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Ecological Modernization and the European Greens

VIKTOR ANDERSSON | SPRING 2015

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SUPERVISOR: ROGER HILDINGSSON



Abstract

Green political parties are traditionally known to strive for radical systematic change in favor of the environment. The radical demands might limit the voter support and consequently the possibility of coalition collaborations. However, Green parties have permanently established themselves in various parliaments throughout Europe. This thesis argues that an ideological transformation has occurred, which enables Green parties to increase parliamentary policy influence. Moreover, the study has a mixed methods approach. The quantitative research is conducted on all well established European Green parties, followed by qualitative case studies on three specific Green parties. The hypothesis implies that the internal ideological transformation can be explained as a shift from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization. By conducting ideal type analysis on the cases selected, the study finds support for the hypothesis, and an ideological transformation can be confirmed. The results are discussed and a potential reason for the transformation is found to be the strive for increased policy influence. However, further research is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Keywords: Green parties, Green Ideology, Ideological change, Traditional Ecologism, Ecological Modernization

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

In 1972 the first ever United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm, Sweden. Policymakers from all over the world gathered under the same roof, in an attempt to join forces in the strive for a solution to the ongoing climate crisis. As a result of the Stockholm conference, global leaders now recognized the environmental problem and discussions regarding the need for global mutual actions in order to reduce the antropogen impact on the environment started spreading.

The opinions supported by environmental groups finally gained attention in the political sphere and the environmental issue became a talking point within national parliaments. This was the start of environmental issues being part of daily policy making. As a consequence, environmental groups started to reform into political parties with the aim to illuminate environmental and climate related issues. In the 1981 the first Green party within the European Union was elected into a national parliament (Dumondi & Bäck 2006:35). The Green parties' demanded radical change in the industrialized way of life as well as in the economic system, which were both viewed as significant causes of the environmental crisis (Carter 2007:48). As more Green parties established themselves the various parliaments around Europe, additional Green parties started to dawn (Volkens et. al. 2013).

However, as time pass the general opinions among the Green parties seem to change. The radical need for change is no longer as noticeable among the European Greens. Perhaps the European Greens have found an alternative and less radical way of counteracting the antropogen impact on the environment. Moreover, this transformation might be explained by the theory Ecological Modernization, which aims to reform the current economic system in order to make it sustainable. By constant development and by never thinking in terms of "end of pipe" solutions, technology will be a significant factor in the strive for sustainability. Furthermore, the reliance on technological innovations to decrease antropogen impact on the environment, reduces the need to limit the current living standards in industrialized countries (Carter 2007:227f; Blühdorn 2009:46f).

1.2 Environmental Relevance

Green parties aim to reduce the human impact on the environment as well as the climate. A change within a Green party's beliefs might radically change the measures and policies proposed in order to reduce the human impact on the environment and the climate. Consequently, if the viewpoints of the main proponent of environmental policy on national level changes, national environmental policy changes. In other words, the potential ideological transformation examined in this study affects climate policy, which might have direct impacts on the climate as well as the environment.

1.3 Research Aim

The aim of this thesis is to study how Green European parties ideological viewpoint-position have changed over time. The hypothesis is that the transformation among the European Greens can be explained by the theory "Ecological Modernization". Furthermore, the study aims presents potential explanations to why Ecological Modernization has occurred by focusing on the mechanisms that drive the potential causal link.

1.3.1 Research Questions

- ◆ In what way have the European Green parties ideological viewpoint-position changed since the establishment of the Green parties?
- ◆ Why has this internal transformation occurred?

1.4 Limitations in the Study

The study is conducted with a few limitations to the data being examined. The first limitation defines the amount of quantitative cases being examined in the quantitative section of the study. This is done by only looking at the European countries which have a Green party that has obtained seats in the parliament in at least four consecutive elections. Consequently, this excludes all the countries where Green parties have not been able to establish themselves and keep the cases where election manifestos have been published continuously throughout many years. Since the study aims to examine transformation over time, a continuous timeline limits the amount of external interference that might affect the Green parties. Furthermore, the timeline examined in the study starts on the establishment of Green parties in Europe until the year that includes the last available quantitative data. The qualitative data follow the limitations of the quantitative data, which results in the study not going past the year 2011.

The limitations to the qualitative study is based on two steps. Firstly, the qualitative case

selection is conducted in regard to language barriers, since every party publish election manifestoes in their native language. Consequently, countries with a native language that can not be understood can not be studied. Secondly, the quantitative statistical research functions as a case selection mechanism, where the quantitative results aid in the qualitative case selection. Accordingly, implications of the ideological transformation portrayed in the quantitative results within each case is taken into consideration before the full qualitative study is conducted.

1.5 Green party History

In this chapter, previous research on the history of three Green parties is presented. The case studies mentioned in this study is conducted on the Swedish, Irish and German Green parties and investigates the roots of the Green parties in each country. Moreover, the aim is for this information to be used as a compliment in the discussion, in an attempt to understand the reasons for the potential transformation within the cases selected.

1.5.1 Swedish Greens

The Swedish Green party originate from a collaboration of different environmental groups that joined forces during the national referendum on nuclear power in 1980. The aim was not to place along the left-right political scale, but rather to function as a different voice in Swedish politics. Initially, the party did not clear the four percent threshold but in connection to the chernobyl accident in 1986, the national environmental concern increased. Consequently, the party gained 5.5 percent of the votes and entered parliament in 1988. The Swedish Greens was the first new party to enter the Swedish parliament in 70 years. However, the Green presence in the Swedish parliament was short, as the party fell short of the threshold in 1991. Nevertheless, in 1994 election the Swedish Greens reentered the parliament, this time staying permanently. The party became increasingly influential between the 1998-2006 election as the Social Democratic minority government needed support in order to get a majority rule. However, the political leverage was lost as the "Alliance for Sweden", consisting of the conservative Moderate Party, the liberal People's party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democratic party entered government. As a result of the strong right-wing coalition, the Social Democrats approached the socialist Left Party and the Green party with the aspiration to challenge the "Alliance for Sweden" for the power. However, a difference of opinion regarding whether or not to include the socialist Left Party in the coalition led to the formation of the Red-Green alliance, which excluded the socialist Left Party. The decision to exclude the Left Party brought criticism from the "leftist" parts on the Social Democrats, which

consequently led to the inclusion of the socialist Left Party in the Red-Green Alliance. Nevertheless, the Red-Green Alliance lost the 2010 election, as the Social Democrats got a record low percentage of the voter support. However, the Greens got a record high 7.3 percent of the votes which resulted in the Greens becoming the third largest party in the Swedish parliament (Sundström 2011). Even though the voter support for the Greens decreased in the 2014 election, a Red-Green coalition which once again excluded the socialist Left Party, brought about the first government session for the Swedish Greens.

1.5.2 Irish Greens

Leonard (2010) has conducted research on the rise and fall of the Irish Greens. He describes how the Greens in Ireland have, in a similar fashion as in the rest of Europe, risen from the green movement that started in the 1970's and 1980's. Furthermore, the transition from a movement to a political party initially brought about the intent of changing the current system, with no pursuit of reaching government. The main task of the party was to illuminate the environmental issue, and the Greens got an increasing amount of votes in each election. In the 2002 election the party reached its' best result to that date, and obtained six seats in the parliament. At this time the more pragmatic parts of the Irish Greens led the party to become more focused around technological innovations and progress, and less about changing the political and economic system. This transformation led to a rise in voter support, consequently resulting in the Greens entering a coalition in order to reach a government position in 2007. However, after the 2007 election the Greens faced an internal dispute regarding the parties change of path, which alternately resulted in leading party members leaving the party (Leonard 2010). In the 2011 election the Greens got the lowest voter support since 1992, resulting in no seats in the parliament (Volkens et. al. 2013).

1.5.3 German Greens

The green movement in West-Germany developed in the 1960's and confronted the state with anti-nuclear demands. The amount of political influence was limited since the large parties were negative towards the disarmament of nuclear power plants. Consequently, the limited political influence from the anti-nuclear movement led to a policy program that included values beyond environmentalism. Values like democracy, social welfare and pacifism became a part of the green movement ideology. Attempts at gaining green policy influence in the parliament were done by the grassroots movement, but it was not until 1980 that the German Greens Party was established. In 1983, the German Greens reached over five percent of the votes and entered the German

parliament. The possibility of direct policy-influence divided the German Greens into two groups. On one hand, there was the traditional green grassroots movement which did not believe that parliament participation was needed in order to change the policy making and believed parliament participation brought about the need for compromise. On the other hand, there were the less pragmatic parts of the movement, which supported the fact that green policy now would be direct. However, the fact that parliament participation brought about differences between pragmatic and ideological elements led to a split into two camps, the Realos and the Fundis. The conflict between the two groups was ongoing during the 1980's and was not resolved until the early 1990's when the Realos won and Fundis members departed from the party. Consequently, this led to a more moderate and reformist agenda. Initially, the German green policy influence was mainly through pushing the larger parties towards taking environmental issues into account. However, in 1998 the German Greens chose to form a coalition with Social Democrats, which brought about the German Greens first ever government session (Dryzek, Downes, Schlosberg & Hernes 2003:35f).

2. Methodology

The methodology chapter aims to supply the reader with a walkthrough of the methodological process of the study. Furthermore, the methodological choices will be presented and explained in order to give the reader an understanding of why the choices are made.

2.1 Research Design

In order to understand to what degree the hypothesis is correct and what is responsible for potential internal change in Green parties, the study will adopt a mixed methods research design. Hence, a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative data will be used in order to answer the research question (King, Koehane & Verba 2011:5f ; Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989). The combination of quantitative and qualitative measures aim to reduce the limitations of each separate measure.

The main focus of the study is the qualitative research since quantitative data do not allow for studies of all variables needed to confirm the transformation. Furthermore, the qualitative method allows for a study of the mechanism. It is by studying the mechanisms that the different factors which affect the internal political change in the parties can be isolated. Only then can the reason for the transformation be examined. However, since the main focus of the study is to investigate whether or not a transformation has occurred, arguments on potential mechanism are speculative. Consequently, further research is needed to confirm these speculations.

2.2 Quantitative Research

The quantitative research is conducted as a statistical measure of eleven European Greens parties. Furthermore, the first aim of the quantitative study is to investigate whether or not the Green parties generally have changed towards Ecological Modernization over time. However, the knowledge obtained by this general study might be too abstract to directly apply on the specific cases. Hence, the mixed approach allows for a less uncertain measure by, to a certain extent, canceling out the weaknesses in both methods. Moreover, the second aim of the quantitative study is to aid in the case selection. The quantitative study allows insight within all cases included in the study.

