- In how they highlight change or stability as a consequence of making and implementing a programme, such as the existence of a ritual dimension.
- In the focus placed on the policy programme under review, the process of making it, or the policy field in which it takes place, for example (cf. Chapter 2).

Table 2 lists the perspectives, defines them and gives some theoretical background to which they relate (see Chapter 2.1 and the following sections of Chapter 4 for more details).

Perspective	Description	Theoretical background (some examples)
Bullet	A particular policy process that affects a policy field in a predetermined way	Effectiveness evaluation; the literature on normative goal-oriented sustainability
Process	An ambiguous governance process that affects the policy field in a particular way	(Network) governance; deliberative democracy and policy analysis; the literature on normative process-oriented sustainability
Ritual	A symbolic act that renews, fixes and/or reinforces certain cultural features	Interpretive policy analysis; symbolic politics; the analysis of political rituals
Depiction	A process that produces, renews and/or silences some meaning structures, both in the policy field and in society more generally. The process yields a programme document that has a special status as a text.	Deliberative and interpretive policy analysis; discourse analysis; narrative policy analysis; some methods for analysing governing and organising principles (for a particular policy field)

Table 2. Four perspectives for analysing and understanding Finland's SCP Programme

Table 2 shows how the four perspectives analyse different levels of programme work. The Depiction perspective rests on the assumption that making policy programmes is a process that produces meanings, whereas the Bullet perspective promotes a particular political process and a tool that affects a particular policy field in a particular way. Consequently, these perspectives are *complementary*. If the more fundamental Depiction or Ritual perspective is taken as a starting point for the analysis, the Bullet perspective can also be used to assess the effect of making policy programmes. However, if the Bullet perspective is the starting point, broader considerations about actions and meanings related to the programme process may well be beyond the scope of the study.

In the following this *multi-perspective framework* is used to rearrange the various elements, actions and meanings found in Finland's SCP Programme, with a view to providing a more holistic yet organised picture of the case. The analysis could also be considered a test case for this multi-perspective approach and its potential applicability to broad sustainability programmes and other institutionally ambiguous policy processes.

#### 4.1 The Bullet perspective: from programme inputs to outputs and outcomes

The Bullet framework rests on the widely held notion that the aim of a policy programme is to transform various inputs into desirable outputs and outcomes (Chen 2005; Leeuw 2003; Weiss 1998; see also Article III; Mickwitz 2006). As discussed in the theory section (2.1), programmes are often considered *instruments promoting a particular kind of change*. Thus, the aim in analysing or evaluating a programme is to construct its inputs, components and outcomes, and to reveal the theory through which they interlink (*ibid.*).

Most analyses of national SCP programmes thus far reflect the Bullet perspective in one way or another (e.g., Honkasalo 2011; Huvila 2007; Ilomäki & Hildén 2005; Nikula 2008; UNEP 2008; see also Article II). However, the bullet metaphor is somewhat cumbersome in picturing the broad and integrated change that is expected to happen. What is anticipated is rather a cluster of bullets approaching their targets in a graceful, coordinated formation.

Analysing Finland's SCP Programme from the Bullet perspective would mean steering Finnish society towards goals that are stated in the programme text, such as delinking economic growth from harmful environmental impacts and the increasing use of natural resources (Committee on sustainable consumption and production 2005). Furthermore, it would mean promoting the long-term visions and goals set for 11 thematic areas by implementing the Programme's 73 proposals for action.

The content analysis of the Programme reported in Article II reveals a discrepancy between the grand long-term visions and goals and the concrete proposals for action, which only seem to be the very first steps towards a possible future transition. Medium-term targets as well as timetables and financial commitments are omitted. In short, as a "tool for informed decision-making" (UNEP 2008, 33), Finland's SCP Programme provides a weak, mixed *toolbox* rather than a strong, balanced roadmap. Many pressing political questions are left unaddressed. However, for those willing to assume responsibility for SCP, the Programme offers support and some guiding principles. Other studies and statements issued by various stakeholders of the Finnish SCP Programme also support the analysis presented in Article II (Huvila 2008; Ilomäki & Hildén, 2005).

The interviews with members of Finland's SCP Committee analysed in Article III reflect considerable *obscurity* in the programme process. It was not clear to the majority of members exactly what kind of programme would be the outcome of the process. At the same time, according to the interviews with key officials the status of the Programme was, indeed, under negotiation for some time. It was initially proposed as an official government programme. However, it was downgraded during the process and

ended up being “Proposals for Finland’s national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production”: it was only discussed in one unofficial meeting of the Finnish Government. The eventual status was a surprise and a disappointment to many of the committee members.

Further, when the implementation, outputs and outcomes of Finland’s SCP Programme were analysed (Koskinen 2010), the *results* turned out to be *modest*: of the 73 proposals, 14 have been implemented in a relatively faithful fashion, some progress has been made on 39 proposals but the concrete steps are only rather loosely connected to the SCP Programme, 17 proposals have not progressed in five years, and in three cases there are no records. Furthermore, of the 14 faithfully implemented proposals only half of them are clearly credited by the key officials in the process as directly resulting from the Programme (see e.g., Honkasalo 2011; Nikula 2008, 2011).

Representatives of various ministries confirmed the restricted role of the Programme in my interviews (Article III). The argument was that, although there was progress on many of the proposals, the role of the Programme in the process was unclear: in some cases it may have encouraged progress, but many initiatives proceeded or were bogged down regardless of it (see also Honkasalo 2011).

Nevertheless, there are certain *unambiguous* implementation *outcomes*, including the establishment of a material efficiency service centre, the formation of an action plan on sustainable public procurement and a research programme on SCP. With regard to the more far-reaching proposals, such as long-term policy guidelines to reshape the taxation system, there is little evidence of concrete progress attributable to the Programme, although the Government has put forward several environmentally motivated tax proposals, including the grading of vehicle taxation on the basis of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (proposal 26 in the SCP Programme) (Huvila 2007; Nikula 2008; Honkasalo 2011; Article III).

The implementation of the SCP Programme has been followed up in monitoring reports about its outputs (see e.g., Huvila 2007; Koskela 2010), and an inter-ministerial working group has kept an eye on its progress. However, there have been no further evaluations or attempts to track its influence on emissions or other environmental indicators (Honkasalo 2011). Still, a set of SCP indicators has been produced for the Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development (Ympäristöministeriö & Syke 2011). These indicators demonstrate both negative and positive trends from the SCP perspective, including a relatively high use of natural resources and the developing, yet marginal, position of organic agriculture in Finland.

As Article III reveals, there were varying opinions about the general *applicability of the Bullet perspective* in the context of Finland’s SCP Programme. Some experienced officials doubted that this kind of broad, participatory programme could have substantial outcomes given that real political decisions were purely “government business” (see also Hildén 2007;

Ramboll 2009). At the same time, for many of the non-governmental members of the Committee the vague implementation was a disappointment.

The weak character of the SCP Programme and its policy tools is discussed in Articles I and II in terms of *policy outsourcing*, the characteristics of which include a clear disparity between the challenges taken up and the means or incentives provided to a third party assigned to act on them. Thus, the implementation of outsourced policies relies on the motivation and resources of non-governmental actors.

Researchers have previously noted this phenomenon in the context of sustainable consumption policies and green consumerism (e.g., Hobson 2002, 2004; Maniates 2002; Moisander 2001; Seyfang 2004; Thøgersen 2005). However, it is easy to shift the responsibility not only to consumers but also to businesses or NGOs (Stoker 1998). Outsourcing the promotion of certain issues to actors beyond government may be wise or unavoidable in situations in which the Government has no capacity or legitimacy to act, but it may inhibit the transparency of policy making as it blurs the image of what a policy process is really about (Article II). In this sense outsourcing relates to the ritual dimension of policy programmes, which is discussed in Chapter 4.3.

