

**The Hegemony of Green Capitalism:  
A critique of the imaginary that the environmental  
crisis can be solved by capitalism**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis identifies the increasingly hegemonic narrative surrounding green capitalism, what the narrative entails and how the discourse may manifest materially in policies and development programs. Specifically, the thesis explores how the narrative of green capitalism and green growth is expressed in the discourse in communication in the case of P4G – Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030.

While P4G presents itself as a successful initiative for partnerships promoting sustainability, critical discourse analysis revealed the agenda to be one maintaining and enabling the hegemony of capitalism, albeit as ‘green’ capitalism. Thereby, P4G promotes a certain kind of ‘sustainable development,’ which effectively means the expansion of green capitalism and a marketization of the SDGs. The critical discourse analysis is supported by theory about ideology, power and hegemony, which all are relevant to understand the workings of the discourse. Green capitalism works as a naturalised and hidden ideology. This naturalisation, as if it was a natural unspoken fact of life, serves to depoliticise green capitalism and maintain its hegemony.

Situated in critical environmental sociology, the research offers a critical approach to the prevailing belief in culture and politics that capitalism can solve the problems of the environmental crisis.

Keywords: Green capitalism, green growth, public-private partnerships, hegemony, ideology, power.

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## Acronyms

3GF	Global Green Growth Forum
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDI	Commitment to Development Index
CGD	Center for Global Development
COP	Conference of the Parties
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DCCC	Danish Council on Climate Change
DMC	Domestic material consumption
EEA	European Environment Agency
EMT	Ecological Modernisation Theory
ENS	Energistyrelsen
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	The European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GGGI	Global Green Growth Institute
GHG	Greenhouse Gas (emissions)
GNI	Gross National Income
IPBES	The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCE	New Climate Economy
NDC	Nationally Determined Contributions
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P4G	Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030
SDGs	(UN) Sustainable Development Goals
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNEP	The United Nations Environment Program
UNGA	UN General Assembly
VNR	Voluntary National Review
WEF	World Economic Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introducing the topic of the thesis

In the fall of 2018 I was invited to give a short speech at an event<sup>1</sup> on the Sustainable Development Goal 12 (SDGs) on responsible consumption and production together with representative from Grøn Forskel<sup>2</sup> (Green Difference) and one from the European Environment Agency<sup>3</sup> (EEA). I spoke about the exploitation of people and planet, the limited power of the consumer and how focus on individualised responsibility derails the discussion and removes focus away from the primary cause contributing to the environmental crisis, namely capitalism. After the event, a friend of mine, who was attending, complimented my talk, but went on to ask why I had to use the word ‘capitalism’. She told me it seemed radical – that it might put people off. How does one answer a question like this? It is, after all, the predominant economic system<sup>4</sup> of the world today and has been the prevalent economic organisation of Western societies for centuries. Naming capitalism politicises both capitalism itself and its causal relationship to the environmental crisis. The urgency of the crisis requires large-scale and cross-political action. Due to this fact, it is a comforting narrative to believe that environmental action is not dependent on a particular political or ideological stance. However, the depoliticisation of both capitalism and the environmental crisis serves a particular function - to obscure the conflicts and power dynamics inherent in the current system, namely capitalism (Wanner 2015: 36).

When we read about climate change and the environmental crisis in media, we find large and detailed accounts of the problems and emphasis on the limited time to act. The environmental agenda has become mainstream, as 97% of the world’s scientists agree that global warming is happening, and humans are the cause of it (Diaz et. al. 2019; IPCC 2018; Swyngedouw 2011: 262). It is said that we have 12 years to curb climate change. This timeframe is reflected in the SDGs Agenda 2030, as well as calculations published in the report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2018; SDG n.d.).

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<sup>1</sup> The event was part of a series with an event on each of the seventeen SDGs created by the organisations Nyt Europa and Global Fokus (Nyt Europa 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Rikke Harbo Trikker.

<sup>3</sup> Lars Mortensen.

<sup>4</sup> Capitalism is the primary economic system in the world today. What capitalism entail can be described as follows: “Capitalism is a social system based on the creation of surplus value (what we can call, with some simplification, profit) from the purchase of labor-power. The investment of surplus value in order to realize additional surplus value is the circuit of capital, expressed by Marx as  $M \rightarrow C \rightarrow MP/LP \rightarrow C' \rightarrow M + \Delta M$ . Capitalists do not begin with useful or exchangeable things [...] It is a social relationship between people who sell their labor and those who buy it, resulting in a sustained motion: surplus value that creates additional surplus value [...] Most people who work live on the commodity circuit: They sell their capacity to work (their one commodity) and exchange their wages for food and rent, continually recreating their capacity to work.” (Stoll 2014: 372). Capital is thence generated through the fictitious commodification of labour and land and is not about mere exchange or barter (Polanyi 2001; Stoll 2014).

Framed as a response to the environmental crisis and climate change, environmental narratives are incorporated into the modernization project as ‘green growth’ (Dale et. al. 2016: 2). The discourse of green growth is ubiquitous in contemporary political approaches to the environmental crisis. Intergovernmental political institutions such as the United Nations (UN), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), and the World Bank promote the agenda of green growth (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 2; Wanner 2015: 22, 28). Green growth, and with it green capitalism, is sanctioned as technical and financial assistance to the Global South and endorsed through constructing and distributing knowledge on green growth globally (Wanner 2015: 28, 29). Accordingly, green growth is written into the SDGs as the supposed pathway to achieve the 17 goals (Hickel & Kallis 2019; 1, 15; SDG n.d.). This approach to sustainability and development is also evident in the Danish government’s climate initiative and their SDG action plan (Danish Government 2017), in which they emphasise the importance to focus on new business opportunities for corporations to work with the SDGs (Ibid.). Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen presents Denmark as an exemplar of the opportunities a green growth agenda makes possible, arguing that the case of Denmark demonstrates that growth and sustainability are compatible. This can be seen as an attempt to promote himself and Denmark as green profiles, to recover from the unsuccessful results of the COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009 (Andersen & Gjerding 2018c).

*“It is possible to become greener and richer at the same time. [...]*

*We are a living example of the fact that you can combine economic growth and sustainability.”<sup>5</sup>*

This is the core narrative of the international initiative P4G – Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030, a fund and platform for incubating, facilitating and funding public-private partnerships. P4G drives forth an agenda based on the idea of green growth and argues that businesses are essential agents in achieving the SDGs and the Paris Agreement. The communication – justifications – of P4G are embedded in capitalist, specifically green capitalist, ideology, while the aims and objectives of P4G represent a new frontier of expansion of capitalism into the realm of sustainable development. The discourse revolves around green growth, green capitalism, green consumerism, and decoupling growth from the impacts on climate, all of which take an ecological modernist approach to the environmental crisis. While it seems the Danish government is of the opinion that P4G, the government’s climate initiative and SDG action plan, represent significant transition, experts are of a different opinion (92-Group 2018; Ibsen 2018; DCCC 2018). What needs to be explicit in this debate are the different perspectives of what constitutes major shift or transformation, what is systemic change, and what is ‘business as usual’.

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<sup>5</sup> Lars Løkke Rasmussen, quoted in Hell, 2018.



According to Foster et. al. (2010), Hickel and Kallis (2019), Smith (2015), Wright and Nyberg (2015) and many others, capitalist expansion, the capitalist mode of production, cannot offer a solution. Rather, this economic system poses a great threat to the Earth system because of planetary overload, what Foster calls the global ecological rift, drawing on Marx (Foster et. al. 2010: 17, 18). Thus, they hold the notion that climate change demands a re-examination of the core structures and systemic issues of our global society. The environmental crisis is not a mere 'problem' for which we can find a simple 'solution'.

These two conflicting beliefs about capitalism show a clear divergence of perceptions of the agenda and impacts of green growth; whether the approach can provide solutions and mitigation to the environmental crisis and thereby change the course we are headed, or whether it may actually deepen the issues we face. As discourses shape our worldviews, how we understand ourselves causalities and correlations (Fairclough 2013, they have material effects that manifest in our response to problems such as the environmental crisis. This pertains not just to solutions presented, but also to whether we are expecting not-yet invented technology to fix it, what actors are involved and heard and what systems prevail. As depoliticisation is a form of power and as ideology is at its most successful when considered a natural fact (Fisher 2009), what is not named or spoken of becomes important to uncover. This is illustrated by what my friend told me that day, that calling capitalism by its name, to problematize it, to be critical of it is radical – that it would be better to not mention capitalism, is exactly the expression of internalised naturalised ideology, of a hegemony that is stronger when it is seen as natural fact, not a system that can be changed or even a danger to our future.

In this thesis, I explore the cultural and political hegemonic perception that capitalism is the most viable way to respond to current global issues of sustainability as explicit and hidden ideology presented in the communication and documents by P4G. Discourses represent, create, and naturalise ideology – which is manifested in actions, policies, and behaviour with material effects on the real world for people, other species, and environment (Fairclough 2013: 57). Through critical discourse analysis I engage with the text-level, the discursive, and the social practice in order to expose the naturalised ideology and the hegemonic beliefs the project represents (Ibid.). Perceptions of the role of the state in the global capitalist economy present an interesting and very important aspect when researching how the environmental crisis is being addressed in P4G documents. The research into P4G, the role of state, business, and civil society in relation to the SDGs and the Paris Agreement creates the basis for the discussion of green capitalism as a means to provide a sustainable and prosperous future for all people in the world. The thesis is an investigation of hegemonic beliefs and ideologies and a point from which to discuss questions such as: where does the hegemony come from, why is it so prevalent, and can we actually rely on capitalism to solve environmental and social crises. With the thesis I aim to challenge the myth that the capitalist/neoliberal system, vis-à-vis the agenda of green growth, is the way to achieve the SDGs, and that it is merely the neutral, value-free, factual nature of society.

## 1.2 Aim and purpose

The line of inquiry I aim to follow is an exploration of why we look to capitalism to solve the problem of the environmental crisis. It is a theoretical and empirical critical examination of green capitalism in the environmental crisis through an illustrative case study looking at P4G in the context of Denmark.

An indispensable task of research is to challenge harmful structures in our society, expand our horizons and re-shape our perceptions. As such, the intention with this research is to add to the body of human ecology and critical environmental sociology offering a critical approach to the prevailing belief in culture and politics that capitalism can solve the problems of the environmental crisis.

## 1.3 Research question

- How is hegemony of green capitalism expressed in the political sphere, in the case of P4G?
- In what ways does the conviction persist that green capitalism, consistent with green growth theory, has the potential to ‘solve’ the environmental crisis?
- How is the faith in green capitalism problematic?

## 1.4 Structure of the thesis

To answer my research questions, I am using the political initiative P4G as a case representative of a particular kind of strategy for how to address the SDGs and Paris Agreement, which is embedded in a naturalised ideology of capitalism. A critical discourse analysis is carried out on P4G’s public documents. Secondary sources are used to gain a deeper understanding of the case, including communication from the Danish government, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and critical investigative journalistic articles by the Danish newspaper *Information*. Other sources that contribute to contextualising P4G and the hegemony of capitalism framed as green growth and green capitalism, are reports by various other organisations and institutions, such as Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI) and World Economic Forum (WEF) referenced and recommended by P4G on their website, and in documents.

I begin the thesis by providing some background information on context of Denmark and the P4G case, describing what it is and does. I introduce the focus of the initiative; that the SDGs can be achieved through public-private partnerships, and I address criticism of P4G and other sustainable initiatives taken by the Danish government.

In the section following the background, I discuss the theoretical concepts and frameworks that have informed and guided the thesis. I move on to introducing my methodology and methods, in which I elaborate on my position and epistemological stance, the selection of material regarding the P4G case, and the methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA). I go on to present the analysis, and discuss the findings from CDA. To strengthen the analysis of the hegemony of capitalism as an instrument to solve the environmental crisis, I will lift the discussions and findings from the P4G case to a larger macro-level discussion of capitalism, green capitalism, and green growth. In my conclusion, I synthesise the key points of the thesis, discuss the contributions of the research, and answer my research questions.

## 2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

In this section I introduce the Danish political context, Danish development system, and approach to the SDGs and climate action. The purpose of this section is to situate the case study within a broader context of the Danish policy and economic environment. Following that, I present P4G as well as the criticism of the Danish climate plan and the action plan for the SDGs and P4G from media and NGOs.

### 2.1 The Danish political context - Climate and sustainability response in Denmark

#### 2.1.1 The Danish economy and political context

Denmark is a democratic country with an elected parliament representing different parties. With a population of 5,771,000 inhabitants (Worldometers n.d.), Denmark is quite small compared to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) worth 324.87 billion US dollars, which represents 0.52 percent of the world economy (numbers from 2017, TradingEconomics n.d.). Of the world's largest economies, including companies, Denmark figures on the 41<sup>st</sup> place (Oxfam 2016). The Danish economy is very dependent on foreign trade. In 2017 export of goods and services amounted to almost 55% of GDP, US\$ 177.5<sup>6</sup>, while import was about 47% of GDP (Statistikbanken 2019). Denmark is host to a number of multinational corporations with great international presence, such as Maersk, Arla Foods, Novo Nordisk, Carlsberg, Danish Crown, Vestas, Danfos, Bestseller, and Lego, all with annual revenue ranging from the millions to billions of US\$ (Kongskov & Laugesen 2018). The Danish corporate presence globally is disproportionately large compared to the size of the country and number of citizens.

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<sup>6</sup> DKK 1.188 Mil / €159 Mil, May 20<sup>th</sup> 2019.

As a member of the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) Denmark holds a certain level of influence geopolitically, despite its small size. Denmark is also part of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and was among the founding countries and signatory of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 (MFA n.d.c).

### 2.1.2 Danish International Development Agency (Danida)

Denmark is known to be a nation involved in development aid and work across the world. Danida is the name of the Danish development cooperation and is an area of activity under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the body responsible for planning, implementation, and quality assurance of Danish development activities (MFA n.d.a).

Denmark grants 0.72 per cent of the Gross National Income (GNI), which in 2016 amounted to roughly €2.13 billion<sup>7</sup> in development assistance (CGD n.d.; MFA n.d.a). Since the Second World War Denmark has been a noteworthy contributor and played a significant role in international development since the first law on assistance was passed in 1962 with the aim to “combat fighting poverty through promotion of human rights and economic growth.” (MFA n.d.a). In 2017 Denmark was ranked the highest on the Commitment to Development Index (CDI) evaluation by Center for Global Development (CGD) of the world’s richest countries efforts to generate development in the poorest countries (MFA 2017), albeit, in 2018 Denmark got second place after Sweden (CGD 2018). This goes to illustrate the proactive role of Denmark internationally.

### 2.1.3 The Danish government’s plan for climate action, the SDGs and the Paris Agreement

Denmark is simultaneously considered a leading country within sustainability, while at the same time, it is argued that Denmark is too small a country for any climate action to have an impact on a global scale (Larsen & Lindegård 2017). In sustainability communication by the Danish government, Denmark is usually branded as being a pioneering country on climate and sustainability, primarily due to the wind mill industry and the number of bike lanes in the cities (Danish Government 2018). According to Denmark’s SDG action plan and voluntary national review (VNR) Denmark evaluates itself to be a frontrunner in achieving the SDGs (SDG VNR 2017; Danish government 2017). In the fall of 2018 the Danish government launched its plan on climate action.<sup>8</sup> In it, the government places Denmark in the front of climate action, while also stating that collaborations with other countries are necessary (Danish Government 2018). The government claims that the plan will ensure that Denmark can achieve the climate and emission goals of the Paris Agreement.

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<sup>7</sup> DKK 15.96 billion / US\$ 2.38 billion, May 20<sup>th</sup> 2019.

<sup>8</sup> *Klimaudspil: Sammen om en grønnere fremtid: Klima- og luftudspil.*

However, the statements and plans about Denmark's achievements regarding climate and SDGs have received criticism from both Klimarådet, the Danish Council on Climate Change (DCCC), and the green think tank Concito (92-Group 2018; DCCC 2018; Ibsen 2018). The Danish daily newspaper *Information* offers a quick overview of the climate plan (Fjordbak-Trier 2018), which reveals the plan's very ecologically modernist approach to climate change action and mitigation, with a focus on technology and moderation of current business models and methods. Concito criticises the initiative for not being an actual plan, and for not actually addressing goals of the Paris Agreement (Ibsen 2018).

Similarly, the SDG Action Plan<sup>9</sup> (Danish government 2017) also received criticism. The two NGO coalitions the Danish 92-Group<sup>10</sup> and Global Focus investigated and wrote a shadow report of the government's SDG Action Plan (92-Group 2018). According to the shadow report the SDG Action Plan is far from ambitious. In the report they state: "If we are to reach the SDGs, it requires a large and prioritized Danish effort, including a change of the way we live in Denmark and act in the world. The SDGs cannot be achieved with a 'business as usual'-approach. The perception that 'Denmark has generally fulfilled the SDGs', as is stated in the government's action plan, is neither true nor adequate."<sup>11</sup> (92-Group 2018: 2).

Growth in GDP in Denmark is imperative for the government. "We must pass on Denmark to our children and grandchildren, as a freer, richer, and more secure country. The prerequisite is growth and prosperity. Because without growth, the opportunities are small."<sup>12</sup> (Danish government 2017: 7). In one report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs (MIBFA) the SDGs are considered to be a market opportunity for Danish businesses (MFA 2019). The green growth/green capitalism agenda is evident in the government's plans and perceptions. Based in such ideas, principles and priorities, P4G was established in 2017.

## 2.2 P4G – Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030

In this section I briefly introduce P4G. This is followed by a section describing criticism of P4G.

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<sup>9</sup> *Handlingsplan for FNs Verdensmål 2017.*

<sup>10</sup> The Danish 92-Group, which was established in 1991, is a coalition of 24 Danish NGO's working on issues related to the environment and development (92-group n.d.).

<sup>11</sup> Translated from "Hvis vi skal nå Verdensmålene, kræver det en stor og prioriteret dansk indsats, herunder også en omstilling af den måde vi lever på i Danmark og agerer i verden. Verdensmålene nås ikke med en "business as usual" tilgang. Opfattelsen af, at "Danmark generelt er i hus med Verdensmålene", som det står i regeringens handlingsplan, er hverken retvisende eller tilstrækkelig."

<sup>12</sup> Translated from "Vi skal give Danmark videre til vores børn og børnebørn, som et friere, rigere og mere trygt land. Forudsætningen er vækst og velstand. For uden vækst er mulighederne små."

### 2.2.1 Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030

P4G is the abbreviation for Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030, an international multi-stakeholder initiative established by the Danish Government in September 2017 to provide selected public-private partnerships with funding, support, facilitation and exposure (Andersen & Gjerding 2018h). As they state on the summit website, the ambition is to become “[...] the world’s leading forum for developing concrete public-private partnerships at scale to deliver on the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement.” (P4GSummit n.d.). While P4G has selected five focus SDGs: food and agriculture (SDG2 Zero Hunger); water (SDG6 Clean Water and Sanitation); Energy (SDG7 Affordable and Clean Energy); cities (SDG11 Sustainable Cities and Communities); and circular economy (SDG12 Responsible Consumption and Production), the initiative itself specifically aspires to be a manifestation of SDG 17 about partnerships.

P4G operates with three different kinds of partnerships: Start-up partnerships, which are described as promising, early stage partnerships. This type of partnership can apply for US \$100.000, of which P4G funding may represent a maximum of 75% of the total budget; Scale-up partnership are already engaged with promising, business-driven green growth innovation and may apply for US\$ 1 Mil. and P4G funding may represent maximum 50% of the total budget; The last group of partnerships is facilitation partnerships, which receive no funding but will receive facilitation and promotion (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 2; see appendix A).