2.2.1 Quantitative Data

In order to measure variation in Ecological Modernization the "Manifesto Project Database" (2013) is used, as this measures attitudes from different parties towards economic growth as well as free market economy (capitalism). The mean of the values in the two variables is used to create the value Ecological Modernization. Even though Ecological Modernization include further variables that define the ideology, these do not exist in a quantitative format. Hence, the quantitative study has its limitation and do not measure the full extent of Ecological Modernization.

The Manifesto Project Database measures the values of different parties by counting how many times they mention a certain political view over each election year. This means that the data might not be fully representative of what the political parties actually stand for. However, this is the only obtainable data that quantitatively measure party position in different questions over time. Furthermore, since the database only measures a party during the year of an election, the years in between are missing. To correct this, the same value as presented in the previous election has been entered throughout the entire term of office. This means that the party position do not vary during the term of office, which probably is not the case in reality. However, in this study, the political parties are held accountable for their values on the election year, throughout the entire term of office.

2.2.2 Quantitative Case Selection

A fully random case selection have not been conducted since the amount of Green parties presented in the Manifesto Project Dataset is fairly limited. The study is limited to European Green parties which have been participating in at least four continuous elections between 1979-2013. The reason for this limitation in the research proposal is to makes it easier to study the continuous change in each of the political parties. Furthermore, there are 11 countries, and 12 parties (since Belgium have two environmental parties), represented in this study. The parties are measured until the last election included in the dataset, since there is no data on when the elections was held after this. Moreover, only two parties had an election after 2011 which means that the data after this point can not be used as a correct measure. However, this problem will be addressed in the quantitative results section.

2.3 Qualitative Research

The qualitative part on the other hand aims to examine and attempt to explain the actual transformation within the cases selected. The main focus of the study is to identify whether or not

the hypothesis is correct. The secondary aim is to find potential mechanisms that affect the Green parties internal transformation in terms of ideological viewpoint. The hypothesis implies that a transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization has occurred, and the first objective of the quantitative research is to test this. Even though this is tested in the quantitative research, the variables available in a quantitative format are not sufficient to represent the full extent of the differences between traditional Ecologism and Ecological Modernization. Moreover, the second objective is to try to understand and explain the potential transformation. This is done in the discussion chapter, and the aim is to present potential reasons for the transformation.

2.3.1 Qualitative Data

In every election being held, a party proclaims its' political and ideological position for the purpose of reaching out to the general voters. Moreover, there is no better time for a political party to proclaim their opinions in different policy fields. For that reason, it makes sense to focus the qualitative case studies on the election manifestoes released by each party. Furthermore, as a complement to the election platforms, secondary data in terms of the Swedish full party manifesto (2013) is used. The analytical framework is used in order to determine whether internal ideological transformation has occurred within the cases or not.

Since the Swedish election manifestoes are rather short in comparison to the Irish and German manifestoes, in addition to the later Swedish manifestos showing far less of their ideological values, an official Swedish party manifesto (2013) will be used as complementary data. The official party manifesto is longer and contains more ideological details. The problem with the party manifestoes is that they are not published on a regular basis. Due to the 2013 party manifesto is the only available full party manifesto published since 2001, it is the only party manifesto relevant for ideological evaluation of the later stages of the study.

2.3.2 Qualitative Case Selection

The selection of cases is mainly based on two different approaches. Firstly, the aim is to study cases that change similarly to the general transformation. This is done by finding cases which transform similarly to the mean of the full quantitative research. Secondly, the case selection is based on language limitations since ideological documents often are published in the native language. This results in the case case selection being strategic and not random. Sweden and Ireland are two of the cases with interesting cases of ideological change where language is not an issue. Correspondingly, the German case transform similarly to the main quantitative results, but as language barriers exist, various translation programs are used. Furthermore, as the later German election manifestoes are

presented in a less bureaucratic manner, the need for translation programs are reduced over the time studied. Nevertheless, all three cases selected change similarly to the main quantitative result and are presented in an understandable language. Since the case selection is not random the results of the study will not be general enough to say something about all European Green Parties. In other words, studies on the other Green parties is needed in order to create a more general and solid knowledge basis. The study does however create knowledge of the cases being examined.

2.4 Case Studies

Quantitative research have plenty of benefits, as it enables comparison of large numbers of cases and allows the researcher to see general patterns of change. However, since the quantitative data is limited, the study focuses on a more qualitative approach. Furthermore, the more qualitative approach enables discussions on potential causes to the change within the individual cases. The complexity of causal relationships and the fact that different confounding variables can affect the causal relationship can only be understood when studying the cases in depth (King, Kohane & Verba 2011:5f). For these reasons, case studies is the main method of the study.

The internal ideological change, which has been acknowledged in the quantitative research, indicates that the change within the European Green parties correlates with the ideological views of Ecological Modernization. Furthermore, case studies allows for testing whether or not Ecological Modernization can be held accountable for the internal change within Green parties, within this study. Furthermore, by including further variables in the qualitative part of the research, a more reliable measure of Ecological Modernization is enabled.

George and Bennett (2005) express a growing interest among the social sciences in evaluating and modeling causal relationships (George & Bennett 2005:9). Furthermore, they emphasize that case studies conducted by developing typological theories is an excellent way of examining the different aspects of ideological change (George & Bennett 2005:10). Typological theories aim to study the conformation of different variables by generalizing upon the independent variables by categorizing them into types. This has been a part of qualitative method since Max Weber discussed the "ideal types" in the early 1900. The potential outcomes of the different cases can be accredited to different types that have been specified. Furthermore, by recognizing the outcomes of both the actual combinations of the types and the potential combinations of the types, a link between cause and effect can be identified (George & Bennett 2005:233f).

2.5 Ideal Types

The qualitative study aims to understand change in ideologies within the examined parties. To do so, an analytical tool is needed. The construction of this tool is based on the belief that the election manifestoes show tendencies towards either Ecological Modernization or traditional Ecologism. In the theory chapter, Ecological Modernization and traditional Ecologism is presented as sheer ideologies that differs from each other. This brings about the possibility of categorizing different parts of the data as either Ecological Modernization or traditional Ecologism. The analysis is conducted from the construction of ideal types in a clear typology, where tendencies from either Ecological Modernization or the traditional Green ideology are distinguished from the data. It is not safe to assume that all tendencies found in the ideological documents are part of either Ecological Modernization or the traditional Ecologism but an ideal type analysis allows for an observation to be categorized as none of the aforementioned categories (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:158). The reason for choosing to use ideal types as the main analytical tool is because it brings a certain structure to the material, which consequently aid in the presentation of the results and the analysis. Furthermore, the typologies allows for a discussion regarding why the results varies or are similar to the different ideal type-categories. Consequently, this allows for a comparison between the cases.

2.6 Reliability and Validity

If the same study were to be conducted once again, the results should be similar if the reliability is high (Kellstedt & Whitten 2013:126). No significant interpretations of the election manifestoes have been made in this study, meaning that the information presented in the result is a summary of the opinions presented in the election manifestoes. Furthermore, a textual analysis conducted with the aid of an analytic tool increases the reliability, because this reduces the risk of error caused by accident or negligence (Esaiaasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, 2013:63).

The validity of the study is based on the relationship between the theoretical definition of the analytical framework and the operational definition, in other words the methodology (Esaiaasson et. al. 2012:57). In order to ensure validity in the study, it is of importance to proclaim what the study actually intends to do. The first research question aims to examine whether or not change has occurred. This part of the study is conducted on ideological manifestoes, which can not be applied on real world politics. However, the aim of this research question is to understand the potential ideological change. Consequently, the first research question do not intend to understand the impact on the real world. The second research question aims to discuss potential reasons to why the ideological change has occurred. In coherence with the "Green party history"-chapter which

presents implications of what happened within the parties simultaneously as the different election manifestoes were published, a discussion is conducted. The discussion do not intend to prove any consequences of the ideological transformation, but is rather an attempt to understand the potential causes of the ideological transformation. Moreover, as the discussion is conducted as a speculative problematization of the ideological change, no proof is presented. Accordingly, further research is needed to confirm the potential explanations presented in the discussion.

External validity determines whether or not the study allows for generalization upon all cases available in the larger quantitative study (Kellstedt & Whitten 2013:89). As the case selection limits the possibility of generalization by not being random, the external validity is low. However, since the aim of this study is not to generalize, but rather to understand the transformation within the cases selected, the low external validity is not a problem.

3. Theory

The first aim of the theory chapter is obviously to present the theories used in the research. Two theories are presented in general but with a focus on the differences between the two. Furthermore, the second aim of the theory chapter is to distinguish the ideal types and present the categories in which the ideal types are divided. The final aim of the theory chapter is to present analytical framework, which consists of the categories and the ideal type-viewpoints in a summarizing table.

Dryzek, Downes, Hunold, and Schlosberg (2003) discuss the conflict between our current way of living and the environment. This is a frequently occurring theme in Ecological and environmental theories. Moreover, the economic system is often portrayed as a root cause of air pollution and other negative anthropogenically caused impacts on the environment. However, these theories were generally not taken seriously in the political sphere since the lifestyle changes needed to complete a transformation from the current system was viewed as too radical to be a viable option. Consequently, the green movement did not have the desirable direct impact on the actual policy making. However, Ecological Modernization is perhaps an environmental option that can change this. Advocates of Ecological Modernization propose that the economic system and the economic growth do not have to be considered to have a negative impact on the environment as long as it is reformed to include environmental aspects. This theory enable environmental parties to seek political influence without the demand of completely reforming the economic system. (Dryzek et. al. 2003:164f)

3.1 Traditional Ecologism

In presenting the traditional green ideology a few boundaries have to be set. Andrew Dobson (2007) makes a differentiation between Ecologism and environmentalism in terms of what the actor is willing to do and what price she is willing to pay. The radical approach seen within Ecologism, that requires total global change, is far less radical in the more forgiving environmentalist view. Dobson do not presents the environmentalist view as an ideology on its own, rather as a complement to other already established ideologies, such as socialism and liberalism etcetera. Accordingly, Dobson implies that environmentalism is not about the real green values of the green movement, nor is it

about the real green ideology (Dobson 2007:2f).

Clapp and Dauvergne (2005) describes the theoretical world view “Bioenvironmentalism” that in many respects strive for the same environmental policy changes and see the same solutions to the environmental crisis as green political ideology Ecologism. However, Bioenvironmentalism resembles Deep Ecology (Dobson 2007:31f; Spaargaren, Mol & Buttel 2000:5f) or Deep Green ideology, which is the the more radical and fundamentalist views within Ecologism. Since the aim it to present the initial views of traditional Green parties, the world view is included when defining the theory traditional Ecologism. Consequently, the similarities and the different aspects of the ideology Ecologism and the theoretical world view Bioenvironmentalism are woven together and presented as the theory traditional Ecologism.