#### **4.2 The Process perspective: deliberative network governance for change**

Analysis from the Bullet perspective has already revealed some interesting aspects about the political process behind the Finnish SCP programme: keeping the power over SCP policy in the hands of the government, downgrading the status of the Finnish SCP programme and limiting its role in promoting the policy.

From the Process perspective broad policy-oriented programmes are seen as reflections of (network) governance (Hildén 2007; cf. DeGroff & Cargo 2009; Stoker 1998; van Kersbergen & van Waarden 2004), deliberative democracy (Article III; Bohman 1996; Dryzek 2000; Elster 1998; Fishkin & Laslett 2003; Gutman & Thompson 1996, 2004) and/or political combat (e.g., Hacker & Pierson 2010). Thus, initiating a broad policy programme such as a national SCP programme is much less pre-determined than in the case of the Bullet perspective: it is a process that takes place in institutional ambiguity (Hajer & Versteeg 2005). Issues such as decentralised action, the blurring of responsibilities, process orientation, learning and network formation play important roles (e.g., Innes & Booher 2003; O'Toole 2004; Stoker 1998; van Kersbergen & van Waarden 2004).

The focus in the Process perspective is on actors, and the ways in which different actors attempt to take advantage of the conditions of network governance. Thus, the actual programme process may support the imple-

mentation of official goals and visions – or work completely or partially against them. For example, supporting the functions of a deliberative process may involve the creation of a shared discourse, collective learning about the challenges in the field and mutual trust (Hajer 2003). However, many actors take part in programme processes in order to promote their own political agendas, and this background may not provide fruitful grounds for deliberation (Article III; UNEP 2008): Given that most of the members of the Finnish SCP Committee were paid for pushing forward the agenda of the background organisation, for example, they were not so open to information and proposals that did not support this goal. Often, mere participation does not lead to the authentic exchange of views (Hajer 2003).

According to the literature on deliberative democracy, the success of deliberation depends on several criteria, such as the openness and accountability of the process, reciprocity, the inclusiveness and non-coerciveness of exchanges, and learning through dialogue (Bulkley & Mol 2003; Dryzek 2000; Gutman & Thompson 1996; House 2006; Young 2003; Innes & Booher 2003; O’Toole 2004). Analysis of the interview material (Article III) showed that the Finnish SCP Programme was clearly successful in promoting *learning*: the committee work succeeded in creating a more or less shared discourse and a large number of proposals for action.

However, the low capacity of the Programme to promote broader publicity and deliberation in Finnish society disappointed many. Further, several active committee members had worked for years or even decades on sustainability and knew each other beforehand (Article III). Thus, the way the Committee was assembled did not make it optimal for *networking* (Stoker 1998; van Kersbergen & van Waarden 2004). According to Nilsson (2005), stable, closed and powerful networks can constrain learning. For those who had not been extensively involved in the field, the committee work did provide more knowledge, contacts and new opportunities.

The level of *commitment* (Bulkley & Mol 2003; Hemmati 2002) to Finland’s SCP process varied a lot among the committee members. The 73 proposals mentioned above were the result of political bargaining in which the attempt was to formulate a commonly acceptable package. Some people were only interested in promoting certain parts of the Programme, and even said that they would continue to work actively against many proposals. However, several members also said that they would advance the agenda as such. Still a widely shared understanding was that a participatory process was needed to make “citizens take responsibility”. In practice, however, the committee members did not even consider it worthwhile to take such a vague document to their decision-making bodies, and many of the participating organisations therefore remained largely unaware of the programme preparation (Article III).

In general, the interviews analysed in Article III describe extensively the challenges of being involved in a deliberative process. Various actors tried

to prevent *political interventions* by their opponents in the Committee. For example, many interviewees recalled the discursive battles between environmental NGOs and business representatives. At the same time, many of the non-governmental but also some of the governmental actors attempted to insert into the Programme specific statements that could be promoted during the process or utilised in other, perhaps more fruitful contexts later on.

Despite the wide variety of political interventions, the research material provides no evidence of cases in which politically controversial action by committee members led to concrete outputs or outcomes. However, the analysis still revealed a variety of *unanticipated effects* or side effects, as they are often called (see e.g., Vedung 1997; Mickwitz 2006), of the SCP programme process. These were largely unprompted projects undertaken by the committee members or their background organisations such as the Sustainable Value Chain project of the Confederation of Finnish Industries, work on environmentally friendly and ethical consumption in the Finnish Consumers' Association, and the establishment of the Helsinki University Centre for Environment (HENVI). Furthermore, other actors who were not involved in the preparation of the SCP Programme came up with initiatives closely connected to it (Nikula 2008). In sum, these "side effects" turned out to be almost as significant as the official Programme outputs.

#### 4.3 The Ritual perspective: cherishing cultural features with symbolic acts

The Ritual perspective shares with the Process perspective an interest in actions and with the Depiction perspective the importance of the dimension of meaning. Rituals could be seen as *expressive acts* or performative modes that are situation-specific and regularly repeated (Article III; Yanow 2000). If, for example, a broad sustainability programme is analysed as a ritual, it is considered to enhance and renew issues such as particular policy traditions and conceptions, or simply the idea that society is capable of meeting broad sustainability challenges. On a deeper level, rituals are often the more visible and accessible enactments of societal myths (ibid.).

The literature on symbolic politics (Article III; Baker 2007; Blühdorn 2007; Edelman 1985; Newig 2007; Niemeyer 2004) highlights the problematic sides of political symbols and rituals such as manipulation and political practices that are only ostensibly democratic. Still, labelling something a ritual should not be seen as an understatement or denigration: a ritual may also have *meaningful* political and strategic *functions* (Edelman 1985; see also Jackson 2006a). For example, programme making may have the symbolic function of demonstrating political will to certain interest groups (Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005).



Generally speaking, symbols are essentially social conventions, and politics is always a symbolic order (Hajer 2006; Yanow 2000). Nevertheless, given the criteria of publicity it would be important to make the ritual functions of a programme process transparent so that the participants would know what kind of process they are part of (Gutman & Thompson 1996; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Young 2003). Still, the ritual reading of political acts, such as policy programmes, is rare.

As revealed in the analysis reported in Article III, Finland's SCP Programme had various ritual dimensions. On the general level its development could be seen as a symbolic act: it provided a *comforting ritual* for those who were worried about unsustainable consumption and production patterns. Given the few concrete outputs and outcomes, some interviewees raised the question of whether making programmes had become a superficial ritual for the Finnish Government and a way to postpone difficult decisions (on the costs of deliberative processes, see Shapiro 2003). Does the Government suffer from "programme path-dependence", which prevents it from reacting in other, more meaningful ways?

This thinking was already evident in Articles I and II, which discuss the ritual dimension through the concept of outsourcing. The point in Article I is that in proposing a large number of weak policy tools the Finnish SCP Programme gives responsibility to actors who have not demonstrated the capacity to meet the challenge. Meanwhile, Article II contrasts the nature of pioneering national SCP Programmes as mixed toolboxes with the expectation that broad policy programmes provide a clear road map leading to the envisioned change. In sum, policy *outsourcing* and ritual action happen as the programmes symbolically address the SCP challenge but, in concrete terms, sidestep it.

With regard to the policy process, the deliberative working of the SCP Committee could be interpreted as a ritual to sustain a model and an idea about the "Finnish way" of policymaking (Article III). Characteristics such as broad co-operation and coordination, relative consensus and learning play key roles in this Finnish corporatist policy ideal (Hukkinen 1995b; Pekkarinen et al. 1992; Saari 2006; Sairinen 2000; see also Chapter 3.2). A few Government representatives in particular were enthusiastic about this sustaining activity, seeing it as a way to retain *social capital* among the key SCP stakeholders. At the same time, some ministry representatives emphasised how broad policy programmes provided a channel for non-governmental actors to participate in a policy process even though the real decisions were made elsewhere. Ironically, many of the non-governmental actors found it important to belong to the SCP Committee in order to support the Government in its policy preparation.

