

# Fifty Shades of Green

Ideological divides within the environmental movement



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

# Abstract

The environmental movement is a fixture of the political landscape, but our empirical understanding of its ideology is still lacking. In this thesis I examine ideological divides in the environmental movement. This is done through categorising ten areas where earlier discussions on green theory have argued that the movement is divided. To test these ten divides a survey has been created and spread in Sweden through social media and environmental organisations e-mail lists. The survey got 574 respondents who self-identifies as a part of the environmental movement. The responses are examined through van der Eijk's (2001) measurement of agreement. The results indicate that there are both areas where they are divided but also areas where they are united in their ideology. I contribute with empirical evidence of which ideological divides are present in the movement, helping us move beyond theory. To understand the different streams in the movement a principal component analysis was used. The components found were then defined as eight 'archetypes' of the environmental movement to spark further discussion about the ideological streams in the movement.

*Key words:* Green ideology, environmental movement, survey, principal component analysis, van der Eijk's measurement of agreement

*Word count:* 19955

# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Research question	2
<b>2</b>	<b>Theory</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1	The environmental movement as a social movement	3
2.2	Green ideology	4
2.3	Divides	6
2.3.1	Fundi vs. Realo	7
2.3.2	Deep ecology vs. shallow ecology	7
2.3.3	The left-right dimension	8
2.3.4	Survivalism	8
2.3.5	Illegal vs. legal	9
2.3.6	Knowledge and science	9
2.3.7	Intersectionality	10
2.3.8	Democracy and decentralisation	11
2.3.9	Single-issue movement vs. broad movement	11
2.3.10	Influences by liberalism and socialism	12
<b>3</b>	<b>Earlier research</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1	A divided or united environmental movement	13
3.2	Ideology and the environment in Sweden	15
<b>4</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>17</b>
4.1	The case of Sweden	17
4.1.1	The history of the Swedish environmental movement	17
4.1.2	The case of the Swedish environmental movement	19
4.2	The survey	19
4.2.1	Operationalization of theory	20
4.2.2	Defining the Swedish environmental movement	24
4.2.3	Spreading the survey	25
4.3	Measuring agreement	27
4.4	Principal component analysis	28
<b>5</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>29</b>
5.1	Demography of the respondents	29

5.2	Ideological divides .....	34
5.2.1	Fundi vs. Realo.....	34
5.2.2	Deep ecology vs. shallow ecology .....	35
5.2.3	The left-right dimension .....	36
5.2.4	Survivalism .....	37
5.2.5	Illegal vs. legal .....	38
5.2.6	Knowledge and science.....	39
5.2.7	Intersectionality .....	39
5.2.8	Single-issue vs. broad movement. ....	40
5.2.9	Democracy and decentralization .....	41
5.2.10	Influences by liberalism and socialism .....	41
5.3	The 8 archetypes of the environmental movement .....	43
<b>6</b>	<b>Discussion.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>References .....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>55</b>

# 1 Introduction

When one thinks of environmental activists one can think of many kinds of people. From the old hippie who wants to be one with nature to the young Greta follower who does not want to experience the consequences of climate change, or the Friends of Earth activist who is willing to burn down buildings to send a message. It seems that there are several representations of the environmental movement. It is therefore likely that these differences do not only exist on the surface but are representations of different fundamental ideas about environmental politics.

The looming threat of climate change and the extinction of biodiversity makes it important to understand the ideology and political ideas within the environmental movement. Ideology have always been a fundamental part of social movements, but social movement research have often been criticised for viewing ideology in a stiff and narrow way (Snow 2004). In addition, the environmental movement is often presented with no more complexity than individuals who care a lot about the environment (Boström 2001). I aim to examine if this is true.

According to theoretical discussion on green philosophy and ideology there is a wide array of different ways an individual can grasp environmental politics (Moon 2014). Therefore, I argue that there should exist multiple ideological streams within the environmental movement. According to Thörn and Svenberg (2016) the Swedish environmental movement has been rather understudied during the last decade. The more recent studies that have surveyed international environmental activists have studied demographics, knowledge and behaviour (Martiskainen et al. 2020) (Boucher et al. 2021). The focus has not been on the ideology within the environmental movement.

In this study I perform an empirical study of the different ideological divides within the environmental movement. Drawing on earlier theoretical work I operationalise ten different dimensions that are areas of contention. I test these ten divides through a survey that is spread through e-mail and social media to reach people active in the environmental movement. The study focuses on the environmental movement in Sweden. To my knowledge, this is the first quantitative study of the ideology of the environmental movement.

My thesis contributes with completely new empirical evidence about the environmental movements view on environmental politics. With this I can see where there are unity and divides, and I am able to see how these differences take form in the movement. I examine the survey responses through van der Eijk's (2001) measurement of agreement and principal component analysis (PCA). The survey received 679 responses where 574 were used as they are from individuals who self-identify as a part of the environmental movement.

Regarding the divides the results are mixed. I find empirical evidence for some of the divisions, for example the legitimacy of destroying property to further their political goal or their view on radical democratization. But at the same time in areas such as non-violence towards humans and inclusion of intersectional ideas the movement have unified a vision. Showing that I cannot find all the divides earlier theory has discussed. My results indicate which theoretical divides can be found empirically and makes it possible to move beyond theory.

With PCA I can form the different divides into components that helps explain the relationship between the variables. Through PCA eight components were found. I use these results to construct eight ‘archetypes’ of individuals in the environmental movement to understand the diversity of the movement. These archetypes are named the Radical leftist, the Survivalist, the Pacifist, the Deep ecologist, the Rationalist, the Right-winger, the Liberal and the Animal-rights advocate.

The thesis is divided into seven parts. Following this the research question is presented. This is followed by part two where I present the theory that lays the foundation for the thesis and this is where I present the ten divides. In part three I present the earlier research that has been done in this research area. It is followed by part four that discusses the method that is used to analyse this topic. Then in part five the results are presented. It is followed by part six where I discuss the implications of the results. Then lastly in part seven I conclude the thesis.

## 1.1 Research question

In this study I examine if there are divides in the environmental movement when it comes to ideology. This study does not try to stipulate beforehand in which areas there is division and in which there is agreement. As I will discuss in the theory there is legitimate grounds for disagreement in all ideological concepts discussed in this thesis. Therefore, the first research question is:

*When it comes to ideology, how divided is the environmental movement?*

Following this, a question can be asked regarding to how these divides interconnect with each other. Therefore, a follow up question is asked if.

*How does these divides interconnect with each other?*

## 2 Theory

To understand the coherence of the environmental movement I need a theoretical understanding of the ideological divides in the movement. In this section I review the literature to establish dimensions of conflict within environmental ideology, dimensions I then operationalise in the survey questions.

I will begin in part 2.1 with a definition of the environmental movement and how it is seen in social movement research. Then in part 2.2 the foundation of environmental thought, green ideology, is discussed. Finally, in part 2.3 the ten divides within the environmental movement are presented.

### 2.1 The environmental movement as a social movement

To begin we need to understand what the environmental movement is and how it is defined in this thesis. Some argue that the western environmental movement should be seen as a multitude of movements because of the widely differing movements between countries but also within each country (Doherty 2002). But Doherty (2002) defines the movement, as I will, as a broader movement that has a lot of variances within it. Some argue that those included in the environmental movement must not be radically system critical (Price, Saunders, and Olcese 2014, 167). As Rootes and Nulman (2015) states, defining the environmental movement narrowly would go against the discourse of environmentalists themselves. I see the environmental movement as a broad movement with a wide array of different views but that those in the movement are defined by following a green ideology. Although there are those that separates the more radical parts from the less system critical parts, see discussion about Dobson's view on ecologism vs. environmentalism in the next part.

It is the norm to see the environmental movement as a social movement (see: (Doherty 2002) (Garner 1996) (Boström 2001)). Doherty (2002) acknowledges that there are multiple different definitions of social movements, but he claims that there are four key characteristics found in many definitions. It follows: "A social movement:

- *Must have a consciously shared collective identity;*
- *Must act at least partly outside political institutions, using protest as one of its forms of action;*
- *Is characterised by uninstitutionalised networks of interaction; and*
- *Must reject, or challenge, dominant forms of power."*

(Doherty 2002, 7)

He acknowledges that this is an ideal type and all parts of the environmental movement do not need to meet all criteria to be classified as a social movement. Following this, it needs to be stated that I see green parties as a part of the movement as well as all organisation and other forms outside political institutions. As Garner (1996) says institutional and non-institutional actors can all be seen as part of the environmental movement.

Like any other social movement the environmental movement has ideological differences (Garner 1996). Ideology have always been linked to the study of social movements, even if the relation has varied over time (Snow 2004). In the 70s and 80s a more narrow and stiff use of ideology was used heavily in social movement research (Snow 2004). It expected an unrealistic coherence of ideology among the movements (Della Porta and Diani 2006, p 66). This led to it falling out of grace in the research field but it has come back with a more fluid approach to ideology (Snow 2004). Both those that are more critical of the past use of ideology (Snow 2004) and those that are more positive of the use of ideology (Oliver and Johnston 2000) state that is an factor within social movements.

Ideology is the end goal of movements, but it is also the mean to reach that goal (Garner 1996). There is a debate of how important ideology are to the emergence and mobilization of movements (Snow 2004) (Oliver and Johnston 2000). But that they do have some impact is agreed (Snow 2004). This thesis will not discuss exactly how ideology affects movements, but it aims to understand the ideology within the environmental movement to open for further research. I will therefore not try to say anything between the correlation between ideology and behaviour, which has been criticized in the past (Della Porta and Diani 2006, p 66). I am interested in the fluidity of ideology and the divides within the green ideology, and I will therefore get away from the old school view of ideology.

## 2.2 Green ideology

To understand what divides the environmental movement, we first need to understand what unifies it. I will start with discussing green ideology and its four key commitments. Then I will discuss that some oppose seeing green ideology as a true ideology, something that I do in this thesis. Then lastly, I discuss the view of including non-radical elements into the green ideology.

There is a plethora of different organisations and parties that champion environmental causes. A lot of these stem from the idea tradition that rose in the 60s and 70s, which will be discussed in depth in part 4.1.1. I, as many other authors (Doherty 2002, 67), calls this idea stream green ideology. In this part I will examine what the green ideology is. It is important to state, as Dobson (2007) do, that what will be presented here is an ideal type. That means that all the definitions described here cannot be found in every environmental organisation, but parts are found in all. Humphrey (2013) defines four key commitments of the green ideology. They are ecological restructuring, radical democratization, ecological law, and non-violence as a principle of action.