Bioenvironmentalism advocates a more radical approach towards environmental policy. The Bioenvironmentalist world view has its' roots in the Gaia hypotheses and stresses the Earth's fragile nature by comparing it to a living organism. This means that human impact is a crucial factor in the continuing survival of the planet. The Earth is viewed as holistic and complex as it provides for all living organisms on the planet. However, there is a limit of how many people the Earth can provide for without dying out. This, in combination with what is described as the selfish nature of mankind, leads to overconsumption which alternately will result in natural resources coming to an end. Consequently, this will lead to self-inflicted human extinction (Clapp & Dauvergne 2005:9f). These views are in line with the Ecologist ideology founded on the limits of growth, which argues for the limited resources of the Earth. Radical actions have to be taken within economic, social and political systems in order for the human race to sustain. This requires a fundamental economic transformation on human attitudes towards economic growth, consumption, production and work. (Carter 2007:6f).

Bioenvironmentalists regard the current free market economy, which focuses on continuous economic growth, as a contributing factor to the ecological crisis. The economic system advocates consumption, which causes further strains on Earth and its natural resources. As the world population increases, more will have to consume in order to maintain the economic system, which increases the use of natural resources. When globalization is added to the equation, the human impact on the planet will increase further. Consequently, Bioenvironmentalists maintain that the economic system and the causes brought about by the economic system have to be counteracted (Clapp & Dauvergne 2005:10f). The Ecologist argue the same need for radical change of economic system and the end of constant economic growth. Furthermore, this involves a radical change within the consumer behavior (Carter 2007:48).

Bioenvironmentalists and advocates of Ecologism claim that the solution to these problems

is a complete reconstruction of the economic system (Clapp & Dauvergne 2005:11; Carter 2007:48). This is done by adding physical limitations, which applies to all the nations in the world, on how much natural resources each nation is allowed to extract. Furthermore, the measure of wealth and comfort in terms of economic growth needs to be eliminated. A new system which focuses on the continued well-being of the planet, and that include all parts of the world, must be introduced (Clapp & Dauvergne, 2005:11). Moreover, the importance of intergenerational values of nature is stressed, and should be included in the new economic system (Carter 2007:48f).

Ecologism strive for self-sufficient local govern societies that produce only what is necessary for the inhabitants of the society. Accordingly, this will reduce the unnecessary use of natural recourses as the consumer friendly world economy advocates. The factor of self governing includes the influence of supranational policy influence, which is regarded as a problematic feature for self-sufficient societies. Decentralization is presented as an important part of the solution to the ongoing climate crisis (Carter 2007:42f).

The approach towards technological innovations is negative and the Ecologists do not rely on technology to solve the ecological crisis. Carter (2007) present Ecologism as ecocentric, which he views a the opposite of technocentrism. Technocentrism is the optimistic belief that technology and science will solve the environmental problems. Criticism towards technology and towards the belief that technology will solve the environmental problem is a central part of Ecologism (Carter 2007:77f). Moreover, proponents of Deep Green values argues the need to control and limit technology in order to ensure environmental protection. Scientific progress in terms of synthetical chemicals and genetic engineering is presented as an ongoing environmental threat (Carter 2007:49).

3.2 Ecological Modernization

The concept of Ecological Modernization is used differently in various contexts. Mol and Spaargaren (2000) present the concept as a theory which is used to explain transformation within Green ideology. The Ecological Modernization theory originates from the early 1980's and has become well established by being supported by a large amount of case studies. It has become one of the outstanding theories within environmental sociology (Mol & Spaargaren 2000:17). Dobson (2007) on the other hand, present Ecological Modernization as a movement which brings about transformation within environmental policy making. In contrast, Hajer (1995) regard Ecological Modernization as a discourse, used in an attempt to understand the ongoing transformation within Green political parties. Nevertheless, in this study Ecological Modernization is presented as a

theory, with the aim to understand whether or not Green parties have transformed from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization.

Ecological Modernization derive from the conflict between economy and ecology and the solution is presented as a decoupling of the two, in the strive for a sustainable development. Similarly to traditional Ecologism, advocates of Ecological Modernization regard the free market economy as the main root of the anthropogenically caused environmental issues and the occurring climate change. However, since capitalism is deeply established in the modern world, a physical change of the economical system is viewed as ponderous. Consequently, the approach towards solving environmental and climate related issues are completely different. Instead of criticizing the actors who are responsible for the environmental problems and demanding radical change, advocates of Ecological Modernization aim to appeal to the economic interests of the of the business sector. Furthermore, Ecological Modernization advocates that it is possible to solve environmental issues, without changing the economical system, by setting strict but clear demands in favor of the environment. Consequently, sustainability can be achieved without the need for radical transformation of life standard (Carter 2007: 227f).

Ecological Modernization strive for a decoupling of economic growth and resource use. This means that the global living situation is to keep improving around the world without an increase in natural resource use. Furthermore, proponents of Ecological Modernization believe that a sustainable adaptation will not only allow for the economic growth to become sustainable, but also increase the economic growth (Carter, 2007:227; Blühdorn 2009:46f).

Science and technology are significant factors in the transformation towards Ecological Modernization, as the current outdated measures in production and transport etcetera, are still viewed as contributing causes to environmental and climate related issues. The solution is technological innovations which will allow the industrialized world to maintain its' current living standard and for the developing countries to keep on developing (Carter, 2007:227f & Warner 2000:540).

International collaboration and knowledge exchange are advocated and viewed as important factors in the strive for global sustainability. This will contribute to the spread and development of new sustainable technologies. Moreover, as knowledge on sustainable technology increases, the environmental impact of travel and transport is reduced. International collaboration is viewed as a positive aspect of global politics, as long as it strive for sustainably (Carter 2007:228). Furthermore, increased global sustainability reduces the need for self-sufficient societies, as the environmental impact of import and export is reduced. This implies that international trade could be included in the concept of sustainability (Carter 2007:227f). Consequently, global sustainability do not have to

affect the current living situation.

Overall, Ecological Modernization aim to undertake environmental and climate-related issues without radically restricting living standards, the economic system and the current political systems. Advocates of Ecological Modernization claims that by reforming current systems towards becoming more sustainable, no radical change is needed (Carter 2007:227f).

3.3 Typological Categorization

The typological categorization aims to distinguish traditional Ecologism from Ecological Modernization in policy fields that are important to both ideologies and where the opinions differ. The following categories are presented as headlines followed by the different views of the two approaches on the specific field. Furthermore, the categories are policy fields which are important parts of the ideological values of the two approaches. Consequently, if a Green party change its' view from one approach to the other, a transformation has occurred.

Free market economy

The free market economy, or being part of the free global market is the fundamental center of capitalism. Traditional Ecologism reject the capitalistic view all together and proclaims the need for a new system in order to save the planet (Clapp & Devagune 2005:10f; Mol & Spaargaren 2000:20f). This involves changing from a consumer society and rejecting the materialistic world view which capitalism brings about (Carter, 2007:50). Ecological Modernization do not aim to change the entire economic system, but rather to influence and change it towards being more sustainable (Carter 2007:227f ; Mol & Spaargaren 2000:55f).

Economic growth

Traditional Ecologism strongly oppose economic growth as a measure of a country's well-being and proposes that countries should not strive for economic growth (Clapp & Devagune 2005:210f; Mol & Spaargaren 2000:41f). The consumer society which drives the economic growth is viewed as a large factor in the environmental crisis, and hence have to be limited or even stopped (Carter, 2007:48). Ecological Modernization on the other hand propose that economic growth is positive as long as it is achieved in accordance with trying to reduce human impact on the environment and on the climate (Blühdorn 2009:46f; Carter 2007:227f; Mol & Spaargaren 2000:56f).

Trust in technological innovations

Ecological Modernization relies heavily on the need for technological innovations in order to continue the current way of life at the same time as minimizing the human impact on the environment and the climate (Carter 2007:228; Christoff 1996:480f; Foster, 2000:1; Mol & Spaargaren 2000:56). Proponents of traditional ecologism do not make such claims. The human way of life (mainly in industrialized countries), have to change drastically in order to stop the human impact on the planet (Carter 2007:49; Clapp & Devagune 2005:9f). The more fundamentalist deep green groups within the green ideology believe that constant strive for technological development stand in the way of an ecological sustainable world and technological development is viewed as a cause of the ongoing climate crisis (Carter 2007:49). Furthermore, terms like de-modernization, which involves a partial or total dismantling of the industrial system, have been used to stop the reliance of technological progress (Spaargaren & Mol 1992:43f). Nevertheless, in order to be categorized as traditionally Ecological, a party does not have to fully reject technology.

Self-sufficiency

The traditional green ideology from the 1970's-1980's strived for local and small scale societies that live close to nature (Carter 2007:47f). In order to survive, the world has to be self-sufficient and the people have to refrain from non necessities (Carter 2007:49f). This is done by producing all you need locally and to refrain from what you do not need. Ecological Modernization on the other hand does not make these claims to the same extent, but instead embraces new technology and the global market (Carter 2007:227f). Furthermore, proponents of Ecological Modernization argue that technological innovations will allow for transport of goods to become more sustainable over time. Moreover, living standards is not to be limited. Consequently, an Ecologically Modernized Green party should not express a drastic need for self-sufficient local societies.

European Union

The traditional Ecologism advocates that exercise of power should be as inclusive to the people as possible. Hence, traditional Ecologism oppose the supranational exercise of power which for instance the European Union brings about. However, international environmental legislations are advocated (Clapp & Devagune 2005:9f). On the other hand, proponents of Ecological Modernization are more positive towards international cooperation and the increased exchange of knowledge and goods that it brings about (Carter 2007:228). Furthermore, the European Union advocates economic growth with the justification of doing it sustainable(Carter 2007:282f), which

is in line with Ecological Modernization (Blühdorn,2009:46f). The literature on international actors is divided and some argue that Ecological Modernization does not align with supranational influence. However, other studies have shown that the European Union advocate Ecological Modernization (Milanez & Bührs 2007:578f) and that the European Union actually work towards sustainability (Carter 2007:282f). The arguments should be less radical from an Ecological Modernization point of view, which in terms should mean that an Ecologically Modernized Green party should not demand an exit from the Union.

3.3.1 Possible typologies Not Presented in the Study

Decentralization

Both traditional Ecologism and Ecological Modernization strive for decentralization. According to the traditional Ecologism, the world should “think global and act local”. The power should be as close to the people as possible, and the world should be founded on small self-governed societies (Carter 2007:46f). The Ecological Modernization view involves decentralized and flexible states which use soft measures to make production and consumption more sustainable. Cooperation between the governments, the scientist and the industry is advocated as a solution for all countries to become sustainable (Carter 2007:228). Even though the two ideologies strive for different types of decentralization, the similar goal of decentralization makes it fairly hard to separate the two theories. Furthermore, this leads to the exclusion of the decentralization variable in the typology.