Some interviewees noted that the Committee not only retained social cohesion but also ritually reinforced political power positions and controversies: many of the discussions were symbolic and the actors just played

their roles regardless of what the others said. From this perspective, the programme work also performs the societal function of a “*lightning conductor*”: making a programme funnels dissatisfaction with current policy into a process that has a strong ritual dimension but few outputs or outcomes (see also Blühdorn 2007).

In sum, the ritual perspective provides a vivid picture of many less-evident characteristics of the Finnish SCP programme: the ritual making of broad programmes covering socially relevant issues, such as SCP, retains social capital among key stakeholders. On the larger scale, this practice promotes the ideal of the “Finnish way” of policymaking, and strengthens belief in the capacity of society to resolve burning issues. This image and the ideal can be used for both good and bad: on the one hand, social capital and belief are needed for resolving the enormous challenges related to current consumption and production patterns, and on the other, in its current form the programme promises more than it can deliver. It channels concern into ineffective action and conceals the lack of large-scale transition. This calls into question the legitimacy of the SCP programme.

#### **4.4 The Depiction perspective: reflecting and constructing a policy field through language**

Planning is a deeply social and communicative process that involves making sense together (Forester 1989). A study of meaning structures is a crucial part of interpretive and deliberative analysis (Hajer 2003; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Yanow 2000), and an important dimension of the Ritual and Depiction perspectives present in Articles I–IV. The Depiction perspective highlights the fact that policy programmes are based on language. They are thus *discursive* (e.g., Dryzek 1997; Fairclough 2003; Hajer & Versteeg 2005) and *narrative* (e.g., Roe 1992, 1994) formations that both reflect and construct the political field in which they operate.

Language has the capacity to shift power balances by creating signs and symbols. Consequently, it may be crucial in policy analysis to understand why a particular interpretation of a problem gains dominance at some point while others are overshadowed (Hajer 1995; Hajer & Versteeg 2005). Through language, policy programmes not only foster certain readings of policy issues but also promote particular types of governing principles and policy tools (Jordan et al. 2003). *Organising principles* regularise collective behaviour through certain rules and procedures, thus promoting particular values and ideas (Princen 2003): they describe the “*what*” and also the “*how*” of meeting SCP-related challenges.

The analysis of the organising principles reflected in the Finnish SCP Programme (Article II) largely confirmed previous perceptions: efficiency and deliberation are the prevailing principles in the field (Princen 2003; see

also Fuchs & Lorek 2005; Jackson 2006b; Szlezak et al. 2008). Meanwhile, sufficiency and sustainable consumption are either neglected or promoted with weak tools. As discussed in the theory section (2.2), efficiency supports principles such as intensification and economies of scale, whereas sufficiency relates to issues such as respect for natural limits, and aims at diminishing the demand for more resources. Further, proposals for co-operative arrangements, information production and dissemination have been counted as deliberation. Table 3 categorises the action proposals emanating from the Finnish SCP Programme.

Action proposals	Efficiency	Deliberation	Sufficiency
73 (Count)	50	42	15
100 (%)	69	58	21

Table 3. Action proposals reflecting different organising principles in the Finnish SCP Programme

*The proposed policy tools* are quantitatively categorised in Article I (see Table 4 for a sample of the results). The idea was to categorise them on the basis of the functions they had, which describes more closely the “how” of meeting SCP-related challenges. The qualities of the different categories are briefly described in the theory section (2.2). The study showed how economic instruments and informational devices were particularly strongly represented in the Programme, a finding that supports the results of the previous analysis on organising principles. At the same time, governmental regulation was dismissed (see also Ilomäki & Hildén 2005; Jordan et al. 2003; Lafferty 2004a; Nurminen 2008; Sairinen 2000). The interview analysis revealed that many SCP Committee members attached negatively slanted qualifiers, such as stiffness, coercion and restriction, to regulation (cf. Nurminen 2008). Still, upon closer examination, it seemed that many of them were able to identify practical uses for regulation in the promotion of SCP. At the same time, the general ideas and characteristics associated with economic instruments were very positive in tone, although the discussions about practical initiatives, such as ecological tax reform, revealed powerful opposition towards them. Meanwhile, informational devices were broadly accepted among various actors (see also Ilomäki & Hildén 2005). In the context of info tools, however, the hindering factor was the effectiveness of the instruments, which was criticised in many cases.

Action proposals	Informational devices	Economic instruments	Governmental regulation
73 (Count)	47	32	1
100 (%)	64	44	1

Table 4. Action proposals that feature particular policy instruments in the Finnish SCP Programme.

To sum up the results so far, the Finnish SCP field clearly features certain governing principles, ideals and discourses that can be read in both the interview statements and the SCP Programme. One of them is an *anti-regulatory governing ideal*, which could be interpreted as a reflection of the efficiency, and possibly also of the deliberation principle (cf. Article II; Princen 2003): economic instruments, informational devices and other “new” environmental policy instruments are preferred over regulation – in principle. This observation has been made in many other related studies (Ilomäki & Hildén 2005; Nurminen 2008; Sairinen 2000). Given that this analysis revealed a controversy between the ideals and the concrete possibilities of SCP governance, the study encourages policy-makers to have an open-minded attitude towards different policy tools and to review critically the governing modes of different periods.

Article IV continued on from the studies conducted from the Depiction perspective with an analysis of growth narratives. Emery Roe’s (1992, 1994) *narrative policy analysis* works for cases that are not only polarized but also very complex and uncertain. The goal in narrative policy analysis is to understand better the “*what*” of the problem, and the “*what*” and the “*how*” of the possible solutions in order to proceed from a locked-in situation to working out the problem. In the analysis phase the idea is to locate stories with a beginning, middle and end, in other words scenarios or arguments with premises and conclusions (Kaplan 1993; Yanow 2000). At the same time, it is important to recognise hopes, criticism and other types of non-stories that have no chronological succession of events (Franzosi 1998). Because nonstories increase uncertainty and potentially also complexity, they just boost the dominant stories. The ultimate ambition in narrative policy analysis is to generate metanarratives by comparing dominant narratives with nonstories and/or counter-stories. A metanarrative allows the case to proceed by rendering it more amenable to policy making, and is generated by comparing dominant stories to nonstories and/or counter-stories. This creates a different policy agenda with new ways of underwriting and stabilizing the background assumptions (cf. Bridgman & Barry 2002; Yanow 2000). Thus, a metanarrative is a narrative about narratives.

The analysis (Article IV; see Chapter 2.2. for the theoretical background) reveals that the prevailing Vulnerable growth economy is crumbling, but its only potential challenger, the Eco-efficient growth economy, is built on the same foundations of growth economics. At the same time, almost every interviewee subscribed to the Growth critique in one way or another, and the growth narratives met partial denunciation even among the representatives of business organisations and the Ministry of Finance. However, the fulmination of the prevailing stories just increases uncertainty, which in turn adds to the pressure to *retain the dominant growth narratives* (Roe, 1994). Further, the nonstory of the Degrowth economy scales up the complexity, and once again this reasserts the positions of the narratives built on growth. For change to take place, the development of a full counter-story is required.

Because the contradiction between economic growth and environmental limits is institutionally internalised, the metanarrative points towards institutional reform. The institutional position of degrowth policies and practices should be substantially strengthened in order to develop a strong degrowth counter-story. The counter-story should show not only that a positive degrowth scenario is possible, but also that a collapse scenario could be prevented. This point is further developed in the next chapter.

## 5 Results

The research questions addressed in this dissertation were as follows:

1. What functions do broad sustainability programmes have?
2. What actions and meanings did the Finnish SCP Programme engender?
3. What does the case contribute in terms of finding fruitful ways of analysing and developing broad policy programmes and the SCP field in general?

Each question is discussed below in a separate section.

