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waste work of supermarkets. The interpretation is that different channels enact different realities for these materials whether they are sold at a cheaper price, given to charity, or simply discarded as waste. The enactment refers to the "ontological politics" developed in particular by Annemarie Mol, in which the ontological status of objects and things is seen as fluid and potentially multiple. The second article, written with co-authors Malla Mattila, Elina Närvänen and Nina Mesiranta, focuses on consumers and their ethical work in negotiating when and how food becomes waste in households. The article shows how households' ethical considerations that lead to food waste include issues such as the safety and health of the family. Here, CE is seen as a moral project in which consumers participate by trying to reduce their food waste. The question then becomes what kind of valuation practices can turn food waste into a resource, and how waste itself complicates the process. This is addressed in the third article, also co-authored by Olli Pyyhtinen, which shows that biogas production from food waste is not an easy task and there are considerable difficulties in turning waste into a resource. The fourth, solo-authored article examines all these data sets and asks what kind of realities and CE futures these practices enact – in other words

– how all these processes enact different CE futures that are simultaneously possible.

The main finding of the dissertation is that while CE solutions to the problem of food waste are often presented as "low-hanging fruits," or easy changes to make, they are in fact complicated transformations that can lead to many different realities and futures. This is hardly new information, as the same critique of CE has been made in previous research. However, Lehtokunnas shows this in detailed ethnographic research, following waste in different practices. The CE is an immense transformation at different scales, the effects of which are difficult to capture in sociological research. In the discussion section, Lehtokunnas herself points out the vastness of the infrastructure for food waste, which makes it almost impossible to follow the journey that food takes in the various logistics and stages of production. Waste occurs at every step of that journey. An even broader infrastructural perspective on food waste might have been another useful way to frame this research.

Taru Lehtokunnas' dissertation shows, in 'hands-on' ethnography, the multiple realities that enacting the CE of food waste entails in practice. The ambiguity of CE has been mentioned in many studies, but this dis-

sertation shows it in the concrete, everyday practices that are formed when food waste is avoided, categorized and transformed into assets such as biogas and fertilizer. When CE is enacted in everyday practices, there is not just one CE produced but many. This opens a fruitful avenue for other sociologists interested in sustainability transformation and climate change mitigation. Lehtokunnas refrains from exploring these issues in the conclusion of her dissertation, but they are nevertheless the background that compels sociology to emphasize research on issues such as waste and CE.

Teemu Loikkanen

Who Supports Climate Policies? Comprehensive Analyses in Finland and Beyond

Jukka Sivonen: Public Attitudes on Climate Policy Instruments: A Comparative Perspective in Europe. Turku: University of Turku, 2023, 139 pp. ISBN 978-951-29-9416-8

The rapid advancement of climate change has generated a pressing need for a breadth

of new policies to mitigate it. Likewise, there is a strong demand for research that strives to understand why the public does not always support these reforms. This book, originally a doctoral dissertation by Jukka Sivonen from the unit of Economic sociology at University of Turku, is a recent example of such work. His work, *Public Attitudes on Climate Policy Instruments: A Comparative Perspective in Europe*, is a broad look on the attitudes of Europeans towards many key climate policies, and on the main determinants behind supporting or opposing them. The dissertation consists of four research articles and a summary chapter.

The dissertation starts off with the concept of commons, relying particularly on classic work by Garret Hardin and Elinor Ostrom. Climate action is framed as an issue of managing the commons of the global climate system. Sivonen rightly discusses the role of state as a climate policy actor, arguing that despite the importance of local and global organizations, states are still a key player on the politics of climate change.

In the dissertation, Sivonen asks two simple research questions. First, which macro-level (or country-level) factors are associated with citizens' attitudes towards climate policies,

and second, which factors explain attitudes on the individual level? These questions are motivated with recent calls to better understand public attitudes in order to effectively mitigate climate change in democratic societies. Moreover, the questions are backed with a discussion on some of the main determinants of attitudes, as indicated by earlier research – such as political and social trust, political ideology, social class, and place of residence. A particular focus is placed on political trust, as trust in politicians is particularly important when considering support for policies that may introduce costs or material risks for citizens. Trust is also one of the main macro-level factors which are expected to explain attitudinal differences between countries.