### 2.2.2 Criticism of P4G

There is in general very little focus on the initiative P4G in Danish and foreign media. Criticism has been limited to a series of articles by *Information*, and news about the initiative has been sporadic and connected to major events such as the launch of the initiative at the UN Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2017 (P4G Program document 2017: 1) and the P4G Copenhagen Summit in October 2018.

The daily newspaper *Information* is the only Danish media outlet that did investigative research on the initiative. Their investigation focused on general background of P4G as well as one particular partnership “(Global Smart) Green Logistics Innovation Partnership,” which received DKK 6.5 Mil<sup>13</sup> from the Danish development aid fund for their P4G scale-up partnership. The partnership aims to develop a better way for packaging waste to be gathered, sorted, processed, and recycled through a technological platform providing analytics on pick-up and dispatches of packaging (Andersen & Gjerding 2018d; 2018f; 2018h). The controversial issue with this particular partnership is that development aid goes to fund a project involving

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<sup>13</sup> US\$ 970.738,92 / € 870.285,00, May 21<sup>st</sup> 2019.

Chinese e-commerce giant Alibaba, whose CEO Jack Ma is the 20<sup>th</sup> richest man in the world according to Forbes (2018). However, P4G has also been criticised by the 92-Group specifically for the tendency to only engage businesses that already are on a ‘green’ track. They emphasise that politicians should not let business lead the way, but rather, that it is a political responsibility to regulate and control in order to diminish the possibilities for companies to cause social and environmental harms (Christensen 2018).

P4G is the successor of the previous initiative Global Green Growth Forum (3GF), both initiated by the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (Andersen & Gjerding 2018c). 3GF was started as a sister-initiative to the international organisation Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI), a South Korean organisation, as part of a strategy to establish a good relationship with South Korea (Ibid.). The fact that P4G is the successor to 3GF is not obvious anywhere in P4G communication, only in the programme document for funding (P4G Program document 2017) which was revealed by Andersen and Gjerding (2018c; 2018g). This may indicate a conscious choice to suppress this fact. Both GGGI and 3GF have been marked by scandals, fraud and conflicts of interest. 3GF was highly criticised (Andersen & Gjerding 2018c) and has cost the Danish state and Danida many millions of US\$ (Andersen & Gjerding 2018c; 2018g; Program Document 2017; MFA 2018). The Danish state funds the majority of P4G – a total of 225 Mio. Danish kr.<sup>14</sup> from the Danish development aid fund (Andersen & Gjerding 2018g). This opens up the question about what other areas of aid may have been reduced for P4G to receive this amount.

### 3. ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In this section I present my theoretical and analytical framework. As I am investigating the approach to the environmental crisis taken by politicians in power in Denmark and the perceptions about sustainability and power that influence this approach, I firstly take a closer look at the concepts of green growth, green capitalism, and ecological modernisation. The analytical concepts that have guided my research and the theoretical lens through which I have interpreted and discussed the empirical findings and analysis are theories on power, hegemony, and ideology. Drawing on the disciplines of environmental sociology, political ecology, and political science makes the approach in the thesis interdisciplinary, and reflects the complex, all-encompassing, and insidious nature of the problem that we see a dominant belief that environmental issues we face can and should be solved by capitalism.

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<sup>14</sup> US\$: 33.780.712,50 / € 30.133.125,00, May 21<sup>st</sup> 2019.

### 3.1 Theoretical concepts: green growth and green capitalism

Green growth, like sustainable development, have become principal themes in the political project, as touched upon in the introduction. The theory of green growth is closely linked to other concepts like green capitalism, green economy, sustainable growth, and ecological modernisation theory (EMT) (Dale et. al. 2016: 4; Hoffmann 2016: 36). I consider green growth and green capitalism to be two sides of the same coin. They are contingent upon one another, though they signify different processes. In this section, I summarise a definition of the concepts green growth and green capitalism, and move on to discuss the evolution of these, followed by a discussion of the mechanisms they generate, and I end the section with an account of criticism of green growth and green capitalism.

#### 3.1.1 Definition of green growth and green capitalism

There is not one coherent definition of the green growth theory (Wanner 2015: 22). The main assertion of the theory is, however, that growth in Gross Domestic Product<sup>15</sup> (GDP) is or can be compatible with the limits of our planet and thence be ecologically sustainable. This means that it is possible to achieve (absolute or relative) *decoupling* of economic growth from material resource use and Greenhouse gas emissions (GHG emissions) at an adequately fast rate (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 1; Wanner 2015: 30) and that this results in ecologically sustainable practices as well as better human well-being and social equity (Wanner 2015: 22). The theory of green growth draws on the business-centred theory of the triple bottom line: people, planet, profit (Geissdoerfer et. al. 2016: 759). This model appears to incorporate the well-being of people and planet, however, the main goal continues to be to ensure profit (Smith 2015: 56; Wright & Nyberg 2015: 171).

Green growth is a shift in thinking about the environmental crisis, a new economic paradigm that has been promoted for years in multilateral organisations, such as the OECD, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), and the World Bank, and at major political and intergovernmental events, such as the COP meetings (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 1, 2; Wanner 2015: 22, 23, 28). Likewise, green growth is written into the SDGs, presenting the supposed pathway to achieve the 17 goals (SDG n.d.; Hickel & Kallis 2019). Green growth is exemplified by incorporating corporations into the agenda with a ‘win-win’ discourse (Porter & van der Linde 1995; Wanner 2015: 27; Wright & Nyberg 2015: 87).

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<sup>15</sup> GDP is understood to be “*consumption plus investment plus government spending plus net exports.*” (italics in original, Klein 2014: 92).



### 3.1.2 Evolution of green growth and green capitalism

The concept of green capitalism has been promoted since the 1980s and 1990s (Smith 2015: 49). One prominent economist, Michael Porter, aims at reconciling environmentalism and competitiveness in a paper with a colleague (Porter & van der Linde 1995; Wright & Nyberg 2015: 166). As environmental critique is incorporated into capitalism, reinventing it as ‘green capitalism’, it is a form of a legitimacy claim, which precludes state interventions and regulations through voluntary strategies such as voluntary reporting and self-regulation (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 57). The crisis is reformulated as ‘risk’ and the approach is for corporations to manage those risks (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 52). ‘Green’ capitalism is a response to the environmental crisis, and the reinvention rests upon the myths of corporate citizenship, corporate omnipotence and corporate environmentalism, concepts elaborated by Wright and Nyberg (2015). With increasing public awareness about the global problems we face, climate and environmental protection have been co-opted by capitalism. In order to claim legitimacy capitalism absorbs and incorporates environmentalist discourse into the branding, strategies and business models (Foster 2010: 19; Wright & Nyberg 2015). This legitimacy claim is endorsed by the idea about green growth, in which corporations are considered leaders of sustainable development. Embedded in neoclassical economic thought, green growth theory presents what appears to be a new paradigm legitimising the capitalist economic system (Dale et. al. 2016: 4; Hoffmann 2016: 36). This narrative serves to maintain that markets, innovation, and technology offer the best solution to the climate crisis, however, in reality, this fantasy obscures the fact that capitalism always relies upon the same external ecological and social resources that it extracts, consumes, and destroys – what Wright and Nyberg term, ‘creative self-destruction’ (which is also in the title of their book, 2015: 44).

### 3.1.3 The mechanisms of green growth and green capitalism

To maintain the hegemony of capitalism the market is presented as the only effective domain through which to deal with the environmental crisis (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 66). The marketization of climate change is aligned with and driven by the neoliberalization of the global political sphere (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 170). The hegemony of capitalism is prevalent in the political approach, which is dominated by the “conviction that the answer to climate change should inevitably revolve around market expansion and economic growth” (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 73), causing many political parties and international institutions to support a neoliberal agenda to address climate change (Hickel & Khan 2012: 205). The other argument holds that engaging with sustainability – the SDGs – is a win-win situation; businesses benefit, civil society benefits, and the environment benefits (Wanner 2015: 27; Wright & Nyberg 2015: 87). Global capitalism, neoliberalization and the growth imperative have come together in a response to the environmental crisis; growth and profit are possible while staying ‘green’ or sustainable (Smith 2015: 56-57).

A strategy of corporations is to claim legitimacy through collaborations with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in public-private partnerships enabling corporate social legitimacy (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 62, 83). Already then, in 1995, Porter and van der Linde recommended that NGOs collaborate with businesses to support ‘best practices’, and they advocate for corporations to establish relationships with environmentalists and regulators (1995: 132, 133). Furthermore, risks are commodified in order to put a monetary value and enable corporations to do cost-benefit analysis on their climate activities (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 63). Global competitiveness, according to them, presents a new paradigm that merges environmental improvement and competitiveness; ‘green and competitive’ (Porter and van der Linde 1995: 133). Specifically, they believe competitiveness to be the prerequisite for environmental innovation (Ibid.: 134). Ecological modernisation holds great importance in the ideas about green capitalism and green growth. It is rooted in the perception that technology will save us, that we can innovate ourselves out of the crisis (Smith 2015: 73). An extreme illustration of ecological modernisation is captured in a quote by Erle Ellis, co-writer of the Ecomodernist Manifesto (Asafu-Adjaye et. al. 2015): “The only limits to creating a planet that future generations will be proud of are our imaginations and our social systems. In moving toward a better Anthropocene, the environment will be what we make it.” (Ellis 2013, also quoted in Wright & Nyberg 2015: 167).

#### 3.1.4 Criticism of green growth and green capitalism

There are several points of criticism of the theory about green growth and green capitalism. The first and most evident criticism of green growth lies in the fact that there is no scientific foundation to the idea that it is possible (Foster et. al. 2010; Hickel & Kallis 2019; Wanner 2015; Wright & Nyberg 2015). Other points of criticism relate to the fact that it does not challenge the logic of capitalism, which aims to expand and maximise profits (Browne 2017; Klein 2017; Malm 2016; Smith 2015; Swyngedouw 2011; Wright and Nyberg 2015).

The agenda of green growth is closely connected to the reinvention of capitalism as green capitalism. Because the idea of growth is so tied to modernist conceptions of prosperity and welfare it is supported by many international intergovernmental institutions (Screpanti & Zamagni 2005: 69). However, there is actually no empirical evidence that this is possible (Hickel & Kallis 2019). The main idea in green growth is that decoupling is possible, albeit, it has been proven elusive (Wright & Nyberg 2017: 17). Hickel and Kallis (2019) offer an extensive review on studies that examine the possibility for green growth under various circumstances.

Decoupling is commonly measured by dividing GDP by domestic material consumption<sup>16</sup> (DMC), a calculation which gives an indication of the efficiency of the economy (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 3). It is important

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<sup>16</sup> DMC is the conventional metric; “the total weight of raw materials (biomass, minerals, metals and fossil fuels) extracted from the domestic territory, plus all physical imports minus all physical exports.” (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 3).

to distinguish *relative* from *absolute* decoupling and to fathom what is measured. For instance, in OECD's measures of DMC the use of fossil fuels is not included, nor is the "material impact of production and transport of imported goods" incorporated in DMC calculations (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 3). If it is not clear whether we are talking about *relative* or *absolute* decoupling when, say, politicians claim to achieve decoupling, we cannot determine the actual status of said decoupling. Similarly, it is relevant to know whether we are dealing with decoupling GDP from fossil fuel consumption or material consumption in general.

A study referenced by Hickel and Kallis (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 3) shows that when resource use is included in the calculations we see a negative process of decoupling economic growth in GDP from that of resource use in USA, Japan, UK, OECD countries, and EU countries. Studies based on future projections suggest that relative decoupling may be possible, however, it requires that environmental policies are significantly changed, as well as a certain level of material efficiency and technological innovation. Nothing currently suggests that such actions or developments will happen (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 5). Evidence suggests that growth in GDP simply cannot be absolutely decoupled from overconsumption of resource use (Ibid.). Because GDP growth cannot continue indefinitely, it is problematic to develop growth-oriented policies based on the assumption that decoupling is possible (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 7). The idea of growth is so fundamental to modernisation theory that it is almost unthinkable for any nation to limit growth even if it may be ecologically necessary (Hickel & Kallis 2019: 15). To rethink prosperity and wellbeing and detach these conceptions from growth in GDP is, however, necessary.

Capitalism relies on the very nature it destroys (Browne 2018: 437; Fraser 2014). It is inherently incompatible with protecting the environment nor people (Smith 2015: 50). As Monbiot concludes in a recent article in the Guardian: it is not about the adjective – capitalism is capitalism. The nature of capitalism does not change because you put 'green' in front of it (Monbiot 2019). At the core of capitalism lies the principle of maximising profits. To this end, those with the means of production can increase their capital by buying labour and selling the commodities made with a profit (Malm 2016: 283; Marx 1976: 251). As such, capitalism defines a certain kind of social relationship between those who sell their labour power and those with the means to buy it in exchange for wages, which can buy the necessary commodities to live, such as food and housing, thereby workers can reproduce their ability to work – sell their labour power (Stoll 2014: 372). Capitalism relies on expansion and the fictitious commodification of labour and nature (land) in order to reproduce itself (Foster 2010: 160; Polanyi 2001: 75-76; Smith 2015: 50; Wright & Nyberg 2015: 59). Therefore, the effects of capitalism are exemplified in this quote by Stoll (2014): "Capitalism's strive for the ceaseless creation of surplus value at all costs is behind virtually all examples of environmental degradation."

The idea of green growth does not question existing asymmetrical market structures, supply-chain governance, or economic driving forces (Hoffmann 2016: 36). While the decoupling myth of green growth is prevalent in many environmental discourses, research finds that while pollution may be reduced in ‘developed countries’ (the core), it is commonly because of outsourcing of production to the periphery (the Global South)<sup>17</sup> through displacement, relocation and externalisation of pollution. Thus, on a macro-scale economic growth leads to super-materialisation rather than dematerialisation in an unequal exchange (Dale et. al. 2016: 9; Hornborg 2016). As production is outsourced, so too is the environmental impact through resource extraction, ecosystem depletion, exploitation of cheap labour power, pollution, GHG emissions, etc. while in turn the finished commodities and the capital profits accumulate in the core – the Global North.

Furthermore, the myth of green growth and green capitalism enables a certain level of denialism and inaction (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 3). Browne (2017: 9) argues that inaction may be explained by the complicity and complacency with capitalism by people living in the core, because of the freedom and possibilities the system appears to promise. This is influenced by corporate engagement with climate change. Green capitalism obfuscates the contradiction that capitalism is both the main contributor to GHG emissions and environmental degradation, while it is simultaneously perceived as the main answer to reducing emissions in line with ecological modernism through technological advances and innovation (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 3, 4). It is ironic that we look to the system that caused the crisis for pre-emptive qualities (Swyngedouw 2011: 269).

In Klein’s introduction to her book *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the climate*, she writes: “We have not done the things that are necessary to lower emissions because those things fundamentally conflict with deregulated capitalism, the reigning ideology for the entire period we have been struggling to find a way out of this crisis. We are stuck because the actions that would give us the best chance of averting catastrophe – and would benefit the vast majority – are extremely threatening to an elite minority that has a stranglehold over our economy, our political process, and most of our major media outlets.” (Klein 2014: 18). Instead of furthering sustainability, in reality what we will see is “[...] ever-increasing consumption and waste production because, without growth, capitalist economies collapse and unemployment soars, as we’ve seen.” (Smith 2015: 94).

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<sup>17</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein’s study of the economic world system is theorised in a conceptualisation of core, periphery, and the semi-periphery. Capital accumulation happens in the core, while manufacturing as labour exploitation and resource happens in the periphery based on an unequal exchange (Hornborg 2016: 14).

## 3.2 Analytical concepts

A principal assertion throughout this thesis is that green growth/green capitalism, and indeed P4G, are not neutral, value-free, or a-political, rather, it is power at work. To unfold and analyse the concepts at play here in depth – green growth and green capitalism – I examine them through the theoretical lens of hegemony (Gramsci 2007; Ives 2004), ideology (Althusser 2014, Terry Eagleton 1991; Fisher 2009) and power (Dowding 2006; Ives 2004; Lukes 2005). These theories work together, are interlinked, while also diverging from each other to some degree. I do not intend to discuss them in their own right in detail in this thesis. The theoretical concepts are used to critically examine and analyse the workings and impacts of green growth and green capitalism and the world view present in the initiative P4G as a naturalised, and thus hidden, belief system. To maintain that these schemes are not political – to depoliticise them – is an exertion of power, and power works most successfully if people do not see it, that is, they are living by a naturalised ideology, which ensures a formation of common sense.

### 3.2.1 Power and the myth of the apolitical

Power is exercised over a spectrum from rules and coercion to invisible, manipulated consent. The type of power, which is especially interesting in the context of green capitalism and green growth, is the kind of power that is not evident to us in our everyday lives. Power has been theorised by many,<sup>18</sup> however, in this thesis I use Steven Lukes' conceptualisation of one- two- and three-dimensional views of power (Dowding 2006; Lukes 2005) (See appendix B). The one-dimensional view of power presents the apparent situation where someone has power over someone else, commonly associated with decision-making power held by government, united in the system of legislation, execution and the jurisdictional system. The two-dimensional view is slightly more complex and includes nondecision-making or agenda-setting power (Lukes 2005: 22). This is described in a quote by Bachrach and Baratz: "Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing *social* and *political values* and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A." (My emphasis, Lukes 2005: 20). This happens for instance through sanctions, or by confining the scope of possible decisions (Ibid.: 22). Lukes' three-dimensional view of power encompasses the most ubiquitous form of power, the one we do not even see or feel, whereas, the first two dimensions are concerned with power at play when conflicts can be observed. "[...] the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place." (Lukes 2005: 27). Power never belongs to one person, government, or institution, but is upheld by the people from whom they (the group in power) derive legitimacy (Lukes 2005: 32). This is possible

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<sup>18</sup> Prominent thinker Michel Foucault is another important contributor to the conceptualisation and understanding of power at work, however, I will not engage his theories in this thesis.

through consent, which is created through the formation of a common sense, as Gramsci (2007) conceptualises it. This maintains ideological power, which also aligns with what Althusser defines as the Ideological State Apparatus (2014).

### 3.2.2 Hegemony

Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (2007) developed his famous writings on hegemony, common sense and consent, while imprisoned by Mussolini.<sup>19</sup> He wrote both to understand why people accepted being dominated by the ruling class, the power of the state, and the possibility for revolution. With Gramsci's elaborate definition, hegemony came to describe the complexities of power relations and the formation of consent in a given society especially within Western capitalism in Western Europe. (Fairclough 2013: 61; Ives 2004: 2). In modern democracy, civil society is, for Gramsci, the location of political power and hegemony (Ives 2004: 116). As such, politics take place, not only in state and government, but indeed also in cultural and social institutions and include a broad scope of human activity, commonly perceived as non-political, such as everyday beliefs, behaviour and hobbies (Ives 2004: 3-4). This is where common sense is formed. Common sense connotes the traditional and popular worldview of a society (Gramsci 2007: 197, 199), and is a product of and a part of the historical process (Gramsci 2007: 325-326).

Formation of hegemony occurs when the ruling economic class becomes aware that to maintain their interest, those interests must become that of the subordinated people as well. This political phase brings about "[...] not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a "universal" plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups." (Gramsci 2007: 181-182). Thus, the hegemonic process is when the interest of the dominant classes is presented as the interest of all. This makes hegemony central to an analysis of power as domination of a people, when no overt coercion takes place (Ives 2004: 6), such as is the case with the creation of the hegemony of green growth and green capitalism.

### 3.2.3 Ideology

To approach and identify the hegemony of green growth and green capitalism so omnipresent in the communication of P4G we must clarify the concept of ideology.<sup>20</sup> While there are many definitions of

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<sup>19</sup> There are different interpretations of the ideas of Gramsci, in part due to the fact that his writings are akin to notes rather than finished essays, as they were written from prison and he died before they had been finally edited, but also because he deals with complex and often ambiguous terms and concepts (Ives 2004).