### 5.1 Understanding the multifaceted nature of broad policy programmes

A fundamental argument in this thesis is the need for an open-minded analytical approach in order to understand the Finnish SCP Programme: making policy programmes is a specific practice and a symbolic act in Finnish political life (Article III; see also Articles I & II). An important function of this *ritual* is to maintain the “Finnish style” of policy-making with its broad participation, learning and consensus. This function was successfully followed and the participants contrived to construct a more or less consensual discourse and a comforting list of actions promoting SCP. However, a major problem in this case was that the notion of “programme-making” was *understood in a variety of ways* among the committee members, without the transparency that such variety would require (Article III; see also Valtiontalousvirasto 2010). Thus, contradictions arose over the expectations that some NGO and ministry representatives had about what was being done and by whom, for example.

Another claim in this study is that broad policy and sustainability programmes and the corresponding processes are *fruitful foci of analysis*. They provide windows through which to observe the dynamics and meaning structures in policy fields that transgress sector boundaries. However, they are also processes that may have unexpected consequences (cf. Hildén 2007; Roe 1992; see also Article III). The example of Finland’s SCP Programme demonstrates that core objects of study in these cases include the programme-related activities that go on both within and beyond the programme process. Further, it is important to study not only the proposals

and networks generated in the process, but also the meanings being constructed, fixed and renewed by the programme (Articles I-IV).

Thus, in order to assess the meaningfulness and legitimacy (Hajer 2003) of a broad sustainability programme, one should understand it in multiple ways. This does not imply that the traditional effectiveness perspective should be abandoned, as it still affects the ideas people have about issues such as successful programme work as well as the acts and practices to do with policy programmes. The analytical method constructed in this study is thus a *multi-perspective approach* comprising:

1. the Bullet perspective, which is the prevalent way of perceiving policy programmes and postulates that a programme generates particular actions expressed in the programme text;
2. the Process perspective, which reviews various kinds of actions going on under the auspices of the programme such as how the key actors use its process and functions, and various dimensions of deliberation;
3. the Ritual perspective, which examines the symbolic dimension of action emphasising the renewing – rather than the productive – potential of programmes; and
4. the Depiction perspective with its focus on diverse meaning structures such as discourses, narratives and organising principles constructed but also renewed and silenced through programme processes.

Why do we need conceptual work such as the multi-perspective framework suggested in this study? Presenting a clear architecture of potential perspectives and their backgrounds can be helpful when one is faced with ambiguous policy programmes and attempts to find fruitful angles from which to analyse them. Although the different approaches presented in the multi-perspective model already exist in the realm of policy analysis, the methods *tailored* to policy programmes largely fall within the Bullet perspective. In addition, although there are studies adopting the Depiction perspective, for example, in analysing policy programmes (e.g., Seyfang 2004; see also Szlezak et al. 2008), the adoption of the more radical Process or Ritual perspective in the case of sustainability programmes is rare. In general, it is worthwhile combining these perspectives in order to shed light on the many faces of broad policy programmes.

## 5.2 Finland's SCP Programme: actions and meanings

The second research question concerned the Finnish SCP Programme and what happened under its auspices. Analysed in terms of actions that could be seen as *outputs* of the process, the Programme succeeded in initiating

or supporting the implementation of a national material-efficiency service centre, an SCP research programme and a programme to promote greener public procurement, for example. Several other initiatives mentioned are being followed up, but the role of the Programme is ambiguous in many cases (Article III; see also Honkasalo 2011; Huvila 2007).

Taking various uses and functions related to the Programme into consideration makes the palette of actions more vivid. According to the interviewees, the deliberative committee process was able to enhance *learning* in particular, but also some networking in the SCP field (Article III; see also Lafferty 2004b). Commitment to the process varied, and many people took part in committee work in order to promote their own political goals. Thus, there were recurrent heated debates on various politically controversial topics, which nevertheless had only discursive and other indirect effects. On the other hand, the SCP Programme has encouraged unanticipated and *unprompted* action such as the Sustainable Value Chain project of the Confederation of Finnish Industries. On the whole, these unprompted measures have been almost as significant as the intended outputs (Article III).

With regard to the important meaning structures related to the Programme and the SCP field more generally, the organising principles of *efficiency and deliberation* turned out to play a key role (Article II; see also Princen 2003; Szlezak et al. 2008). This preference is visible in the programme process, and also in key parts of the document. Meanwhile, the principle of sufficiency is taken up in discursive terms but neglected in the practical provisions.

Of the policy tools, *economic and informational tools* were preferred over regulation (Article I). This preference reflects particular ideals and discourses about what is considered to be good governance in the SCP field in Finland. In this case the ideal had an anti-regulatory character, and preference was given to “new” environmental policy instruments (see also Ilo-mäki & Hildén 2005; Jordan et al. 2003; Nurminen 2008; Sairinen 2000).

A key finding from the analysis of narratives related to growth and the environment was the dominance in the *growth stories* of a Vulnerable and an Eco-efficient growth economy, despite the strong and broad criticism of the growth imperative. The reason for this is that Growth critique and the incomplete Degrowth narrative do not qualify as stories. Therefore, they only add to the complexity and uncertainty, which in turn bolsters the growth stories. The result is a narrative lock-in that can be altered just by the creation of a strong-enough counter-narrative(s). In practice, the change could happen through the completion of the currently unfinished Degrowth economy narrative. However, given that economic narratives have institutional ties, the change process requires institutional support (Article IV).

Table 5 categorises the methods of analysis used and the findings reported in Articles I–IV on the basis of the programme perspectives. The result is a multi-perspective profile of the Finnish SCP Programme.



Perspective	Analytical methods utilised	Programme analysis
Bullet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Application of the principles of strategic planning (Article II)</li> <li>– Categorisation of programme uses (Article III)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Finland’s SCP Programme is not a clear roadmap with resources and leadership, but a scattered toolbox (Article II).</li> <li>– The effectiveness-focused Bullet perspective is broadly acknowledged and expected, particularly by the non-governmental actors, but clear outputs of the Programme are scarce. (Article III).</li> </ul>
Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Categorisation of the programme uses and theories of deliberative democracy (Article III)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The SCP Programme has promoted learning. Further, it has fostered networking and commitment to a certain extent. Unprompted uses by various actors have also borne fruit. Political interventions by different players have mainly affected the language of the programme (Article III).</li> </ul>
Ritual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Application of the principles for strategic planning (Article II)</li> <li>– Categorisation of the programme uses and the theory of symbolic politics (Article III)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The making of the SCP Programme was a comforting ritual with few concrete effects. The promotion of SCP is partly outsourced to actors beyond government (Article II).</li> <li>– The ritual use of the SCP Programme fosters the Finnish corporatist model in which broad participation and consensus building play key roles (Article III).</li> </ul>
Depiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Analysis of the choice of policy tools (Article I).</li> <li>– Analysis of the organising principles (Article II)</li> <li>– Narrative policy analysis (Article IV)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The Finnish SCP Programme promotes efficiency, deliberation and “new” environmental policy instruments at the cost of sufficiency and regulation (Articles I &amp; II).</li> <li>– Almost all the interviewees criticise growth. However, the critique only bolsters the dominant position of growth narratives as it increases the complexity of the field but provides no alternatives (Article IV).</li> </ul>

Table 5. A multi-perspective analysis of Finland’s SCP Programme: methods and results

As Table 5 shows, the multi-perspective analytical approach resulted in a profile of actions and meanings associated with the policy programme. This profile could be further analysed and evaluated from the perspective of meaningfulness and legitimacy (Hajer 2003) by comparing the effects that various actors intended and anticipated with the actual effects, for example (Article III; see also Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010).