Globalization

Traditional Ecologism take a stand against globalization as it limits the strive for small local societies which live close to the nature and the people in the same society (Carter 2007:47f). Globalization is viewed as a contributing factor to the ongoing climate crisis, hence it has to be limited (Clapp & Devagune 2005:9f). On the other hand, advocates of Ecological Modernization claims that globalization is positive as it allows free movement of people and as it contributes to knowledge exchange, which in terms will lead to positive environmental effects (Carter 2007:228). Globalization is not part of the typological framework since the election manifestoes examined did not bring about a continuous discussion on the subject which makes it hard to measure a change. Perhaps globalization is so deeply rooted in the modern society that it is impossible to reject. Furthermore, an approach towards supranationality and international collaboration is studied in the "European Union"-category.

Strive for government participation

In order to reach government, small parties need to cooperate with other parties (Hendrix, Ridder, Rusinowska & Sáiz 2011:408). Since Green parties generally are small, coalition collaborations are crucial if Green parties aim to reach government. Studies indicate that Green parties do not seek to participate in government as frequently as other types of political parties (Dumondi & Bäck 2006:41. Dumondi and Bäck (2006) have studied this phenomenon, asking the question “why so few and why so late?”. The study proclaims that Green parties are not likely to enter a coalition with ideologically different parties (Dumondi & Bäck 2006:53). This makes Green parties unique in comparison to other types of parties. where coalition agreements do not tend to revolve around parties being completely ideologically similar (Debus 2008:61f). Moreover, government participation induces the need to collaborate with other parties, which consequently induces the need for compromise. Historically, Green parties did not view the environmental issue as an arguable matter, which might explain why Green parties are not striving for government participation as frequently as other parties. Moreover, this implies that the view of traditional Green parties align with traditional Ecologism. Accordingly, traditionally Ecological parties should not seek government participation.

On the other hand, Ecological Modernization brings about less radical demands for change which consequently implies increased similarities to traditional political parties. Furthermore, the results of the compromise should not prove as costly for the Green party's ideological viewpoint, which leads to increased possibilities of entering coalitions. Accordingly, Ecological Modernization should bring about the possibility of a Green party entering a coalition and consequently, striving to reach government. However, the strive for government participation is not part of the analytical framework as it is mainly based on speculations.

3.4 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework is presented as a table where the categories are followed by the opinion of the different typologies. The table works as a summary of the fields that differentiates the two typologies.

Table 1) Analytical framework based on the typological categorization

	Traditional Ecologism	Ecological Modernization
Free market economy	Traditional Ecologism reject the capitalistic view all together and proclaims the need for a new system in order to solve the ongoing climate crisis.	Ecological Modernization do not aim to change the entire economic system, but rather to influence it towards becoming more sustainable.
Economic growth	Traditional Ecologism strongly oppose economic growth as a measure of a country's well-being and propose that countries should not strive for economic growth.	Ecological Modernization claim that economic growth can be positive as long as it is achieved sustainably and in accordance with measures that aim to reduce human impact on the environment and on the climate .
Trust in technological innovations	Traditional Ecologism do not rely on technological innovations. The human way of life (in industrialized countries), have to change drastically in order to stop the antropogen impact on the environment. Technology is viewed as a cause of the ongoing climate crisis.	Ecological Modernization rely heavily on the need for technological innovations in order to minimize the environmental impact without changing the current way of life.
Self-sufficiency	Traditional Ecologism claim that human societies needs to go back to being more locally self-sufficient. This is done by producing all you need locally and by refraining from what you do not need.	Ecological Modernization do not rely on self-sufficiency, but instead embraces new technology and the global market with the argument that production and transport will become more sustainable.
European Union	Traditional Ecologism support local exercise of power and aim critique towards supranational organizations. However, cooperation regarding environmental legislations is advocated.	Ecological Modernization have a more positive approach towards international cooperations and advocates knowledge and services

4. Results

The Primary data is, as mentioned in the research design section, divided into two parts. This is because of the mixed methods approach used in the study. The first part includes the quantitative research, in the form of descriptive statistics. This part aims to present whether or not a change in Ecological Modernization has occurred over time. The second part consists of case studies on three Green parties over the years studied. The aim of the second part is to produce a more substantial result since the quantitative data do not enable analysis of the full extent of Ecological Modernization. Furthermore, the secondary aim of the qualitative results is to enable identification of the possible mechanisms in the discussion chapter.

4.1 Quantitative Results - Descriptive Statistics

The quantitative results show the general pattern of all available cases for this study. This result is partly used as an implication that a ideological transformation has occurred and partly used to aid in the qualitative case selection.

Table 2) Basic descriptive statistics on the mean of Ecological Modernization per year

Variable	Number of units	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Ecological Modernization	297	.5423815	.5291181	0	3.875062

(Manifesto project database 2013)

The study includes 297 observations, in other words 297 measurement points. These are the points in time during the measure of a Green party in a specific country, is made. Moreover, the mean describes a combined mean of every year included in this study. The Ecological Modernization among the examined years stretches between 0 and approximately 3.9, and the mean of all years is approximately 0.5. However, the descriptive statistics tells us nothing about when in time the degree of Ecological Modernization varies and why this is.

The mean of Ecological Modernization among European Greens for each year

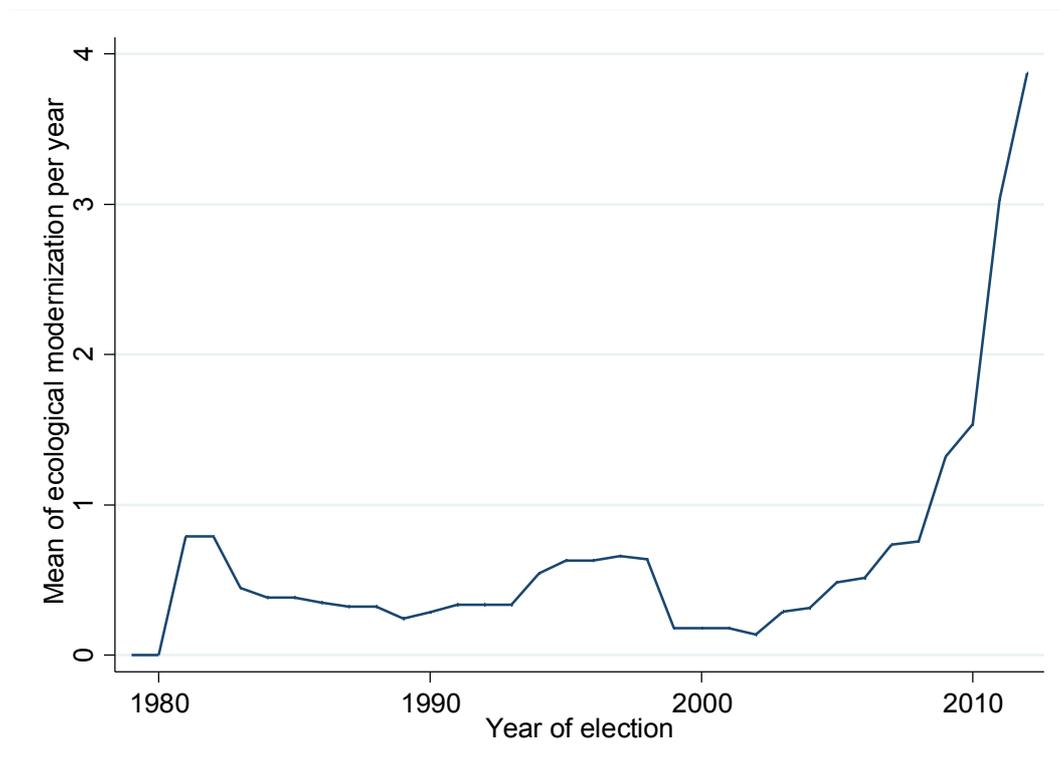


Figure 1) The year of the election is presented on the x-axis, the mean of the Ecological Modernization for all European Greens included in the study is presented on the y-axis. The data is collected from the Manifesto Project database (2013).

It is clear from figure 1 that the mean of Ecological Modernization increases after the year 2000 and in the year 2008-2009 the mean of Ecological Modernization increases substantially, see (figure 1). This is in line with the hypothesis. Furthermore, the relatively high amount of Ecological Modernization pre 1990 is accounted for by the one Green party from Belgium. This does not necessarily mean that the Belgian Greens were early to become Ecologically Modernized but perhaps that they could not be classified as a traditional Ecologism to begin with. As a matter of fact, Belgium has two Green parties and the other one is more traditional in terms of values brought from the traditional green movement. For this to be fully understood, further research is required.

The mean of Ecological Modernization for Ireland, Sweden and Germany for each year

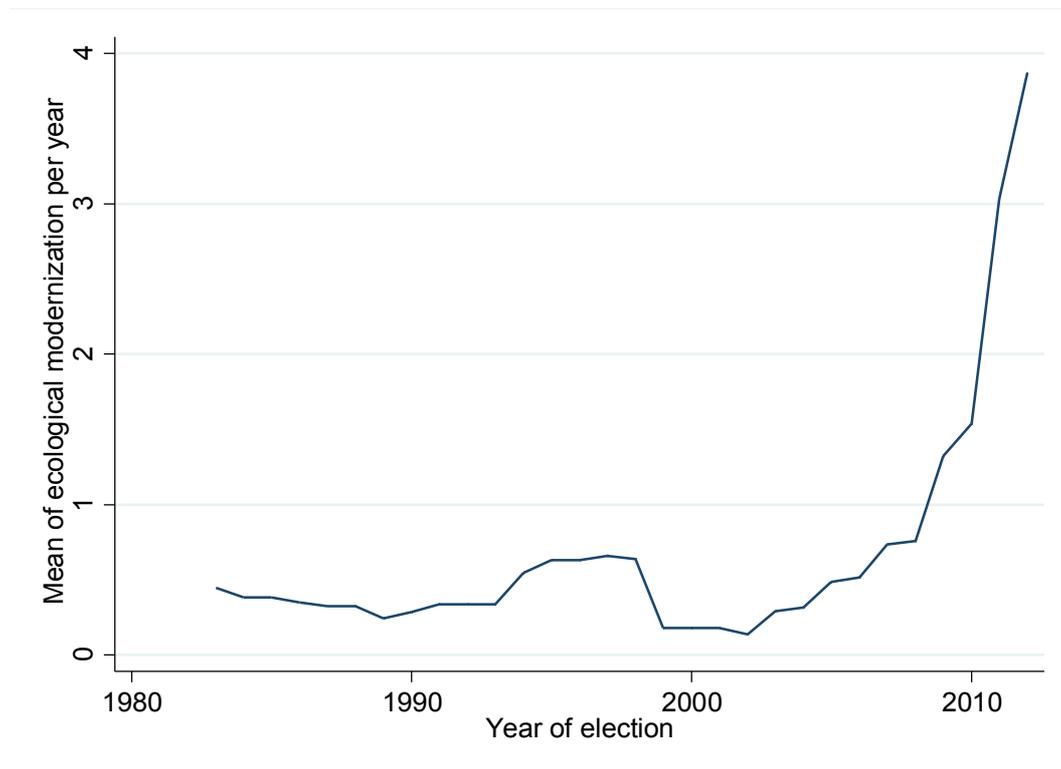


Figure 2) The year of the election is presented on the x-axis, the mean of the Ecological Modernization for Sweden, Ireland and Germany is presented on the y-axis. The data is collected from the Manifesto Project database (2013).