Perhaps the most central of all the four commitments according to Humphrey (2013) is the commitment of ecological restructuring. With ecological restructuring the focus lies on radically changing the relationship between humanity and nature. The critique of unsustainability of society and the reasons of this offers the green ideology two defining accounts. Those are *what* is wrong, focusing on the humanity-nature relationship and *why* this relationship came to be and still is maintained. Even if a lot of ‘greens’ have named their views differently it mainly boils down to a holistic view of nature. This entails that a new way of thinking where our moral and ethical concern cannot only be focused on humans. According to ‘greens’ it is only through restructuring our relationship with nature that we can reach a sustainable

The second commitment according to Humphrey (2013) is radical democratization of society. This is defined by a desire for decentralization and participatory democracy. Humphrey (2013) argues that this commitment separates green ideology from those who agree that ecological restructuring is needed but that should be solved through authoritarian regimes.

The third commitment according to Humphrey (2013) is ecological law. It is the concept that there are ecological laws that rules independently of humans will. That if our behaviour breaks these laws against the environment, we will be punished by nature. This creates an opposing dynamic where our own constructed laws might be opposing ecological laws. This can be seen in activist who breaks the conventional law to uphold a form of ‘higher’ law and try to constrain ‘lawbreakers’ to live within the natural limits.

The last of Humphreys (2013) key commitments of green ideology is non-violence. Humphrey argues that in the case of green ideology it is wrong to see non-violence as only a method to an end. He argues for the green movement, more than other ideological movements, that the methods through the political goal are pursued is as important as the political goal itself. Although he recognises that there is a divide within the movement if violence against property should be included.

Multiple authors ask if the green ideology even is an ideology (Moon 2014) (Humphrey 2013). Some argue that the green ideology is in fact a new variant of the left rather than a separation from the left-right dimension (Doherty 2002). In order to get to grips with this Humphrey (2013) discusses if the green ideology can be seen as a thick or thin ideology. If it is a thin ideology, it can be incorporated into other ideologies because its conceptual core lacks the framework to describe the full range of politics. What makes this probable is that the green ideology lacks clear definition of concepts such as liberty and equality. On the other hand, if it is a thick ideology the core can give a ‘green’ position on almost every aspect of society. What Humphrey (2013) concludes is that even if the core of the green ideology is relatively small in comparison to other ideologies, in the sense that it has few commitments, it is a thick ideology.

Even if it is important to understand that there are different views on what green ideology is it will not affect this study. I use this mainly as a tool to explain what unifies the environmental movement before examining the divides in the movement. Therefore, whether it a ideology or not it does not affect how I view

the divides. But I do however for clarity's sake choose to see green ideology as a thick ideology.

Dobson (2007) goes further and tries to distinguish a difference between environmentalism and ecologism. He means that environmentalism argues that radical change is not needed to solve the climate change. While ecologism argues that the relation between human and nature needs to radically change. Dobson (2007, p. 188) does not view environmentalism as an ideology but he states that ecologism is an ideology, in the meaning that is a thick ideology (Humphrey 2013). Peter Hay (2002) on the other hand is critical to Dobson's division of environmentalism and ecologism and he treats them as synonymous. He does this partly because people active in the movement do not care about the difference in these labels and partly because he does not believe that this divide can be drawn in clear conceptual way. Another reason against separating the radical part from the part focusing on reform is because these differences is often quite fluid and it is not always possible to separate them (Garner 1996). I will not exclude individuals that believes that the ecological crisis can be solved within the current societal framework beforehand, but I will study this divide within the movement.

## 2.3 Divides

In the parts above I have discussed what defines and unites the environmental movement. In this part I will present the ten divides that I deem the most prominent in the green movement. The two major influences of this list is from Peter Hay's (2002) *Main currents in western environmental thought* and from Michael Moon's (2014) book *Grön filosofi: Tankar kring en ny ideologi* [*Green philosophy: Thoughts about a new ideology*: my translation]. All these divides are not mutually excluding. Meaning that issues that are discussed in Survivalism also intersects issues under Democracy and decentralisation, but I aim to explain why each divide is an important question by itself. My goal is to include the most prominent divides but there is multiple different discussion that I have not included in this thesis. This is due to in some cases that I felt that I could not operationalize these divides into questions that would accurately reflect them and in other cases because they could not fit into the limited scope of this thesis. In total I examine ten areas of division. Where each area can contain more divisions within it.

I will, as Hay (2002) does, only focus on the western environmental movement and its ideas. There are environmental idea traditions that has risen in indigenous groups and non-western countries that are important to the environmental movement (Hay 2002) but to include these would be outside the scope of this thesis.

### 2.3.1 Fundi vs. Realo

The debate between the Fundis and the Realos is maybe the most famous divide within the environmental movement. It originated in West Germany within the green party Die Grünen (Moon 2014). After a successful election in 1983, when they gained their first parliamentary seats, infighting ensued (Carter 2007, 101). The infighting had two sides, the Fundis and the Realos. The Fundis or fundamentalists are defined as wanting a pure doctrine that isn't compromised (Moon 2014). They are sceptical that it is possible to make a meaningful and radical difference within the parliamentary system (Carter 2007). The Realos or realists instead believe that incremental change is the only possible way forward (Carter 2007). They are willing to sacrifice some parts of their green ideology in order to be successful in electoral and parliamentary politics and they are willing to be in a governing position (Carter 2007). The infighting in Die Grünen led to them losing all of their deputies in the federal election of 1990 (Carter 2007). This huge loss led to the Realos taking control of the party in the long run (Carter 2007).

I take mainly two divides within the green movement from the Fundi/Realo debate. The first is the view of the effectiveness of parliamentary action versus non-parliamentary action. The second is the differing views on incremental change versus radical change. I am aware that this is a dichotomisation of questions where some want to see a combination of both sides. But I do believe that it is legitimate to discuss this as a dichotomy because in some situations they stand in direct opposition to each other.

### 2.3.2 Deep ecology vs. shallow ecology

The second divide I want to focus on is the divide between deep ecology and shallow ecology. The concept was created as a critique of what is called shallow ecology (Dobson 2007). According to deep ecologists, shallow ecology only focuses on solving the current problems and wants to save humanity from the consequences but without trying to understand why the problems are created in the first place (Dobson 2007, 31-32). Deep ecology wants to go to the depths of society to understand the ecological crisis (Moon 2014). It has concern for the environment for its own sake (Dobson 2007). The basic concept is that humanity needs to revise its ethics, morals, and norms in relation to nature (Dobson 2007).

A major part of this divide is the differences in whom is seen as subjects of moral concern. In general it is seen that there are three different views on this (Humphrey 2013). The first is the anthropocentric view, the view that a major part of the world has. It means that one sees humans as separated from the rest of nature. Therefore animals or the rest of nature aren't subjected to the same moral concerns as humans (Humphrey 2013). The two other views are biocentrism and ecocentrism, these views are sometimes used as synonymous, but I will distinguish them like Humphrey (2013) does. Therefore, the second view is biocentrism. It expands from human-centric views and also include all living

beings as subjects of moral concern (Humphrey 2013). Some definitions of biocentrism include both plants and animals while some solely focus on animals. This means that the morals and ethics needs to include them and cannot solely apply to humans. The third view is ecocentrism, and it is the broadest. It includes all living and non-living entities that are a part of the eco-systems as subjects of moral concern (Humphrey 2013).

### 2.3.3 The left-right dimension

According to Moon (2014) it is a common notion amongst the 'greens' that their ideology brings a new dimension to politics, separated from the left-right scale. Some consider that the debate should not focus on the left-right-scale, but Moon argues that even if you see yourself in the middle of the scale you are still on the scale. Also there are those as Doherty (2002) who sees the green ideology as only a form of the left. Dobson (2007, 166) says that one of the reasons that 'greens' see themselves separated from the left-right dimension is because the dimension works within a super-ideology of industrialism. This means that the greens want to separate themselves from the worldview of industrialism and if they position themselves left or right, they will position themselves within the super-ideology of industrialism. This all shows that the environmental movement's relationship with the left-right dimension can vary.

### 2.3.4 Survivalism

Survivalism is the strain of environmental politics that has an urgent concern of human survival (Carter 2007, 43). It is exemplified by the idea that the environmental questions (foremost climate change) stand above all others. There are multiple thinkers that have argued that it is only through authoritarian coercion that survival from global warming is possible (Carter 2007). Survivalism has been criticized as fascist as it disregard all other moral concerns in order to survive (Moon 2014). Even if the authoritarian view is not common in the environmental movement the tendencies to disregard all other issues for climate change is more common. A controversial topic that exemplifies survivalism is overpopulation and population control (Dobson 2007, 14). During the 60:s neo-Malthusian ideas began to emerge in the mainstream that said that population growth was exponential and therefore a major issue for climate change (Carter 2007). Solutions like cutting of food aid to countries in the global south where proposed as means of population control (Carter 2007). Nowadays green parties reject these kinds of solutions (Carter 2007) but it is a legacy within the environmental movement with groups such has Earth First! has stated in the past that epidemics such as the AIDS epidemic should run its course in order to decrease population (Dobson 2007).

### 2.3.5 Illegal vs. legal

Civil disobedience is a major part of several environmental groups strategies, for example Extinction Rebellion (XR) (Berglund and Schmidt 2020). Civil disobedience has a long history within social movements (Berglund and Schmidt 2020). But at the same time there are many organisations within the environmental movement that do not use these tactics. These organisations are very careful with that their protests are legal and only focus on legal demonstrations, groups such as Fridays for Future (Fridays For Future 1 n.d.).

There is also a divide if it is legitimate to actively avoid arrest if you have broken the law (Doherty 2002). Groups such as XR have commitment to accepting their punishment during acts of civil disobedience (Berglund and Schmidt 2020). But within ecological direct-action groups they argue that there is a view that you should try to avoid being arrested (Doherty 2002). Berglund and Schimdt (2020) argue that trough accepting arrests XR legitimize a system that they explicably are against.