*Legitimacy* relates to procedural justice and to “the extent to which decisions are acceptable to participants on the basis of who makes and implements the decisions” (Adger et al. 2003, p. 1099). Cultural expectations and interpretations define what is or is not legitimate (ibid.). Upham et al. (2011) define legitimacy in a broad sense and differentiate between four types. (1) Input legitimacy is determined by the validity of the process by which a policy scheme has been developed. In order to ensure procedural validity, those who have to support the rules should be included in the rule-making processes and their interests should be taken into account. Meanwhile, (2) output legitimacy refers to the consequences of a scheme. Does it fulfil the tasks delegated to it? (3) Cognitive legitimacy is about whether a scheme makes intellectual sense or is otherwise taken for granted. Last but not least, (4) moral legitimacy has its roots in broader societal values and concerns whether or not a scheme is “the right thing to do”.

It appears from the findings of this study that the Finnish SCP programme initiative was, in principle, legitimate from a moral perspective. According to the interviewees, making broad national programmes is considered “the” thing to do when addressing complex cross-sector challenges such as SCP. Thus, it was also cognitively legitimate because they did not come up with alternative ways of promoting SCP across sectors.

In terms of input legitimacy, the programme was successful in many ways. Most of the interviewees considered the development process good, and believed that the SCP Committee included the key actors involved. The published text was a compromise, but some powerful actors such as the Ministry of Finance had, in practice, the right to “veto” its contents. At the same time, the representatives of the social sector felt that they were unable to get their ideas through. Nevertheless, a commonly held view was that all the committee members were listened to. All in all, the committee work for the programme fulfilled expectations and the SCP process was even considered to be better than average. In particular, the good spirit, the broad and equal representation, the knowledge orientation and the leadership were appreciated. The successful process raised expectations with regard to the implementation.

However, the direct effects of the programme are few. The outputs have not been as extensive as many interviewees expected, for example. The legitimacy problems of the programme initiative thus relate in particular to the output legitimacy of the scheme. However, *the lack of output legitimacy* actually reflects transparency problems in the process. It was revealed in the interviews that gaps existed between the actions intended by some governmental representatives of the SCP Committee and those anticipated by many of the participants (Article III). In fact, several ministry representatives were part of the process in order to educate stakeholders. At the same time, many NGO delegates took part because they wanted to influence Finland’s SCP policy in a comprehensive way (Articles II & III). These contradictions could also be considered problematic in terms of input legitimacy.

### 5.3 Future paths for analysing and developing broad policy programmes and the SCP field

On the basis of this study, several suggestions arise for analysing and developing broad policy programmes and the SCP field in general. First, the context of institutional ambiguity provides a wide range of possibilities for programme development, which should be taken advantage of. At the same time, the requirement for *transparency* strengthens as the institutional setting becomes more vague. This requirement applies particularly to leaders of network-governance processes (Gutman & Thompson 1996; Young 2003), simply because if the gaps between the official and the factual functions of a programme become too broad it puts the legitimacy of the process at risk (Upham et al. 2011). In general, if programme expectations are repeatedly unfulfilled, it may lead to the erosion of “programme-making” as such.

Second, there is a specific model for Finland’s sustainability programmes, which was applied in the case of the SCP Programme (Article III). It was found to work well for certain purposes. For example, the Programme was successful in promoting learning, in producing various expected and unprompted outputs, and in the ritual renewal of certain characteristics of Finnish society. However, given the multifaceted nature of programmes in network governance, more *tailored, flexible and creative* approaches could be tried out instead of sticking with a particular model.

What would be the most suitable way of developing and analysing programmes in each particular case (see also Cousins & Shulha 2007; Lafferty 2004a)? The working method should be carefully considered, given that participative processes may encourage procrastination, indecision and the unfair control of agendas (Shapiro 2003). As Forester (1989, 161–162) states, any planning process may “distort or clarify, obscure or reveal to the affected publics the prospects they face”. This should be kept in mind in the compilation of broad, participative programmes.

Third, the analysis unveiled various contradictions in the SCP field, some of which were aggravated by a lack of transparency or locked-in conflicts. These questions should be *deliberatively addressed* in order to facilitate more fundamental policy development (Tukker et al. 2008). For example, an open-minded attitude towards different *policy tools*, including regulation, is to be recommended. If more use of economic instruments is desired, conflicts of interest and biased power positions should be overcome by means of experimentation, for example (ibid.). In any case, the debate would benefit from critical discussion on the limits and possibilities of green consumerism, and of the idea of “shared responsibilities” in promoting SCP (Article I; Hobson 2002, 2004; Moisander 2001; Seyfang 2004; Thøgersen 2005).

Another issue in need of more profound study is the *growth* question (Articles II & IV; Spangenberg 2009; van den Bergh 2010). There is widespread criticism of the growth-bound economic model in the Finnish SCP

discussion, but there is a lack of counter-narratives on sufficiency and de-growth. Conflicts are superficially reconciled by means of the eco-efficiency principle and the Eco-efficient growth narrative, and this allowed the Finnish SCP Committee to proceed with the programme but left several key questions unresolved. The construction of fully-fledged counter-stories should be supported by building institutional capacity to promote initiatives and experiments. Further, a more profound analysis of the contradictions related to growth and the environment would provide a fruitful basis for future discussion (Tukker et al. 2008).

I assess the empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions of the study in more detail in the following chapter (6), reflect on the study process, and the possibilities of generalising the results. With regard to politics in the context of the Finnish SCP programme, I shed light on an important aspect of broad sustainability programmes that is, in principle, integrated into the multi-perspective-analysis model but that can be overshadowed by plenty of other aspects. In the concluding chapter (7), I draw some practical recommendations from the study, and reflect the prospects for future research.

# 6 Discussion

## 6.1 The empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions of the study

The main contribution of this study is *methodological* in nature and derives from the multi-perspective approach to policy analysis that is, first and foremost, a new analytical framework for broad policy - and particularly sustainability - programmes. Second, the framework is suitable for analysing these programmes in times of network governance, and third, for deliberative policy analysis (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003). Fourth, it incorporates the main lines of analysis that have been utilised previously in broad sustainability programmes, such as effectiveness evaluation (e.g., Chen 2005; OECD 2006; UNDESA 2001; UNEP 2008) and normative sustainability analysis (e.g., Cherp et al. 2004; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004). All in all, it is a comprehensive and versatile approach with a strong empirical template.

Multi-perspective analysis reveals any varying perspectives on broad sustainability programmes among participating actors. These different approaches resemble *theories of change*, familiar from evaluation research (e.g., Blamey & Mackenzie 2007; Leeuw 2003; Mason & Barnes 2007; Weiss 1998). However, there is a significant difference between well-established theory-based evaluation and the multi-perspective analysis developed in this study. The idea in the former is to understand the “black box” between the actual input and the expected output of a programme (Stame 2004), whereas the latter takes a step backwards and also questions the actual input and the expected output, because even this cannot be taken for granted. As this study has shown, what different actors consider the essence of a programme process can vary substantially.

With regard to the *theoretical contribution*, the most significant aspect is the understanding of how the growth critique bolsters the dominant growth narratives (Article IV). It is assumed in many previous studies (e.g., Baykan 2007; Fournier 2008) that criticism automatically weakens the stories. However, many other theoretical outcomes of this research project essentially confirm the existing understanding. For example, several studies also note that sufficiency is overshadowed by the efficiency principle (e.g., Fuchs & Lorek 2005; Szlezak et al. 2008; Article II) and the move away from regulatory instruments (e.g., Jordan et al. 2003; Sairinen 2000; Article I). Furthermore, some other studies (e.g., Hobson 2004; Moisander 2001; Sey-

fang 2004; Articles I and II) report a tendency to outsource the responsibility to promote SCP to actors beyond the government.

The *empirical contributions* of the study include enhancing understanding of the multifaceted nature of broad national policy programmes: How was the Finnish SCP programme used by some *key actors* in the field (Article III)? Further empirical contributions are the meticulous mapping of growth narratives (Article IV), the analyses of organising principles (Article II), and the alternative perceptions of policy tools in the SCP field (Article I).

