

Appendix

Policy actors that sent out written testimonies	
Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (2002)	Enactment of the Climate Law (2015)
Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland	Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland
the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry	Allianssi Central Organizations of Youth
Finnish Institute for Marine Research (abolished)	Bioenergy Association of Finland
Finnish Metal Industries (currently merged into Technology Industries of Finland)	Birdlife
Finnish Metal Workers Union (currently merged into Industrial Union)	Confederation of Finnish Industries
Finnish Forest Industries	Finnish Energy
Natur och Miljö	Energy Authority
Ministry of Education	ELY Centre Etelä-Savo
Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions	United Nations Youth of Helsinki
Federation of Finnish Enterprises	HSY Helsinki Regional Environmental Service Authority
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	Climate Forum
Finnish Association for Nature Conservation	Finnish Climate Change Panel
Finnish Environment Institute	Climate Parents
Finnish Electrical Workers Union	Solid Waste Association

The Confederation of Finnish Industries (current Confederation of Finnish Industries)	Chemical Industries of Finland
Peat Industries of Finland	Finnish Development NGOs
Ministry of Finance	Real Estate Federation
VATT Institute for Economic Research	Finn Church Aid Change maker-network
VTT Technical Research Centre of Finland	Association for Local and Regional Governments in Finland
Ministry of the Environment	Finnish Nature League
Oil and Gas Industries (abolished)	Ministry of Transport and Communications
World Wildlife Foundation	Friends of the Earth
	Forest Research Institute of Finland (currently merged into Natural Resources Institute Finland)
	State Forestry
	Forest Owners Association of Finland
	Finnish Forest Industries
	MTT Agrifood Research Finland (currently merged into Natural Resources Institute Finland)
	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
	Motiva
	Central Union for Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners
	Ministry of Justice
	Association for Town Houses
	ELY Centre Pirkanmaa
	Association for Real Estate Professionals
	Sami Council
	Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions
	Central Union for Swedish Agricultural Producers

	Sitra
	Ministry of Social Affairs and Health
	Confederation of Professionals
	Finnish Association for Nature Conservation
	Shipowners Association
	Foundation for Environmental Education
	Society for Environmental Law
	Federation of Finnish Enterprises
	Finnish Environment Institute
	TEKES (current Business Finland)
	Technology Industries of Finland
	Institute for Health and Welfare
	Statistics Finland
	Finnish Transport and Communications Agency
	University of Turku
	Ministry for Economy and Employment
	Ministry for Foreign Affairs
	Finnish Institute for International Affairs
	ELY Centre Uusimaa
	VATT Institute for Economic Research
	Ministry of Finance
	Prime Minister's Office
	VTT Technical Research Centre of Finland
	National Union of University Students
	Environment Industries of Finland
	World Wildlife Foundation
	Oil Industries of Finland (abolished)

Policy actors that are excluded from the analysis (no comments/no arguments)	
Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (2002)	Enactment of the Climate Law (2015)
Finnish Meteorological Institute (no comments)	Finnish Competition and Consumer Authority (no comments)
Association for Local and Regional Governments in Finland (support, no arguments)	Finnish Transport Infrastructure Agency (no comments)
Ministry of Transport and Communications (support, no arguments)	Finnish Bus Association (no comments)
Prime Minister's Office (support, no arguments)	Ministry for Foreign Affairs (support, no comments)
TEKES (Current Business Finland (no comments)	
Ministry for Employment (current Ministry for Economy and Employment) (no comments)	
Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (no comments)	
Ministry of Justice (support, no arguments)	

Argument categories in 2002	Yes	No	Total
Kyoto Protocol could weaken economic growth and national competitiveness	13	0	13
Finland should use nuclear energy to reduce GHG emissions	9	2	11
Energy efficiency is essential in the reduction of GHG's	8	0	8
Finland's emission targets should not be tightened	7	0	7
Kyoto Protocol promotes the use of renewable energy	6	1	7

Kyoto Protocol should include large emitters	6	0	6
Climate science supports the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol	6	0	6
Finland should invest in R&D	6	0	6
Finnish industry's emissions are as low as possible	5	0	5
The European Union Emissions Trading System (ETS) is problematic	4	0	4
Kyoto Protocol creates economic growth	4	0	4
Economic studies support the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol	4	0	4
Finland should use the Kyoto mechanisms to reduce GHG emissions	4	0	4
Finland should be able to decide independently how it will reduce its GHG emissions	4	0	4
More studies on the economic impacts of the Kyoto Protocol are needed	4	0	4
The law proposal's calculations are incorrect	4	0	4
Finland should not ban coal condensing plants	4	0	4
Finland will economically benefit from the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol based on the law proposal's calculations	3	0	3
Finland should use natural gas reduce GHG emissions	1	2	3
Voluntary measures are more effective	3	0	3
Finland should increase carbon sinks to reduce GHG emissions	2	0	2
Finland has low emissions		1	1
Social scientific studies support the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol	1	0	1
Kyoto protocol supports global climate justice	1	0	1
Economic studies support policy inaction	1	0	1
Finland should use peat to reduce GHG emissions	1	0	1
Kyoto protocol should guide societal decision-making even more	1	0	1
Climate change affects future generations	1	0	1
Grand Total	113	6	119

Argument categories in 2015	Yes	No	Total
Climate law should include a long-term emission target	23	18	41
Climate science supports the enactment of the Climate Law	27	2	29
Climate law improves the coordination and planning of Finnish climate policymaking	24	0	24
Climate law strengthens transparency and participation in Finnish climate policymaking	23	1	24
Climate law could weaken economic growth and national competitiveness	23	0	23
Finnish climate change panel should have legal status	16	4	20
Finnish climate change panel should have legal status	19	1	20
Climate law is unnecessary and overlaps with current legislation	19	0	19
Climate law burdens the administration	19	0	19
ETS should be included in the long-term emission target	13	4	17
More studies on the economic impacts of the Climate Law are needed	14	0	14
Climate law creates economic growth	13	0	13
Climate law improves the image of Finnish climate policy	11	0	11
Social scientific studies support the enactment of the Climate Law	8	0	8
Finnish climate change panel should include representation from different scientific fields	7	0	7
Climate law promotes the use of renewable energy	5	1	6
Prime Minister's office should coordinate climate policymaking	6	0	6
Climate law promotes global climate justice	6	0	6
Finland has low emissions	6	0	6
Climate change affects future generations	4	0	4
Climate law leads to carbon leakage	4	0	4
Finland should invest in R&D to reduce GHG emissions	4	0	4

Climate law should guide societal decision making even more	4	0	4
The law proposal's calculations are incorrect	4	0	4
Voluntary measures are more effective	2	0	2
Economic studies support policy inaction	1	0	1
Climate science is uncertain	1	0	1
Grand Total	311	31	342