As I explained in part 2.2 non-violence is one of the core commitments of the green ideology but the idea of to whom this non-violence applies differs. Some green thinkers argue that violence against property is acceptable. In Andreas Malm's (2021) book *How to blow up a pipeline* he argues that environmental activists should destroy property in a larger scale in order to create major political change. While organisations such as Fridays for Future believe that harming property is breaking the non-violence commitment (Fridays For Future 1 n.d.). Doherty (2002, ch. 6) means that within some ecological direct-action groups the discussion is focused on if violence towards other people is acceptable. They are already past the discussion about property and do not view harming property as violence. So, there are multiple different views on if breaking the law in the name of the movement is legitimate.

### 2.3.6 Knowledge and science

Science is a critical part of environmental politics (Forsyth 2014). Within the environmental movement there is a wide range of different views on science (Hay 2002). Hay (2002) separates them into three different categories.

First, there are those that have strong belief in science and its ability to solve ecological problem (Hay 2020, 120). He states that for these people the environmental issue is a technical problem that needs enough environmental science to be solved. They do not see any inherent problem within science and do not view it as an arena of power.

Second, there are those that have strong belief in science but think it is currently misguided (Hay 2020). They state that science has become fixated on its technical aspects but need to instead feature the complexities of science and include a more holistic perspective.

Third, there are those that thinks that science is the reason why we are in this ecological crisis. This viewpoint is representing a multitude of different views but

what they have in common is that current science is the primarily reason for the current ecological crisis. They see that facts and values cannot be separated therefore the view of ‘objective’ science that permeates society is a problem. This leads them to see science as arena of power and therefore not neutral.

### 2.3.7 Intersectionality<sup>1</sup>

*“Colonial, racist, and patriarchal systems of oppression have created and fueled [the climate crisis]. We need to dismantle them all.”* (Thunberg, Neubauer, and Valenzuela 2019)

There are multiple dimensions of power that intersect with environmental issues. I am going to discuss three areas that some greens see as integral to environmental politics, these are feminism, anti-racism and indigenous rights. An example of proponents of this view is Nature and Youth Sweden (Fältbiologerna) who recently accepted a new program that they should work against the patriarchy, racism and be proponents of decolonising Sápmi (Fältbiologerna 2021)

According to Hay (2002) ecofeminism argues that environmental issues needs to be understood through androcentrism. Androcentrism entails *“that the destruction of nature is consequent upon structures of exploitation embedded within human society. And the particular structure to which ecofeminist attention is directed is that based around gender.”*- (Hay 2002, 74). From this viewpoint working against the patriarchy is intrinsic for creating a sustainable society. What is important to note is that ecofeminism is a broad term for different kinds of feminism. Ranging from those that believe that women naturally have a closer connection to nature due to their ability to give birth to the more post-modern feminism that focus on exploitative structures (Carter 2007, 72-74). The main takeaway here is that there are some that believe that gender is an important factor when discussing environmental issues.

So why do some environmentalists see anti-racism as integral part of the movement? A part of it can be explained through the concept of environmental racism. During hurricane Katrina that struck New Orleans in 2005 poor and members of the African American community where disproportionately affected (Methmann and Oels 2014). Or as Pulido (2000) shows that racism and white privilege has caused the non-hispanic white population to live in disproportionately environmentally safer areas. Therefore many environmentalist see a problem with the movement being majority ‘white’ (Bergendal 2021).

Environmental activism has historically been closely linked to indigenous rights. Maybe the most famous example is the Dakota Access Pipeline protests

---

<sup>1</sup> I choose to call this part for intersectionality even though I am aware that it is mainly used as critical tool for analysing societal issues (Kaijser and Kronsell 2014). But in this case, I use it as a more political term. Seeing as this section focuses on actors who want to include opposition of different systems of oppression into the environmental movement it contains many similarities to intersectionality.

where indigenous rights groups and environmental organisations combined forces to protest against the building of a pipeline (Kelly and Kumar 2021). In the case of Sweden there are many environmental activists that are Sámi, the indigenous people of Sápmi which encompasses parts of northern Sweden. Their voice is an important part according to many environmental organisations (Naturskyddsföreningen 1 2017). Also as many Sami speak up in environmental issues for example positioning themselves in opposition to foresting corporations (Lundgren 2020).

I have not focused as much on the opposition to these ideas. It is often easier to give examples of protest against the status quo, simply because someone seeking to change things must act but the once favouring the status quo can simply stay passive. Instead, it is often the silent opposition of these ideas.

### 2.3.8 Democracy and decentralisation

One of the core commitments of the green ideology is radical democratization of society. Some see that liberal democracy and environmental concern as incompatible (Dobson 2007). This entails both the society at large but also within organisation. But there is still a big difference in how this democratization should take form. We can see this in different forms in organisation within the green movement. It can be minor things, such as many green parties in Europe having a shared leadership, or it can take form of Extinction Rebellion's (XR) decentralised, non-hierarchical organisational structure (Berglund and Schmidt 2020). Or we can look one of XR's bigger demands that citizen's assemblies should be created in order to create a more direct democracy (Berglund and Schmidt 2020).

Even though there are many different discussions on how democratization should be formed within green ideology I will focus on one of the most crucial, centralisation versus decentralisation. The classical green stance is that more decentralisation is needed (Dobson 2007). Some argue that a formation society in local communes is the most effective way for a society to become sustainable (Dobson 2007). But there are green thinkers that oppose this (Dobson 2007). Proponents for centralized society argue that a decentralised society isn't able to support the planning and coordination that are needed to solve the ecological crisis (Dobson 2007).

### 2.3.9 Single-issue movement vs. broad movement

As we can read from above there is different views on what is and is not environmental politics. All this leads to a discussion on how broad the movement should be. Recently Märta Stenevi was elected as the new spokesperson for the Swedish green party with a desire to broaden the party into other questions than the environment (Olsson 2021). As I discussed above there are multiple voices that say that for example anti-racism needs to be included when discussing

environmental questions. But there are others that do not want the environmental movement to discuss other questions than those that directly focus on the environment. For example some are against Stenevi's goal to broaden the green party (Nyström 2021). I want to extend this discussion to not only focus on the green parties but also on to the environmental movement as whole. I want to see if there is a divide between those that see that the green movement should only focus on environmental issues such emission reduction or if the movement should focus on other issues as well and in turn creating a broader movement.

### 2.3.10 Influences by liberalism and socialism

Opposed to those who do not want to place themselves on the left-right scale there are parts of the movement that hark closer to traditional ideologies. Even if I concluded 2.2 with that the green ideology is an ideology that does not mean that there are elements of other ideologies within the environmental movement. Here I will discuss some concepts that differ and some that are similar to liberalism and socialism to get a better understanding of the different views within the green movement. Because these are two full ideologies, I will only focus on one aspect each. These are how greens define liberty differently than liberals and how greens often do not criticize the capitalist system something that socialist do.

On the surface, the environmental movements ideology has many similarities with liberalism. But there are many that argue that the green ideology is incompatible with liberalism (Carter 2007). The biggest split will always be between how liberalism and green ideology view humans and in the extension freedom (Dobson 2007). Liberalism sees the human as separated from nature and therefore a human's liberty should not be restricted by concerns for animals and the rest of nature. Exploitation of nature is therefore a legitimate expression of freedom. Green ideology on the other hand extends their view and firmly states that humans are animals and that leads to broader inclusion of freedom and liberty.

Recently Sweden's biggest environmental youth organisation, Nature and Youth Sweden (Fältbiologerna), adopted an anti-capitalist program (Fältbiologerna 2021) showing that socialist ideas are alive in the environmental movement. Socialists has historically criticised the environmental movement as a conservative and a reactionary movement for the middle-class. (Dobson 2007). Dobson (2007) outlines three areas of contention between ecologism (but I argue that it holds for green ideology as well) and socialism. Because of the scope of this thesis, I will focus on the first. That is that distinction between what the underlying problem that causes the ecological crisis. Socialists say it is capitalism while greens focus on the broader concept of industrialism. As discussed above, most green theory does not see capitalism as the problem itself because a socialist solution would still work within an anthropocentric worldview with a materialistic view of nature. Therefore, in classical green ideology an opposition of capitalism isn't relevant but as Nature and Youth Sweden shows more and more are combining the green ideas with a socialist view of capitalism.

## 3 Earlier research

In this part I am going to present earlier research that can help us understand what we know about divides within the environmental movement. To my knowledge there is no survey that has examined the ideological aspects of the environmental movement. Therefore, in the first part I will present in short what unites and what divides the environmental movement in other areas. In the second part I will present quantitative research that has linked ideology and environmental politics.

### 3.1 A divided or united environmental movement

Unlike green parties, environmental social movements have not received as much focus in the literature (Martiskainen et al., 2020). In this part I will focus on three studies that are relevant to understand what we know about the diversity of the environmental movement.

In his doctoral thesis *Miljörelsens mångfald* [*The diversity of the environmental movement* my translation] Boström (2001) examines the Swedish environmental movement and its multiplicity. He argues that studies of social movements often see them as homogenous that it lacks empirical studies that focus on its diversity. His focus though is more on the organisational structures, the relations between environmental organisations and how they create political change rather than the political ideas. In his research he examines five environmental organisations; Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen, Världsnaturfonden WWF, Miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner, Greenpeace and Det Naturliga Steget. What he finds is that the movement is not homogenous. The organisations take on roles in relation to other actors within the environmental movement. He sees that newer organisations become more niche in their role while older organisations hold on to a broader role. Even if he does not examine the difference in political ideas in depth, we can see that it is an heterogenous movement at least when it comes to organisational structures and tactics.

There are two recent studies that have aimed to gain a greater understanding of environmental activists through surveying them. None of them examines ideological concepts such as I will but they give an indication if the environmental movement is divided. The first one is *Contextualizing climate justice activism: Knowledge, emotions, motivations, and actions among climate strikers in six cities* by Martiskainen et al. (2020). In this study they interview 64 protesters in six cities. They conducted the interviews in September 2019 during the global Climate Strike which several environmental organisations had called for. As the title states they examine the knowledge, emotions, motivations and actions related

to climate change among people who participated in the strike. What they find is that protesters show a wide array of different forms of knowledge, emotion, motivations and actions. They show that people who are active in the environmental protests are not a monolith but view the environmental issues differently, even if there are some commonalities.