## 6.2 Discussing politics and the risk of “over-understanding” the Finnish SCP programme

As shown in the previous section about the contributions of this study, multi-perspective policy analysis is able to squeeze a lot of knowledge from a single programme. At the same time, a clear risk related to the approach is that it may unnecessarily increase the complexity of the analysis. Because it sheds light on the study cases from many perspectives, the multiple viewpoints may make it hard to distinguish the important points from the less important ones. Some programme cases are, indeed, best studied by analysing politics in a more traditional sense, such as “organised combat” (Hacker & Pierson 2010).

The organised-combat perspective attracts attention to (1) *government involvement* and the transformation of policy through (2) both *enactments and drift*. Enactments in this context refer to major legislative initiatives, whereas drift describes “the politically driven failure of public policies to adapt to the shifting realities of a dynamic economy and society” (ibid., p. 169–170). It further analyses (3) shifts in the balance of *organised interests*, the ability of which to gain control over authority is one of the major drivers of policy change.

In the case of the Finnish SCP programme, too, the lack of political will within the government explains why many things did *not* happen. The central role and reluctance of the Ministry of Finance were mentioned in many interviews. Further, it was broadly acknowledged that influential associations of business were critical for the more ambitious proposals. One could also assume that the topic would have had a different momentum if the key ministers had picked it as a priority theme during their term in office. As it stands, the commonly accepted, non-controversial and relatively ineffective proposals, such as for an SCP research programme and a material-efficiency service centre, were implemented, but the programme did not initiate a major reform of economic instruments, for example (Articles II and III). Furthermore, the change of coalition government in 2007 did not make much difference.

The story is rather different in the cases of Sweden and the UK. The

change of government in Sweden led to the abandoning of the developed SCP programme and the watering down of the process. In the UK, on the other hand, the programme acquired some degree of high-level commitment in that David Miliband, who was Secretary of State for DEFRA in 2007–2010, wanted to promote SCP under the banner of “One Planet Living”. Consequently, business started to react to the challenge. Nevertheless, the programmes in Finland, Sweden and the UK have been rather scattered toolboxes rather than clear roadmaps for envisioned change (Article II). In other words, they have involved more drift than enactment (Hacker & Pierson 2010).

To get back to the Finnish programme, the lack of action was, on many important occasions, related to power imbalances between different ministries and the relatively low priority it was given. Sector thinking is still very deep-rooted in Finnish public administration (Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010). The Ministry of Finance had a practical right of veto, which it used so as to consider the economic instruments at its own pace rather than at the more ambitious pace suggested in the programme. At the same time, many other ministries could have put forward proposals delegated to them, but in the interviews many of the ministry representatives did not even recall what kind of responsibilities their ministry had.

Why, then, did certain things *happen* as a consequence of the SCP programme? The interviews revealed that some skilful officials in the Ministry of the Environment were active in pushing the agenda forward, and took responsibility for implementing some of the key proposals. In addition, several committee members and some actors outside the committee put forward their own SCP-related initiatives. Learning, the creation of a common language and the renewal of the “Finnish way” of policymaking were also important features (Article III). All in all, the ritual and depiction perspectives were needed in order to produce a comprehensive picture of what, somewhat unexpectedly, happened, and why making such a programme made sense in the first place.

A good question is whether the other perspectives would have been necessary had the Finnish SCP Programme been implemented in a more faithful manner in the first place (as seen from the Bullet perspective). Are the Process, Ritual and Depiction perspectives merely a sham? My answer is no. Broad sustainability programmes such as the Finnish SCP Programme are multifaceted exercises, and remain so whether or not traditional policy analysis or evaluation works. Thus, if an analysis conducted from the Bullet perspective revealed that a programme was successful in implementing its theory, it might still be interesting to see the broader picture. What kind of language has the programme fostered? What ritual dimensions has it entailed? How has the process affected its future prospects?

Last but not least, it is worth recalling that language and rituals are deeply political (Hajer 1995; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Yanow 2000). Thus, an-

alysing the discourses, narratives, rituals, or myths related to a policy initiative is no less “political” than discussing the implementation of major policy initiatives or shifts in power balances. Further, learning, trust-building and other features related to deliberative processes create future opportunities for new policy initiatives (Hajer 2003).

### 6.3 Reflections on the research design

Finally, it is worth discussing the validity and usefulness of different elements of the research design (e.g., Yin 2009), the possibilities for generalising the results, and the prospects for future research. As far as the research process as a whole is concerned, certain parts of the study have been clearly more fruitful than others in generating an understanding of the case and its field. For example, Article II is of limited use in explaining the functions of the SCP programmes in pioneering countries. However, it led to some rethinking about the suitability of the Bullet perspective in analyses of broad sustainability programmes. The fruits of this process are harvested in Article III, which plays a key role in the study as a whole.

Further, the sufficiency versus efficiency controversy is discussed in Article II, but a more thorough, empirical understanding about “growth lock-in” emerges only in Article IV, which analyses the growth narratives. Meanwhile, Article I was the first to shed light on the attempts in the Finnish Programme to outsource responsibilities for SCP promotion to actors beyond the Government. This idea is developed further in Article II, and is discussed in Article III in the context of ritual programme use.

With regard to *the material*, the interviews with the SCP Committee members were fruitful for identifying the different and even surprising functions of broad sustainability programmes. They were also useful for tracing the various actions and meanings that the Finnish SCP Programme has engendered. However, additional interviews might have identified a broader set of actions. Further, new material would have been needed for a more complete mapping of the implementation process of the programme proposals. As it is, this part of the study relied largely on the implementation reports of the Ministry of the Environment (Huvila 2007; Koskinen 2010).

Given the direction the research took in the later stages, it would have been interesting to *observe* the working of the Finnish SCP Committee in particular, and perhaps also the first stage of the implementation that took place shortly after the publication of the Programme. However, the work of the Committee was already over when this research project started. Timing was not even considered to be a problem at first, as longer-term implementation was perceived to be the core of the process. The focus of the study only shifted to the making of the programme in the later analyses.



In general, however, observation could provide something new for the field given that many studies on sustainability programmes are based on a rather superficial set of interviews, document analysis and literature reviews (e.g., Niestroy 2005; Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005; Swanson et al. 2004). At the same time, increasing the amount of empirical material could have compromised the depth of the analysis in this case. It might have been counterproductive in view of the aim of this study to find new perspectives on sustainability programmes.

The usefulness of the *method* developed in this study, multi-perspective policy analysis, is discussed in Chapter 6.2. The method is compared to the more traditional analytical treatment of politics as organised combat (Hacker & Pierson 2010). As pointed out, the many viewpoints inherent in multi-perspective policy analysis may affect the clarity of the results and the reasoning. Therefore, in order to arrive at valid conclusions it is vital not only to describe the different perspectives but also to compare the views of various actors within and beyond the circles of power.

What, then, is to be said about the usefulness of this study's *conclusions*? How can they be *generalised*? My suggestion is that the answers to the different research questions addressed demonstrate the potential for generalisation in different ways. With regard to the functions of broad sustainability programmes (Research question 1), the mode of generalisation is analytical (e.g., Yin 2009), meaning that a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study in question. This study showed that broad sustainability programmes have more functions than previous effectiveness-focused empirical approaches (cf. Lafferty 2004b) suggest. The new four-perspective (Bullet, Process, Ritual and Depiction) framework presented in this study *may* have general applicability in other similar cases. It could be of use in describing the profile of a programme in a flexible, yet structured, manner, and the particular methods used in the context of each perspective may vary. However, the usefulness of the framework remains to be determined in future research processes.

Compared with analytic generalisation, naturalistic generalisation (Stake 2000) is less demanding, and it recognises the similarities of objects and issues in and out of the context of the research. It is thus a suitable generalisation mode with regard to what the case contributes in terms of identifying fruitful ways of analysing and developing broad policy programmes and the SCP field in general (Research question 3). The practical recommendations listed in the next chapter follow the logic of naturalistic generalisation.