<sup>20</sup> We owe much to Karl Marx, who took up and popularised the term in his early writings defining his own ideology and identifying that of his adversaries (Althusser 2014: 171).

ideology,<sup>21</sup> we shall lean primarily on Louis Althusser (2014) and his theory of ideology in general (174). Althusser describes ideology as the representation of one's imaginary relation to one's real conditions of existence (2014: 181, 183). Ideology may entail religious, moral, legal or political 'world outlooks', however, "[...] unless we experience one of these ideologies as the truth [...] we admit that these 'world outlooks' are largely imaginary and do not 'correspond to reality'." (Althusser 2014: 181). This interpretation endorses a critical stance, clearly identifying these world outlooks as ideology – illusion – while indeed realising that they allude to reality. Thus to Althusser, ideology equals illusion/allusion (Ibid.). While many approaches to politics and culture – how we perceive of and make sense of the world – can be perceived as ideology, most ominous is the ideology which is naturalised (Fisher 2009: 16). "An ideological position can never be really successful until it is naturalized, and it cannot be naturalized while it is still thought of as a value rather than a fact." (Ibid.: 16). Ideology is "Silencing contradiction and evading alternative representations of the real, an ideology represents society's network of power relations as inevitable and natural, beyond question or change." (Cohan and Shires 2002: 134). This can be done through power at work in nondecision-making processes, where there is seemingly no conflict (Lukes 2005). We must, therefore, be concerned with ideology in regards to questions of power and how it legitimates the power of a specific class or social group through the promotion of their beliefs, values and interests as the general good of society (Eagleton 1991: 5, 6).

Ideology to Althusser is realised through the 'Ideological State Apparatus',<sup>22</sup> which forms part of the superstructure (2014: 75, 200, 201). The superstructure ensures the reproduction of relations of production, the base, such as labour, and resource material (2014: 202). The Ideological State Apparatuses consist of, among others, the cultural, the political, the scholastic, the family, religion, media and more (Ibid.: 75). It is distinguished from the Repressive State Apparatus in that it functions, not 'on violence', but 'on ideology'. (Althusser 2014: 75, 78). There exists under the Ideological State Apparatus several different but unified

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<sup>21</sup> "(a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life; (b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class; (c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power; (d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power; (e) systematically distorted communication; (f) that which offers a position for a subject; (g) forms of thought motivated by social interests; (h) identity thinking; (i) socially necessary illusion; (j) the conjuncture of discourse and power; (k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world; (l) action-oriented sets of beliefs; (m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality; (n) semiotic closure; (o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure; (p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality." (Eagleton 1991: 1-2).

<sup>22</sup> "To produce a theory of the state, it is imperative to take into account not only the distinction between *state power* (and those who hold it) and *state apparatus*, but also another 'reality' that must clearly be ranged alongside the Repressive State Apparatus, but is *not conflated with it*. We shall take the theoretical risk of calling it the Ideological State Apparatuses. The precise point on which our theoretical intervention bears is thus these *Ideological State Apparatuses* in their distinction from the state apparatus in the sense of Repressive State Apparatus.

Be it recalled that the state apparatus comprises, in 'Marxist theory', the government, administration, army, police, courts and prisons, which together constitute what we shall henceforth call the *Repressive State Apparatus*. 'Repressive' should be understood, at the limit (for there exist many, very varied and even very subtly occulted forms of *non-physical* repression), in the strong, precise sense of 'using *physical violence*' (direct or indirect, legal or 'illegal')." (Italics in original, Althusser 2014: 75).

ideologies – secondary, subordinate ideology – expressed in the different apparatuses, however, all are part of and help realise the Ideological State Apparatus’ ‘primary’ ideology, and ensure systemic unity (Ibid.: 77, 83, 199).

Ideology has material existence as one will behave according to one’s ideology (Althusser 2014: 184). Althusser uses the examples of a Catholic believing in God or a person who believes in the socialist revolution as their ideology determines their conduct and way of life (2014: 185). What distinguishes theory from ideology is that theory is a reflexive thought – a conception of a given phenomenon – to make sense of the phenomena and thereby contributing to a broader sense-making of the world we are part of. Whereas, ideology is an internalised, unconscious and unquestioned, i.e. unreflexive sense-making of the world, which has been brought to people by means of a cultural Ideological State Apparatus through the formation of common sense, ensuring and maintaining consent and acquiescence to the hegemony of a given system.

We must to be aware of and pay attention to ideology, the naturalised, hidden form, the representation of a certain kind of world, and certain way of existing in the world, which seem unquestionable and beyond change and challenge.

#### 3.2.4 The interconnecting processes of power, hegemony, and ideology

Power, hegemony and ideology are indeed different from each other, however, they are interlinked in a tight relationship from which they mutually derive power and intensify each other. While the type of power identified in this research is of a subtle kind, working in the background, it plays a great part in the maintenance of capitalism’s structural dominance. This is the power we don’t notice; we rarely feel it or see it.

It is important to understand that power does not merely belong to one single person, group, nor a government or institution, rather, when truly pervasive it is often more abstract, obscure (Lukes 2005). The three-dimensional view of power, as it takes a more nuanced approach, takes into account the type of power that may not be considered as power, because it is not overtly violent or apparently repressive, but entails the power of one group to decide and control what they determine to be in the interest of other groups of people. This seemingly harmless, but insidious type of power takes away agency from those other groups while ensuring their acquiescence, their consent.

As explicated in the section on ideology, the Ideological State Apparatus plays a key role in maintaining the power of the elite, namely the capitalist class, and presents their interest as the interest of all. Creating and maintaining a certain ideology, the hegemony of capitalism, ensuring the formation of a common sense, is



power at work. The scope, not only of the debate but indeed the scope of imagination is confined to a narrow range of possibilities and this fact is not realised by the people because of the internalised hidden hegemonic ideology of capitalism. This is the hegemonic process, which happens through social institutions such as schools, media and political bodies (Gramsci 2007); the Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 2014).

When the ideology of the ruling class, capitalism, is presented not only as benefitting all, but as a natural fact – just the way things are – and this is upheld by institutions which employ power to effectively remove critique and politicisation of the ideology from debate, ideology manifests materially because it influences the way people act in the world, psychologically, sociologically and politically. This acquiescence to their oppression, as people believe this is merely the way the world works, ensures that the power of capitalism is upheld by the people from whom the group in power derive legitimacy (Lukes 2005: 32).

## 4. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In this section I describe my epistemological position that has informed the research as well as the methodological approach taken in the study of discourse in order to discern power, ideology and hegemony in P4G and in general in relation to green capitalism and green growth.

### 4.1 Positionality

This thesis is an endeavour of dissent. I am critical towards capitalism as the system to rely upon, in general and in particular when addressing the environmental crisis. However, this position may distinguish me from mainstream opinion. There may be several reasons for this: many people cannot imagine how else our world should look like; they have internalised the ideology of capitalism and trust it to be a sensible system for all (people and planet); or they may find it embedded in all spheres, so they find it futile to even try to change the system. Many scholars argue that capitalism is far from able to present a valid solution to the immanent crisis we face (see section 3.1). I consider it a responsibility of researchers to reveal and challenge hegemonic, oppressive and damaging structures and processes, rather than legitimise and reproduce such structures. The agenda of green capitalism is by no means neutral, however, it is often presented as such. The reason for my stance towards green capitalism should be evident from the research presented in the thesis, to the extent that it is possible to convey from the narrow scope of my research topic.

## 4.2 Critical Realism

Our world view is informed by more or less conscious ontology and epistemology – what we learned throughout our lives. Common sense (Gramsci 2007) is manifested in the ideology we live by and is connected with operations of power and the political (Ives 2004: 72). I am researching the hegemony of green capitalism, assumed to be a valid answer to the environmental crisis as is expressed in the political case of the project P4G. P4G promotes ideas of green growth and emphasises the role of business in achieving the SDGs and the Paris Agreement. As I take on this endeavour, the lens of critical realism is an ample lens to understand and analyse the connection of nature and society, environmental crisis, and culture in research (Foster 1999: 296; Foster et. al. 2010: 292, 295). Critical realism presents three domains: the real, the actual and the empirical. The realm of the real entails underlying structures and mechanisms, which affect events in the realm of the actual, and these can be observed in the realm of the empirical (Bhaskar 1998: xi, Sayer 2000: 11-12). From a critical realist perspective discourses are interesting points of analysis because our perceptions of the world manifest materially in behaviour. Ideas and discourses are real in the sense that they work as mechanisms and can have causal effect (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2009: 41).

## 4.3 Critical discourse analysis

Fairclough takes a critical realist approach towards the relationship between discourse and non-discursive elements such as social structures (Bryman 2012: 537; Fairclough 2013). We understand and make sense of the world through language and we approach the real through our constructed ideas about it. “[...] our cognitive encounter with the world is mediated by concepts” (Groff 2004: 20). Therefore, the demarcation of language from reality makes no sense, even if the realm of the real exists outside language (Barad 1996: 183, Malpas 1992: 298; Sayer 2000: 38, 41).

CDA enables me to study aspects of power, ideology and hegemony in the discourse and social practice of P4G documents (Fairclough 2013: 3, 8). Arguing that ideology resides in text, materialises through language (Fairclough 2013: 57, 59), and is closely tied to hegemony (Ibid.: 61-62, 67), Fairclough incorporates the works of Gramsci and Althusser in his theory of CDA (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 75). “Ideology works, as Althusser reminds us, by disguising its ideological nature. It becomes naturalised, automatized – ‘common sense’ in Gramsci’s terms.” (Ibid.: 67). CDA provides a tool to discern and reveal power structures at play in often opaque relationships of causality and discursive practices, in which ideology is materialised and hegemonic common sense is formed. Thereby, CDA helps systematise awareness and critique of ideology, which is important for empowerment and change (Fairclough 2013: 68, 218, 129; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 63).

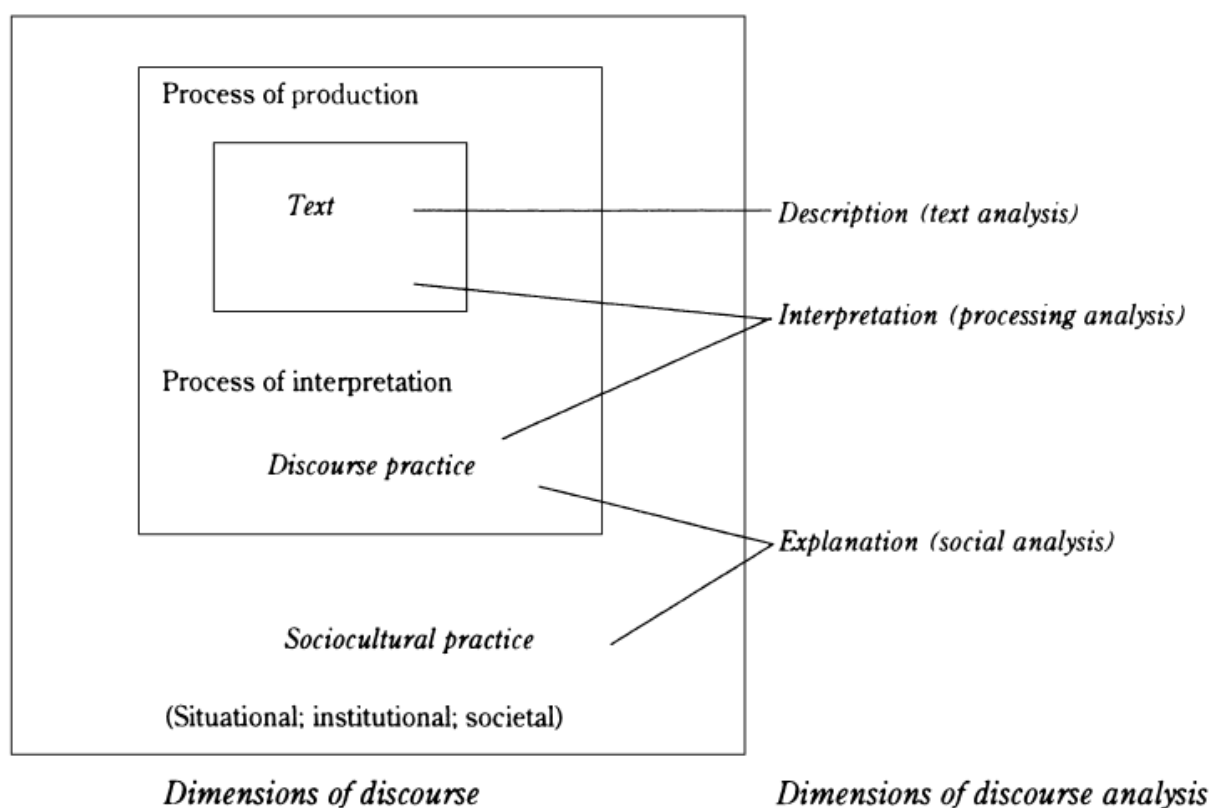


Figure 1. Fairclough's model of dimensions of discourse analysis (Fairclough 2013: 133).

Fairclough's conceptualisation of CDA illustrates the three levels of discourse: text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice (See figure 1). The three levels overlap in the process of analysis, by way of textual and linguistic description, interpretation of relationships of discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between discourse and social practices (Fairclough 2013: 132-133).

#### 4.4 Choice of empirical material

During my initial research of P4G I looked through their website and read about the different partnerships (See appendix A). I realised the communication about not just the funded partnerships but also the initiative itself was very opaque, obscuring the any details there were to be found. This made me want to look into the initiative itself, examining the ideology, hegemony and power relations conveyed in discourse. I selected material published by P4G themselves consistent with purposive sampling (Bryman 2012: 418, 419). The documents I chose were those offering more detailed description of P4G.

#### 4.4.1 Overview of P4G communication documents for discourse analysis

The selected documents were chosen because they each offer insight and perspective to the nature of P4G. The report *Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth* and the *P4G Partnership Fund – Guidelines for Applicants* are both fairly content-heavy in contrast to the two other documents. The *Copenhagen Commitment to Action* is a one-page document with a brief description of P4G and the aim of actors in the partnerships. The *P4G Factsheet* pertains specifically to the summit and resembles an infographic offering information about who was participating in the summit and it references some numbers from the P4G report about the profits and jobs to be gained by green growth. These documents were selected because other than the three websites<sup>23</sup> these are the main documents that represent what P4G is, how it works, and their main ideas and goals. Together, they form a sound foundation for understanding the narrative of P4G.

Table 1. Overview of P4G documents

Document	Title	Author	Publ. date	Pages	Notes / type of document
The P4G report	<i>Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth</i> ,	Writer/Editor: Zabarenko, Deborah, Walter, Frank; Danielsen, Kate	2018	28 [32]	Report about P4G and the partnerships selected in 2018 and announced at the P4G Copenhagen Summit in October 2018
P4G Funding Guidelines	<i>P4G Partnership Fund – Guidelines for Applicants</i>	P4G	2017	13 [14]	Guidelines for applicants for P4G funding.
P4G CPH Commitment	<i>Copenhagen Commitment to Action</i>	P4G	2018	1	Published in relation to the P4G Copenhagen Summit
The <i>P4G Factsheet</i>	<i>P4G Factsheet</i>	P4G	2018	1	Published in relation to, and concerns the P4G Summit, not P4G in general

#### 4.4.2 Secondary material

This section presents the secondary material I used. Beneath is an overview of the articles in the series by *Information*. The articles provided information and documents that would have otherwise been hard to come by. The nature of the research as well as the journalists' experience also served as a point of analysis of the opacity of P4G. Other secondary sources are the program document by P4G – their application to Danida for

<sup>23</sup> The main website: p4gpartnerships.org (P4G n.d.a), The P4G Copenhagen Summit website: p4gsummit.org (P4GSummit n.d.) and the Danish platform website: p4gpartnerships.dk (P4GDenmark n.d.).

funding – the Inception review about P4G by the Danish MFA as well as reports about green growth referenced and recommended by P4G.

Table 2. Overview of Information article series about P4G

Art. No. Reference	Title	Authors	Publ. date
Art. 1 (2018h)	“Verdens 20. rigeste mand vil være grøn med hjælp fra danske bistandsmillioner”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Oct 17 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 2 (2018g)	“P4G er udtryk for et paradigmeskifte i dansk udviklingspolitik”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Oct 17 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 3 (2018f)	“DI Handel: Problematisk hvis udviklingsbistand går til at hjælpe kinesisk e-handelsgigant”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Oct 18 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 4 (2018e)	“Udviklingsministerens rådgivere udtrykte bekymringer over Løkkes nye prestigeprojekt”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Oct 19 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 5 (2018d)	“Nu er det officielt: Udviklingsbistand skal gøre kinesisk e-handelsgigant grønnere”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Oct 22 <sup>nd</sup> 2018
Art. 6 (2018c)	“Lars Løkke vil så gerne være grøn”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Nov 10 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 7 (2018b)	“Lars Løkkes grønne prestigeprojekt var en fuser”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Nov 10 <sup>th</sup> 2018
Art. 8 (2018a)	“Sådan har vi undersøgt Løkkes nye grønne prestigeprojekt”	Andersen, L. S. & Gjerding, S.	Nov 10 <sup>th</sup> 2018

#### 4.5 Coding and Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to gain depth in the analysis I first coded the material and then developed content/concept maps for each document (see appendix D). These activities were part of the text level and they informed the analysis of the discursive level. This allowed for the analysis of the social practice, connecting the discourse to the ideological hegemony of green capitalism and the connection made to business discourse. Knowing the theory initially, before starting coding, using deductive coding, I already had an idea of what themes to look for. Five main themes for coding emerged:

- expressions of ecological modernist approach (yellow);
- expressions about green/sustainable growth, economic growth, growth in GDP (green);
- investment related expression, both from private and public funding, as well as return on investment (blue);
- expressions about market opportunities/business opportunities; making the profitable business-case; based in neoclassical economic approach and about creating jobs (pink); and
- actor related expressions, e.g. The "Do'ers" / the "global movement" – including government, businesses, civil society / CSOs; public-private partnerships (purple)

## 4.6 Delimitation and limitations

To delimit the scope of the research and select a specific focus of study I chose to examine P4G itself through CDA. The aim is to explore how green capitalism and green growth are expressed in P4G as a case representative of a specific approach to achieving the SDGs and the Paris agreement. I am not looking into and evaluating any particular partnerships, nor did I obtain non-public documents or confidential data. While such research would provide a great additional understanding of the material manifestations and impacts of P4G partnerships and thereby the initiative itself, P4G is still young and because of the scope of the master's thesis, I chose not to look into these aspects. The research in the thesis will, however, pertain to the ideology and hegemony as well as power revealed in the public communication by P4G through CDA. Because it is an in-depth form of analysis, CDA uses just a small number of texts. This makes the method susceptible to criticism as the selection of material may reflect the researcher's bias (Sriwimon & Zilli 2017: 135). On the other hand, the material to be analysed is already there, written and published, with no interference of the researcher, thus while selection and interpretation may reflect a bias to a certain degree, the messages themselves are there and remain unaffected.