Martiskainen et al. (2020) do not focus on ideological or philosophical views on environmental politics as this study aims to do. Although their results regarding emotions and motivations, can be to some assistance to understanding activist's ideas about environmental politics. What they find is that there is a big variation amongst climate strikes when it comes to their emotional reaction to climate change and their motivations to participate in the Climate Strike and other environmental activism. When it comes to emotions linked to climate change, they find that the two most common feelings mentioned are fear and hope. They state that fear is the fear that the whole system will collapse. Linked to this there are also feelings of disempowerment and anger among some of the strikers. Amongst those who felt hopeful it was often linked to gaining that hopefulness when taking action such as the Climate Strike. Showing that even among the hopeful ones they only feel hopeful when they are involved in activism. Regarding the motivations of the strikers almost every respondent mentions a concern for the planet, environment, and climate. The authors of the study do not delve deeper into what this exactly entails and if there is a difference within this category.

The other recent study that has examined the opinions of climate activists is *From the suites to the streets: Examining the range of behaviors and attitudes of international climate activists* by Boucher et al., (2021). They survey 367 self-identified climate activists in 66 countries. The first part of the article focuses on the demography of climate activists. Their aim is to test if the common notion that climate activists are mainly young women is true. Which they confirm, at least in North America and Europe. They also find that most activist are highly educated. The second part focuses on personal action, public strategies, and outlook. None of the parts goes into ideological parts that my study is interested in, but they show how united they are. The area of 'public strategies' is maybe the one most similar to ideological concepts. What they show is that there isn't any major negativity linked to any strategy. Which can either indicate that there isn't a big divide amongst activist or that the questions aren't formulated with any prioritization or cost, meaning that all solutions sound positive. But what can be seen is that they are not as positive to technological solutions as increasing political will for action. (In order to understand these differences in depth I have looked at their data that is publicly available in combination with the article). The authors acknowledge that because they aimed to get the article out to Climate Week some of the questions use vague terms. This means that the results are not conclusive, but they can give an indication. What their conclusion of the results indicate is that even if environmental activists are diverse when it comes to demographics, they are unified in their view that governments and corporations are not doing enough.

In these three articles we see fractured results on the unity of the movement. Boström (2001) finds that the movement contains divides when it comes to strategies and roles. Martiskainen et al. (2020) also find that there isn't one united way to feel about the climate change and activism. On the other hand Boucher et al. (2021) results indicate a more united view amongst environmental activists.

## 3.2 Ideology and the environment in Sweden

Here I will present three articles that have combined ideological concepts and environmental politics in Sweden and tested this through quantitative methods. I do this because it is important to see how this can be approached in widely different ways and therefore make it easier to put my results in a context.

In Jagers (2009) article *In search of the Ecological Citizen* he tries to define ecological citizens amongst the Swedish population. In brief an ecological citizen can be seen as a citizen who is willing to act for the environment. Through surveying 3000 Swedes he finds that about 25% of the respondents fit into the definition of an ecological citizen. It indicates that a large portion of the Swedish population are willing to act for the environment. What is interesting is that even if highly educated have on average views closer to the ecological citizen, he finds that education has no effect when tested in a regression analysis. What he does here is almost of the reverse of what I aim to do. While he beforehand defines a criterion and tries to see how many fits into the mould, I will try to see which roles are present after gathering the data. Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages. What my approach improves is that I do not a priori define exactly what an environmentalist believes, instead I try to find what exactly they believe in through asking relevant questions.

In Harring and Sohlberg (2017) they examine the effects of left-right ideology on environmental attitudes. Their perspective differs from what this thesis will explore. While I see green ideology as its own ideology with complexities within it, they focus on the left-right scale and see environmental politics as an issue area. What they find is that ideology has a stronger effect when environmental support is contrasted against economic growth as when it isn't. They also find that the left-right division is bigger amongst those who see environmental issues as left-right issues.

Berlin and Lundqvist (2012) examine in their article *Do leopards ever change their spots? The development of political trust among Swedish Green Party sympathisers* how the Green party's deradicalization have affected the political trust amongst their sympathisers. The background is the old Fundi/Realo division (see part 2.2.1. for more discussion about this division) that they argue still should have an effect today. They test if the change from being an anti-establishment party to them seeking a governing position with the Social Democrats has changed the sympathiser view of political trust. What they find is that even if their political trust goes up when they work closer with the Social Democrats there is still a negative relationship between political trust and Green party sympathising no

matter how close to a governing position they are. This shows that the radical roots are still present today. This article has a closer perspective to mine, but it only focus on one aspect and only looks on sympathisers of the Green party, while I will have a broader focus. But what they show is that 'greens' still struggle with the Fundi/Realo division.

There are some takeaways from these three articles. Examining ideology and environment through quantitative methods have been done and has yielded interesting results. Although they have not examined in great length what ideology concepts the environmental movement believe in. Environmental issues can be seen from multiple different perspectives. How I define the movement and green ideology will form which results I will get.

## 4 Method

In this part I will present the methods I will use to examine the ten divides within the Swedish environmental movement. Firstly, I will discuss the reasons why I use Sweden as the case. Second, I will present the survey and how I reach the respondents. After that I will present van der Eijk's measure of agreement that I will use to measure the responses from the survey. Lastly, I will present how principal component analysis is used to analyse all divides together.

### 4.1 The case of Sweden

To examine the ideological divide within the environmental movement, I have chosen to use the case of Sweden. Therefore, in this part I will discuss my case selection and my research design. But first I will briefly present the history of the Swedish environmental movement to give a context of where the movement come from and where it is today.

#### 4.1.1 The history of the Swedish environmental movement

In this part I will present a brief history of the Swedish environmental movement to gain a greater understanding of the subject that is studied. This is meant to give context of where different divides and actors come from. It is important to understand that different parts of the movement came into existence in different periods.

There are different views on when the history of environmentalism begins (Dobson 2007, p. 22-23) but for this study the most relevant starting point is the 60s and 70s. During the late 60s and early 70s the environmental political question started to get noted in the political discourse in Sweden and around the world (Larsson Heidenblad 2021). This is often referred to as the ecological turn or the environmental turn (Larsson Heidenblad 2021). Larsson Heidenblad (2021, 11) argues that 1967 was the crucial year for Sweden's environmental politics and calls it a societal knowledge breakthrough, a historical process where a form of knowledge becomes greatly important for many people. But it wasn't until the 70s that that environmental politics was really put on the agenda (Larsson Heidenblad 2021, 11). During this time several environmental organisations were born around the world. Such as the Friends of Earth in 1969 and Greenpeace in 1971 (although the Swedish branch would not be founded until 1983 (Boström 2001)) while older organisations such as Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

(Naturskyddsföreningen) started to focus on more environmental issues (Larsson Heidenblad 2021). Boström (2001) shows that these organisations today have more broader focus than organisation that came later that have taken on more niche roles. In 1972 the United Nations first environmental conference was held in Stockholm. Something that is important to note is that the Swedish environmental movement was institutionalized at an early stage of the movement compared to other countries (Thörn and Svenberg 2016).

The Swedish Green Party (Miljöpartiet in Swedish) was founded in 1981 (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). In the beginning the party clearly followed the green commitment of radical democratization. For example, they had two leaders, spokespersons, instead of the classical one and in the beginning they could not sit in the Riksdag (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). They implemented internal term limits and their annual congresses were open to all members (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). The Chernobyl disaster in 1986 and an epidemic of dead seals in 1988 helped the Green Party to gain its first parliamentary seat in 1988 (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). But over time a more pragmatic approach came to define the party and they started to seek a governing position (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). In 1998 they started with a closer cooperation with the Social Democrats and the Left Party (Berlin and Lundqvist 2012). And for the first time in 2014 they joined the Social Democrats in government (Riksdagsförvaltningen 2014).

In recent years new actors have entered the Swedish environmental movement, the most famous being Greta Thunberg. In August of 2018 she started to strike from school to get recognition for the world's failure in stopping climate change (Thomsen 2019). This led to a broader movement called Fridays For Future where people all over the world joined her strike on Fridays (Fridays For Future 2 n.d.) and Greta has become a huge international phenomenon (Thomsen 2019). Even if Jagers et al. (2020) shows that she has not changed the Swedish environmental opinion greatly she has high amount of trust amongst the Swedish population. Another actor that has joined the stage is Extinction Rebellion (XR). XR was founded in Great Britain and gained a strong foothold in Sweden in 2019 (Rogvall 2019). The organisation is non-hierarchical, and they mainly focus on civil disobedience as a tool to create political change (Berglund and Schmidt 2020).

The Swedish environmental movement is facing a contradictory path now. For the first time since the election of 1985 the Swedish Green party has not been the party with the most popular environmental policy (Pederby 2020). Since 2016 they have consistently been close to the 4 percent electoral limit according to polls (Val Digital n.d.). But at the same time Greta Thunberg, Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion is getting a bigger foothold in Swedish environmental discourse. As we can see, this indicates that the Swedish environmental movement should be a hotbed for different political ideas. Therefore, the divides discussed in the theory is probable to exist in Sweden.

### 4.1.2 The case of the Swedish environmental movement

To start, I chose the environmental movement in a single country instead of a region, continent or the whole world like Boucher et al. (2021). There are three reasons for focusing on one country, it enables a more representative sample, it minimizes the risk of meaning being lost in translation, and it allows a structured discussion about how the countries activists relate to the broader world.

I have chosen Sweden as a most-likely case. A most-likely-design uses a case that is an extreme case, where it is the most likely to see the result one expects (Teorell and Svensson 2007). For this thesis it is the case where it is the most likely that it exists ideological divisions within the environmental movement in the specific country. I assume that the stronger environmental opinion a country has the more likely it is that there exist divides. Because in a country with a strong environmental public opinion there are more people engaged in the questions and that leads to more people with different viewpoints. As the ideological divides in the environmental movement, to my knowledge, have never been studied through quantitative fashion before it is important to begin with a most-likely case. This is important because if there are no divides in a country where it is most likely to exist it can be assumed that the divides cannot be found in countries with a weaker environmental public opinion.

Therefore, Sweden is a good case because Sweden have a population that is generally more environmentally aware than other countries (Franzen and Vogl 2013). For example, according to the World value survey's data Sweden is the western country where most prioritize the environment above economic growth (see appendix 4 for a table). Another reason for choosing Sweden is that I am Swedish, and I am familiar with the context of the Swedish environmental movement. This makes it possible for me to discuss the details of the survey with people active in the movement. It also gives me the possibility to understand the nuances of the movement.