The two simple research questions lead into fairly straightforward regression models and comparative analyses in the individual articles. The analyses use data from the Round 8 of the European Social Survey (2016), as well as national data from the Finland 2019 survey in one article. Perhaps the most fruitful article is the first one, co-authored with Iida Kukkonen, which explores connections between welfare state regimes and attitudes towards climate policy instruments. The article examines if people

in Nordic welfare states indeed show more positive attitudes towards environmental policies, as suggested by the "synergy hypothesis". The article makes a clear case for why political trust might, in fact, be the main link between welfare state regimes and support for climate action. This proposition is backed by empirical findings from expertly conducted multilevel regression models. The regime-policy support link mainly applies for carbon taxes, suggesting that countries with weaker welfare state institutions might do well to focus more on less coercive or costly policies, at least for a start, rather than to focus on carbon taxation.

The second article compares attitudes towards carbon taxes between Post-Communist and other European countries. The results show that political trust is the most consistent predictor of attitudes across Europe, whereas the left-right alignment and social trust is only relevant in some countries – mainly outside the Post-Communist Europe.

The third article continues with a fuel tax focus, examining the influence of social class and party preference for carbon tax support in Nordic countries. The article draws more heavily on political science and political sociology than the rest of

the dissertation, illustrating the relevance of the "new politics" of post-industrial societies, as opposed to the "old politics" during the "Golden Age" of welfare states. The results indicate that party preference is much more relevant for supporting climate policies than class position, with the main differences arising between left-green and populist right supporters. Once again, the empirical analyses are well conducted and clearly presented. However, the article does not justify the focus on party preference over that of party voting – which could be politically just as consequential. It is well known that there are far less respondents in nearly any survey who choose a preferred party compared to those who still report to voting one in recent elections. It would be interesting to know whether measuring party voting, instead of party preference, would affect the results somehow.

The final article zooms in on Finland, examining attitudes towards climate policies both on the global and on the national level. The dataset provides interesting options for analyses, given the differentiation between national and global policy levels. A particular focus is on perceived climate change risk and rural-urban differences. Perceiving climate change as a risk mainly increased support

for carbon taxes. Perhaps surprisingly, the study did not find large differences between rural and urban residents, although urban residents tended to support some policies more than rural residents – particularly logging and other policies that are conceivably more economically threatening to rural areas.

In my opinion, the individual articles provide the strongest content of the dissertation. They provide well-written theoretical outlooks on each topic, with clearly presented regression models to explore the hypotheses. In some cases, they could lay out more clearly what the new contributions are in each case, given that there is plenty of research on the topic. In contrast to the articles, the summary chapter falls a bit short. Perhaps the research questions could have been framed in a more cohesive, theoretical manner. As they stand now, they remain quite explorative and atheoretical in character. There is a strength to the chosen approach, however: it does make the dissertation very clear, consistent, and easy to follow. I find that the theoretical starting point of the commons and collective action also remains slightly detached from the empirical results. The concluding chapter does not fully illustrate what the results add to our understanding on

the problem of commons, and only makes some general notes on collective action (which, as such, are of interest but not directly linked to the results from individual articles).

Overall, the dissertation provides an excellent example of modern quantitative survey research on why people support or oppose environmental policies. I would recommend the dissertation to anyone wanting to get an overview on public attitudes and the politics of climate change mitigation. In particular, readers interested of the Nordic and/or European context would be well-advised to dive in.

Sami Mustikkamaa

Study on the Relations to Closest Others

Aino Luotonen: *Family and Friends in the Early Years of Marriage. Relatedness, Temporality, and Overlapping Intimacies*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2023, 100 pp. ISBN 978-951-51-8915-8

How to get along with others and otherness is one of the most momentous questions we face. At the same time, the