## 5. ANALYSIS – EMBEDDED IDEOLOGY OF GREEN

In this section I present my analysis of P4G, namely the critical discourse analysis of the four documents; the report, the *Copenhagen Commitment*, the *P4G Factsheet* and the funding guidelines for applicants to P4G partnership. The analysis enables me to answer my research questions about the expression of the hegemony of green capitalism in P4G documents and why this conviction that green capitalism can solve the environmental crisis is so prevalent. I coded for the five themes: expressions of ecological modernist approach; expressions about green/sustainable growth; investment related expression; expressions about market/business opportunities – making the profitable business-case; and actor related expressions. The concept maps allowed me to further identify what elements emerged as particularly important for the analysis. These elements are the vagueness and opacity of the initiative and the partnerships, the two contradicting perceptions of the role of business; on one hand their ability to offer innovation power and private investments are needed to achieve the SDGs and the Paris Agreement, while on the other hand, sustainability – the SDGs - is presented as the greatest business opportunity for profit-maximisation. Other elements are about what actors are part of partnerships and what this means, and the presentation of green growth as a way to achieve the SDGs, something that can be perceived as a paradigm shift. I try to make clear the nuances, contradictions and biases, as well as why I find it to be a clear expression of capitalism, by showing the character of the ideology and hegemony apparent in the material.

## 5.1 Vague and opaque – obscuring the details of P4G

At first glance, the project looks glossy with coordinated colour schemes, font styles, and professional layout. The layout of the website is an example of the professional look of the communication of P4G (See image 1.).



### Apply for the P4G State-of-the-Art Partnership Awards

P4G is celebrating the world's most innovative partnerships for sustainable development. Public-private partnerships that have achieved measurable success in addressing SDGs in food and agriculture, water, clean energy, sustainable cities and circular economy are invited to apply. Winners will be announced at an awards event in New York City at the time of the UN Climate Action Summit on September 23.

[LEARN MORE](#)

## What Do We Do?

### Innovation Hub for Partnerships



Image 1. Screenshot from [www.p4gpartnerships.org](http://www.p4gpartnerships.org) (P4G n.d.a).

Given that P4G is a global initiative and partnerships are fostered around the world it is easy to assume that the websites should be the main repository for information as it is easily accessible by anyone everywhere with internet. However, it proves difficult to find concrete information about P4G, contact details, and specifics about funding for the partnerships on the websites [P4gpartnerships.org](http://P4gpartnerships.org) and [P4GSummit.org](http://P4GSummit.org). Similar to the

websites, the report, the factsheet, the CPH commitment, and the funding guidelines leave much to be desired. Ulla Tørnæs (P4G Board Co-Chair and Danish Minister for Development Cooperation, MFA) writes in the introduction to the report *Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth*: “This report tells what P4G is and what we do, makes the case for public-private partnerships as a path to sustainability and provides details on the partnerships we are funding and facilitating this year.” (P4G report 2018: 1). This leads the reader to think that the report provides useful and detailed information about the initiative as well as the partnerships. It is true that the report tries to make the case for public-private partnerships as the pathway to sustainability, indeed the reason for businesses to work with the SDGs, however, we are presented with no informative details about P4G nor the partnerships they fund. The information provided is thus more at a theoretical and context level rather than providing specific technical details about partnerships. The P4G partnerships are presented in a short, superficial and pitch-like text in the last pages of the report systematised by the SDG they are pertinent to (P4G report 2018). In contrast to the graphically professional looking layout, there are several spelling errors, mistakes and inaccuracies throughout the report and on the websites. For instance, a couple of links to partner organisations’ websites are wrong, there is a mistake in a statement about the number of partnerships, and in the report they write SDG7, when the headline should have been SDG11 (P4G n.d.; P4G Summit n.d.; P4G report 2018: 18).

To find out details about funding for P4G itself it is necessary to download the Inception Review by the MFA (MFA 2018) and the program document (2017) which were made available by the newspaper *Information*. There is no description of how the initiative is funded or by which countries available on the websites or report. Likewise, there are no proper details about funding for the different partnerships funded by P4G on the website, nor in the report or in the factsheet. Searching long enough on the main website, one may find a post about the US\$ 4.3 Mil distributed between 6 out of the 8 scale-up partnerships (P4G funded partnerships 2018; see appendix A). I have not found specific information on funding for the start-up partnerships, nor the last two scale-up partnerships. Despite the fact that P4G is actually funded mainly by Danish development aid (Danida), this is not obvious in their communication. The fact that this information is not readily available can be considered a way of constructing an absence of conflict consistent with Lukes three-dimensional view of power (2005: 7, 18).

It is not surprising the initiative is opaque, since, as Lars Engberg-Pedersen (senior researcher at DIIS) argues, when the private sector becomes involved it is common that transparency disappears from the details of development funding (Andersen & Gjerding, 2018g). The journalists from *Information* describe the process of researching P4G and how difficult it was to get access to documents related to the case, for instance their requests for access to non-public documents were rejected or slowed down by the ombudsman (Andersen & Gjerding 2018a).



As part of the research into P4G I set up and undertook an interview with an employee from the Danish P4G platform. They<sup>24</sup> were very open and seemingly accommodating. In the email correspondence, in order to provide adequate information, as they framed it, they asked about the nature of the research and my choice of theory. They also asked when the thesis was due, so to stay within the time frame and we did the interview on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April. For me to use the interview in the research, I was told they needed seven days for internal approval of the transcription in the organisation and they received it on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April. However, I did not receive their approval until four weeks later, after many emails following up on their process approval – this along with the message that they also needed to approve the quotations used. This was right before the thesis was due, which did not give me enough time to include the interview in the analysis of the thesis. This experience and protracted process also goes to show that whilst P4G might give the appearance of being open, there is obviously a very strict control of the information that they are willing to share. Although they did not approve the transcript in time, they were very adamant that I could not use any material from the interview without approval.

In my email interaction with P4G, they recommended me to read a number of reports besides looking at the three websites (P4G n.d.a; P4GSummit n.d.; P4GDenmark n.d.) and the P4G report *Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth*. These recommendations include the reports *A World of Opportunities for Danish Businesses* by Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs (MFA 2019), *Green Growth to Achieve the Paris Agreement* by GGGI (2018) and *Better Business, Better World* by Business and Sustainable Development Commission (BSDC 2017). All of them present a particular point of view on sustainability, namely one rooted in green growth and green capitalism. This reinforces the notion that P4G is deeply rooted in this ideology.

The information available in documents and on the websites is obscured, while the polish of it speaks to it being more a marketing and branding exercise than one of actually communicating information. The fact that information about the details of P4G are so hard to come by, while they give the impression that there is plenty of detailed information, is a way of obscuring the actual circumstance and nature of P4G. It can be argued that this is limiting the possibility of criticism from the public/civil society, which is a use of power (cf. Dowding 2006; Lukes 2005). As mentioned, the documents, especially the report, which is the text-heavy one of the four documents, do indeed make the case for why businesses should take part in sustainable development. We examine the discourses around businesses and green growth in the following.

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<sup>24</sup> A gender neutral pronoun is deliberately used here.

## 5.2 Capitalism is inevitable and indispensable

In the next two sections, I explain how the relationship between sustainability and capitalism is presented. In this section of the analysis, I show that P4G assumes that capitalism and corporations are essential drivers of positive change to achieve sustainability. The answer to the environmental crisis is centred on private sector engagement to implement change, and it is expected that solutions (based on technological advances and innovation) come from businesses. This does not leave any room for consideration of other alternatives such as local, small-scale, and low-tech responses. In section 5.3, the perspective is shifted to that of corporations and show how the environmental crisis is framed as a profitable business opportunity for the private sector.

There lies a contradiction inherent in the communication by P4G about public-private partnerships in that there seems to be an assumption that we cannot tackle climate change without big businesses being involved in funding and inventing possible solutions, while on the other hand it is presented as an opportunity and risk management strategy for businesses. Thus on the one hand, solution to crisis is assumed to come from the private sector and on other, it is considered a profit maximising opportunity, which, depending on the particular problem, raises the question of why business would actually solve the problem if they can profit from it by merely addressing symptoms instead of root causes.

“[...] we recognize *our responsibility* to keep this powerful momentum to deliver *real* impact and *concrete* solutions at scale for a more sustainable future, especially in the developing countries. *There really is no alternative.*” (my emphasis, quote by Ulla Tørnæs, P4G report 2018: 1). In this statement, ‘our responsibility’ refers to the responsibility of rich countries, specifically Denmark, to power development in the Global South. As is stated in the Danish SDG Action Plan (Danish government 2017), it is assumed that Denmark has already achieved all SDGs within the borders of the country, which warrants Denmark the responsibility to ‘export’ that knowledge to other parts of the world. This perception is a very paternalistic view on the relationship between the Global North and the Global South. ‘Real’ impact and ‘concrete’ solutions, furthermore, signifies that other possible impacts or solutions not suggested by P4G are somehow not real, that they are less valuable and substantial. The final statement; ‘there is really no alternative’ presents the P4G initiative, as the only way to address the environmental crisis, there is no alternative but for sustainability to emerge from the private sector. While it is intended to sound like very concrete statements about action, nothing real is actually said. Such statement is value-heavy and thereby P4G makes it sound like a fuller statement of the truth, however, as Collier argues, it is merely value brought into discourse (1998: 451). That ‘real’ solutions to sustainability and the SDGs comes from business is presented as a natural fact statement and is consistent with Fisher’s explication of ideology as naturalised and hidden (2009: 16). With bold statements about systems change and transformations, P4G makes it sound like dramatic change will happen through public-private partnerships.

However, what is described as systems change or transformation, is more like the Gramscian understanding of a ‘passive revolution’ (Gramsci 2007: 106-107; Ives 2004 chapter 4; Wanner 2015; Swyngedouw 2011). When it is insinuated that other ways of addressing the environmental crisis that are not large-scale solutions contingent on market mechanisms are less real, less impactful, they are likely not taken seriously as a valid answer to the crisis, thereby forming a common sense directed at business solutions.

Business ‘solutions’ to climate often rely on ecological modernisation, with the notion that technological solutions will make humans capable of taming and controlling nature (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 171). While P4G does not go into depth about technological fixes, many funded partnerships revolve around technology of different sorts for instance in agriculture. The partnership ‘Towards Large-Scale Digital Decision Support Systems for Farmers’ is an example of introducing technological solutions to more sustainable approaches to farming as it “[...] will allow Malawian farmers to access information related to site-specific use of fertilizer” via a Big Data platform (P4G report 2018: 10). The data platform is intended to be a tool for farmers to better direct and manage their use of fertilisers. It is not clear whether the infrastructure for a digital decision support system exists and even whether lack of access to information is really the problem or if it is something else like lack of money to buy fertilisers, etc. Further, there is no mention of the fertilisers being organic or chemical. There is, as a matter of fact, no mention at all in the report about organic farming and foods.

‘Locking in’ private investment is also an essential part of P4G. It aims at getting business involved. And based on the description of funding in the funding guidelines (2018: 2) it is reasonable to assume that the private/commercial partner will fund the remaining 50% or 25% of the partnership.

*“Above all else, we’re going to need private investment and public-private partnerships to deliver on the projects that governments are now making possible.”<sup>25</sup>*

*“Without the big companies, we get nowhere, right?! They have the leverage, they have the implementation power, they have the investors, so if the big companies rally behind it then we have a chance that we meet the goals of the P4G.”<sup>26</sup>*

These quotes go to support the perception of corporations as indispensable. Governments cannot do it alone, but the solution is not regulation but motivation of corporations. What is also noticeable is which actors are left out. There is almost no mention of civil society or NGOs being important partners. This aspect is elaborated more in section 5.4. It is primarily about large companies rather than small, medium and micro enterprises,

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<sup>25</sup> Quote by Mark Watts, Executive Director, C40 Cities (P4G report 2018: II).

<sup>26</sup> Quote by Joost Oorthuizen, CEO of IDH, Sustainable Trade Initiative (NL) (P4G Summit Full Recap 2018).

that might have been able to serve to distribute the power more evenly within society. As it stands, this serves to concentrate power in the hands of big corporations and worse, transfer some power and responsibility from the state to the private sector, which is not a legitimately elected representative of citizens. The perception of corporations being not only inevitable but indeed indispensable in the achievement of the SDGs is what Wright and Nyberg term the myth of corporate omnipotence (2015: 170-172). The negative impact large corporations have unquestionably had on the current state of the world are barely acknowledged in P4G documentation. On the contrary, consistent with Wright & Nyberg's account, corporate capitalism is perceived as the superior form of economic organisation of the economy, efficient and rational, a myth so prevalent that climate action is typically framed as a business case and policy initiatives addressing climate change focus on 'the market' (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 170-171). The dominating economic language about the partnerships is observable in for instance the description of the partnerships on SDG6: "Poorly managed and underpriced water often results in overuse and losses that are not addressed." (P4G report 2018: 12). Market power and market efficiency are clearly considered to be the best ways of dealing with water distribution, in this case in Vietnam. Another example is the perception of people for electrifying developing countries to succeed; it is essential to support "the market's most overlooked resource: its users" (P4G report 2018: 16).

### 5.3 Opportunity for profit – the green agenda is good business sense

*"The moment is ripe for businesses around the globe to help drive the shift to a sustainable economy, for their own profit, wider prosperity and the long-term well-being of the planet."*<sup>27</sup>

The very first statement on page 6 of the report puts businesses at the centre, arguing that the shift to a sustainable economy will benefit corporations' own profits as well as general prosperity, which from context, clearly means green growth, sometimes also referred to as sustainable growth or green economy. This ties into the notion of the trickle-down effect – that if big business prospers then this will inevitably trickle down and deliver higher prosperity for the population. This myth has been debunked long ago but is still used as a persuasive tool. The idea of sustainability expressed in this quote also aligns with the business concept of triple bottom line; people, planet, profit, which is a central notion used by businesses incorporating sustainability in their business model (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 171-172).

P4G attempts at framing the SDGs as a business opportunity, as a means for corporations to maximise profit. This is illustrated in the quotes below, which all argue in different ways how the SDGs present a business opportunity for making a profit and for businesses to place themselves ahead of trends.

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<sup>27</sup> (P4G report 2018: 6).

*“We must turn global commitments into sustainable business models”<sup>28</sup>*

*“The SDGs are an inventory of business opportunities.”<sup>29</sup>*

*“It [the SDGs] probably is the biggest business opportunity that mankind has ever seen.”<sup>30</sup>*

*“Aligning operations with the SDGs can position businesses ahead of market trends.”<sup>31</sup>*

This perception of the SDGs is consistent with the idea about sustainability as an opportunity for growth and profit expressed in the reports P4G recommend on their website, as well as those recommended to me in the email correspondence with P4G, some of which are loosely referenced in the P4G report. “The Business and Sustainable Development Commission reports in *Better Business, Better World* that the SDGs hold US\$12 trillion worth of business opportunity, ranging from affordable urban housing to agricultural technology advances.” (P4G report 2018: 6). “The latest research from the New Climate Economy (NCE) finds that climate action and green growth could deliver at least US\$26 trillion in economic benefit through 2030 compared with business-as-usual, including the creation of over 65 million new low-carbon jobs, the avoidance of over 700,000 premature deaths from air pollution and the generation of an estimated US\$2.8 trillion in government revenues through subsidy reform and carbon pricing.” (P4G report 2018: 6). The message is clear, that sustainability is posited to be a good business opportunity. The fact that sustainability has been quantified in financial terms can be seen as a form of commodification and marketization as is conceptualised by Fraser (2014) and Polanyi (2001).

P4G promises more than just the profit that can be ‘unlocked’ in the SDGs. “Partnerships selected as P4G Partnership finalists receive high-profile recognition. We feature our partnerships and their projects with our network partners, business and investor audiences, on news media and social media.” (P4G report 2018: 5). In the report *Better Business, Better World* it is emphasised many times that it is not just about responsibility but about return on capital (BSDC 2017). Being featured as a P4G partnership is a way of showing responsibility and securing good brand value. Being responsible becomes a claim of legitimacy of companies to ensure or regain trust, and makes the case for businesses as corporate citizens consistent with Wright & Nyberg’s analysis (2015: 168). In addition to recognition P4G also supports partnerships with facilitation, which “[...] may include convening investors, businesses, and governments around new business models, connecting the

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<sup>28</sup> Said by Lars Løkke Rasmussen at the P4G Summit (P4GSummit Day 1 2018: 14.09).

<sup>29</sup> Quote by Peder Holk Nielsen, President & CEO, Novozymes, (P4G report 2018: II).

<sup>30</sup> Said by Paul Polman, CEO, Unilever at the P4G Summit (P4GSummit Day 1 2018: 33.29).

<sup>31</sup> (P4G report 2018: 6)

partnership to government stakeholders to advocate for policies that enable favorable market conditions, matching known solutions to new market opportunities, and highlighting the partnership at global events.” (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 2). P4G promise to help partnerships pitch the projects to investors as well as present opportunities for them to network with other businesses and governments from around the world (P4G report 2018: 4). As emphasis is placed on market-based solutions for emerging markets, this can be seen as facilitating the expansion of business and therefore encouraging the spread of capitalist ventures and partnerships beyond P4G.

P4G’s definition of innovative partnerships is those that demonstrate the capacity to address barriers to the private sector not yet addressed by the market (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 7). Thus, innovation for P4G partnerships means the ability to address and overcome barriers to private sector entrants. These barriers are mentioned in the report and the CPH commitment, however, it is not specified what those barriers entail. This is only revealed in the funding guidelines; the partnership shows market potential when it is “designed to overcome financial, institutional, operational, or other critical barriers to meeting the SDGs with an innovative, scalable, and commercially viable solution.” (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 3). In addition to this, in the second phase of application, the partnership must develop a risk analysis with risk evaluation and a risk mitigation plan. Those risks referred to may occur in areas of “human capital, technological, process, political, legal and economic” (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 5). It is interesting to note the wording of ‘human capital’, which very narrowly defines social and cultural elements to a form of capital for the economic system. The fact that other risks are political and legal indicates that local laws should be altered or in other ways overcome in order for partnerships to introduce their market solutions to a given market. These definitions of risks and barriers suggest no real respect for other nations’ sovereignty or the inherent value and agency of humans and nature.

The construction of risks is a typical business strategy, which, according to Wright & Nyberg, “[...] are changing the perceptions of climate change and turning the dangers into opportunities for capital accumulation and expansion.” They continue: “After all, if climate change can be portrayed as a basis for further capitalist growth then there is arguably no reason to stop it.” (2015: 48). This analysis by Wright and Nyberg is manifest in the communication in P4G. It speaks to the notion that climate change is not seen as a threat to our very survival but a profit maximising opportunity. The whole paradigm is thus oriented not to improving quality of life of humans on the planet but improving business bottom lines. In a perverse way, more climate change equals more business opportunities. This is, coherent with the neoliberal project of capitalism, an expression of the complete naturalisation and saturation of market logic as described by Mirowski (2014: 31). Everything, even sustainable development, is commodified.

## 5.4 Funding (green) capitalism

To address and achieve the “SDGs and the Paris agreement on climate change” (P4G report 2018: 5), collaboration across sectors and countries is necessary. This is a concept most people can get behind. However, not only are corporations perceived to be the indispensable driver for sustainable development, they are put at the very centre of P4G. This is manifested through the advertisement-like messages and statements throughout the P4G material, in which they offer different arguments for why businesses should work with the SDGs and the goals of the Paris Agreement. The role of P4G is apparently to incentivise businesses, to compel them to become involved in public-private partnerships, implement the SDGs, and work with sustainability, rather than appeal to civil society and NGOs.

It is a noteworthy fact that civil society seems left out of the communication, even though it may represent the non-commercial partner in public-private partnerships. Indigenous peoples are not mentioned at all, which is worrying as many of the partnerships target rural Africa. Labour rights are briefly mentioned in the description of the partnership on Special Economic Zones (SEZ), in which they write that labour rights conditions are often criticised and the environmental footprint is disregarded in regular SEZs (P4G report 2018: 24-25). Unsurprisingly, there is not any mention of the benefits for non-commercial partners. They are commonly described, not as NGO or CSO, but as non-profit or non-commercial and is defined as “non-governmental organizations, civil society, business member organizations, trade unions, or others that operate on a non-profit basis” (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 3). Thus, the non-commercial, public partner in a given partnership is not necessarily an NGO/CSO, but is as likely to be a business member organisation or a trade union or even a municipality.