## 4.2 The survey

To examine if these divides do exist in the environmental movement, I will create a survey. By using a survey approach, I break new ground since there is, to my knowledge, no survey-data that focuses on the ideology amongst 'greens'. Another advantage of examining this through a quantitative method is that it makes it possible to see the larger pattern. The in-depth discussion about each divide already exists but there is not as clear that these exist within the movement in a broader perspective. A third advantage is that I may reach all member of the movement and not only spokespersons of the different organisations.

The survey consists of three parts. The first part is created to distinguish the respondent's role within the environmental movement. The second part is the largest, it contains all the question that are linked to the ten divides discussed in the theory. The third part contains question for control variables.

Most of the question in the survey consists of statements that the respondent can either agree or disagree with. The respondent answers the questions on a 7-point Likert-scale ranging from 1. *Entirely disagree* to 7. *Totally agree*. The answer alternatives were fully labelled and numbered in order to reduce extreme response style (ERS) and acquiescence response style (ARS) (Moors, Kieruj, and Vermunt 2014). ERS is the bias that is created where a disproportional amount of the respondents answer on the extreme ends on a Likert-scale (Moors, Kieruj, and Vermunt 2014). ARS is the bias that respondents are more likely to agree than disagree (Moors, Kieruj, and Vermunt 2014). All studies have ERS and ARS but with fully labelled and numbered respond-alternatives the bias is reduced (Moors, Kieruj, and Vermunt 2014).

Some questions asked the respondent to choose between two or three statements and choose the one they agreed with the most. This was done to make a hard dichotomy between two statements because in these cases it was needed to test the theory.

#### 4.2.1 Operationalization of theory

To test my theory, I will operationalize the theoretical discussions about the ten divides into questions. When operationalising my theory into questions I face a dilemma. A lot of what is discussed in the theory may contain political ideas that a respondent is not as familiar with if they have not read a lot of theory. As Peter Hay (2002) says the environmental movement is often not interested in discussing theory and ideology. The questions need to focus on ideas and concepts that the average environmental activists have opinions on. Therefore, statements such as “animals should be subjects of moral concern” have been constructed into “Humans do not have the right to kill animals”. These are not the same but they both capture the same essence of the moral dilemma. Below all the questions that are linked to the theory is presented.

**Table 1 Questions**

No.	Questions (translated from Swedish)	Answer type
7	Q: <i>If you must choose, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?</i> A1. <i>The work towards a sustainable future is most effectively done through the parliament and by political parties.</i> A2. <i>The work towards a sustainable future is most effectively done through independent organisations, demonstrations, and protests.</i>	Dichotomy
8	Q: <i>If you must choose, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?</i> A1. <i>The work towards a sustainable future demand that we create incremental change within the current societal structures.</i> A2. <i>The work towards a sustainable future demand that we radically change our society.</i>	Dichotomy
9	Q: <i>If you must choose, what do you deem the most important?</i> A1. <i>Stop global warming.</i> A2. <i>That human gains a new understanding of its relation to animal and nature.</i>	Dichotomy
10	S: <i>Humans have a unique value in comparison to animals and nature.</i>	Agreement Scale
11	S: <i>Humans do not have the right to kill animals.</i>	Agreement Scale
12	S: <i>We should have the same concern for nature as we do to humans.</i>	Agreement Scale
13	Q: <i>Where would you place yourself on a scale between 0 and 10 where 0 stands for left and 10 stands for right?</i>	Left-right scale
14	Q: <i>Do you think that the left-right scale is relevant in regard to environmental politics?</i>	Yes/No
15	S: <i>Global warming stands above all other political questions.</i>	Agreement Scale
16	S: <i>We must be willing to limit multiple rights in order to stop global warming</i>	Agreement Scale
17	S: <i>We must sharply reduce the population of the planet for the environment's sake</i>	Agreement Scale
19	S: <i>Demonstrations are an important tool for creating change towards a sustainable society</i>	Agreement Scale
20	S: <i>Civil disobedience is an important tool for creating change towards a sustainable society. (Civil disobedience entails breaking the law without violence and accepting the punishment, for example blocking traffic on a street)</i>	Agreement Scale
21	S: <i>It may be legitimate for an environmental activist to actively evade punishment in connection with an illegal action which has the goal to create a sustainable society.</i>	Agreement Scale
22	S: <i>It is morally acceptable to destroy property in order to create change towards a sustainable society (for example to destroy a car tire or sabotage a pipeline)</i>	Agreement Scale
23	S: <i>Violence towards other humans can be legitimate to protect the climate</i>	Agreement Scale
24	Q: <i>Which of the following statements suits you best?</i> A1. <i>I have great faith that research and technological development will be important in solving climate problems.</i> A2. <i>I have faith in research and technological development, but right now it is aimed at exacerbating the climate problem rather than improving it.</i> A3. <i>I believe that the way we look at research and technological</i>	Trichotomy

	<i>development is one of the underlying causes of the climate problems we face.</i>	
25	<i>Anti-racism is an important part of the environmental movement</i>	Agreement Scale
26	<i>Indigenous peoples' (eg the Sami) rights are an important part of the environmental movement</i>	Agreement Scale
27	<i>The fight against patriarchal structures is an important part of the environmental movement</i>	Agreement Scale
28	<i>Q: If you have to choose, do you think that the environmental movement should primarily focus on direct environmental issues or must it broaden and focus on other issues such as gender equality and [economic] equality</i>	Dichotomy
29	<i>Would you say that your answer to the question above comes more from tactical reasons (because it will effectively lead to change) or from ideological reasons (because it is in line with your view of what environmental politics should be)?</i>	Dichotomy
30	<i>We need to drastically change how the democracy works in Sweden</i>	Agreement Scale
31	<i>A sustainable society demands a more local self-governed society than a big state</i>	Agreement Scale
32	<i>Green growth is an important part in creating a sustainable society</i>	Agreement Scale
33	<i>Capitalism as a system is a main cause of global warming</i>	Agreement Scale
34	<i>I am an anti-capitalist</i>	Agreement Scale
35	<i>An individual's liberty should not be limited by the well-being of nature</i>	Agreement Scale

**Comment:** The questions asked in the survey regarding ideological concepts. S stands for statement, Q stand for question, A stands for answer alternative. All questions are translated from the original Swedish to English.

First, I have created two questions to analyse the Fundi-Realo dimension. As I discussed in part 2.3.1, I see mainly two theoretical division from this debate. The first one is the parliamentary versus non-parliamentary course of action. To examine this divide I construct question 7 that asks the respondent to choose the side they see as the most effective. Even if the discussion is not only a distinction between effectiveness, I added that part to make the choices more concrete. The second division is between the preference for incremental change versus radical change, therefore I construct question 8. Both these question forces the respondent to take a stand in a strong dichotomy. The reason for this is not that the theory necessarily requires a hard dichotomy, but it gives an indication on what the respondent prioritises when forced to choose.

To examine the divide between shallow and deep ecology I construct question 9. The two choices come from Dobson's (2007) distinction of the discussion where he argues that shallow ecologist only focuses on solving current problems while deep ecologist want to focus on human's deeper relation to nature. This is also a question that has a dichotomous answer alternative without a scale. This is because this is a question a lot of people would want to answer both, but my interest is what they prioritize when the respondent is forced to choose between the two. Following this, three questions is constructed to understand whom the respondents see as subjects of moral concern. The first is question 10 which asks

if humans have a unique standing in regard to animals and nature in order to see if the respondent have an anthropocentric worldview. Question 11 is constructed to study if the respondent sees animals as subjects of moral concern and question 12 is constructed to study if the respondent extends its moral concern to all of nature. There is not exactly one question for biocentrism and one for ecocentrism but instead I focus on how much the respondent expanded its morale view. The reason that I ask all three questions is that I do not simply wanted to assume that if a respondent disagreed with two statements that they will automatically agree with the third.

Two question are asked to understand the left-right dimension relevance to environmental politics. First the respondent is asked to place themselves on the left-right scale, this question is formulated in the same way the Swedish National Election Studies (Formulär: Valundersökning 2018 n.d.) formulates their question about left-right. Then a yes/no question is asked about if the scale is relevant to environmental politics. I did not include a distinction about industrialism as the reason that the left-right scale is not relevant. This is because when I discussed the including the concept in the question with people active within the environmental movement and they thought that it became hard to grasp.

To test the concept of survivalism I construct three question. Question 15 and 16 are asked to understand the aspects of disregarding other political question and the willingness to disregard individual rights to stop climate change. The concept of overpopulation is often linked to survivalism, so it will be examined in question 17 to add a more diverse view on survivalism.

I have grouped five questions together that concern tools for change, legality, and non-violence. Question 19 and 20 were asked to see the respondent's views on demonstrations and civil disobedience. I followed this with question 21 that focuses on the legitimacy of escaping the law. Question 22 and 23 concern violence within the environmental movement and asks if violence can be legitimate against property or other humans.

To understand Peter Hay's (2002) three views of science within the environmental movement question 24 is constructed. It asks the respondent to choose between three options where each option is a simplification of one of Hay's science views.

Three questions are asked on the topic of intersectionality. These are questions 25, 26 and 27. They are created to see if the respondent deems anti-racism, indigenous rights, and feminism as relevant to environmental politics. An information-text is added before these questions to make sure that the respondent understood that they were not asked if these questions are important in themselves but about their relevance to environmental politics.

Question 28 is constructed to ask respondent if they want the environmental movement to be a broad movement or a single-issue movement. Short examples are added to make the concepts more concrete which might influence how they might respond. Following this question 29 is asked to see if the answer question 28 because of tactical reasons or ideological reasons. This question also contains extra text to explain what tactical and ideological reasons where. With tactical the explanation follows "*because it will effectively lead to change*" and for

ideological reasons it is followed by “*because it is in line with your view of what environmental politics should be*”.

As discussed in the theory, radical democratization is an essential part of green ideology. Two questions, 30 and 32, are constructed to survey this topic. The first one is constructed to see if the respondent agree with a radical change of democracy. I do not explicitly focus on democratization because I deem it is not a commonly used word outside academia. This unfortunately creates the problem that the respondent might want to change the democracy to a more authoritarian approach, but it does not show in this question. But this can be solved partly by combining answers from the survivalism theme to suss out any authoritarian views. The second democratization question focuses on in which way the democratization should be constructed. Namely if it should be more de-centralised or be more centralized.