The case selection is, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, based on accessibility and language availability, but if the actual cases did not align with the general pattern of all the countries, the quantitative results would be of no help. The graph above, figure 2, illustrates the increase of Ecological Modernization over time in the three cases selected for this study, see (figure 2). The similarities between figure 1 and figure 2 indicate that the ideological transformation within the three cases are similar to the transformation within all European Greens included in the study. However, this is not fully the case since the available quantitative data that allows for studies of Ecological Modernization is fairly limited. The only typologies found in a quantitative format was opinions on economic growth as well as on the free market economy. These are only parts of the Ecological Modernization theory. Hence, the quantitative research might not accurately represent the actual change towards Ecological Modernization. Furthermore, although the cases selected to be included in the study seem to be representative of all other cases in terms of economic growth and the economic system, the case selection is not random. This means that the results of this study can

only explain what happens within the cases examined in this study. For further generalization, similar studies have to be conducted on the remaining cases.

4.2 Qualitative Results - Case Studies

This section of the result aims to clarify the Green party's political and ideological viewpoint as they go in to an election. The aim is to portray the ideological transformation within the ideal type categories, over the time measured in this study. Since election manifestos sometimes do not mention the factors which are required in this thesis, other data sources will be used as compliment. Party manifestos allows for a deeper and more thorough description of the parties viewpoints. However, as these are released irregularly, it will only be used when the specific manifesto has been released in the time where further clarification is needed.

The magnitude of the election manifestoes differ from country to country. The German and Irish Greens present longer and more in depth election manifestoes compared to the Swedish Greens. Moreover, as the ideal type categories consist of central ideological aspects of a Green party, this is initially not a significant problem. However, as ideological change occurs, the limited space in the Swedish Greens election manifesto brings about an unfair disadvantage. Hence, the need for further information on the Swedish Greens opinion is needed to conduct the study. Consequently, the Swedish Green full party manifesto (2013) is used as complementary data.

4.2.1 Sweden

Free market economy

Initially, the Swedish Greens had a negative approach towards free market economy. The need for radical change regarding the capitalistic system is mentioned in every single election manifesto up until 2002. The tone varies from talking in terms of an apocalyptic world to less drastic effects. However, this variation is not chronological, which means that the aggressiveness varies from election manifesto to election manifesto (Miljöpartiet 1988; Miljöpartiet 1991; Miljöpartiet 1994; Miljöpartiet 1998; Miljöpartiet 2002). In the election manifesto of 2006, the approach changes drastically. At this point in time, free market economy is explained to be so deeply integrated in the modern world that it would do more harm than good to fight it. Negative aspects of the free market economy are still present but it differs substantially from earlier opinions (Miljöpartiet 2006). Moreover, in the 2010 manifesto the opinions continue to change and free market economy is barely mentioned or criticized at all (Miljöpartiet 2010). However, since the Swedish Green Party's election manifestos are so short, the most recent full party manifesto has been used to fill in the

blanks. The party manifesto show a slightly more negative approach towards the free market economy but not at all in the same radical fashion as the earlier election manifesto. Criticism is aimed towards the system but it is clear that the party aims to reform it rather than change it all together (Miljöpartiet 2013). Nevertheless, the fact that the free market economy is not even mentioned in the manifesto, which is supposed to show the party's opinion prior to the 2010 election, implies that their opinion has changed significantly.

Economic growth

Economic growth is described as a factor that contributes to overconsumption and injustice in the world in the earlier election manifestoes. It is clear that the Greens aim to remove economic growth as a measure of wealth and well-being completely and that the constant strive for economic growth has to be limited (Miljöpartiet 1988; Miljöpartiet 1991; Miljöpartiet 1994; Miljöpartiet 1998; Miljöpartiet 2002). However, in 2006 the opinions change drastically. Similarly to the view on the free market economy, the opinion shifts towards seeing it as a necessity although it has its flaws. These flaws should be taken into consideration to make the economic growth sustainable (Miljöpartiet 2006). In the final election manifesto, economic growth is not mentioned at all (Miljöpartiet 2010). Similarly to the opinion on free market economy, the full party manifesto has been used as complementary data. The opinions are more negative towards economic growth in the party manifesto. However, The Swedish Greens show no indication to limit economic growth, but rather an aim to make it more sustainable (Miljöpartiet 2013).

Trust in technological innovations

Up until the 2002 election manifesto, trust in technological innovations to solve the environmental crisis was not presented. It was mainly up to the people to change their way and to live more sustainably. However, the best available technology was advocated in every election manifesto, which can be viewed as a form of technology advocacy. Criticism on genetic and nuclear research is a reoccurring theme in the earlier manifestoes (Miljöpartiet 1988; Miljöpartiet 1991; Miljöpartiet 1994; Miljöpartiet 1998; Miljöpartiet 2002). In the 2006 and 2010 election manifestoes, this changed. The current way of life was to be kept in coherence with new technological innovations, as the current way of life will become more sustainable. Moreover, it is clear that the party now rely on technological progress to be a significant part of the solution in the strive for sustainability (Miljöpartiet 2006; Miljöpartiet 2010). Furthermore, in the full party manifesto, the Swedish Greens show a clear reliance on technological innovation as they present the potential of new technology in

the strive for a sustainable world (Miljöpartiet 2013).

Self-sufficiency

The Swedish Greens advocate a society which lives in harmony with the nature and the party argues for different forms of self-sufficiency between 1988 and 2002. The need for self-sufficiency is presented as a solution to the ongoing climate crisis, and in the 1998 election manifesto the phrase “Think global, act local” is presented (Miljöpartiet 1988; Miljöpartiet 1991; Miljöpartiet 1994; Miljöpartiet 1998; Miljöpartiet 2002). In the 2006 and the 2010 election manifestoes, the approach is different, even though small local business are advocated. It seems as if the reason for self-sufficiency is not only ecological but also economical since the strive for local self-sufficient societies is no longer present. Furthermore, the later election manifestoes present a more positive approach towards local businesses simultaneously as the more positive economical approach (Miljöpartiet 2006; Miljöpartiet 2010). However, the full party manifesto from 2013 advocates aspects of an agricultural self-sufficient society (Miljöpartiet 2013). Although the election manifestoes indicate a more economical approach in the strive for self-sufficiency, the full party manifesto show a slightly different approach by arguing for the ecological benefits of self-sufficient agriculture. In terms, this implies that this is a value which still exists within the party, although not as strongly. Nevertheless, the self-sufficiency presented in the full party manifesto is presented in combination with positive economical aspects.

European Union

The Swedish Greens is skeptical towards the European Union in the election manifestoes between 1988-2002. A clear demand of leaving the Union is present in all of the manifestoes within this timeframe. The European Union is viewed as a supranational organ which limits the possibility of local exercise of power. Furthermore, the European Union is criticized for how it aims to ease the trade and transport within the Union, which have negative impact on the climate and the environment. Moreover, the military cooperation is presented as an additional negative aspect (Miljöpartiet 1988; Miljöpartiet 1991; Miljöpartiet 1994; Miljöpartiet 1998; Miljöpartiet 2002). In 2006 this changes and the Swedish Greens no longer demand exit out of the Union. Instead they want to reform it towards striving for sustainability. Moreover, the positive aspects of of the Union are highlighted and the possibility of international climate legislations and knowledge exchange is advocated (Miljöpartiet 2006). Moreover, in the 2010 election manifesto, the critique is still present but is further diminished which ultimately implies that the Swedish Greens now support the

swedish presence in the Union to a increased degree. The positive aspects of the Union constitutes a significantly larger proportion of the latest election manifesto in comparison to the earlier election manifestoes (Miljöpartiet 2010). Moreover, the 2013 full party manifesto present the same values as the 2010 election manifesto. However, as it is longer and more elaborate, the support of the Union is even more obtrusive, as further positive aspects of the Union is presented. The main negative opinion is the desire for the Union the pursue more active environmental politics (Miljöpartiet 2013).

Summary and further aspects

The major transformation in opinion on the ideal type categories occurs between 2002 and 2006 as the Swedish Greens now aim to keep the economic system and economic growth . Furthermore, the opinion on the European Union also changes in between these election manifestoes as the Swedish Greens no longer aim to leave the Union. Moreover, change in opinion regarding self-sufficiency and technological innovations occurs between these two election manifestoes. Accordingly, the Swedish Greens transform radically in all categories in between the the 2002 and 2006 election manifestoes.

Up until 1994, the Swedish Greens did not show any sign of striving for government participation. However, in the 1994 election manifesto the Swedish Greens see government participation as a way to implement environmental values into national politics (Miljöpartiet 1994). The change is fairly direct, as the earlier manifestoes clearly strive for oppositional influence since the need for compromise is too significant in a coalition collaboration.

4.2.2 Ireland

Free market economy

The free market economy is portrayed as a negative influence on the environment and the climate in the 1992 and the 1997 election program. The economic system needs to be changed in order to limit over consumption and increase justice in the world (Comhaontas Glas 1992; Comhaontas Glas 1997). In 2002, the view is still somewhat critical but arguments on the need for a new economic system are no longer presented. Instead the aim is for the system to change towards becoming more ecologically (Comhaontas Glas 2002). However, in the election program of 2007 the Irish Greens take a radical turn. The discussions no longer revolve around the free market economy's effects on the climate and on the environment, but rather that it being on its way becoming sustainable (Comhaontas Glas 2007). However, in the 2011 election manifesto, the criticism is more visible. It

seems as if the Irish Greens has taken a step back towards being more critical towards the free market economy, although they are not as critical as when the party started. The Irish Greens do not aim to change the system completely but rather to reform it towards being more sustainable (Comhaontas Glas 2011).