With the little available information, it is difficult to know how the different partnerships work, however, it is clear that they are all very different in nature and as mentioned it is by no means all partnerships that include an NGO/CSO partner. For some the non-commercial partner is governments, or business member organisation. Funding is transferred to the non-commercial partner and is then distributed from them to the partnership activities and partners. While funding for scale-up partnerships must at maximum represent 50% of the total budget and 75% for start-up partnerships, it is unclear how funding and distribution otherwise work.

While addressing very different issues, the partnerships all include larger corporations and a core premise for funding, facilitation, or winning the state-of-the-art is based on the partnership’s assessment of risks and overcoming barriers, be it political and legal or otherwise, and on its ability to introduce market-based solutions. The role of the non-commercial partner, whether they are NGOs or CSOs, business associations, or governmental entities, is to pave the way for market solutions and offer local expertise to ensure market

success. As such, this can be seen as a way to make NGOs work according to business practices of capital and thereby expand the influence of capitalism. Examples from P4G partnerships count humanitarian and development organisations such as DanChurchAid, The Story of Stuff, Danish Refugee Counsel, and SNV Netherland Development Organisation, the Danish Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and China Environmental Protection Foundation, while other non-commercial partners count WRAP (UK), World Resources Institute, World Business Council for Sustainable Development, the Development Bank of Southern Africa, and national, regional and municipal governments (P4G n.d.a; See appendix A). The corporations involved in P4G partnerships are typically quite large, and include among others Alibaba, Arla Foods, and more. In the state-of-the-art partnerships, partnerships selected to gain recognition and exposure as examples of successful public-private partnerships, partners include organisations and corporations such as the World Bank, WWF, TESCO, LIDL, Volvo, Nestlé, IBM and more (Ibid.). The fact that multinational corporations are at the centre of P4G partnerships and collaborations, that partnerships function in accordance with corporate principles, that the role of non-commercial partners is to advance the capitalist project, and that “sustainability” becomes a means for profit, all whilst potential benefits (not to mention potential harms) for civil society are not addressed – all goes to support the argument that P4G is a capitalist project which serves to strengthen the hegemonic ideology of capitalism

Partnerships and collaborations between NGOs/CSOs and corporations is not a new thing. Many large NGOs are engaging actively with businesses nowadays, including WWF’s collaboration with H&M (H&M n.d.), Greenpeace’s collaboration with McDonalds (Skar 2015) and Action Aid Denmark with Arla Foods (MS 2015). Collaborations in general between businesses and NGOs are commonly considered rational and beneficial from both parties as they open up the possibility to change business practices (Webb 2005), however, as the goal is merely to change business practices collaborating with businesses precludes the possibility to address the root of the problem; namely the ultimate priority of profits.

The role of governments is also unclear in P4G communication, albeit, it is indicated that governments should share investment risks and provide support for market expansion. Referencing a UN report, it is stated that half of the business sector believes that achieving the SDGs require for governments to take responsibility. P4G argues that “While governments have a role to play, neither they nor businesses can go it alone if the SDGs’ ambitious targets are to be met.” (P4G report 2018: 6). The course taken by P4G seems to be that governments, rather than regulate social and environmental impacts, should incentivise and entice businesses to get involved in sustainability and therefore the SDGs are reframed as a business opportunity.

*"Businesses can benefit when governments share investment risks, ensuring political stability and local market expertise." (P4G report 2018: 6).*



This quote presents a clear vision by P4G; that governments' role in addressing the SDGs and the Paris Agreement is to share the investment risk with corporations – evidently large ones, like those funded in P4G partnerships. It is stated in the report that governments will gain an estimated US\$2.8 trillion in revenues from subsidy reform and carbon pricing, however, this is nowhere elaborated nor specified where in the world governments can expect such gain (P4G report 2018: 6). This view of nation states as an instrument to capitalism can be seen as an example of the increasing proliferation of neoliberalized capitalism and its effect on economics, culture and politics (Heynen & Robbins 2005: 5).

### 5.5 Shifting the paradigm (to green capitalism)

In this section, I present an analysis of how P4G and the discourse underpinning it offer a narrow accounting of shared values and visions. As shown in sections 5.2 and 5.3, the vision is one of green capitalism, which essentially excludes those seeking alternative ways of addressing climate change and the SDGs and thereby relates to the issue of who has power and a role to play in sustainability and development.

P4G markets any partner (country, organisation or partnerships) as being part of a “global network of Do’ers” (P4G report 2018: 5) and “[...] aims to be the world’s leading forum for developing concrete public-private partnerships at scale to deliver inclusive growth and implement the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change” (P4G report 2018: 2). The language in the documents generally speaks to positive action and to ‘taking charge’; such as is the case with ‘Do’er’. The language used can be associated with that of positive words and motivational speaking and is supposed to inspire and encourage.

It is about opportunity rather than crisis. In fact, there is no discussion of a climate crisis or threat, rather, they write climate change and environmental impact, but most commonly ‘sustainable’ or ‘green development’ and ditto ‘economy’. This is a powerful way of framing the narrative around climate change in a way that transfers attention away from the real fundamental problems we face. In a sense, it focuses on responses without acknowledging the drivers and pressures which are in fact internal to the logic of capital. The language in the documents revolves around words and expressions such as ‘commercially viable’, ‘emerging markets’, ‘green performance’, ‘efficiency’, ‘revenue’, ‘investment’, ‘technologies’, ‘innovations’, ‘accelerate’, ‘advancements’, ‘incubation’ and so on. The language is very economic and modernist, and can be associated with business discourse, contrary to the language of the SDGs, for instance, which is more about improving quality of life. Indeed, even the framing and renaming of the selected five the SDGs goes to support the project of the marketization the SDGs (See section 2.2.1 and 5.3). It is stated in the *CPH Commitment* the SDGs present the shared vision and goals. The shared vision is alluded to several times in the other P4G documents,

however, in those documents it is not clear what they are. Correspondingly, they do not speak of crisis, as this is considered to be a negative word. In contrast the newspaper The Guardian just published an article announcing that they will prioritise words like crisis referring the climate and environmental state as this speaks to the urgency we should be feeling (Carrington 2019) and countries around the world are declaring climate emergency (BBC 2019). In P4G matters pertaining to climate and environment are framed as ‘sustainable’ or ‘green’ (development, growth, solutions). Using exclusively positive language serves to distinguish between those who ‘act’ from those who ‘merely talk or protest’ – the latter group considered idle and even counterproductive, and their messages and actions are thereby effectively dismissed. P4G speaks of a shared vision and shared goals intended to unite actors on a specific path determining a specific way of addressing sustainability. As mentioned it is not clear what that the shared vision and shared goals are considered to be the SDGs. For instance, on page 6 in the P4G report (2018) they refer to a shared vision that place people and planet at the centre but they do not elaborate. I found it specified only in the P4G *CPH commitment* in which they actually state that the shared vision is the SDGs. “The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Climate Agreement define a shared vision with concrete targets for a better and more sustainable future that can drive inclusive growth.” (P4G CPH Commitment 2018). According to the *CPH Commitment*, to meet these targets require “[...] urgent need for leadership from government, business and civil society and for accelerated action.” (Ibid.). P4G presents itself as taking this leadership position driving change through funding and facilitating partnerships. The shared vision of the SDGs is adapted from five selected SDGs corresponding five specific focus areas, that framed – some are even renamed – to suit the business language of P4G. Most notably SDG2 ‘zero hunger’ is food and agriculture, and SDG12 ‘responsible consumption and production’ is called circular economy (See section 2.2.1 and appendix D, concept map over P4G report). Why these five SDGs are chosen out of all seventeen is unclear. The SDGs were thought to be a combined set of guidelines, not a game of pick and choose. Furthermore, what is effectively left out of the SDGs are notably the goals on climate action, no poverty, reduced inequality, life on land and life below water (SDG n.d.). This is likely a conscious choice, consistent with their own renaming and interpretation of the SDGs that they selected.

With the little concrete information and grand statements such as ‘unlocking business opportunities’ or ‘a global network of Do’ers’ P4G presents the reader with sweeping assertions embedded in an ideology of (unspoken, hidden) green capitalism and (explicitly articulated) green growth. What is interpreted as a paradigm shift within development discourse and sustainability efforts is a turn to green growth, which is deemed a positive and necessary change by proponents such as Ulla Tørnæs, while critics see it as a commercialisation of development aid (Andersen & Gjerding 2018g; Frandsen 2017). Thus, it changes who are planned to benefit from aid. “In addition to the belief that it is private companies that are best at driving developing countries towards sustainable economic development, it is also about finding new instruments to

activate the private capital of large investors – such as the Danish pension funds – in projects in developing countries. Here Denmark already has a number of tools: The Investment Fund for Developing Countries (IFU), the newly created SDG Fund of US\$ 597 Mil<sup>32</sup>, an agricultural fund and a climate fund, which is also being run by IFU. In addition, there is Danida Market Development Partnerships, which also finance partnerships in developing countries.”<sup>33</sup> (Andersen & Gjerding 2018g). This does change the nature of development aid, because, as mentioned in section 5.1, transparency typically disappears from development funding as the private sector gets involved. The hegemony of green capitalism and green growth is representative of a paradigm shift contingent with Alvesson & Sköldberg’s description (2009: 20) and is signified by “[...] when one thought structure substitutes another, not on the basis of falsification, but for quite other reasons, including the capacity to attract supporters, who in time will come to dominate the research community.” According to Andersen and Gjerding (2018g) UN paved the way for the paradigm shift with the SDGs, e.g. SDG 17 on partnerships, which was easily incorporated into the Danish agenda of P4G and used to claim legitimacy of the projects. Rightfully, P4G can be considered a manifestation of a paradigm shift towards a solution-based approach to climate change through the theory about green growth.

While P4G emerged as a Danish initiative and is inherently connected to Denmark because most funding comes from Danida and because of the positions of Lars Løkke and Ulla Tørnæs in P4G, P4G does operate on a global level and holds strong ties to international agencies and organisations such as UN, World Economic Forum, The World Bank and World Resources Institute. It is therefore important to not only analyse the power at play in a Danish context, but in a global context. In a power context, analysing how P4G works and what agenda it supports, P4G can be interpreted as reproducing the structures of core-periphery through the expansion of capital into new regions of the world. An example of power here is the nondecision-making taking place, such as choosing to spend development aid to secure new ground in the global economy for multinational corporations, some of them Danish (cf. Lukes 2005: 53). When macro-level strategies, such as aid, are depoliticised it serves to legitimise them, while politicising strategies – revealing power structures and impacts – enables a critical perspective and may delegitimise them (Fairclough 2013: 242). The discourse in not only P4G’s communication but the discourse and ideology present in other large international, intergovernmental institutions, such as the UN, OECD and the World Bank as well as knowledge institutions like New Climate Economy (NCE), and other publishers of reports also enforce the hegemony of green capitalism and green growth. Even though it is heavily disputed and even debunked by scientists in studies

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<sup>32</sup> DKK 4 billion / €535 Mil, May 20<sup>th</sup> 2019.

<sup>33</sup> Translated from “Udover tiltroen til, at det er private virksomheder, som er bedst til at drive udviklingslande frem mod en bæredygtig økonomisk udvikling, handler det også om at finde nye instrumenter til at aktivere den private kapital fra store investorer – såsom de danske pensionskasser – i projekter i udviklingslandene. Her har Danmark allerede en række værktøjer: Investeringsfonden for Udviklingslande (IFU), den nyoprettede Verdensmålsfond på fire milliarder kroner, en landbrugsfond og en klimafond, som også bliver drevet af IFU. Derudover er der Danida Market Development Partnerships, som ligeledes finansierer partnerskaber i udviklingslandene.”

testing scenarios for green growth (Hickel & Kallis 2019; Wanner 2015), the myth that it is possible to have growth in GDP and absolute decoupling is developed in the neoliberal economic school, neoclassic economic theory. This economic theory succeeded in becoming so dominant because it is essentially the only theory taught and accepted to be true in universities worldwide (Dewhurst n.d.), a theory that strengthens the neoliberal project, which has taken dominance in political thinking worldwide (Peck 2010). By depoliticising the initiative and the funded partnerships, P4G precludes possible criticism and legitimises whatever projects of capitalism they facilitate and reinforce.

## 5.6 Concluding remarks

As is evident from the analysis, the *raison d'être* of P4G is entirely based on the idea that green growth is attainable. Moreover, the viewpoint that green growth can be achieved is consistent with the endorsement of the theory by the international political sphere. While it may not be obvious from a superficial reading of the P4G documents and their website, the critical discourse analysis, informed by the theoretical framework, reveals how P4G is entrenched in the hegemony of green capitalism. The use of business discourse and the intense focus on business is an undeniable expression of the trust in capitalism, a sign of the hegemony of (green) capitalism, which is already so prevalent in powerful institutions across the world. Capitalism is, however, never mentioned by name, it is unnamed. This goes to show that capitalism, as a concept, has different connotations than growth; its name is most often used in critiques of the economic system. Furthermore, by not mentioning it by name, capitalism is naturalised which allows it the status of a hidden ideology. This is consistent with Fisher's argument that the ideology which is hidden and naturalised is the most powerful (Fisher 2009: 16). It limits the scope of critique and imagination.

I consider P4G's support to public-private partnership, through which development aid is channelled to big corporations, as a form of capitalism itself – indeed an expression of the trust in green capitalism and a reproduction and reinforcement of the hidden ideology of capitalism. The goal of corporations remains to maximise profit and market share, which is evidently something that P4G acknowledges, as their whole communication strategy is framed as an advertisement pitch to corporations. While it is clearly considered to be an alternative to the present 'business as usual', they merely state that it should be business unusual (P4G Summit Day 1 2018, 13.40). There is nothing transformative about strengthening a system based on profit maximisation in a world with planetary boundaries, at a time where inequality is rising and the poorest nations face the biggest brunt of the environmental crisis. One cannot change the structures with an abundance of reforms (Collier 1998: 464).

## 6. DISCUSSION – HEGEMONY AND IDEOLOGY OF GREEN CAPITALISM

The communication in the material by P4G clearly expresses the discourse of green growth and green capitalism, as well as a new mode of understanding sustainable development as growth, similar the ‘sustainable development’ Bullard criticises in her paper “It’s Too Late for Sustainability: What we need is system change” (2011). The Initiative P4G draws on and gains legitimacy from the SDGs, specifically the idea about public-private partnerships as they promote the doctrine of green growth. The main focus of the discussion is to bind into the case of P4G Gramsci’s theory about hegemony, Althusser’s conceptualisation of ideology and Lukes explication of a three-dimensional view of power as I discuss the findings and interpretations of the discursive and social practice. This serves to answer the question about how the conviction of green capitalism as a way to solve the environmental crisis persists through the workings of hegemony, ideology and power to reinforce green capitalism as a response to the environmental crisis.

### 6.1 Hegemony and the passive revolution of green growth

Green capitalism, along with green growth, appear to bridge the gap from irresponsible business practices to an idea about the corporation as a moral citizen (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 169). This process is a form of ‘passive revolution’ in the Gramscian sense (Gramsci 2007), to ensure the hegemony of capitalism. It serves to characterise the response to the environmental crisis by the international political elites (Swyngedouw 2011; Wanner 2015). “A Gramscian ‘passive revolution’ has taken place over the past few years, whereby the elites have not only acknowledged the climate conundrum and, thereby, answered the call of the ‘people’ to take the climate seriously, but are moving rapidly to convince the world that indeed, capitalism cannot only solve the climate riddle, but that it can actually make a new climate by unmaking the one it has co-produced over the past few hundred years.” (Swyngedouw 2011: 270). Likewise, Wanner writes “Sustainable development emerged as a passive revolution to maintain capitalist hegemony and economic growth in the light of environmentalist critiques about disastrous social and environmental consequences of industrial modern capitalism and calls for ‘limits to growth’” (2015: 27).

There is no mentioning of limits, crisis, or inequality in the documents by P4G. Thereby they can be ignored and pose no challenge for P4G. While the initiative claims to address the major problems of our time, they only focus on a selected five SDGs, none of which concern climate change, biodiversity loss or inequality. Rather, these are renamed and framed for business. It is evident that sustainable development for P4G does not concern the physical limits of the planet. Instead it puts business at the forefront of sustainable development and gives more power to business elites.

## 6.2 Neoliberalization and the Ideological State Apparatus

The reinvention of capitalism as green capitalism (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 4) was an unavoidable development under the regime of neoliberal capitalism (Heynen & Robbins 2005). P4G is a good example of the neoliberalist tendencies that are on the rise globally and in Danish politics. While it may not be obvious, neoliberalization transfers power to the market as trust in the market overrules other priorities traditionally attributed to the Danish state. Consistent with the neoliberalization of society, through which governance is directed to favour capitalist interests, natural and common resources are privatised and commodified (valorised) (Heynen & Robbins 2005). The agenda in P4G is professed to lead to wider prosperity and wellbeing, thereby presenting ideology of green capitalism and green growth as the interest of all. This relies on the idea of the trickle-down effect, fostered by the doctrine of neoclassical economics. This theoretical field underpins the ideology of neoliberal processes, and takes place in the ideological state apparatus of education (cf. Althusser 2014) and shapes the formation of a common sense (cf. Gramsci 2007). From there neoclassical economics and neoliberal ideology influence the political apparatus, the state, and manifests in policies, ministries, civil service organs, and public administration. The state thereby simultaneously produces and becomes an instrument of the economic superstructure (Jessop 1977: 355). Making the connection between neoliberalism, green growth and the role of the state and state apparatuses, provides an understanding of P4G and its role in maintaining the hegemony of capitalism. P4G functions as a state apparatus to maintain the present economic structure.

While it is presented as politically independent, P4G is established by the Danish government in power and is closely linked to the leader of the centre-right liberal party Venstre, our present Prime Minister, Lars Løkke Rasmussen.<sup>34</sup> I categorise green growth/capitalism as a form of ideological hegemony and, as hegemony (as it is conceptualised by Jessop), the ideology of capitalism is secured by the dominant bloc, the political elite, by gaining the support from the dominated classes (Jessop 1977: 368). P4G, as an initiative led by the Danish government and championed by the Prime Minister, is a classic example of this: “Such support does not stem from simple 'false consciousness', but is rooted in the incorporation of certain interests and aspirations of the 'people' into the dominant ideology” (Ibid.: 368). In this case, the widespread interest in addressing climate change and sustainable development. Growth is embedded in our understanding of welfare in Denmark; with the positive connotations it presents an agenda that seemingly is for the many. However, it is ignoring the reality of limits to growth.

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<sup>34</sup> Venstre has been in government since June 2015 with leader of the party, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, as Denmark's Prime Minister. There is a governmental election on 5<sup>th</sup> of June this year, 2019.

### 6.3 Exclusion by positive language and nondecision-making

The Ideological State Apparatus serves the elite and ensures the dominance of the market – the capitalist economy – over the state (Jessop 1977). With increased privatisation society gradually gives up control over economic processes (Ilcan 2009; Wanner 2015: 35). The process of privatisation drives a depoliticisation of society, including environmental and social crisis while capitalism gains ground (Ibid.).

As I explicate in section 6.2, first and foremost, it is a fallacy to assume that the state is neutral (cf. Jessop 1977: 356). Secondly, we need to regard the state as a system of political domination (cf. Jessop 1977: 356). The depoliticisation of P4G and the ideology of green growth/green capitalism is a form of power at work (cf. Lukes 2005) and a well-known political strategy excluding issues or people from the political decision making (cf. Fairclough 2013: 241, 242). The positive language and the nature of who are addressed or not in P4G communication is a process of exclusion, as mentioned in the analysis, as those who may be critical of green growth or business-dominated approach to development are excluded from the conversation. Partnerships must take a corporate approach to development, as they need to present market-solutions and develop a risk analysis and strategy to overcome barriers. It is a very specific way of operating. Thereby, smaller NGOs not willing to be co-opted by business strategies and goals are excluded from partnerships. Driving one particular approach to sustainable development ensures that partnerships are aligned with the aim of capitalism.