As discussed in the theory greens can lean closer to two other ideologies. As these are broad ideologies that have multiple viewpoints on multiple issues it is not possible to include all parts. Therefore, I focus on one or two aspects that I think are the most important for the testing this divide. In order to view the liberal influences questions 32 and 35 were constructed. As green growth is a crucial part of a sustainable future from a liberal view it is one of the questions. The other question focuses on freedom and whom should be included into the harm principle. As discussed above a major difference between liberals and greens is if exploitation of nature should be a legitimate way of expressing freedom. When asking about socialist influences I focused on the concept of anti-capitalism. Even if there is a lot more to socialism than this it is a core idea. In question 33 I ask if the respondent see capitalism as the main reason behind global warming. It is followed by question 34 that asks if the respondent see themselves as anti-capitalist. This is included because an individual can be critical to capitalism, but they still see it as the best economic system and is unwilling to change it.

These 27 questions are the bulk of the ten divides.

#### 4.2.2 Defining the Swedish environmental movement

To make sure that the respondent is a member of the environmental movement several questions are asked. The focus though is if the respondent self-identifies as a part of the environmental movement. As discussed in part 2.1 exactly what entails the environmental movement is difficult to say and as Rootes and Nulman (2015) says trying to set strict definitions would go against the ideas of the movement itself. Therefore, the respondents that are included in the analysis are the ones who self-identifies as a part of the environmental movement.

Additional questions are asked to see the distribution of memberships in different environmental organisations and political parties. This makes it possible to make sure that all parts of the environmental movement are represented. Because of the limited scope of the survey, it is probable that I will not get enough respondents generalize for each organisation but instead I will focus on the movement as a whole. Because some organisations do not have strict

membership-lists the questions asks if the respondent is a member or active in the organisation.

To examine any skewness amongst the respondents multiple control questions are asked. These questions ask about the respondent gender, age, education, income and where in Sweden they live.

### 4.2.3 Spreading the survey

To get as many respondents from the environmental movement as possible I use multiple tactics to spread the survey. In the first step I contact 21 organisations to request them to e-mail the survey to their members (see which organisations in appendix 1). As there is not a definitive list of which are the environmental organisations of Sweden, I have to choose which organisation to contact. As my definition of which to include in the analysis is not dependent on any membership to an environmental organisation the only reason that it is important to not miss an organisation is that a sphere of the environmental movement might not be represented in the data. In order to find all these organisation I use combination of prior knowledge, online resources like Supermiljöbloggen (Supermiljöbloggen n.d.) and most importantly discussion with people active in the environmental movement. All the organisations contacted should have possibility of membership or at least people who are active in their cause, which excludes for example thinktanks. In addition to the environmental organisation the Swedish Green party and its youth organisation was included as well as the recent break-away party Partiet Vändpunkt (Lönnroth 2019).

Only two organisations agreed to mail out the survey, these where We stay on the ground (Vi håller oss på Jorden) and Protect the forest (Skydda skogen). To gain respondents from other organisations and other parts of the environmental movement Facebook will be used. A similar approach can be seen in Lola Girerd et al. (2020) who surveys participants in the Yellow vest movement about ideology where they partly used social media to ask questions. In their second approach they surveyed members of Facebook groups who was named yellow vests (Lola Girerd et al. 2020).

Two versions of the survey are created. One that will be spread through e-mails, a situation that was more controlled in how many individuals it reaches. The other one version will be spread through different kinds of social media where the spreading of the survey is less controlled. The surveys are identical, so the only factor is how they are spread. Extinction Rebellion will spread the survey through their own internal channels. They use the encrypted social media app Mattermost. Fossilfree Sweden and We stay on the ground published the survey on their Facebook page. In addition to this I will publish the survey in Facebook groups linked to the 21 organisations, most of them being unofficial supporter-groups. In the case it doesn't exist one singular group for Sweden I look for local groups for the three biggest cities in Sweden, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (This only led to on group being included Fridays for future Malmö). There is of course a disproportional access, I could for example not find a suitable group for

Greenpeace. To reach a wider group additional Facebook-groups are added, Klimatklubben, Naturens rättigheter i samhället and Klimatnyheter, as they are the biggest environmental Facebook-groups not already included (See Appendix 2 for all the Facebook-groups).

I have chosen to distribute my survey through social media. Some issues might arise because of this. As the survey is not directly sent to specific individuals instead the respondents themselves chose to answer this leads to two issues. One issue is that I do not know how many individuals that have seen the survey, so I cannot define the sample frame. The other is that it leads to self-selection bias. But I argue, similarly to how (Esaiasson et al. 2012) says one can argue, that I only want people who are interested in these questions. So, I am not interested in generalizing the results of individuals who are not interested in environmental issues, therefore the self-selection bias and the skewness is not as problematic. Also, even if the data have a bias to individuals who have strong opinions if these individuals disagree in a question, it will still support my theory that there are divides within the movement.

Another problem is that the representative sample will potentially be skewed. This is a problem in all kinds of surveys as factors such as age leads to individuals responding at a higher rate (for example see the SOM-institute's method report of response rate to age (Falk, Sandelin, and Weissenbilder 2021)) but in this study the survey mainly reached Facebook users and that will skew the results to specifically Facebook users. Still these problems would have existed had I used a qualitative approach, using a survey approach allowing respondents to opt in prevents my own biases to affect the sampling. Also, social media is where a lot of activism and organizing takes place today. Much like if you wanted to survey the supporters of the football club IK Sirius you might distribute a survey outside the stadium during a home game, I distribute the survey on social media. In both cases I would catch much of the target group, while admittedly missing TV-watching supporters or as in my case activists not active on social media. In both cases my sample would be skewed but still capture important parts of the target population.

Another advantage with using social media is that a lot of grass root environmental activism is not linked to organisations (Rootes and Nulman 2015) therefore those might have been missed if the contact was solely through organisations e-mail lists. Also, as the survey has been conducted during the COVID-19 crisis a physical distribution at for example protests have not been possible. One can also assume that during this time it is easier to reach a representative audience through social media.

Another issue is that I aim to survey a subgroup of the Swedish population, namely people that are part of the environmental movement, but I do not know how big this subgroup is. Which means that I do not know exactly how big a representative sample is. This leads me needing to assume the size of the movement to solve this I will try to estimate the size, further discussion about this in part 5.1.1.

### 4.3 Measuring agreement

To see if there is a divide within the environmental movement when it comes to ideological standpoints, I need to examine how coherent they are in their opinions. To do this I need to be able to measure disagreement and agreement. In *Measuring Agreement in Ordered Rating Scales* van der Eijk (2001) presents a measurement for agreement he calls “A”. The measurement is designed for questions that have answer alternatives on a Likert-scale.

**Figure 1 Van der Eijk’s measurement of agreement**

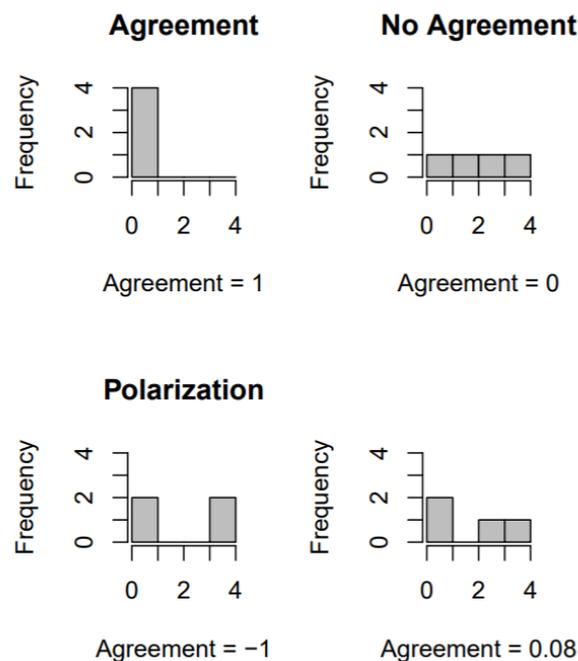


Figure from (Ruedin 2020)

As can be seen in figure 1 when all respondents have answered the same and are in total agreement measurement ‘A’ is 1. When there is no agreement and there is the same number of respondents in all categories the value is 0. If there is polarisation where the respondent is split between the two extreme the values is – 1. I do not expect to find polarization but rather measurements between 0 and 1. For a longer discussion of the mathematical model behind the measurement see van der Eijk (2001). I use Ecker's (2011) AGRM commando in STATA to calculate agreement.

What is important to note is that the measurement does not recognise the meaning of each category. This means that even if almost all respondents answer on a positive note there are three different categories of agreement which means that the value will not be 1. This is because there is disagreement amongst how strong the agreement is.

## 4.4 Principal component analysis

In this part I will explain how principal component analysis (PCA) works and how I will apply it. PCA is often seen as a kind of factor analysis (Jolliffe 2002).

To understand how the divides interconnect with each other PCA is a helpful tool. As I have 27 different variables on ideological concepts it can be difficult to grasp the larger streams in the movement. To reduce these into something more comprehensible I will use PCA. PCA is used when one tries to reduce the dimensionality of the data when one has a lot of interrelated variables. It means that PCA is constructed to help simplify a large amount of variables (Francis and Wills 1999). The positive of PCA is that it retains as much variance in the data as possible. PCA is also suitable as an exploratory function where one does not have a theoretical composition that one tests but rather try to find patterns in the data (MacDonald and Hasmath 2020). Which is suitable as that is what I try to do.

Trough PCA I can reduce the variables into components (Magyar 2017). It does this by finding the orthogonal dimensions which explains the most of the variance in the data (Magyar 2017). This leads to the first component explaining the most variance and the following component always explains less of the variance than the one before (Magyar 2017). Each component gets an Eigen value. The Eigen value shows how much variance the component explains in relation to variables (Jolliffe 2002). So, a component with an Eigen value of 5 explains the same amount of variance as five variables.