Economic growth

Continuous economic growth is criticized heavily in the 1992 election manifesto. Furthermore, economic growth is to be limited as soon as possible (Comhaontas Glas 1992). However, in the 1997 election manifesto the opinion changes and the Irish Greens proposes a continued economic growth as long as it is achieved sustainably (Comhaontas Glas 1997). In 2002, economic growth is still welcomed as long as it is obtained with social and ecologically sustainable measures (Comhaontas Glas 2002). Similarly as in the free market economy-category, the Irish Greens chooses to ignore any further mentions on economic growth in their 2007 election manifesto. This indicates a drastic change within the party (Comhaontas Glas 2007). However, the Irish Greens returns to welcoming economic growth as long as it is obtained sustainably in the 2011 election manifesto (Comhaontas Glas 2011).

Trust in technological innovations

In the 1992 election manifesto the so called “technical worship” is criticized, and the Irish Greens argue that the human race have to step back and change their ways (Comhaontas Glas 1992). Furthermore, in the 1997 manifesto, this critique is not as clear as the Greens advocate scientific and technological progress in terms of environmentally friendly technology. However, the party does not seem to rely on technological innovations to solve the climate crisis (Comhaontas Glas 1997). In 2002, technological reliance is more present as a larger part of the election manifesto is dedicated towards pushing for technological progress to be made (Comhaontas Glas 2002). Moreover, in the 2007 manifesto this strive is the only real solution to climate problems presented in the manifesto. At this point in time the Irish Greens rely on technological innovations to solve environmental and climate-related issues (Comhaontas Glas 2007). The 2011 election manifesto indicate a slightly more environmental approach with a few measures, technological innovation being one of them. The Irish Greens clearly advocate technological progress as a solution to environmental and climate issues in the 2011 election manifesto (Comhaontas Glas 2011).

Self-sufficiency

The election manifestoes between 1992 and 2002 all advocate self-sufficiency as a factor which is required in order to solve the environmental crisis. The strive for self-sufficient local societies is present in all election manifestoes within this time line, even though the legitimization of the opinion is less ecological in 2002 election program (Comhaontas Glas 1992; Comhaontas Glas 1997; Comhaontas Glas 2002). However, in the 2007 election manifesto this changes radically. The need for self-sufficient societies is no longer presented and the party even proposes an environmentally friendly agricultural brand called “Green Ireland” to be exported and sold abroad (Comhaontas Glas 2007). Finally, in the 2011 election manifesto, the positive aspects of self-sufficiency are visible as the party advocate adult education on the benefits of self-sufficiency. Nevertheless, this is the only time self-sufficiency is advocated or even discussed in the 2011 election manifesto. Export of ecologically friendly products is still advocated in the final election manifesto (Comhaontas Glas 2011).

European Union

The approach towards the European Union is similar in the election manifestoes between 1992 and 2002. The opinion is that the European Union contributes with positive possibilities of environmental cooperation and legislation. Consequently, the Irish Greens never propose an Irish exit from the Union. However, in the early manifestoes, the possibilities of a European superstate and the fact that exercise of power is moved further away from the people of Ireland, is criticized (Comhaontas Glas 1992; Comhaontas Glas 1997; Comhaontas Glas 2002). In the 2007 election manifesto, this critique fades out as the discussion seems to be conducted from a national perspective, rather than a Green perspective. This approach involves no criticism towards the Union (Comhaontas Glas 2007). Moreover, the 2011 manifesto indicates some signs of criticism towards the European Union. The critique involves a more democratic approach in the elections for the parliament (Comhaontas Glas 2011). Even though the criticism become less visible in the election manifestoes over time, the party never truly changes opinion on the membership in the Union.

Summary and further aspects

Contrary to the Swedish case, the transformation within the Irish Greens in the different categories do not occur simultaneously in one election manifesto. However, the transformation in the 2007 election manifesto is very substantial and involves all categories. In the final election manifesto, the Irish Greens seem to step back and the election manifesto shows more similarities to the 2002

election manifesto than to the 2007 election manifesto.

The Irish Greens do not initially indicate any interest of being elected into government. The focus is on demanding environmental and climate-related actions from the government that were to be elected. In the second election manifesto (1997) this changed as the Irish Greens present what the party would work towards if they got elected into government. Consequently, this means that the Irish Greens changed their approach immediately after the first election.

4.2.3 Germany

Free market economy

Initially, in 1983 the German Greens blame the free market economy for devouring the natural resources and widening the gap between rich and poor. The emphasis of the blame lays on the most industrialized countries (Die Grünen 1983). The same values are portrayed in the 1987 election manifesto but this time around, the party put more emphasis on social values. In terms, this means that a change in production and consumption must not affect the poor (Die Grünen 1987). Furthermore, the 1994 election manifesto present the same type of criticism as the earlier program, but in a less radical way. The apocalyptic future portrayed in earlier manifestoes, that would occur if radical change is not made, is no longer present in the 1994 election manifesto (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1994). However, in 1998 election manifesto, the German Greens present a different approach towards capitalism. The aim is now to reform it to include social and environmental values, rather than the need of a new economic system (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1998). In the 2005 election manifesto, the attitude changes further. The problem is not the free market economy itself, but rather the approach towards the economy. The solution presented by the German Greens is a decoupling of the economy and ecology. In terms economy and ecology is to be viewed as one unit rather than opposing factors. The German Greens believe that economic progress can be obtained with ecological measures where the market flourishes and consequently contributes to new ecological innovations (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2005). In the same way, the 2009 election manifesto highlights the opportunity of keeping the free market economy with a more ecologically friendly approach. The term green economy is presented to describe this strive for reforming the existing system (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2009).

Economic growth

The term economic growth is not discussed in the 1983 election manifesto. However, the discussion on the radical need for change of the economical system (Die Grünen 1983) indicates a negative

opinion. Furthermore, in the 1987 and in the 1994 election manifestoes the economic growth is presented as a factor that has to be contested. The global attitude, which advocates constant economic growth is a contributing factor to the ongoing ecological crisis (Die Grünen 1987; Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1994). However, the 1998 election manifesto criticizes the sole focus on economic growth and aims to reform the strive for economic growth to a strive for sustainable development. Moreover, this means that the German Greens no longer aim to remove economic growth all together, but rather indicates a focus on heavily reforming it (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1998). In the 2005 election manifesto the concept of economic growth is not lifted (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2005). But in connection to the change in opinion on the economic system, the lack of discussion is most likely due to a less negative attitude. Consequently, in the 2009 election program, economic growth is not to be discouraged. Rather, it should not be confirmable with ecologically unsustainable measures, such as oil and coal. The aim is to make economic growth sustainable (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2009).

Trust in technological innovations

In the 1983 election manifesto, the German Greens show no indication of relying on technological innovations to solve the environmental crisis. However, the best available technology is advocated (Die Grünen 1983). The 1987 manifesto presents a similar criticism as the previous manifesto. The critique is aimed at the current technological situation and fields like generic and nuclear engineering have to be exterminated. Contrary to the 1983 election manifesto, the German Greens now present the belief that automatic mass-production is to be more sustainable in the future and hence is a part of the modern society (Die Grünen 1987). The discussion on technological innovations has become more visible in the 1994 manifesto in comparison to earlier manifestoes. However, the discussion does not imply that the party relies on technological innovations in order to solve the climate crisis. Technological innovations are welcomed, but the German Greens advocate non technological solutions where so is possible (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1994). However, in the 1998 election manifesto the attitude towards technological progress is much more obvious than in previous manifestoes. Many solutions to climate and environmental problems are presented as technological and the continuous process of new technological innovations is supported (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1998). Furthermore, this form of reliance on technological innovations is seen in the 2005 and 2009 election manifestoes as well, as technological solutions take up a larger part of the environmental and climate-related measures presented by the party (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2005; Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2009).

Self-sufficiency

The German Greens advocate self-sufficiency in different ways throughout all of the election manifestoes. The initial arguments are rooted in the strive for local self-governed smaller societies, which in term will be self-sufficient (Die Grünen 1983; Die Grünen 1987). However, in 1994 the German Greens advocate the belief that mass production will be more sustainable in the future. In terms, this will limit the need for self-sufficiency (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1994). Furthermore, the strive for local production has started to change and in the later election manifestoes the opinion evolves into a support for small businesses and local initiatives which in terms might lead to an increased amount of self-sufficiency. Furthermore, the strive for self-sufficiency is present in combination with the positive aspects of trade, which implies that an increase in local production might not only be for self use (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1998; Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2005; Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2009).

European Union

In the 1983 and 1987 election manifestoes, no discussion on whether or not to leave the European Union is presented. However, critique is aimed towards European military cooperations (Die Grünen 1983; Die Grünen 1987). In the 1994 election manifesto, discussions regarding the European Union is present, even though the critique towards the Union is mild in comparison to the other Green parties, at this early stage. There is no implement of leaving the European Union. However, the aim is to open up the Union and to let more members in, to account for more people (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1994). The same mild critique is found in the 1998 election manifesto, and the aim is for the Union to pursue large scale environmental politics (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 1998). Moreover, in the 2005 election manifesto, the German Greens do not criticize the European Union in any way, but rather seen as an instrument towards unifying the member states towards becoming more sustainable (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2005). Similarly, the 2009 election manifesto portray the European Union as a tool in the strive for a sustainable Europe, and no critique is presented (Bündis '90 / Die Grünen 2009).

Summary and further aspects

Compared to the Swedish and Irish Greens, the German Greens transformation is more successive. This is perhaps a result of the longer and more elaborate election manifestoes, where even the opinions which are not the main focus are allowed to be presented. Nevertheless, the German Greens have changed in terms of opinion during the years measured. The most significant change

occur in the 1998 manifesto, but contrary to the other Green parties included in this study, this transformation is more a stepping stone towards further change.

In the 1983 and 1987 election manifestoes, the German Greens criticized the government and demands change in environmental and climate policymaking. The aim seems to be to influence the government from an opposition. However, in the 1994 election manifesto the approach changes as the German Greens propose coalition collaboration with the German Social Democrats. If a coalition is to be entered, the Greens demand serious reformational policies in favor of the environment. Consequently, in the later election manifestoes the German Greens have traded the goal of oppositional influence to a strive for government participation.

5. Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to answer the first research question, "In what way have the European Green parties ideological viewpoint-position changed since the establishment of the Green parties?" The analysis is conducted on the results in coherence with the analytical framework. Consequently, this allows for the hypothesis to be tested. Moreover, at the end of each country-section a summary is presented with the aim to ease in the explanation of potential causes. At the end of the chapter, a compilation of all cases is presented with the aim of portraying the general pattern within all cases included in the qualitative research. However, no further generalizations regarding Green parties are drawn in the analysis chapter. Speculations on whether or not this is possible is left to the discussion chapter.

5.1 Sweden

Free market economy

The Swedish Greens have clearly gone from a more traditional Ecological opinion towards a more Ecologically Modernized view regarding the free market economy. However, it is possible to argue that the lack of discussion regarding the free market economy in the last election manifesto is an indication that the party has changed beyond the border of Ecological Modernization. This is not the case since the full party manifesto fills in the blanks. The full party manifesto includes discussions on the need for a transformation towards a green market economy which implies that the party's opinion is in line with Ecological Modernization. This transformation corresponds with the hypothesis.