The interests of capitalism are presented as the interest of all, the common good of prosperous society, welfare, thus growth, the maximisation of profits is considered to be the best for all (Smith 2015: 63). And the argument makes sense in so far as many jobs around the globe are dependent on the current capitalist economic system. It makes sense as long as we ignore the reality of inequality between the richest and the poorest (Oxfam 2017). Criticism of capitalism is commonly refuted by arguments about it being idealistic/unrealistic, asking condescendingly what the suggested alternatives would be or how to change the system, while people who seem merely acquiescent may state with apathy that this is just the way it is. Such responses to criticism is often anchored in what is considered realpolitik – practical politics with no regard to moral considerations – and is part of the political ideological state apparatus maintaining the power of the bourgeoisie, the corporate elites of the world (cf. Althusser 2014). This is illustrated in the claim that P4G offers ‘real’ impact, thereby rejecting other responses to the environmental issues as meaningless. Pragmatism – when one is considered to be a ‘realist’ – is associated with the mainstream political project, that of the ideological state apparatus. As it maintains the legitimacy of capitalism it limits the scope of criticism of capitalism and alternative action. The discourse in P4G as well as generally in the green development agenda breeds the impression that NGOs not willing to collaborate with corporations are unrealistic about the state of the world – the perception of the world that capitalism is natural. As such, it is applauded when NGOs ‘come to terms with reality’ and assist

the capitalist project through public-private partnerships effectively offering the corporation legitimacy instead of criticising these processes from the side lines. It is clear that P4G does not primarily speak to humanitarian and development organisations, as many of the partners are other types of non-commercial organisations. This use of development aid is illustrative of a paradigm shift towards business-oriented development as I elaborate in section 5.5.

The discourse of P4G and the criteria for private-public partnerships gives space to already powerful global actors and corporations, and presents an agenda which is depoliticised. This is illustrative of what Wanner (2015) observes: “Green economy is the promise of a green capitalism without questioning the underlying dynamics and power relations and causes of unsustainability of this system.” (Wanner 2015: 36). In actuality the discourse aids a further intensification of the commodification of nature and reproduces the myth of limitless growth (Ibid.). The discourse, Wanner argues, is deeply embedded in neoliberal capitalism, and aims “[...] to co-opt and neutralise counter-hegemonic challenges to neoliberal capitalism and its entrenched interests [...]” (Wanner 2015: 23), such as sustainable agenda and ecological arguments serve to obfuscate the contradictions of these conflicting interests (Dale et. al. 2016: 5).

In nondecision-making and control of the agenda the ideology of capitalism is naturalised in P4G documents. It is not even considered whether another system would be more apt in the face of the environmental crisis. In fact, even questioning capitalism or growth is derided, there is no space for it. Swyngedouw calls attention to the non-conflict in the post-political condition. “Although disagreement and debate are of course still possible, they operate within an overall model of elite consensus and agreement [...]” (Swyngedouw 2011: 267). While capitalism is never actually mentioned by name, the project of capitalism soars through P4G documents as if the agenda presented no conflict of interests. Rather, the idea of business is associated with entrepreneurship and inventions and as such, it is perceived as consensual (cf. Lukes 2005: 29, 36; see appendix B) and, in the case of P4G, argued to be the solution to the crisis. Thereby P4G is exemplar of power at work by not naming capitalism, depoliticising the project, and ensuring a nondecision-making process.

## 6.4 Marketization of sustainable development

The five selected SDGs are branded as a business opportunity for corporations. P4G expects sustainable development to promise unlimited economic growth. The P4G report (2018) addresses primarily businesses in an attempt to motivate corporations to undertake green business practices. They do so by professing the contradictory arguments that private investment and innovation is necessary to achieve the SDGs, that “green growth may bring at least US\$26 trillion in economic benefit, while governments are supposed to share



investment risks, and that it will mean a loss for business if they do not get on the green trend now (2018: ii, 6; NCE 2017: 8, 12).

The reports that are referenced and recommended by P4G reinforce this view on green growth, that answers to global issues come in the form of market-based solutions by large corporations and that there are high profits to be made. It is a reasonable assumption, given the history of capitalism, that the trillions to be gained in private sector profits from the SDGs will not benefit the wider population of the globe. This fact is, however, ignored by P4G.

While the narrative that there is no alternative (P4G report 2018: 1) aims at convincing businesses that there is no other option than to become ‘green’, aligned with the SDGs, what P4G is effectively expressing is that there is no alternative to capitalism. As Lars Løkke proclaimed in his speak and the P4G Copenhagen Summit, “We do not need business as usual, we need business unusual” (P4G Summit Day 1 2018, 13.40). This states the necessity of business, albeit in a slightly different – unusual – way. As my analysis showed, P4G does not, as they claim, offer an alternative, or system change, they merely tweak the system and make it less bad, while it continues to operate on the same lines of profit maximisation.

## 6.5 Expansion of capitalism

Green economy/growth is a new scheme to legitimise the global capitalist economic order through a narrative of ‘win-win’ logic (Wanner 2015: 27). From the discourse of green growth follows a certain perspective on development which should supposedly be achieved through green growth, effectively green capitalism. The marketization of sustainability becomes a means by which core nations can ensure market interests and gain influence in periphery countries, as the process is disguised as development.

The primary focus of many partnerships is on cities and on middle-income economies as these are often considered safe and therefore more likely to be targeted as new markets for business opportunities, rather than investing in low-income countries. However, in countries where the state is considered weak, corporations are seen as the primary remover of any social or sustainable issue (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 168). This perception of corporations, along with the myths of corporate citizenship and corporate social responsibility (CSR), legitimises capitalist expansion to ‘developing countries’ with emerging markets. P4G’s definition of risks as legal and political barriers to market entrants (P4G Funding Guidelines 2018: 5) is consistent with that perception of corporations and will warrant increased power to the capitalist project in the Global South. This is an important indication that we are seeing a shift from government to governance and a hollowing out of democracy where elected representative bodies are handing over key functions to private corporations. “[...]”

the green economy/growth discourse perpetuates the dominance of neoliberal economic thinking and the belief in sustainable economic growth which overall benefits the North and sustains current capitalist hegemony.” Wanner 2015: 32).

On a planet with physical limits, the question must be how growth is possible. Because, as Hoffman (2016: 37) writes “The rich nations will not opt to halt or reverse growth while the poor nations catch up, and conversely, the developing world will not forgo growth while the rich countries try to figure out if they can maintain their current lifestyles in a sustainable way.” Masked as development, the core extracts wealth from the periphery, as money literally flows out of poorer nations through, for instance, tax havens, effectively obscuring the maldistribution of resources in the world (Hickel 2017). Critical grass root movements demonstrating outside the P4G Copenhagen Summit on October 19th 2018 asks the question “Growth for Whom?” (Duk Op 2018). Maybe the secret to continuous growth for Denmark is continuous market expansion and branding of Danish corporate giants such as Arla and Grundfos, disguised as sustainable development aid. Thus the question of sustainable development and green growth quickly becomes a postcolonial issue.

As the criticism of green growth also confirms (Dale et. al. 2016; Hickel & Kallis 2019; Swyngedouw 2011; Wanner 2015), green growth is not a solution, and neither is green capitalism. Both are dependent on the continued expansion, exploitation by private corporations, followed most often by neoliberal privatization of natural resources with the argument that it improves efficiency, while it actually proves detrimental to the environment and people’s livelihoods (Ilcan 2009: 208). Bullard states the question “perhaps the greatest challenge we face is not so much about how we understand sustainability, but rather how we understand development” (Bullard 2011: 141). She argues that we have tried ‘solving’ problems in the wrong way, that we need instead to consider how we unravel the power structures, which obstruct real change (Ibid.). Sustainable development, a concept co-opted by the green growth agenda has come to relate to the expansion of capitalist markets and sustainable market solutions.

## 6.6 Concluding remarks

Despite the evidence against it, faith in capitalism’s restorative capacity lingers on and is evident in P4G. It is an expression of the idea, the internal contradiction and dichotomy that capitalism can be both the cause and the solution (cf. Wright & Nyberg 2015: 4). And while the issue certainly is not black or white, and we cannot generalise to all businesses, large or small, the myth of the business as a moral citizen should concern us (cf. Wright & Nyberg 2015: 169). The dichotomy in the perception of business as being either authentic or greenwashing – of course, most corporations are likely to fall somewhere in between the two extremes – forecloses the evaluation of capitalism’s internal logic; extraction of resources and labour, expansion and

commodification, and accumulation of surplus value (Brenner et. al. 2010: 330). We must recognise that businesses act within the system of capitalism and the fact that this system determines the scope of operation of businesses. Even when corporations reinvent their project to take into consideration sustainability, they still operate in the same economic system of capitalism which limits the scope of transformation considerably.

P4G serves to proliferate and maintain the hegemony and power of the global elites and legitimises their agendas obscured by the narrative of green and sustainable growth and claiming it to be shared vision in the interest of all. Green growth and green capitalism are presented as and claim to be apolitical, a narrative, which obscures the objectives behind, i.e. the capitalist project. And while it may not be political to state the fact that we are in the midst of an environmental crisis, how this fact is framed, the discourse around it, how we make sense the crisis itself, and indeed the cause and how to address it is political (Swyngedouw 2011). Green capitalism and green growth are no different. Like neoliberalism, capitalism itself has also become an elusive, hidden and naturalised ideology, presented as a fact of life (Fisher 2009: 16, 17). Therefore, (green) capitalism is unspoken, never mentioned, like the idea of a natural developmental stage of any given society in the course of human evolution, consistent with modernisation theory (Peet & Hartwick 2009: 22). Capitalism eludes criticism and thorough analysis because it is not named, because it is hidden and depoliticised (Swyngedouw 2011: 271). Claiming that the way we make sense of the environmental/climate crisis – e.g. through green capitalism/growth – and how it should be addressed is apolitical, claiming that it should not be politicised, should not only make us wary but indeed convince us to critically examine the implications of whatever actions are presented as answers to the crisis. The very naturalisation and depoliticisation of capitalism makes the struggle against its hegemony inherently political (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 46). Incorporating environmental critique within corporate capitalism obstructs the need for real alternatives to our current economic system (Wright & Nyberg 2015: 47). Thence, one thing I hope to accomplish with this research and the example of P4G is to convince the reader that any claim that such a grave, complex, and all-encompassing problem as the environmental crisis is apolitical calls for critical examination and contestation.

## 7. CONCLUSION – RELINQUISHING THE MYTH OF GREEN CAPITALISM

Deeply embedded in the ideology of capitalism the conviction persists that growth is necessary for development and that capitalism is the right, even natural, system of a developed society. The discourse revolving around green growth continues to influence nation states, such as Denmark and large intergovernmental and international agencies and institutions, such as the UN (the SDGs), OECD and the World Bank.

Green growth and green capitalism are two sides of the same coin – green growth relies on capitalism. Albeit, growth has positive associations and is therefore explicitly mentioned and used as an argument for the strengthening of the private sector. In contrast, the word capitalism is associated with Marxist critique of the economic system and, therefore, often has negative connotations. Ideology is most successful when it is hidden and naturalised, thus, capitalism works best as an unspoken ‘natural fact’ of civilisation. In P4G documents the private sector is considered inevitable and indispensable – corporations are assumed to offer solutions, leverage and capital. There is a major focus on money; growth, GDP, profits, revenues, and jobs which stand in contrast to what is written about the environment (virtually nothing), shows the bias towards measuring the world situation by standards of the (capitalist) economy. This goes to show P4G’s bias towards economisation and commodification of sustainability and the SDGs. P4G addresses the private sector and the material advertises the SDGs as the biggest business opportunity ever seen.

The workings of P4G aid the expansion and proliferation of capitalism; for example, the criteria for funding as public-private partnerships must present innovative market-based solutions to one or several of five selected SDGs to receive funding. Risks are defined as political and legal obstacles to market expansion and are thereby considered barriers to be overcome. Thus, local nation state’s sovereignty is overridden. This changes the use of development aid and transfers power from governments to the hands of businesses. The climate and environmental agenda has been hijacked by economic thinking, subsumed under the doctrine of omnipresent neoclassical economic thought. The commodification of people and of nature – even air, water, and CO<sub>2</sub> – is pervasive (cf. Swyngedouw 2011: 265). If the goal is to profit off of the crisis, can we really expect that corporations will mitigate environmental destruction and climate change rather than profit of trading schemes?! P4G works as an Ideological State Apparatus as it simultaneously reproduces and becomes an instrument of the economic structure, reinforcing the hegemony of capitalism. The interests of capitalism are presented as the interest of all. Economic growth is argued to be the prerequisite for prosperity, welfare and well-being. P4G uses tools of power in its communication and exists within the ideology of green capitalism and green growth and maintains the overall ideology of the neoliberalised capitalist project. The hegemony is ensured through the formation of neoliberal capitalism as a natural fact of life, of society and the reproduction of a hidden ideology is protected through power. The process of power at work is shown in the analysis and discussion of P4G. There is a clear tendency in global discourse about sustainability and development to present only capitalism – growth – as an option. This is agenda-setting and nondecision-making concurrent with Lukes’ conceptualisation of power. With a strong positive language, the communication conceives of just one way of addressing the SDGs – ‘business unusual’, which excludes alternatives to and possible criticism of capitalism from the conversation. Furthermore, the depoliticisation of the project likewise serves to naturalise capitalism and preclude criticism. This process protects against and rejects any criticism that may be of the project of P4G and of capitalism and obscures the real objectives behind it, which strengthens the capitalist

project. My analysis of P4G serves to illustrate the hegemony of green capitalism and its workings as a naturalised ideology which maintains the hegemony of capitalism – disguised as green capitalism – and shows the exertions of power such as nondecision-making, exclusion, and agenda-setting, concurrent with the formation of consent. This goes to show how the conviction that capitalism can solve the environmental crisis may persist; through hegemony. There is a clear focus on profits to be made and the claim that green growth is necessary, which shows a complete disregard for the studies debunking green growth as a myth. Even ‘sustainable’ or ‘green’ capitalism is still capitalism profit remains the sole main target, and this limits the scope of change considerably, as green growth is a myth and green capitalism will not offer real, viable transformation.

Looking into the initiative P4G new topics and issues keep appearing that deserve research. Besides the study of hegemonic naturalised ideology of capitalism, further research beyond the scope of this thesis could be an examination of specific partnerships and their outcomes as well as how funding is distributed, just to name a few ideas.

Green growth shows to be elusive, a fantasy (Dale et. al. 2015; Hickel & Kallis 2019; Wanner 2015). There is no scientific support that green growth can be achieved. On the contrary, studies find that radical changes are called for if we are to curb climate change and stay within planetary boundaries – changes to our societies that are not compatible with a growth rate much higher than zero (Hickel and Kallis 2019). As studies show, GDP cannot be decoupled from material resource use (Dale et. al. 2016; Hickel & Kallis 2019; Smith 2015; Wanner 2015), and is, furthermore, not a good measure of environmental and human wellbeing.

The ideology of green growth and green capitalism and the expansion of neoliberal free market economy has real material effect on national and global policies, legal frameworks, intergovernmental treaties, and international trade agreements. Clinging to this flawed myth of green growth and green capitalism has grave material implications for people and environment in the present and the future as it maintains a truly damaging response to the environmental crisis. The ideology of green growth and green capitalism will not merely result in non-action, but will over time deepen the impacts of the environmental crisis. I can confidently say that I do not have the answers. I do not believe in simple solutions that promise to enable us to continue to live as we do in Denmark, with only small insignificant changes to our lifestyles. I will not claim to know what path to follow for the future. But surely, while capitalism does not seem to be the right one, what is concerning is how hegemony works to close out the possibility of even considering alternatives to green capitalism. In P4G, we see an absence of any openings to other forms of transformative change.

To resist the hegemony of capitalism we must articulate/verbalise it first of all, we must address it in its nature and debate it. We must abandon the hegemonic myth that growth in GDP is both positive and necessary for welfare and improved living conditions. We must openly name and address the limitations, fallacies, contradictions, and negative consequences of a global capitalism, be it green or not, as well as a need for counter-hegemonic strategies and new alternatives and imaginaries. We must make clear the shortcomings of capitalism and we must open our minds to other possibilities. I want to emphasise the importance of critique. Critique of power and hegemony. Critique of consent and of ideology. And discourse is certainly an accessible level of circumvention, and transformations are led by discourses (Fairclough 2013: 77). It is fundamental that we are critical of the narratives we are fed, especially in dealing with and adapting to the consequences of the environmental crisis, some of which is already happening around the world. In order to fight against injustice and to engage seriously with the alternatives to capitalism, we need to imagine new alternatives and resist the naturalisation of an ideology which will not offer the answers to the environmental crisis, because, at its core it is a project of wealth accumulation.