What results is components that show coefficients that have a positive or negative relation to all included variables in different strength (Jolliffe 2002). What is important to note is that the exact strength of these coefficients on the decimal is not important rather the general pattern is what is interesting (Jolliffe 2002). Whether the sign is positive or negative is irrelevant because the opposite is always true (Jolliffe 2002). This means that if component shows a positive coefficient for socialist attitudes but a negative for liberal attitudes it only means that individuals with socialist attitudes often do not have liberal views, where the opposite is also true that people with liberal views often do not have socialist views. So, the signs could be inverted and would not change the results.

I use dichotomous variables, some suggest that those should not be used in a PCA but Jolliffe (2002) argues that there isn't any inherent in PCA's assumptions that forces one to only use continuous variables. For this analysis I reconstructed the question about science into two binary variables. Where a 0 in both variables stands for the most critical view of science.

PCA creates as many components as variables included which means that one can't focus on all or else it would not become easier to grasp. I will use the Kaiser rule for determining which components to include. The Kaiser rule says that the components to include are the ones that have an Eigen-value above 1 otherwise the component would explain less variance than a variable itself (Jolliffe 2002). Although it is important to note that this one of many ways to determine which components to keep (Jolliffe 2002).

## 5 Results

In this part I will present the results of the thesis. I will start with presenting the demography of the respondents to get understanding of who answered the survey. Then I will present the results of all ten ideological divisions and see where there is disagreement and where there is unity. Then lastly, I will present the results of the principal component analysis and see the major streams in the environmental movement.

### 5.1 Demography of the respondents

To start I will present the demography of the respondents. I will do this to see the representativeness of the respondents and to address any skewness in the data. As I discussed in the method-part I do generalize from a population I do not know exactly the composition of. Therefore, I cannot clearly state if any skewness is due to the any methodological errors or if there are an accurate description of the population.

To make sure that the respondents where part of the environmental movement the respondents were asked if the self-identified as such.

**Table 2: Identification**

<b>Do you view yourself as a part of the environmental movement?</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	574	84,54
No	105	15,46
Total	679	100

As we can see in the table above the survey got 679 respondents, where 574 identifies as a part of the environmental movements. These 574 respondents will be used for the analysis therefore all statistic that is presented below comes from these 574 respondents. When there are less respondents in the tables below it is because someone answered do not know or skipped the question.

Now that we have 574 respondents, we can calculate the error margin of the results. All results drawn from a random sample (even if my sample is not completely random, I assume they are here) have some level of uncertainty (Esaiasson et al. 2012). To calculate the error margin, I first need to know how big the population is. As I do not know how many people that are a part of the Swedish environmental movement, I do not have an exact population size.

Therefore, I will estimate it to be able to calculate the error margin. I estimate that the population size is 500 000. This is about 5 percent of the Swedish population (SCB 2 n.d.). This is a likely number as in 2010 5,4 percent of the Swedish population was a member of an environmental organisation (Telesiene and Gross 2016). Even they are not the same because individuals who are not official member can see themselves as a part of the environmental movement and at the same time people might be members but are not active in the movement.

I calculate at a 95 percent security margin. The error margin is the largest when the percentage of a variable is at 50% because the variance is the largest (Esaiasson et al. 2012). The error margin at 50% is 4,09%. This means that when a I present a measurement at 50%, I can say with 95% certainty that true measurement is between 45,91% and 54,09%. If the percentage is at 25% (or 75%) the error margin goes down to 3,54%.

**Table 3: Survey type**

Type	Freq.	Percent
Web	489	85,19
E-mail	85	14,81
Total	574	100

As we can see most respondents got the survey through social medias while about 15 percent got it from e-mail. The answers from the web survey came in between 20/2 - 23/3 2021 while the e-mail answers came in between 8/4 – 12/4 2021. Because the major difference in numbers between Web and E-mail it is difficult to do any analysis between the two survey-methods. The e-mail responses also only went out to two organisations therefore it does not necessarily have as broad representation as the web-survey.

**Table 4: Gender**

Gender	Freq.	Percent
Woman	331	58,17
Man	230	40,42
Other	8	1,41
Total	569	100

When it comes to gender women are overrepresented in relation the general population. This is not a surprise as women are generally have stronger interest in environmental politics in Sweden (Jönsson 2019)(Jagers 2009).

**Table 5: Age**

Age	Freq.	Percent
16 - 19	21	3,69
20 - 29	115	20,21
30 - 39	120	21,09
40 - 49	89	15,64
50 - 59	115	20,21
60 - 69	69	12,13
70 -	40	7,03
Total	569	100

The age representativeness is quite stable. What is interesting is that there is usually a gradual drop off in age groups when it comes environmental views (Jönsson 2019) (Jagers 2009). But here young respondents are not overrepresented relation to the general population. This can be because there is generally a lower response rate among young respondents (see the SOM-institutes assessment of their response rate for example (Falk, Sandelin, and Weissenbilder 2021))

**Table 6: Residence**

Where in Sweden do you mainly live?	Freq.	Percent
Ren landsbygd / Pure countryside	100	17,48
Smaller urban area	93	16,26
City or larger urban area	192	33,57
Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö	184	32,17
I do not live in Sweden	3	0,52
Total	572	100

As we can see about 66 percent of the respondents live in some kind of larger urban area. Although all categories in Sweden are well represented. I include the three who do not live in Sweden. As the survey only existed in Swedish it is probable that they are active in the Swedish movement.

**Table 7: Education**

What is your education?	Freq.	Percent
Completed primary school education	18	3,17
Completed upper secondary education	42	7,39
Completed post-secondary education, not university	33	5,81
Started college / university education	95	16,73
Completed 3-year college / university education	160	28,17
Completed 5-year college / university education	220	38,73
Total	568	100

As we can see highly educated individuals are overrepresented in relation to the general population. 28 percent of the Swedish population have studied for at least three years at an higher education (SCB 1 2019) while here that number is close to 67 percent. This follows Jönsson's (2019) report that shows that individuals who have stronger concern for environmental issues are a bit more educated. But at the same time (Jagers 2009) find that is also the case but he did not find that education has an effect on the probably of being an ecological citizen. The large proportion of educated might indicate a skewness in the data.

**Table 8: Monthly income**

Monthly income before taxes	Freq.	Percent
Less than 10 000 kronor	69	12,55
10 000 – 14 999 kronor	82	14,91
15 000 – 19 999 kronor	41	7,45
20 000 – 24 999 kronor	48	8,73
25 000 – 29 999 kronor	51	9,27
30 000 – 34 999 kronor	73	13,27
35 000 – 39 999 kronor	58	10,55
40 000 – 44 999 kronor	49	8,91
45 000 – 49 999 kronor	30	5,45
50 000 – 54 999 kronor	14	2,55
55 000 – 59 999 kronor	9	1,64
More than 60 000 kronor	26	4,73
Total	550	100

When it comes to monthly income there is one spike around 30 000 to 39 999 kronor a month, which is not surprising as it around the median and average income in Sweden (SCB 3 n.d.). About 27% of the respondents have a monthly income under 14 999 kronor, this can be partly because there are many students amongst the respondents.

**Table 9: Organisations**

<b>Member/active in organisation</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Naturskyddsföreningen	314	57,93
Vi som håller oss på jorden	182	33,58
Greenpeace	120	22,14
Fridays for Future	119	21,96
Extinction Rebellion	96	17,71
Världsnaturfonden (WWF)	82	15,13
Skydda skogen	51	9,41
Fältbiologerna	43	7,93
Jordens vänner	43	7,93
Klimataktion	31	5,72
God Jord	24	4,43
Fossil free Sverige (350.org)	24	4,43
Klimatriksdagen	22	4,06
PUSH Sverige	12	2,21
Klimatstudenterna	12	2,21
Klimatsverige	7	1,29
Other organisation	108	19,93
Not a member or active in any organisation	100	18,45

Comment: A respondent can be a member of multiple organisations.

As we can see over half of the respondents are members or active in Naturskyddsföreningen. This is not surprising as it is the largest environmental organisation in Sweden (Naturskyddsföreningen 2 2015). What is interesting is that Vi håller oss på Jorden is the second largest. Because the organisation has been so helpful with spreading the survey to their members might be a bit overrepresented. The question is formulated as “Are you a member or active in any of the following organisations?”. So, it might also depend on that the organisation Vi håller oss på Jorden organizes “Flygfritt” (transl. Flight free) where individuals agree to stop flying. Therefore, several of them might see themselves as active but are not member.

**Table 10 Party membership**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Green Party (MP)	105	18,42
Left Party (V)	49	8,6
Social Democratic Party (S)	12	2,11
Center Party (C)	3	0,53
The Liberals (L)	3	0,53
Conservative Party (M)	1	0,18
Christian Democratic Party (KD)	1	0,18
Sweden Democrats (SD)	0	0
Partiet Vändpunkt	30	5,26
Other party	12	2,11
Not a member	361	63,33

As we can see that a 18,42 % of the respondents are members of the Green Party. What is important to remember is that I define the Green Party as part of the environmental movement as their roots are firmly linked to green ideology. This mean that I have spread the survey in their Facebook-group but not in any other major parties' group. This means that we cannot simply state that the Green Party is the most popular party within the movement as they are a part of the analysis while the other parties are not. The environmental party Partiet Vändpunkt, which was created by a breakout-group from the Green Party (Lönnroth 2019), was also included which might explain why they have more respondent than for example the biggest party in Sweden the Social Democratic Party. The respondent where also asked if they were members of any of the party's youth organisations. 38 of the respondents where members of Green Youth, one was a member of Young Left, two were members of the Social Democrats youth organisation and 1 was a member of another not specified youth organisation.

## 5.2 Ideological divides

In this part I will present the results regarding the ten different ideological divides. As I have discussed previously my focus is to analyse agreement and disagreement. Therefore, in order to keep this thesis at a reasonable length I will therefore not always discuss other implications of my findings. What is also important to consider that these huge ideological discussions that I have condensed into one sentence that the respondent can only agree or disagree with through a Likert-scale. That means that it is important to recognize even if the results are interesting that there is still a deeper discussion in each division that is not examined here. But what my results do show is a good indication of the cohesiveness of the movements ideology.