Economic growth

In the case of economic growth, the internal transformation is similar to the transformation regarding the free market economy. The main difference is that the opinion seems to change directly, rather than the more gradual change seen in the free market economy-category. Similarly as for the case with the free market economy, the full party manifesto is the only possible way of identifying that economic growth is still viewed as an issue and that the party still strive to reform towards being more sustainable. Correspondingly, the opinion on economic growth transforms from

a traditional Ecological view towards a more Ecologically Modernized view.

Trust in technological innovations

Unlike the Deep Green view, the Swedish Greens never fully rejected technology. However, this does not imply that the transformation is not in line with the hypothesis, but rather that the Swedish Greens view do not align with the views of the fundamentalist groups within traditional Ecologism. Consequently, the Swedish Greens may initially be categorized as traditionally Ecological. Furthermore, a transformation occurs in the later election manifestoes, which indicates that the Swedish Greens has become Ecologically Modernized. Accordingly, the Swedish Greens have transformed correspondingly with the hypothesis.

Self-sufficiency

The Swedish Greens advocate self-sufficiency in different sectors during all the years examined. The Swedish Greens initially seek harmony with nature with the more radical approach that the small scaled and locally governed societies can provide for all their needs locally, indicating that the Swedish Greens initially can be categorized as traditionally Ecological. Although self-sufficiency is advocated throughout the years investigated, the arguments transform from the strive for completely self-sufficient society towards supporting smaller local businesses. Furthermore, the transformation occurs simultaneously as the change in economical viewpoint, which imply that the Swedish Greens not only aim to support the environment but also the economy. The full party manifesto indicates that there is a strive for self-sufficiency but this section is very short. Moreover, small businesses are a main focus in the full party manifesto, which implies that the Swedish Greens have changed from one ideal type to the other. Consequently, the Swedish Greens have transformed from a traditional Ecological opinion towards a more Ecologically Modernized approach.

European Union

On the matter of Swedish presence in the European Union, the Swedish Greens change according to the hypothesis. The fact that the Swedish Greens demanded exit from the European Union clearly indicates that they was of a more traditional Ecological conviction. The gradual transformation towards becoming more accepting of the Swedish presence, with the goal of further reforming the Union, is strictly in line with Ecological Modernization theory.

Summary Swedish Greens

The Swedish Greens have definitely become a case of Ecological Modernization as a change towards Ecological Modernization has occurred in all of the categories. The party went through a significant change within all five of the categories, which is in line with the hypothesis. However, the fact that the Swedish Greens did not initially oppose technology implies that they never shared the opinions of the Deep Green groupations within Ecologism. Nevertheless, the Swedish Greens can initially be categorized as traditionally Ecological and have become more Ecologically Modernized which corresponds with the hypothesis.

Even though the lack of ideological positions presented in the later election manifestoes is complemented with the full election manifesto, it is of importance to state that the function of an election manifesto is to present a party's focus before an upcoming election period. Thus, the exclusion of these values in the election manifestoes, implies that other values are more important to the party. However, the fact that the Swedish Green Party's election manifestoes are short and limited in comparison to the other parties, grants them a form of indulgence. In terms, the complement of the full party manifesto is a requirement in order for the study to not be misleading.

5.2 Ireland

Free market economy

The Irish Greens start off as a traditional Ecological Green party and end in a more Ecologically Modernized fashion regarding the free market economy. However, an unique feature of the Irish Greens is the fact that they change so radically that their view might not even be identified as Ecological Modernization. This radical change brought about criticism within the party which in terms led to important party members leaving the party (Leonard 2010). This factor might have been a reason for the party to return to a more environmentally focused policy. Apart from the 2007 election manifesto, the transformation was rather chronological and in the end the hypothesis is correct, as the party went from a traditional Ecological viewpoint to an opinion similar to Ecological Modernization, regarding the free market economy.

Economic growth

The Irish Greens view on economic growth changes in the same pattern as their opinion on the free market economy. It is possible to argue that the Irish Greens attempted to strive for Ecological Modernization but ended up taking it too far. Struggling with internal conflicts later led to the Irish Greens stepping back towards a more classical Ecological Modernization. Similarly as in the case

of free market economy the hypothesis is correct, and the transformation from the traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization takes a detour.

Trust in technological innovations

The Irish Greens' approach towards trust in technological innovations transforms from a traditional Ecological viewpoint towards Ecological Modernization. Furthermore, the Irish Greens is the only party in this study that initially can be categorized as Deep Green in this category. The lack of environmental affiliation in the 2007 election manifesto leads to technological innovations being the only measure that can potentially solve what was previously described as the environmental crisis. Furthermore, the discussions regarding technological measures do not take up a large part of the election manifesto, and the reasons are not always coupled with environmental progress, which implies that the transformation is not in line with Ecological Modernization theory. However, since the Irish Greens returns to a more environmental approach in the 2011 election manifesto, with technological innovation as the main measure presented, the hypothesis can be confirmed.

Self-sufficiency

Initially, the Irish Greens show a clear strive for local self-sufficient societies which is in line with the traditional Ecological viewpoint. However, the radical change made in the 2007 election manifesto oppose the strive for self-sufficiency by proposing an ecologically locally produced brand of merchandise to be exported into Europe. This is completely in accordance with Ecological Modernization. The return to self-sufficiency is seen in the last election manifesto, but constitutes only a small part of the election program. The combination of the continued arguments on export of locally produced merchandise, and the more positive approach towards the market economy, implies that the Irish Greens has become Ecologically Modernized. Thus, the Irish Greens have transformed in line with the hypothesis.

European Union

The attitude towards the European Union has never been in line with the traditional Ecological ideology. Rather, a transformation from heavy critique on the supranational centralization of power towards a more accepting approach is made. It is possible to argue that the early critique is corresponding with environmental values but as the membership is never questioned, it is impossible to state that Irish Greens and the traditional Ecologism shares the same view on the European Union. This implies that the Irish Greens initially had an Ecologically Modernized view.

Moreover, the identified change does not involve criticism towards the supranational exercise of power, which implies that the opinion on the European Union does not correspond with Ecological Modernization. The transformation of the Irish Greens does not align with the hypothesis. On the contrary, the transformation is from a rather Ecologically Modernized view towards something not discussed in this thesis. The opinions presented in the later manifestoes are more similar to non environmental parties. However, further research is required in order to fully understand the approach presented in the later election manifestoes.

Summary Irish Greens

The general change within the Irish Greens is not as clear compared to the Swedish Greens. Initially, the Irish Greens show a traditional Ecological view in four of the five categories. However, the transition towards Ecological Modernization is not as smooth as for the Swedish Greens. The Irish Greens changed significantly in a way that seemed to go beyond Ecological Modernization and in accordance with Leonard (2010), this was an attempt to reach government by entering a coalition. However, the result was a disintegration of the party which resulted in a poor election result in the 2011 election. The 2011 election manifesto, which was published without having to collaborate with a coalition partner, had a larger focus on environmental and climate issues, which might have been an attempt to redeem themselves for the Green voters. Nevertheless, this final election manifesto show clear similarities to Ecological Modernization, thus indicating a transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization. The fact that the transformation initially went beyond Ecological Modernization is discussed in the discussion chapter. Furthermore, the approach towards the European Union did never align with the hypothesis as the transformation went from Ecological Modernization to something beyond this study. This is also examined further in the discussion-chapter.

5.3 Germany

Free market economy

Regarding the opinion on the free market economy, the German Greens is a perfect example of the transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization. Initially the German Greens mainly blame the industrialized countries and the capitalistic economy for the increasing environmental and social crisis. This is completely in line with traditional Ecologism. In contrast, the German Greens portray capitalism as a part of the solution in the later manifestoes, and aims to reform it by making it more sustainable. This on the other hand, is completely in line with

Ecological Modernization. Hence, the internal transformation within the German Greens regarding the free market economy, is completely in line with the hypothesis.

Economic growth

In contrast to the frequently occurring discussions on the free market economy, discussions on economic growth do not occur as often. However, when discussions occur the German Greens initially aimed to limit economic growth and in the later manifestoes they want to reform it. Hence, implying that a transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization has occurred. Moreover, the German Greens frequently discuss the economic system which might be viewed as involving economic growth. Nevertheless, The ideological transition is clear and the hypothesis is correct.

Trust in technological innovations

Similarly as in the categories free market economy and economic growth, the German Greens go through a transformation which is in line with the hypothesis regarding the trust in technological innovations to solve environmental and climate issues. However, the transformation is not as clear as in the previous two categories. Contrary to the opinions of the Deep Green groupations within Ecologism, the German Greens never reject technology at any given point. Moreover, the German Greens initially insist upon the use of available technology but the party still push the need for human lifestyle change. Furthermore, in the later program the German Greens advocate technological and scientific progress as an important factor in the solution to the environmental crisis, which is in line with Ecological Modernization. Consequently, the German Greens transform from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization, in line with the hypothesis.

Self-sufficiency

The concept of self-sufficiency is initially presented in form of local self-rule and self-government, which in terms can be linked to traditional Ecologism. Moreover, the German Greens strive for small self-sufficient societies. However, the transition into supporting small business is harder to label. On one hand, a wide variety of local businesses can provide for all the needs in a local society. On the other hand, the business can generate turnover, which in terms will lead to economic growth and promote the free market economy. This implies that small business support can both be part of traditional Ecologism and Ecological Modernization. Nevertheless, the later election manifestoes demonstrates a support for the free market and economic growth, which in terms

implies that the strive for local businesses correlate with the strive for economic gain. To conclude, as the German Greens now seem to strive for self-sufficiency with an economic ulterior motive, a change has occurred. The German Greens have in fact gone from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization.

European Union

The case of the German Greens opinion transformation regarding the European Union is similar to the transformation within the Irish Greens. Consequently, the German Greens' opinion on the European Union do not align with the hypothesis. Since a demand for leaving the European Union is absent, the party have never been in line with traditional Ecologism. However, the initial critique that was aimed towards the military cooperation might be preceded as an argument against the supranationality. The willingness to reform and change the Union is more in line with Ecological Modernization. Similarly to the Irish Greens, the German Greens went from an Ecologically Modernized approach towards becoming something that is outside of the frames for this study. Further research will have to determine why this transformation has occurred.