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## 9. APPENDICES

### Appendix A – Partnerships overview

Partnership	SDG focus	Countries	About the partnership
<b>Scale-up partnerships</b>			
Africa GreenCo	7 Affordable and Clean Energy.	Zambia, then move on to other SAPP countries.	"Africa GreenCo is a public-private-partnership between African governments, the private sector and international financial institutions to create a dynamic new participant in the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP)." ... "Africa GreenCo's transformative role is to mobilise significant private sector finance for the sector, to increase the liquidity of and reliance on the SAPP markets for risk mitigation and begin to diversify away from the current model of African governments taking on heavy contingent liabilities to secure individual energy projects. Ultimately, improving energy access will enhance education, health care, and stimulate economic development in a part of the world with the highest concentrations of people living in poverty."
Clean Energy Investment Accelerator	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	USA + country-specific engagement in Colombia and Vietnam.	U.S. National Renewable Energy Laboratory, World Resources Institute, and Allotrope Partners. "for multinational corporations with supply chains that crisscross the world, successful pursuit of clean energy deployment is a serious challenge." ... "purchasers, pipeline and policies" ... help companies meet clean energy targets.
Cities Climate Action Project Supported by the Building Efficiency Accelerator / Building Efficiency Accelerator	11 Sustainable Cities and Communities	Across the Americas, especially Columbia and Mexico	Reduce consumption of energy that goes to light, heat, and cool buildings. It is an international network of Green Building Councils, city governments, businesses, and NGOs working to provide cities with the tools they need to develop and implement energy-efficient building policies and programs to scale energy savings.
Global Smart Green Logistics Innovation Partnership (Alibaba+) / Green Logistics City Partnership	11 Sustainable Cities and Communities	China	Alibaba + China Environmental Protection Foundation, Cainiao Network and the Xiamen Municipal Government Transportation. "China's Alibaba is estimated to be the world's largest e-commerce company in terms of market share." The project was launched in 2017 and should be expanded to other parts of China... The tech "[...] platform provides real-time analytics and monitoring of pick-up and dispatch of packages. Packaging waste materials are gathered, sorted and processed for treatment and recycling. More and more electric vehicles are used for the local delivery, helping to reduce air pollution."
Sustainable Special Economic Zones	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	Nigeria, Kenya and Ethiopia	"The Made in Africa Initiative and LADOL, with the support of SYSTEMIQ, is evolving the concept of SEZs [...] to proactively develop[ing] zones to drive attainment of the SDGs through promoting businesses and processes that create positive social and or environmental outcomes." ... "Building upon previous success in Nigeria, this partnership will scale in Ethiopia and Kenya, with special focus on sustainable energy and the reuse of water and waste." "A special economic zone (SEZ) is a geographic region whose economic laws differ from those typical within the rest of the zone's country. These discrepancies, which most often manifest in

			<p>rules and laws related to lower tariffs, duties and the like, are put in place to level the economic playing field and increase foreign investments. However, while SEZs deliver economic growth and create jobs, their environmental footprint is typically disregarded, and labor conditions and community impact are often criticized."</p> <p>Made in Africa Initiative is a UN development project to further socioeconomic development and industrialisation. It is run from Uganda. LADOL: West Africa's Free Zone and Logistics Hub for Multinational Industrial, Offshore Companies and oil and gas companies operating in West Africa. Systemiq aims at transforming markets and business models in three key economic systems: land use, materials and energy. It is based in London, Munich and Jakarta.</p>
The Zero Emission Bus Rapid-Deployment Accelerator (ZEBRA)	11 Sustainable Cities and Communities	Mexico City and São Paulo	"Replacing diesel buses with electric buses leads to cleaner air and a reduction in carbon emissions that contribute to global warming. Led by C40 Cities and the International Council on Clean Transportation, ZEBRA expects to secure a public commitment from regional finance institutions to invest 1 billion USD in zero emission electric drive technology in Latin America by 2021 and to research financing and business model options for bus operations. In addition, ZEBRA will gain commitments from major bus and engine manufacturers to support the growth of electric buses in Latin America through collaboration with cities on vehicle specifications, charging strategies, pilot projects, financing and other steps necessary for fleet-wide deployment of zero emission buses."
The Africa Innovation Lab for Climate Finance	2 Zero Hunger	Sub-Saharan Africa.	Key regional partners includes the Development Bank of Southern Africa, FONERWA (Rwanda Green Fund), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development. There is a Global Lab, an Indian Lab, a Brazilian Lab and "[w]ith P4G's support, the Lab aims to launch a sub-Saharan Africa Innovation Lab for Climate Finance (the Africa Lab).
2018 P4G partnership report - Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Zambia (NL)	"driven by SNV – Netherlands Development Organisation and Standard Microgrid will target rural electrification in developing countries by supporting the market's most overlooked resource: its users." ... "IDEA will focus on the intersection of agriculture and business in Zambia, where less than 5 percent of the rural population has access to electricity. Through the institution of solar mini-grids and stand-alone systems, IDEA aims to generate electricity [...]"
<b>Start-up partnerships</b>			
Business-Humanitarian Partnership	6 Clean Water and Sanitation	Uganda	Danish Refugee Council and Grundfos - "The partnership will develop a multi-year, business model around sustainable water solutions to refugee settlements and surrounding hosting communities in Uganda, replacing relatively expensive and unsustainable trucking of water with solar-driven water systems linked to better water access and safe water management."
Circular Economy Retrofitting of Chinese Industrial Parks	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	China	"This partnership between the China Association of Circular Economy, Carbon Trust, Anhui Lu'an Yeji Economic Development Zone Administrative Committee and the Overseas Development Institute (UK), aims to [...] use circular economy principles – reduce, reuse and recycle – to re-focus industrial processes and lessen the environmental impact of industrial parks. Through alliance-building between national and local governments, businesses and park administration committees, the partnership will gain support for both increased investment in sustainable



			manufacturing as well as better technical supporting tools for implementation."
Engerise Africa	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Sub-Sahara (UK + NL)	Ethex (UK) and Lendahand (NL), online impact investing platforms. "The partnership aims to demonstrate how UK-based retail impact investors can provide affordable finance for pioneering solar businesses operating in Africa to accelerate universal access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all. Engerise Africa makes it possible to start investing with just £50 in solar businesses installing systems in rural, Sub-Saharan African homes – allowing "pay-as-you-go" flexibility to low income households across Africa, bringing clean energy alternatives to families [...]."
Food Delivery Companies for Reducing Single-Use Plastics / Food Delivery Companies for SDG 12	2 Zero Hunger	India / South-East Asia (UK)	Sustainability non-profit Forum for the Future and leading mobile food delivery service Foodpanda partnership aims to eliminate single-use plastic waste from the food delivery system in Asia. "[...] designing the plastic waste reduction protocol, Forum for the Future will bring its rich experience in catalyzing system-wide transformational change and developing systemic plastic reduction strategies with partners in various industries worldwide – including the influential #OneLess movement to reduce the use of single-use plastic water bottles in the City of London. The protocol will be tested in two South-East Asia markets to help ensure that it is designed for easy adoption across all food delivery platforms." P4G has identified this partnership to belonging with the SDG 2 regarding hunger, which they describe as pertaining to food/agriculture, however, the project themselves identify the project to belong with SDG 12 on responsible consumption and production, regarding circular economy.
Global Distributors Collective	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda (UK+NL+FR)	By Practical Action (UK) with implementing partners BoP Innovation Centre (NL) and Hystra (FR)- This partnership will support businesses which distribute products that meet the needs of poor consumers – products such as solar lights, water filters, clean cookstoves and nutrition products.
Indonesia Food Loss and Waste Action Partnership / Food Loss and Waste Action Partnership	2 Zero Hunger	Indonesia	"Led by the Food and Land Use Coalition" and coordinated by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development with financial support from P4G. "The Coalition will support partner companies with strategies and practices to implement better storage technologies, improve shipping and distribution, and train staff to help them meet their food loss and waste targets."
Partnership for Blended Finance on Water	6 Clean Water and Sanitation	Vietnam (Denmark)	Led by ASSIST (an international sustainable development organisation) together with Grundfos. "Vietnam's drinking water infrastructure by developing blended finance models for greater investment in the sector. The investment will support technologies and practices that reduce the percent of non-revenue generating water from 22 percent to a goal of 15 percent by 2025, which also reduces energy consumption. The partnership also involves a coalition of Vietnam-based organizations and the Danish Investment Fund for Developing Countries (IFU)."
Partnership for a New Plastics Economy in Kenya	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	Kenya (DK+USA+UK/AU)	"This partnership is developed by Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) with support from the South African PET Recycling Company, Retail Traders Association of Kenya (RETRAK), BESIC Group Ltd, Discovery Brands (UK/AU), Ital 3D solutions, County Government of Kiambu, Center for Clean Air Policy (USA), Kenya Climate Change Innovation Center (KCIC), and The Danish Environmental Protection

			Agency (EPA). The partnership focuses on plastic waste management in Kenya – 1.3 million kg plastic waste is generated weekly in Kenya. The partnership will increase the use of recycled plastic products and improve the collection of plastic waste through voluntary schemes and policy recommendations. The Danish EPA is engaged in the partnership through a Strategic Sector Cooperation project on recycling of plastic products between the Danish EPA and Kenyan authorities."
Sustainable Food Platform	2 Zero Hunger	The country focus will be in Ethiopia, with links to Uganda and Kenya, where more than 2 million refugees live today.	Led by DanChurchAid and Arla Foods Ingredients along with GAIN Nordic Partners (GAIN: Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition). The aim is to rethink market-based solutions to promote food security for poor and vulnerable people living in refugee camps and local host communities and bring together local producers with global partners in an "innovation platform," which will develop and test low-tech and energy-efficient food solutions (e.g. nutritious and affordable products like biscuits and porridge)
Towards Large-Scale Digital Decision Support Systems for Farmers	2 Zero Hunger	Malawi	"partnership through the CGIAR Platform for Big Data in Agriculture, Digital Impact Alliance, and Viamo will allow Malawian farmers to access data especially related to site-specific use of fertilizer. This data platform will be accessible to farmers via voice response and SMS."
Vietnam Materials Marketplace	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	Vietnam (USA)	Led by "The Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI) (again, they linked to the wrong site, to a Japanese Voluntary Control Council, real website is <a href="http://vcci.com.vn/">http://vcci.com.vn/</a> ) and the United States Business Council for Sustainable Development, the Materials Marketplace will use proven models from other industry hubs around the world to increase efficiencies, reduce costs and enhance quality of life in Vietnam." ... "Materials Marketplace will help manufacturers reduce both waste disposal and excessive production through an online, cloud-based marketplace where manufacturers can buy, sell or trade materials and equipment suitable for further or alternative use." The project works towards a circular value chain.
<b>Facilitation partnerships</b>			
China Sustainable Procurement Network	12 Responsible Consumption and Production		"Sustainable Procurement Network (SPN) is a partnership led by China Environmental United Certification Center (CEC), a non-for-profit organization facilitating the development of "green consumption" and "green supply chain". After decades of lax environmental regulations and enforcement, "[...] the Chinese government issued the Guide of Enterprise Green Procurement and published the Code for Retailer Procurement in Sept 2017. CEC and its partners jointly launched the Alliance of Green Consumption and Green Supply Chain (GCSG) to help companies manage their own performance or their suppliers' sustainability and green performance." There are "109 key partners from government agencies, universities, companies (Chinese and international), and NGOs. GCSG is working with JD.com, China's largest e-commerce platform by revenue, to reduce its carbon footprint, energy consumption, packaging consumables and implement its green supply chain."
Global Partnerships for Energy Efficient Data Centres	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Not stated where or more specifically with which partners	"led by the Copenhagen Centre on Energy Efficiency and serves as a global platform to foster transformational collaboration among various public and private stakeholders in the global data centre industry." The aim is to ensure efficient energy use for data centres as need for data centres is increasing.

Green FIDC	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Brazil	Led by the Brazilian Fundo de Investimento em Direitos Creditórios (FIDC), an instrument used by companies in Brazil to raise capital by securitizing receivables through asset-backed securities and The Lab. "The partnership has an indicative pipeline of US\$1bn in projects and is seeking funding support to develop this pipeline and disseminate lessons to promote replication. A pilot for Órigo Energia (a leading Brazilian solar company backed by TPG ART) is already underway, designed to finance up to 20,000 residential solar rooftops."
Race To The Top	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	Ethiopia (learning from project in Vietnam) IDH from NL.	"This partnership creates a platform to develop and scale inclusive business models in and around the Hawassa Industrial Park in Ethiopia, supporting it with international best practices and lessons learned from the Race to the Top-Vietnam program. The partnership will serve as a platform where global and local companies, public sector, civil society and other partners come together to catalyze sustainable and inclusive growth. The platform has the aim to pilot and catalyze scalable sustainability projects in and around the Hawassa Industrial Park, as well as facilitate the exchange of best practices between industrial parks." Partners for the Race to the Top Vietnam project is IDH The Sustainable Trade Initiative and works with the apparel sector ( <a href="https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/project/rttt/">https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/project/rttt/</a> ).
Sustainable Palm Oil and Soy Partnership	2 Zero Hunger	India and China (plus to be used in other countries)	"Led by IDH, this partnership will develop a platform for harvesting sustainable palm oil and soy in India and China—two of the largest markets for these products. To reduce deforestation and land degradation in Latin-America (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Colombia), South-East Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia) and other countries producing palm oil and soy, India and China's imports need to transition towards sustainable sourcing. P4G is supporting this partnership to help bring together government, industry and environmental leaders in these countries to adopt benchmarks for sustainably harvesting these products." (IDH, The Sustainable Trade Initiative, NL)
<b>State-of-the-art partnership finalists</b>			
The Circular London	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	UK, London	"Circular London is a programme of the London Waste and Recycling Board (LWARB), working closely with Resource London and Advance London. Circular London's current priorities are communications and collaboration, policy development and demonstrators. The partnership takes a "city systems" approach to engage citizens, SMEs and public/private initiatives to deliver on a strategic circular city roadmap. Learn more here. Examples of partners: LWARB, ASOS, Ikea, Ellen MacArthur Foundation, UKGBC, Deliveroo, Olio, Skipping rocks lab, Greater London Authority."
The Courtauld Commitment 2025	2 Zero Hunger	UK, London	Won state-of-the-art. "Examples of partners: Nestlé, Arla, Tesco, Heineken, Unilever, WWF, LIDL." ... "The Courtauld Commitment is a public-private partnership which has established a voluntary agreement about reducing food waste in the UK by 20% and reducing the water use through the entire supply chain. The partnership builds on voluntary commitments as a way to achieve the SDGs and on the approach "target, measure, act". Signatories will work together to identify new actions and opportunities to save resources, which can be shared across the entire supply chain, to make the whole system more sustainable and resilient to supply chain

			disruptions. Signatories also commit to implementing changes, measuring the benefits, and helping other businesses and people to realize savings." It is a voluntary commitment delivered by WRAP ( <a href="http://www.wrap.org.uk/content/what-is-courttauld">http://www.wrap.org.uk/content/what-is-courttauld</a> ).
The European Remanufacturing Council	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	China	Partners are IBM, Volvo, Michelin, CACE (China's Association of Circular Economy), and industrial OEMs, approved 3rd party manufacturers and independent remanufacturers. "The ambition is to triple the value of Europe's remanufacturing sector to €100 billion by 2030. The European Remanufacturing Council will bring together businesses from every product sector to share knowledge, and seek changes to policy with the aim of making remanufacturing a normal part of a product life cycle."
Financing Low Carbon Mobility Infrastructure in Mexico City / CFF - Financing low carbon mobility infrastructure development in Mexico City	11 Sustainable Cities and Communities	Mexico (potential to expansion to other cities in Latin America)	"Partners: The Department of Mobility (Secretaría de Movilidad, SEMOVI), CFF, GIZ." ... "The Cities Finance Facility is supporting Mexico City by developing the necessary feasibility studies for a new bus corridor project, which will include a fleet of electric buses and bicycle lanes alongside it. The new bus corridor on Eje 8 Sur will be 22km long and serve an estimated 160,000 daily trips, providing connections with five Metro lines and one Metrobus Bus Rapid Transit line, establishing the right to mobility for all residents, focusing on pedestrians, cyclists and public transport users and pioneering inclusive governance and resilience approaches. This project has the potential to pave the way for other cities to shift their buses to low or zero emission technologies, particularly in Latin America."
Green Growth Plan Nam Ding Province, Vietnam	2 Zero Hunger	Vietnam	"Partners: IDH, UNDP, Provincial government of Lam Dong." ... "A PPP which promotes sustainable agricultural production, the land districts' livelihood and economic development by dealing with extreme climate, especially recurring drought and agricultural overuse. The partnership develops an integrated long-term development plan for the province by combining sustainable production (coffee production), sustainable administration of natural resources (water, forest and land) and social development."
Lighting / Global Lighting in Africa / Lighting Global - Lighting Africa (LG/LA)	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Sub-Saharan Africa	Partners include: World Bank Group – ESMAP, IFC (International Finance Corporation), GOGLA (Global association of off-grid solar energy), CLASP (US-based, works with appliance policies etc.), GEF (Global Environment Facility), SREP, IEC (International Electrotechnical Commission) + 17 countries, including Australia, Hungary, Denmark, Germany and the US. "The partnership focuses on removing barriers to scaling market-based approaches to off-grid-electrification. It has contributed to delivering electricity for 15 million people and to the implementation of \$600-\$1200 million worth of off-grid energy investments. The partnership has set itself the ambitious and important target of enabling more than 250 million people across sub-Saharan Africa currently living without electricity to gain access to clean, affordable, quality-verified off-grid lighting and energy products by 2030. Lighting Africa's aim is to achieve this by catalyzing the market through a number of different activities across the supply chain."
Pamiga	6 Clean Water and Sanitation	East, Central and West Africa	"Partners: Benine, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Senegal, Togo, Tanzania." ... "Pamiga secures financing (micro loans) of households/small holders' access to clean drinking

			<p>water as well as watering systems of agriculture. The project seeks to demonstrate the viability, sustainability and replicability of a rural energy and water solutions value chain model. This activity aims to facilitate access to solar energy and water and also wants to create new financial products at the microfinance institution level.</p> <p>The programme runs in East, Central and West Africa. The project started in 2005. PAMIGA raises short and long term capital from individual investors, professional investors, pension funds, and development aid organizations."</p>
Singapore: Four Waters Taps	6 Clean Water and Sanitation	Singapore	<p>"Examples of partners: American Water Works Association, Tsinghua University, Asahi Kasei, Toray, Toyobo, Saline Water Conversion Corporation, CSIRO, Delft Hydraulics, DHI." ... Singapore has involved the private sector to improve water supply. "Singapore has through the years developed an integrated cost efficient way of meeting the country's water demands by e.g. reusing industrial water and waste water through NEWater. Today, Singapore is internationally renowned as a model city for integrated water supply." ... "Singapore has built a robust, diversified and sustainable water supply from four water sources known as the Four National Taps – water from: 1) Local Catchment, 2) Imported Water, 3) high-grade reclaimed water known as NEWater and 4) Desalinated Water."</p>
Sustainable Energy Fund for Africa (SEFA)	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Africa in general.	<p>"Examples of partners: African Development Bank, Italien, Danmark (DANIDA), Storbritannien (DFID), Amerika (USAID/Power Africa)." ... "SEFA is a \$90 million multi-donor trust fund which supports small and medium-sized renewable energy and energy efficiency projects in Africa. The portfolio encompasses 51 projects with a collective engagement of \$75 million. These investments are expected to generate further investments in renewable energy worth of \$1.64 billion. The development objective of SEFA is to support sustainable private-sector led economic growth in African countries through the efficient utilization of presently untapped clean energy resources. SEFA has been designed to operate under three financing windows: project preparation, equity investments and enabling environment support."</p>
Tropical Forests Alliance / Tropical Forest Alliance 2020	2 Zero Hunger		<p>"Examples of partners: 33 Forest Capital, Asian Agri, Althelia Ecosphere, Amazon Natural Capital Institute, BV Rio, Climate Focus, Forest Carbon." ... "A PPP where partners take voluntary measures individually and collectively to reduce the tropical deforestation due to the purchase of raw materials such as palm oil, soy, beef, paper, and pulp. Every initiative involves local and national authorities. The partnership improves the planning and administration related to tropical forest conservation, agricultural land use, and land tenure. The partnership is "State of the Art" because it addresses all relevant aspects of promoting sustainable deforestation; local anchoring of projects, focus on learning/knowledge sharing, monitoring of development and increased engagement of the finance sector in the discussion of deforestation." Note: It is a state-of-the-art partnership because among other things it focuses on increased engagement of the finance sector in the discussion. This may be about divesting from damaging business practices, but it is not clear.</p>
Walking and Cycling	11 Sustainable	Masterclass to all C40 cities	<p>Danish based initiative - "Partners: Novo Nordisk, Gehl Architects, C40 Cities." ... "The partnership</p>

Masterclass Partnership	Cities and Communities		focuses on disseminating the use of the 'benefits evaluation protocol' to support cities in collecting and analysing data related to the health and climate benefits of improving city walkability and bikeability. The Masterclass is open to all C40 cities, and to Novo Nordisk's Cities Changing Diabetes cities, focusing on leading cities and those committed to scaling-up and accelerating action in bikeability and walkability, and to those proactively planning walk- and bike-friendly cities. The partnership convened a group of 6 global cities for a first masterclass in Copenhagen in 2017, following which the Bangalore Transportation Commissioner announced the implementation of a bicycle sharing scheme in the Indian city – quoting his experiences in Copenhagen as a key inspiration for this decision." Note: They spelled Novo Nordisk wrong in the text mentioning partners, wrote Novo Norfisk.
The District Energy in Cities Initiative	7 Affordable and Clean Energy	Bosnia, Herzegovina, India	"Examples of partners: UNEP, Danfoss, IDEA, IEA (International Energy Agency), WRI (World Resource Institute), C40, Danida." ... "The District Energy in Cities Initiative accelerates the efforts of developing countries and cities in their transition towards more climate friendly societies by promoting modern district heating and cooling systems."
Global Industry Partnership on Soot-free Clean Bus Fleets	11 Sustainable Cities and Communities	Cities around the world with buses from the mentioned companies	"Partners: ICCT, UN Environment, Climate & Clean Air Coalition, C40, Cummins, Volvo Buses, BYD , Scania, Abidjan, Accra, Addis Ababa, Johannesburg, Lagos, Lima, Manila, Mexico City, Nairobi, Santiago, San Paulo, Sydney." ... "Four of the world's largest bus and engine manufacturers committed to make it easier for major cities to purchase buses equipped with low emissions technologies, to tackle climate change and toxic air pollution. BYD, Cummins, Scania and Volvo Buses will ensure 'soot-free' engine technology is available for purchase in 20 megacities beginning in 2018. The manufacturers will release a full product portfolio available in each city and begin publicly reporting soot-free buses sold each year."
Next Wave Plastics	12 Responsible Consumption and Production	Not country specific, but producer specific.	Partners count: "Dell, Interface, Herman Miller, Humanscale, General Motors, Bureo, Van de Sant, Trek Bicycles, New Materials Institute, The 5 Gyres Institute, The Story of Stuff, GAIA, governments of Chile, Indonesia, Denmark, Cameroon and Malaysia." ... "NextWave Plastics is a consortium of global companies working collaboratively to keep plastics out of the ocean and in our economy. In 2017, Dell partnered with Lonely Whale to launch the initiative and unite companies across the globe. Together, NextWave member companies are creating the first global network of ocean-bound plastics supply chains, permanently "locking up" materials in their products and packing and inspiring employees, customers and stakeholders to join them in becoming part of the solution."
Strategic Water Partners Network (SWPN) South Africa	6 Clean Water and Sanitation	South Africa	"Partners: South African Ministry of Water and Sanitation, World Bank, IFC (International Finance Corporation), WEF, SAB, Coca Cola, Anglo American, Sasol, Nestle, Eskom, South 32, Exxaro, SASA, Distell and Coca Cola Bottling Association hosted by the NEPAD Business Foundation." ... "The Strategic Water Partners Network (SWPN) is a dynamic and cutting edge partnership working collectively to close a 17% gap between water supply and demand that is anticipated to manifest by the year 2030 in South Africa. Through SWPN private, public and civil society actors

			contribute to the development and implementation of efficient and innovative solutions to water challenges in South Africa. International corporations are a part of the network. Projects include Coca Cola which aims to improve its water efficiency in SA by 20% through reuse of water in the production. Nestlé participates in the network with an extensive information campaign about water conservation and monitoring of water use."
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## Appendix B – Steven Lukes’ conceptualisation of views of power

### *The distinctive features of the three views of power*

#### *One-Dimensional View of Power*

Focus on

- a) behaviour
- b) decision-making
- c) (key) issues
- d) observable (overt) conflict
- e) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation

#### *Two-Dimensional View of Power*

(Qualified) critique of behavioural focus

Focus on

- a) decision-making and nondecision-making
- b) issues and potential issues
- c) observable (overt or covert) conflict
- d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances

#### *Three-Dimensional View of Power*

Critique of behavioural focus

Focus on

- a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions)
- b) issues and potential issues
- c) observable (overt or covert), and latent conflict
- d) subjective and real interests

(Lukes 2005: 29).