Last but not least, the second research question of this study concerned the actions and meanings the Finnish SCP Programme engendered. Contrary to the other two research questions, this one does not have the same generalisation potential: the aim was rather to enhance understanding of

the Finnish SCP Programme case. After all, the main concern of a case study is to understand the case itself (Hammersley & Gomm 2000).

The research process also generated some ideas for *future research*. For example, on the analytical level it would be fruitful to test further and possibly adjust the multi-perspective approach presented in this summary. How do the various actors perceive, review and act on the sustainability programmes in different contexts? Do these programmes play similar roles in different cases (see e.g., Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto 2010)? Or do they have a great variety of political and other functions?

Further, a potentially interesting phenomenon I could not properly address in this study is the role of ritual programme work in *agenda setting*. According to the hypothesis formulated during the study, often the only function of a broad programme is that it allows for the later legitimate addressing of the themes and proposals it puts forward. Thus, making a programme about something or presenting something in a programme is the official ritual acknowledgement that “this is a valid question that is acceptable to be acted on” (see also Steurer & Martinuzzi 2005). In other words, the act of programme development gives a new status to the issues included – but sometimes not much more than that. Unfortunately, my case did not contain sufficient material to study this question further. Still, agenda setting is certainly a key theme in programme development and a generally interesting phenomenon to study in our “mediatized” democracies (see also Hajer 2009)

## 7 Conclusions

To sum up the results of the study in less theoretical language, it seems that the Finnish SCP programme has been a toolbox for those willing to promote SCP rather than a clear roadmap for envisioned change (Article II). Although several interesting initiatives have been implemented, it is also clear that SCP is not one of the top priority goals for the government (Articles II and III). However, the programme has enhanced learning, prompted initiatives from different societal actors and brought about the ritual renewal of the Finnish corporatist policy model (Article III). Thus, it could also be claimed that it is outsourcing the promotion of SCP to actors beyond the government (Articles I and II). As the programme and the policy field develop further, careful analysis of how to proceed will be required.

For those promoting *sustainable development and/or sustainability programmes* in a national context, the practical lessons of this study are the following:

1. A sustainability *programme alone will not change* things. Someone needs to use the opportunities the programme provides. If you want to foster change, think how to best to activate those with political power and other resources such as money, social networks and knowledge. You might consider using proactive business partners (Kautto 2008), gatekeepers (Kaskinen et al. 2009) and/or media attention (Hajer 2009) to promote your cause.
2. Strong *government involvement* is essential for a substantial change process in countries such as Finland, although *niche experiments* and grassroots activities are also needed. Together, these could constitute a credible roadmap for envisioned change that also leaves room for dynamic learning (see e.g., Geels et al. 2008; Tukker et al. 2008; on attempts to introduce transition management to Finland in the context of the SCP process, see Heiskanen et al. 2009).
3. If you are engaged in a process that aims to develop a sustainability programme, think carefully about what should be compiled, *for whom, when, where and how* (Lafferty 2004a).
4. Take *advantage of the many faces* a sustainability programme may have. Can the process enhance learning and networking, and secure the commitment of different players? Is it possible to create a new and/or foster a shared language around a topic? Does the programme process enable the ritual renewal of some positively perceived characteristics of the society in question?

5. If you are in a leading position in a programme process, consider how to make the process as *transparent* as possible in order to maintain the legitimacy of the programme work. Avoid wasting the resources of the participating actors, and avoid outsourcing the responsibility to actors who do not possess the capacity to act on the challenges that arise.

Further, in the context of *SCP policy development*, the following recommendations are offered:

1. Policies that promote *sufficiency* should be developed more forcefully in order to balance the current dominance of efficiency (and deliberation) in environmental policies.
2. Institutions developing concrete *alternatives to growth*, or degrowth policies, should be established in order to balance the discussion on growth. Without clear alternatives, the widespread critique of the growth-bound economy will only boost the prevailing discourses.
3. In the Finnish context, different *policy tools* for promoting SCP need *different development work* in order to overcome the various bottlenecks blocking their successful adoption and use. Although regulation should be promoted by boosting its public image, adopting economic instruments often needs a strong political will in order to overcome the resistance of the Ministry of Finance and other vested interests. Informational tools, in turn, should be developed and implemented so as to guarantee the optimal use of resources.

*The review process of the Finnish SCP Programme* began in the autumn of 2010. A new, smaller and more narrowly focused working group comprising representatives from ministries and research institutes started its one-year period at the beginning of 2011. At the time of writing the plans include several novel research projects, and also experimenting with various SCP-related issues on a smaller scale (Nikula 2011).

Focusing on a more limited agenda and a preference for an experimental, bottom-up process were some of the themes that came up in the stakeholder workshop organised in support of the programme review during the summer of 2010. In general, a certain *programme fatigue* seems to prevail among some progressive ministry officials and stakeholders, including researchers and NGO representatives. Thus, given the situation and the experiences gained in the first part of the Finnish SCP Programme, the new approach seems reasonable.

At the same time, the new Green Minister in the Ministry of the Environment, Ville Niinistö, has announced that he wants the new SCP programme to be as radical as possible. Given that the role of the Ministry of the Environment thus far has been so crucial in driving the programme further, this could be an opportunity that should not be wasted. In general,

many key initiatives, such as a large-scale ecological tax reform, require broader support from the Government. Initiatives that can be financed fully with the resources of the Ministry of the Environment are probably more likely to succeed in the current political climate.

At the beginning of this study I posed the following question: What comes to your mind if someone mentions the word “policy programme” or “sustainability strategy”? Did the question awaken a myriad thoughts and images? If so, you are not alone and there are reasons for the messiness. The main task of this study was to develop a multi-perspective analysis model that would organise the various thoughts. At the same time, I aimed to broaden the scope of images that “sustainability programme” as a concept arouses. Thus, if your sustainability programme had only one face, I wish that after reading this study it now has at least a couple. I believe that having a broad, yet organised, understanding of what broad sustainability programmes can offer will shed light on both their prospects and the potential minefields. My hope is that this understanding of the Bullet, the Process, the Ritual and the Depiction dimensions of a broad policy programme will be sensitive to the particularities of each case.

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#### Key documents and reports related to Finland's SCP Programme

Some documents are referred to in the summary text, and some were used solely as background material. If an English version of a document is available, that version is listed. In other cases, the titles of the documents have been translated into English.

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# Appendix 1:

## Finland's SCP Programme: list of contents

Getting more and better from less: Proposals for Finland's national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production

1. Why have a programme for sustainable consumption and production?
2. Future vision for 2025
3. Production by saving material and energy
4. Fewer goods, a better quality of life
5. Towards pleasant and well functioning societal structures
6. Quality for building
7. Promoting rail travel
8. Sustainably from field to plate
9. Well-being for work and leisure
10. The public sector as a role model
11. Technology and innovation for sustainability
12. Values, knowledge and know-how
13. Finland's active international role
14. The impacts of the programme
15. Follow-up

## Appendix 2: Finland's SCP Committee

### Presiding officers

Chair: Kari Raivio, Chancellor, University of Helsinki

Vice Chair: Antero Honkasalo, Director, Ministry of the Environment

Vice Chair: Risto Ranki, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Trade and Industry (currently Ministry of Employment and the Economy)

### Members of the Committee

Markku Aho, Development Co-operation Counsellor, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1 December 2004–)

Timo Airaksinen, Director, Technology Industries of Finland

Ilkka Cantell, Commercial Counsellor, Ministry of Trade and Industry (currently Ministry of Employment and the Economy)

Tage Ginström, Executive Director, Central Union of Swedish-speaking Agricultural Producers in Finland (SLC)

Outi Ervasti (Piitu Virtanen 17 December 2003 – 14 October 2004), Secretary of Trade Policies, Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland (Akava)

Maija Hakanen, Manager for Environmental Affairs, Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities

Benny Hasenson, Senior Adviser, Confederation of Finnish Industries

Marit Huhta, Legation Counsellor, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (13 November 2003 – 30. November 2004)