Summary German Greens

The transformation within the German Greens is fairly aligned with the hypothesis aside from the opinion on the European Union. The transformation regarding free market economy and economic growth is strictly in line with hypothesis. The acceptance of the free market economy with the urge to reform it occurred in 1998 and this might be because of the entrance into a coalition collaboration with the German Social Democrats (Dryzek & Downes & Schlosberg & Hernes 2003:38). The trust in technology follows the hypothesis but the initial acceptance and the comparatively early approval of technology implies that the German Greens did never have a fundamentalist Deep Green view regarding technological innovations. Nevertheless, the ideological transformation in the category of technological innovations aligns with the hypothesis. Furthermore, a different rhetoric is used by the German Greens compared to the Swedish and Irish Greens when discussing self-sufficiency. However, the initial strive for smaller self-sufficient local govern societies, are the same in all the cases, and this indicate that the German Greens ideological transformation align with the hypothesis. The European Union on the other hand, do not qualify within the ideal types of this study. This might be because of the general German attitude towards the Union. However, this will be problematized further in the discussion.

5.4 General Change

Initially the Green parties correspond with the traditional Ecological world view and in the end they generally correspond with Ecological Modernization. Moreover, in four of the ideal type categories the result from all cases is consistent with the hypothesis. The view on free market economy, economic growth, trust in technological innovations and self-sufficiency has gone from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization. Regarding trust in technology, Ireland was the only country which fully rejected technology initially. However, all of the cases highlighted the need for change in human way of life and that technology brought about problematic features which affected the environment negatively. This implies that all cases align with the hypothesis, as a transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization has occurred. Although, the Irish case indicated a more radical Ecological viewpoint. On the contrary, the category regarding the European Union proved the opposite as two of the cases started in a more Ecologically Modernized fashion and ended up outside of the boundaries of the study. However, the Swedish case still correlated with the hypothesis on the European Union.

6. Discussion

The first aim of this chapter is to discuss the analysis from a real world perspective, in an attempt to illuminate potential answers to the second research question, why the internal transformation has occurred. The second part of this chapter discusses the different methodological, theoretical and data related choices made in the study. The aim of this part of the discussion is to problematize the research design, the theoretical framework and the data used in the study. Accordingly, this allows for discussions on what the study actually can prove, and what could have been done differently.

6.1 Result and Analysis

A possible explanation to why all cases have become more Ecologically Modernized is that a potential wave of Ecological Modernization has swept over Europe. Consequently, this would imply that a natural transformation from traditional Ecologism has occurred. As technological development advances, the potential of green technology might exceed the harm that is was previously viewed to cause. Furthermore, as more parties throughout Europe changed their approach, other parties might be influenced towards making a similar change.

Moreover, a less radical approach towards the need for change, brings forth the possibility of a larger voter support, which in terms results in larger parliamentary influence. Correspondingly with the Median Voter Theorem (Holcombe 1989:5f), this would imply that a party, similarly to the private sector, aim to satisfy the voter requests in order to increase their parliamentary influence. Although, it is of importance to illuminate the potential of oppositional influence as well, parliamentary influence is more direct. Accordingly, this direct policy influence might be an attractive feature for a small party.

This brings about the next potential reason for the ideological transformation within the cases examined. Perhaps the change within the parties has occurred in a strive to reach government. In order for a small party to reach government, a coalition collaboration has to be entered. Moreover, this implies that ideological values have to be sacrificed in order to cooperate with another party, and these sacrifices are significantly larger if a party is traditionally Ecological in comparison to if a party advocate Ecological Modernization. Perhaps do the Green parties not only

change the ideological approach in order to get more parliamentary influence but also as a strive towards reaching government participation.

If this hypothesis is to be tested on the cases included in this study, the results corresponds with the strive for government. All cases have entered coalitions and in term government at different points in time. Furthermore, the coalition collaboration came following internal ideological transformation in accordance with the hypothesis.

The German Greens reached government as early as 1998, and interestingly enough, it was during this year the most significant change between two election manifestoes was noticed. However, it is of importance to mention that the German Greens did transform gradually before the 1998 election manifesto. Moreover, up until the 1994 election manifesto the German Greens aimed to influence policy making from the opposition, but in 1994 the party proposed a coalition collaboration with the Social Democrats.

Furthermore, the Irish Greens present a similar change prior to being elected into government. The Irish Greens had no intent of striving for government participation in the first election manifesto. However, this changed as early as the second election manifesto. Moreover, the Irish Greens proceeded the shift towards Ecological Modernization early on. Moreover, the party went into a coalition collaboration prior to the 2007 election, which brought about a significant ideological change that went beyond the boundaries of the study, as the party lost its' environmental focus all together. However, after being elected, the Irish Greens rapidly lost high ranking members that argued that the party had lost its way, which led to an internal crisis within the party. The party transformed back towards a more environmental policy plan, in line with Ecological Modernization. However, the effort was too late and the Irish Greens lost a significant amount of voter support.

The Swedish Greens on the other hand did not reach government within the time limits of the study. A coalition collaboration with the Social Democrats and the Left-wing socialist party was entered in 2010, but the Red-Green coalition lost the election. However, beyond the boundaries of the study, the Swedish Greens and the coalition with the Social Democrats won the election of 2014. Similarly to the other cases, the Swedish Greens initially strived for oppositional influence and showed no intent of entering a coalition in order to reach government. However, in the 1994 election manifesto this changed as the Greens portrayed government participation as a way of implementing environmental values into national politics.

What is clear from all cases included in this case study, is that a general transformation from traditional Ecologism towards Ecological Modernization has occurred. Furthermore, all cases have entered coalition collaboration with the intent of reaching government. The correlation between ideological transformation and the strive for government participation is undoubtable, but

alternatively to the previously stated hypothesis, the transformation towards Ecological Modernization might have come prior to the strive for government participation. This would imply that the ideological transformation did not have ulterior motives and that the possibility of increased influence in the parliament, and perhaps the possibility government participation, just happened to align with the Green ideological transformation. Furthermore, as the Green parties included in the qualitative study do not express any reason for the ideological transformation, this hypothesis can not be confirmed. Nevertheless, further research is needed in order to discuss the probability of this hypothesis.

To conclude the discussion on ideological transformation in relation to the strive for government participation and increased parliamentary influence, the phrase “What came first, the chicken or the egg?” springs to mind. Even though the correlation between the ideological transformation and the strive for office is clear, it is impossible to assure if one infused the other, as the evidence is too limited in this study. However, the study implies that there might be a relationship worth studying further.

The reason for the Swedish and German initially more positive approach towards technology might be explained by Compston and Bailey (2008) that describe Sweden and Germany as two countries which always aimed to be frontrunners in environmental technology (Compston & Bailey 2008). Perhaps the national approach affects the parties' opinions on technology. Furthermore, full rejection of technology is not a requirement within traditional Ecologism, but rather an opinion common among the the more fundamental Deep Green groupations within traditional Ecologism. Furthermore, the advocacy of the best available technology has been an important part of green ideology since presented in the "Brundtland Report" published by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. Consequently, the difference between the Swedish and German cases, which initially advocated the best available technology, and the Irish case, which initially reject technology all together, all fall within the ideal type "Traditional Ecologism". The difference in opinions within traditional Ecologism is similar to the internal conflict between "Realos" and "Fundis" within the German Greens, portrayed by Dryzek et. al. (2006). If this analogy were to be transferred on this study, the German and Swedish Greens would be characterized as "Realos" and the Irish Greens would be characterized as "Fundis", regarding approach towards technology. Nevertheless, no case initially show any indications of relying on technological innovations to solve the environmental crisis, and as all cases change towards presenting technological innovations as an important feature in the strive for sustainability, the conciliation is that the transformation within this category align with the hypothesis.

A potential reason for this deviation from the hypothesis regarding approach towards the European Union might be the national approach. Since Germany (at that time West Germany) was one of the nations which were involved in the establishment of the Union, this might affect the entire approach towards the Union. Furthermore, Ireland was one of the first nations to join the European Union after the establishment. The long involvement in the European Union might have reduced the urge to demand exit. On the contrary, the Swedish Greens joined the European Union twenty years later than the Irish Greens, and initially show a significantly more critical approach towards the national presence in the Union. Moreover, the Swedish case transforms within the lines of the hypothesis and comes to accept the Swedish presence within the European Union, with an urge to reform it. Nevertheless, the national approach might perhaps be significant enough to overshadow the internal ideological viewpoint. Perhaps a study of other supranational influence apart from the European Union would have proved more beneficial in this study. Nevertheless, the ideological transformation within two of the cases, regarding the approach towards the European Union, do not align with the hypothesis.

6.2 Methodology, Theory and Data

Election manifestos are selected as the main data since the study aims to study ideological change. Moreover, the opinions presented in the election manifestoes represent a party's ideological approach before a specific election. This allows for studies of what the different parties deem most important prior to each election. The results of the study might have been different if it was conducted on the actual policy making, in the form of policy-proposals and parliamentary votes. However, this might not have given any result as many Green parties initially aimed to influence the policy making from an influential opposition rather than making own policy proposals as part of a government coalition (Dumonti & Bäck 2006). Consequently, more practical studies of the actual actions taken towards policy making, will perhaps not allow for studies of the entire "lifetime" of the Green parties. Furthermore, as the aim of this study is to understand the ideology behind the party and the way it changes, strictly ideological documents are optimal for this specific study.

Even though the cases selected for the study are correlated with the mean result of the full quantitative study, the case selection is strategic and not random. This implies that the study can only confirm a transformation within the cases examined. Hence, the results can not be generalized upon all European Green parties. However, the study increases the knowledge on the cases included in the study. Furthermore, this knowledge might be applicable on further cases, which is discussed in the "Result and Analysis"-section of the discussion. However, this requires further research.

The main limitations of the analytical framework is the lack of accounting for opinions that is beyond the boundaries of the theories used in the study. This is the case in the "European Union"-category. However, since the ideal type framework allows for the confirmation that a specific case belongs in neither of the ideal types, and since the aim of the study is to test the hypothesis, this limitation does not affect the result of the study.

7. Conclusions

The general transformation identified within the parties included in the case studies align with the hypothesis. Furthermore, thirteen of the fifteen ideal type categories examined within the three cases confirm the hypothesis. On the contrary, in the case of approach towards the European Union, the Irish and German cases never align with the hypothesis. A feasible explanation for this deviation from the hypothesis is the national approach, as both countries have been members of the European Union early on.

The case selection is not random, nor is it based on explaining the cases which seem to vary the most. This implies that the study only proves the transformation within the cases included in the study. Further research has to be conducted in order to confirm a general increase in Ecological Modernization throughout the European Green parties. Nevertheless, indications to why the transformation has occurred is present in the discussion and indicate that Green parties might transform towards Ecological Modernization as a way of striving for increased parliamentary influence or even government participation. Even though all cases included in the study initially rejected the aim of reaching government, every case changed their opinion and eventually ended up in government. Clear implications on this strive for increased policy influence, at the expense of having to negotiate on environmental policy, is seen in this study. However, in order to prove that increased policy influence is the reason behind the ideological transformation, further research is required.

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