## Appendix C – Example of coding (P4G report)

### SUPPORTING GREEN GROWTH

# The Case for Public-Private Partnerships



The moment is ripe for businesses around the globe to help drive the shift to a sustainable economy, for their own profit, wider prosperity and the long-term well-being of the planet. But no single business, no single government, no single community can by itself accomplish this seemingly herculean task. To succeed, businesses, governments and civil society must work in partnership to achieve the Global Goals for Sustainable Development.

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) chart a transformative course toward a more prosperous, equitable and environmentally and economically sound world. Aligning operations with the SDGs can position businesses ahead of market trends. The Business and Sustainable Development Commission reports in Better Business, Better World that the SDGs hold US\$12 trillion worth of business opportunity, ranging from affordable urban housing to agricultural technology advances.

The latest research from the New Climate Economy finds that climate action and green growth could deliver at least US\$26 trillion in economic benefit through 2030 compared with business-as-usual, including

the creation of over 65 million new low-carbon jobs, the avoidance of over 700,000 premature deaths from air pollution and the generation of an estimated US\$2.8 trillion in government revenues through subsidy reform and carbon pricing.

A UN survey shows that half of the business community believes achieving the Global Goals is a government responsibility. While governments have a role to play, neither they nor businesses can go it alone if the SDGs' ambitious targets are to be met.

Public-private partnerships allow governments to attract private-sector engagement, intellectual capital and investments to accelerate deployment of new technologies and innovations such as renewable energy, improvements in food and agriculture, and advancements in water access and management in developing countries.

Businesses can benefit when governments share investment risks, ensuring political stability and local market expertise. SDG 17 states it explicitly: "These inclusive partnerships built upon principles and values, a shared vision and shared goals that place people and the planet at the centre, are needed at the global, regional, national and local level."

Appendix D – Content / Concept maps

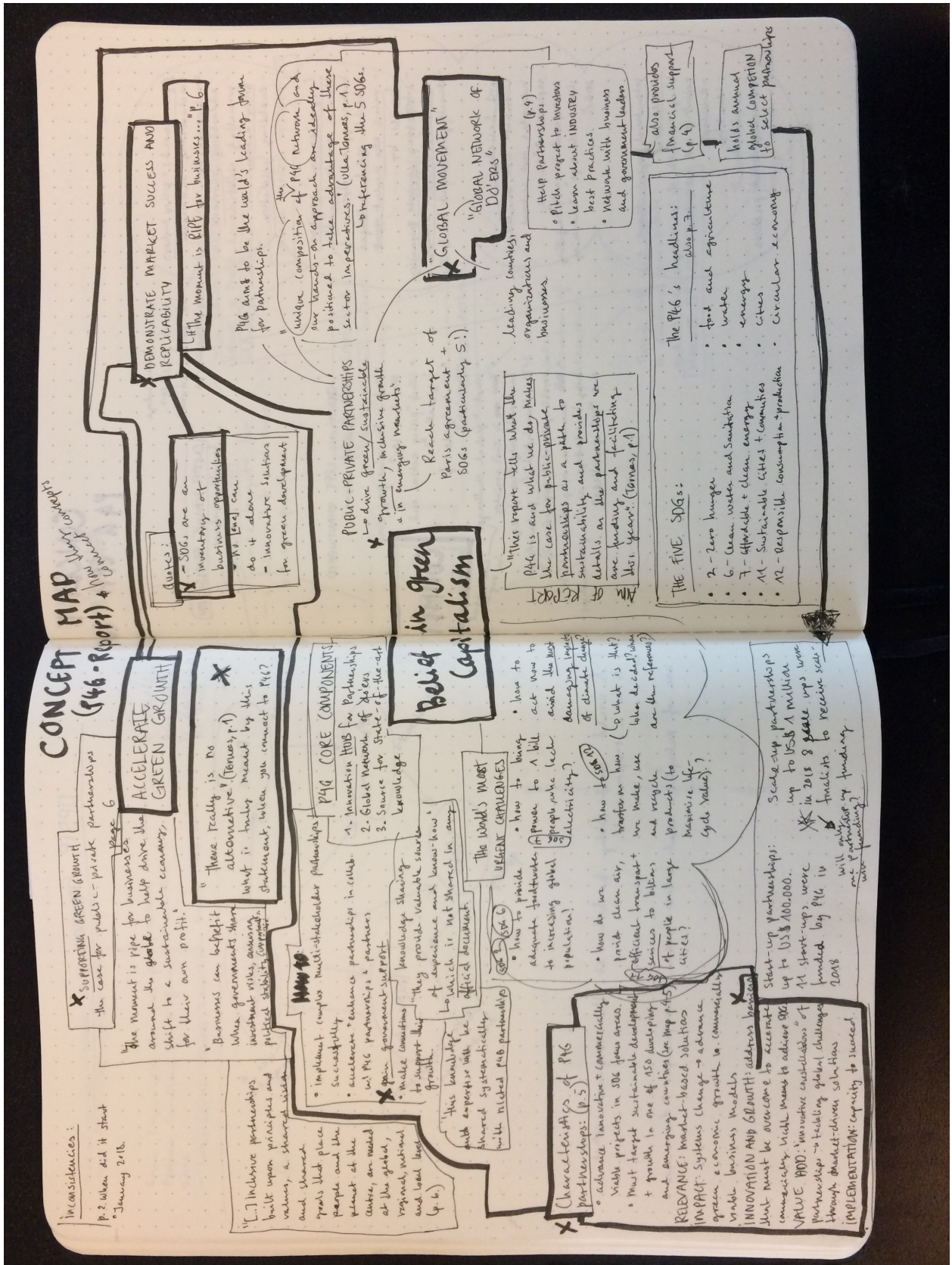


Image 2. Concept map – P4G report Accelerating Public-Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development Growth

# CONCEPT P4G FUNDING GUIDELINES

**AIMS**  
 "Transform key economic systems to drive green growth transition (p.2)"

**BARRIERS TO BE OVERCOME**  
 (most potential)  
 "These partnerships must be designed to OVERCOME FINANCIAL, INSTITUTIONAL, OPERATIONAL or other critical BARRIERS to making the SDGs with an innovative scalable and COMMERCIALY VIABLE solution" (p.3)

When applying for funding, the partnership must define barriers that prevent commercially viable solutions (to SDGs) from entering marketplace.

**RISK ANALYSIS** (second phase of application process) (p.5)  
 How thoroughly are risks defined in the areas:  
 • human capital  
 • technological  
 • process  
 • economic  
 "Risk mitigation measures"

**Evaluation** — by P4G  
 consultant, scale-up finalists will be interviewed by P4G + "independent investment advisor consultant". Decisions are made by P4G and its Board.

"Communities of excellence"  
 (among 2018 partnership finalists)

# MAP P4G FUNDING GUIDELINES

P4G offers financial support to targeted enterprises → to partnerships working with the focus - SDGs.

Partnerships - that would exist/function without P4G support.

Partnership requirements: must include (at least) one commercial partner and one non-commercial partner

Start-up = promising early stage partnership.  
 Apply for up to USD 100,000  
 P4G funding must represent **max 75%** of budget.

**CRITERIA** → five key characteristics based on report by Jan Nelson, 2017

1. Promotes market-based solutions to selected SDGs (Performance)
2. Innovative - Growth, addresses barriers that must be overcome. (See barriers)
3. Impact: Systems change to advance green economic growth through commercially viable business models
4. Implementation: capacity to succeed
5. Value-add: innovative partnerships to tackle global challenges through market-driven approaches.

"pre-commercial, and commercial ventures"  
 - level of sustainability refers to funding model i.e. money/economic related

"connecting partnerships to government stakeholders to ADVOCATE FOR POLICIES THAT ENABLE FAVORABLE MARKET CONDITIONS, not denying market solution to new market opportunities"

lobbyism → for business

Business, committed to transparent business conduct = human + environmental rights, anti-corruption.

Scale-up = already engaged in promising, business-driven green growth innovation.  
 May apply for up to USD 1 million - P4G funding must represent **max 50%** of budget.

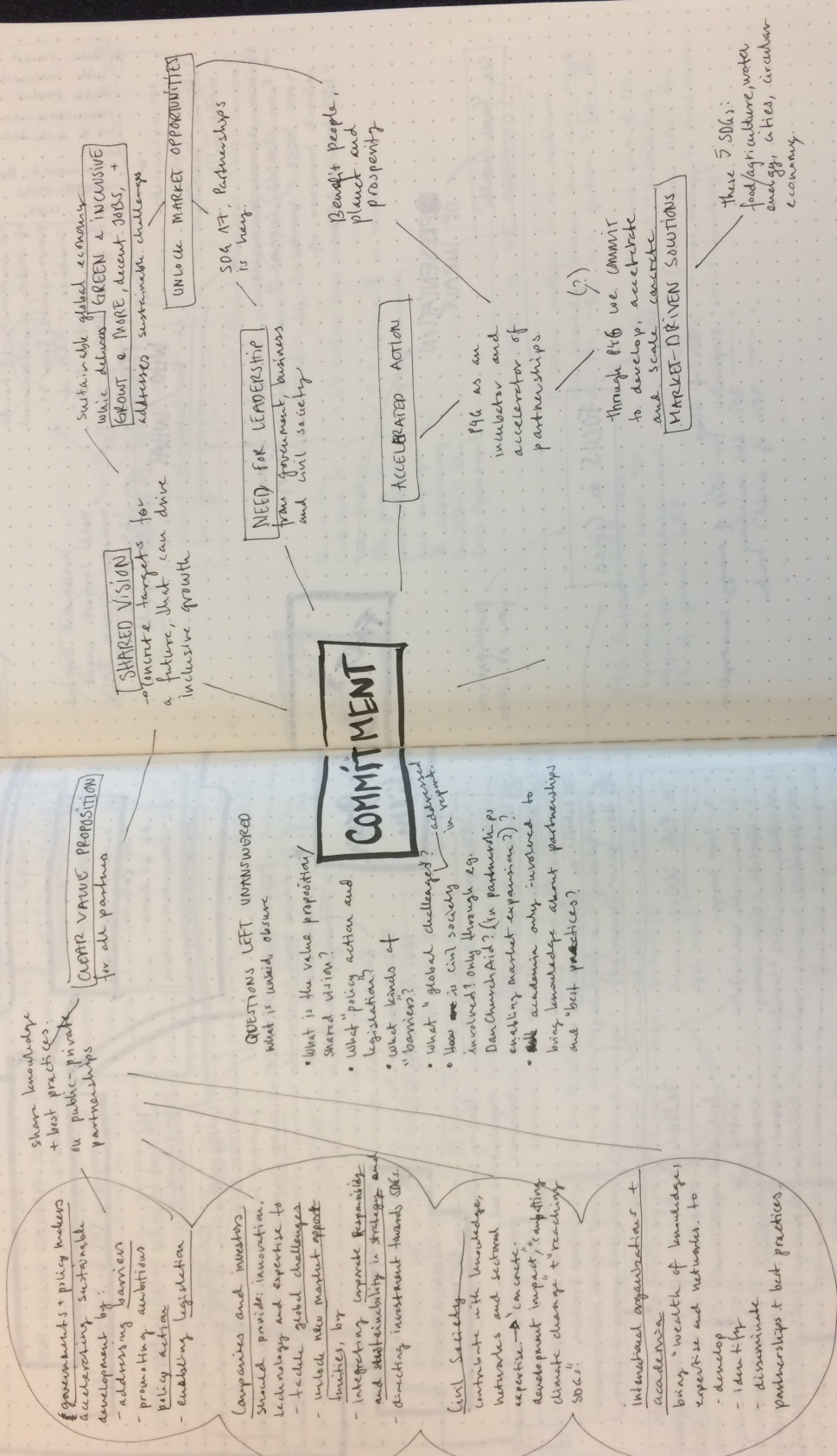
**INNOVATION** = for P4G <sup>activity</sup> means: (p.8)  
 "innovative partnership is one that demonstrates the ability to address BARRIERS to private enterprise that are not yet being addressed by the market, or partnerships that will improve other approaches for the same purpose."

**PARTNERSHIP FACILITATION TOOLS**  
 "refer to website for greater understanding"

# FUNDING GUIDELINES

Image 3. Concept map – P4G Funding Guidelines: P4G Partnership Fund – Guidelines for Applicants

# CONCEPT MAP P4G CPH COMMITMENT



# CONCEPT MAP P4G CPH COMMITMENT

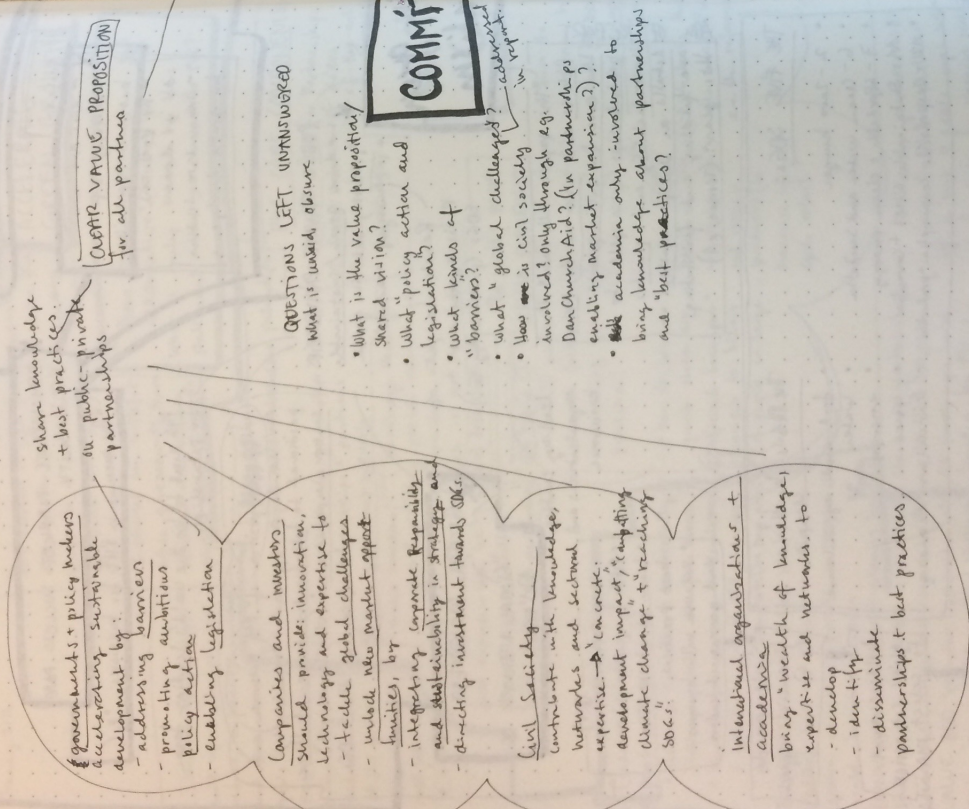


Image 4. Concept map – P4G Copenhagen Commitment

**CONCEPT MAP P4G FACT SHEET**

**CRUCIALS**  
 6661 World Economic Forum WEF.  
 54 countries represented at summit + heads of state, ministers, local participants from 111 countries → 75% of global population + 86% of global BNP.  
 WHO/WHAT at the Summit  
 Danish businesses quote to 4% of CEO index.  
 investment capital world's largest asset manager BLACK ROCK (6+ trillion \$ under management)  
 This could be 100 civil society organizations (CSOs) + knowledge institutions (1)  
 18 international businesses → FROM FORCES GLOBAL 2000 INDEX → combined turnover of + 607 trillion dollars  
 like: the world Bank, etc.  
 like: think tanks and both universities, etc.  
 like: includes organizations (multinationals, etc.)  
 like: WTO, etc.  
 like: 150

**FACTS & VALUES**

**PRESENTATION OF IMPACT**  
 See 'Green Growth'

**FOCUS on CITIES**

Why:  
 • 8% of globe responsible for 60% of energy consumption  
 • 70% GHG emissions  
 • 70% of world's trade

participation from 18 cities

P4G Partners: 40 cities (represents more than 90+ megacities worldwide and 1/4 of global GNP)

**GREEN GROWTH**  
 A WHOLE SECTION IS DEDICATED TO ADVOCATE FOR GREEN GROWTH

"Recent numbers" → which numbers?  
 (economic potential of sustainable investments)  
 • 26 trillion \$ in potential economic benefits by 2030  
 • 65 million new sustainability jobs  
 • 2.8 trillion \$ in revenue for governments.

This is the incentive to take part in P4G, join in partnerships and engage the SOEs + the Paris Agreement.

**WHAT IS NOT ADDRESSED?**

It seems written to an audience who already knows some ( alot about the P4G. → this is a gesture to show off)  
 • which countries are part of P4G  
 • what is it about? → partnerships  
 • what firms (besides from cities) the 5 SOEs... → also energy to rural areas.  
 • what about funding?

THIS IS THE (POSITIVE) IMPACT

Image 5. Concept map – P4G factsheet