Riitta Jalkanen, Senior Planner, Consumer Agency

Aila Korpivaara, Senior Architect, Ministry of the Environment

Eija Koski, Researcher, Finnish Association for Nature Conservation

Pertti Laine, Director, Finnish Forest Industries

Veikko Marttila, Environmental Director, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

Monica Melén-Paaso, Education Counsellor, Ministry of Education (currently Ministry of Education and Culture)

Lotta Nummelin, Organisation Secretary, Finnish Society for Nature and Environment

Liisa Ollila, Ministerial Adviser, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health

Kaisa Pannimaa-Pätsi, Secretary General, Consumers

Matti Räisänen, Counsel, Federation of Finnish Commerce

Risto Saari, Senior Adviser, Ministry of Transport and Communications

Heikki Sourama, Consultative Counsellor, Ministry of Finance  
Timo Tanninen, Secretary General, WWF Finland  
Pentti Tiusanen, Member of Parliament, Environment Committee  
Aila Tommola-Kruse, Senior Adviser, Ministry of Labour (currently Ministry of Employment and the Economy)  
Markku Tornberg, Director, Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners  
Sinikka Turunen, Secretary General, Finnish Consumers Association  
Riikka Tähtivuori, Legal Counsel, Federation of Finnish Enterprises  
Matti Viialainen, Deputy Director, Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK)  
Pekka Vilkuna, Member of Parliament, Committee for the Future  
Markku Wilenius, Director, Finland Futures Research Centre

### **Permanent experts**

Aira Kalela, Director for International Affairs, Ministry of the Environment  
Sauli Rouhinen, Environment Counsellor, Ministry of the Environment  
Johanna Kohl, Researcher, Finland Futures Research Centre

### **Secretariat**

Taina Nikula, Senior Adviser, Ministry of the Environment  
Salla Koivusalo, Project Manager, Lifelong Learning Institute Dipoli  
Päivi Luoma, Manager, Finnish Forest Industries Federation  
Miika Tommila, Senior Adviser, Ministry of Trade and Industry (currently Ministry of Employment and the Economy)  
Sami Järvinen, Trainee, M.Soc.Sc., Ministry of the Environment (1 January 2005 – 31 May 2005).

# Appendix 3: Interviews with actors in Finland's SCP Committee

## Presiding officers

- 5 February 2007 Chair: Kari Raivio, Chancellor, University of Helsinki
- 11 October 2006 Vice Chair: Antero Honkasalo, Director, Ministry of the Environment
- 29 January 2007 Vice Chair: Risto Ranki, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Trade and Industry (currently Ministry of Employment and the Economy)

## Members of the Committee

- 22 May 2006 Eija Koski, Researcher, Finnish Association for Nature Conservation
- 1 February 2007 Maija Hakanen, Manager for Environmental Affairs, Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities
- 1 February 2007 Pentti Tiusanen, Member of Parliament, Environment Committee
- 2 February 2007 Markku Tornberg, Director, Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners
- 6 February 2007 Benny Hasenson, Senior Adviser, Confederation of Finnish Industries
- 6 February 2007 Risto Saari, Senior Adviser, Ministry of Transport and Communications
- 13 February 2007 Aila Korpivaara, Senior Architect, Ministry of the Environment
- 21 February 2007 Timo Airaksinen, Director, Technology Industries of Finland
- 22 February 2007 Sinikka Turunen, Secretary General, Finnish Consumers Association
- 27 February 2007 Timo Tanninen, Secretary General, WWF Finland
- 1 March 2007 Kaisa Pannimaa-Pätsi, Secretary General & Maili Mustonen, Chair, Consumers
- 2 March 2007 Heikki Sourama, Consultative Counsellor, Ministry of Finance
- 14 March 2007 Liisa Ollila, Ministerial Adviser, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health

**Permanent experts**

- 7 February 2007 Sauli Rouhinen, Environment Counsellor, Ministry of the Environment
- 15 March 2007 Johanna Kohl, Researcher, Finland Futures Research Centre

**Secretariat**

- 2 June 2006 Taina Nikula, Senior Adviser, Ministry of the Environment
- 26 February 2007 Salla Koivusalo, Project Manager, Lifelong Learning Institute Dipoli

## Appendix 4: List of questions for the focused interviews with actors in Finland's SCP Committee

The question list provided a template for the focused interviews. The current list is a developed version of the earlier templates used in the first interviews during the year 2006. In all the interviews the list was adapted on the basis of the responses.

### **(I) Background information**

- 1) Name, organisation, title
- 2) How long have you worked in the organisation you represent and in your current position?
- 3) Is it OK for you that the citations are anonymous and that there will be a list of interviewees and organisations at the end of the publications?

### **(II) Finland's SCP programme process and participation**

- 4) It has already been 18 months since the end of the SCP Committee's term. What do you remember about it?
- 5) How would you evaluate the working of the SCP Committee?
  - What was good in it?
  - What kind of problems stood out during the process?
- 6) How much have you participated in similar committees/processes?
  - Was the SCP Committee somehow special compared with the others?
- 7) The working of the SCP Committee represents participative governance. What are the pros and cons of participation?
  - Did the SCP Committee feature any new or particularly well functioning means of encouraging the participants to deal with the issue?
  - What are committee processes such as the work of the SCP Committee needed for?
  - When do committees not make a difference?

- 8) Were the participation and the contributions of different parties balanced during the Committee process?
  - Were everybody's voices heard?
  - Were some participants listened to more carefully than others (e.g., representatives of ministries, researchers and specialists, environmental and other NGOs, industry and business)?
- 9) Which questions provoked disagreement during the working of the SCP Committee?
  - Who gave diverging opinions?
  - How did the different parties influence the outcome of the committee work?
- 10) What did you learn during the process?
  - Did the process change your views about certain SCP-related questions?
  - How did the process influence your ideas about the actors involved?
- 11) Did the SCP process engender networks that might have carried on after the committee work ended?
- 12) Was it easy to accept the outcome of the process (as a consensus)?
- 13) How committed are you to the outcome of the committee work?
- 14) Could the SCP committee work have been improved in some way?
  - If so, what things should have been covered and how?

### **(III) The SCP Programme**

- 15) What is your opinion about the outcome of the SCP Committee's work, the SCP Programme of Finland?
  - What do you think is new in the Programme?
  - What are its strengths and weaknesses?
- 16) What proposals in the Programme do you or the organisation you represent consider important?
  - What proposals are difficult or less important for you?
- 17) What kind of society does the SCP Programme promote?
- 18) Let's imagine that you drew up the Finnish SCP Programme by yourself. In what ways would it have been similar to or different from this one?



#### **(IV) Implementation**

- 19) Within the Programme, responsibilities for implementation were assigned to a wide variety of actors and organisations. What kind of responsibilities was your organisation given?
- 20) Have you tried to implement the tasks given to your organisation?
  - What tasks have you made progress with (where and when)?
  - Are there any measures you plan to take now or in the future?
- 21) What kind of problems have you faced when/if you have tried to promote the SCP Programme proposals?
- 22) Do you think it is a good idea in broad-based committees that some of the responsibility for implementation is given to non-government actors?
  - In these cases, what should be the role of the Government?
- 23) To what extent will the Programme proposals be implemented?
  - What will be implemented?
  - What will not materialise?
- 24) With regard to the SCP challenge, what are the current worrying and encouraging trends?
  - How do you experience the challenges and opportunities of the field in your own life or at work?

#### **(V) Background: the general politics of SCP**

- 25) What is sustainable consumption and production all about?
  - How would you define it in your own words?
- 26) Please list some of the most important SCP-related problems of our time.
- 27) How should we solve these problems?
  - What kind of policy tools could be utilised to promote more sustainable consumption and production patterns (e.g., regulation, economic instruments, informational devices, organisational arrangements, voluntary agreements)?
  - What kinds of policy instruments are problematic?