### 5.2.1 Fundi vs. Realo

**Table 11 Parliamentary vs. non-parliamentary**

<b>If you must choose, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
The work towards a sustainable future is most effectively done through the parliament and by political parties.	254	50,2
The work towards a sustainable future is most effectively done through independent organisations, demonstrations, and protests.	252	49,8
Total	506	100

As we can see there is almost an exact 50/50 split between the those that believe that the environmental movement should work within the parliament or outside. This shows that the Fundi/Realo discussion is still alive within the movement. What is important to note is that this question has a lower response

rate compared to other questions because a lot of the respondents answered that they do not know. Some commented (in the question at the end asking for additional comments) that they did not support this binary view and therefore could not answer either. As I discussed above, I understand that this is not as binary as it is presented here but this gives interesting indication that the movement is split on what to prioritize.

**Table 12 Incrementalism vs. radicalism**

<b>If you must choose, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
The work towards a sustainable future demand that we create incremental change within the current societal structures.	129	22,87
The work towards a sustainable future demand that we radically change our society.	435	77,13
<b>Total</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>100</b>

On the other hand, even if they are split on the where the change is most effective 77,13 percent states that a radical shift is needed. This shows that the radical roots of the environmental movements are still a big part of the movement. It also implies a split in the Fundi/Realo dimension where the classical Fundi view of radical change is not limited to those that see the movement as non-parliamentary.

### 5.2.2 Deep ecology vs. shallow ecology

**Table 13 Deep ecology vs. shallow ecology**

<b>If you must choose, what do you deem the most important?</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Stop global warming	354	64,13
That human gains a new understanding of its relation to animal and nature.	198	35,87
<b>Total</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>100</b>

In the table above we can see that the shallow ecology is predominant within the movement. 64,13 percent of respondents prioritize stopping global warming before creating a new understanding of nature. This indicates that the larger part of the environmental movement are shallow ecologists. But as with all these questions there this a simplification of the real discussion but it gives an indication that a majority want to solve the present issues right now rather than digging deeper in human's relationship with nature.

**Table 14 Subject of moral concern**

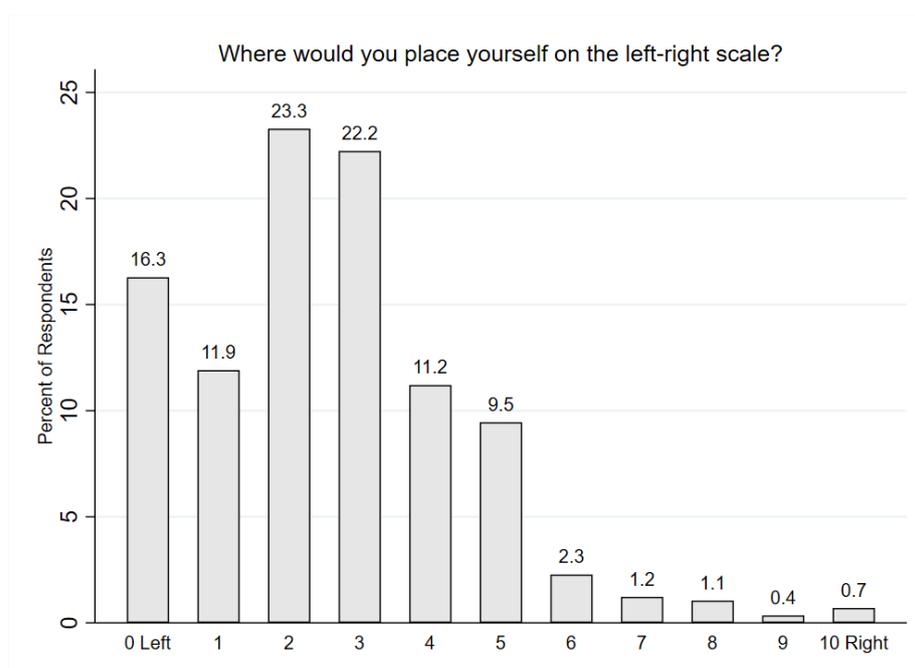
Nr. Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
10 Humans have a unique value in comparison to animals and nature.	28,2	20,67	10,86	9,28	19,44	8,06	3,5	571	0,23
11 Humans do not have the right to kill animals.	10,66	15,38	18,01	10,14	25,87	11,71	8,22	572	0,18
12 We should have the same concern for nature as we do to humans.	0,88	2,45	6,3	4,03	19,79	34,33	32,22	571	0,57

**Comment:** n total respondents, AM agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

In question 10, 11 and 12 I have examined whom the respondents see as subjects of morale concern. We can see that there is low amount of agreement when it comes question 10 and 11 while a higher amount of agreement in question 12. In question 10 that examines anthropocentric views almost 60 percent of the respondents oppose the view in some fashion. Question 11 shows that one of the most dividing question is whether humans have the right to kill animals. What is interesting is that in question 12 there is a strong agreement amongst the respondent that humans should take the same concern for nature as for humans. But as discussed in the theory the view of whom should be included as subjects of moral concern often expands from humans to animals, to plants, to the rest of nature. But what the response indicate here is that nature should be included but not animals.

### 5.2.3 The left-right dimension

**Figure 2 Left-right scale**



As we can see most respondents have left leaning views. 84,9 % of respondents see themselves to the left of the middle. This could support those who

view the environmental movement as only a new variant of the left. As this result clearly indicates that the movement consists of people with left leaning views. But do they themselves see this dimension as relevant?

**Table 15 Left-right relevance**

Is the left-right dimension relevant for environmental politics?	Freq.	Percent
Yes	283	53,8
No	243	46,2
Total	526	100

While there is unity amongst that they place themselves on the left they are not in agreement whether this dimension is relevant to environmental politics. This dimension clearly shows that there is a split between these two viewpoints.

## 5.2.4 Survivalism

**Table 16 Survivalism**

Nr.	Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
15	Global warming stands above all other political questions.	1,92	4,7	4,01	2,09	26,48	28,75	32,06	574	0,52
16	We must be willing to limit multiple rights in order to stop global warming	4,27	3,38	5,69	3,56	24,91	27,22	30,96	562	0,48
17	We must sharply reduce the the population of the planet for the environment's sake	21,74	24,09	12,14	11,59	19,57	5,25	5,62	552	0,21

**Comment:** n total respondents, AM agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

In question 15 and 16 there is a strong unity amongst the respondents. With question 15 we can see that the environmental movement places global warming above all other political question. About 87 percent answered that they agree in some way. But there is still divide in how strongly they agree.

In combination with this there is almost as strong unity in question 16 where a majority agree in some fashion that we need to limit rights to stop global warming. This can indicate there are strong survivalist tendencies in the environmental movement. What is important to consider when I constructed this question is that I meant rights as humans rights and basic freedoms, but I got some comments that said that they interpreted it such as “the right to fly”. This means that these results cannot be used to directly argue that the movement have authoritarian attitudes as they might focus more on limiting the amount of environmental damage an individual can do but they are not pro limiting freedom of speech for example.

There is a bigger divide when it comes to population control. Even if there is a bigger spread there are very few that strongly agree with the statement. As we can see that there isn't a big part of the movement that fully agree but there are still

parts that do not strongly distance itself from the ideas of limiting population control.

### 5.2.5 Illegal vs. legal

**Table 17 Illegal vs. legal**

Nr.	Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
19	Demonstrations are an important tool for creating change towards a sustainable society	0,18	2,12	1,94	3,35	25,22	38,8	28,4	567	0,64
20	Civil disobedience is an important tool for creating change towards a sustainable society.	1,41	6,71	3,71	6,54	31,98	30,21	19,43	566	0,50
21	It may be legitimate for an environmental activist to actively evade punishment in connection with an illegal action which has the goal to create a sustainable society.	11,82	19,19	12,6	13,18	21,9	15,31	6,01	516	0,12
22	It is morally acceptable to destroy property in order to create change towards a sustainable society	20,92	25,89	9,93	7,8	20,57	8,69	6,21	564	0,15
23	Violence towards other humans can be legitimate to protect the climate	66,49	24,74	2,98	2,28	2,63	0,35	0,53	570	0,82

**Comment:** n total respondents, AM agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

Through the answers from question 19 we can see that there is united view that demonstrations are an important tool for the movement. Question 19 has the third highest value in van der Eijk measurement of agreement. Following this there is also almost an as unified positive view on civil disobedience, although not as strongly positive as for demonstrations.

Question 21 and 22 presents two clear divisions in the movement. The first is if it is legitimate for activist to try to evade punishment. This one is tied for the second lowest measurement of agreement. As we can see from the table the movement is not positioning itself one way or another. There are those that agree and those that disagree. What is also important to note is that the question do not have as many respondents as other question because respondents skipped it or answered that they did not know. In question 22 there is also no strong unity. But this one is a bit different because those that oppose it, oppose it more strongly than those that agree. But there is clearly a split between those that do view it as morally acceptable to destroy property and those do view it as morally reprehensible.

Question 23 presents the highest value of the measurement of agreement. It is clear that anti-violence towards humans is a strong foundational belief of the environmental movement.

## 5.2.6 Knowledge and science

**Table 18 Knowledge and science**

Which of the following statements suits you best?	Freq.	Percent
I have great faith that research and technological development will be important in solving climate problems.	230	42,83
I have faith in research and technological development, but right now it is aimed at exacerbating the climate problem rather than improving it.	152	28,31
I believe that the way we look at research and technological development is one of the underlying causes of the climate problems we face	155	28,86
Total	537	100

In question 24 three statements were presented where the respondent was asked to choose the one alternative that matched their own view the most. These follows Hay's (2002) three views on science that he argues exist in the movement. The most popular choice was the one that presents a tech optimist view. This indicates that there is a big stream that still have faith that science and technology will be a part of solving the ecological crisis. But this stream is not in majority. The respondents where split between the two other alternatives.

What we can see is that there is still a clear divide in the movement when it comes to science and technology. Even if one tech optimist viewpoint is the biggest stream, there is still a substantial amount who have other views that are more critical of science.

## 5.2.7 Intersectionality

What is important to remember is that the respondents were asked of these issues in relation to the environmental movement. This means that someone that disagrees with one of these statements do not have to be against these issues in themself.

**Table 19 Intersectionality**

Nr.	Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
25	Anti-racism is an important part of the environmental movement	6,38	6,56	4,61	8,69	21,81	26,42	25,53	564	0,37
26	Indigenous peoples' (eg the Sami) rights are an important part of the environmental movement	2,46	2,29	4,23	5,63	17,61	30,99	36,8	568	0,58
27	The fight against patriarchal structures is an important part of the environmental movement	5,56	5,2	4,48	5,38	18,82	29,93	30,65	558	0,46

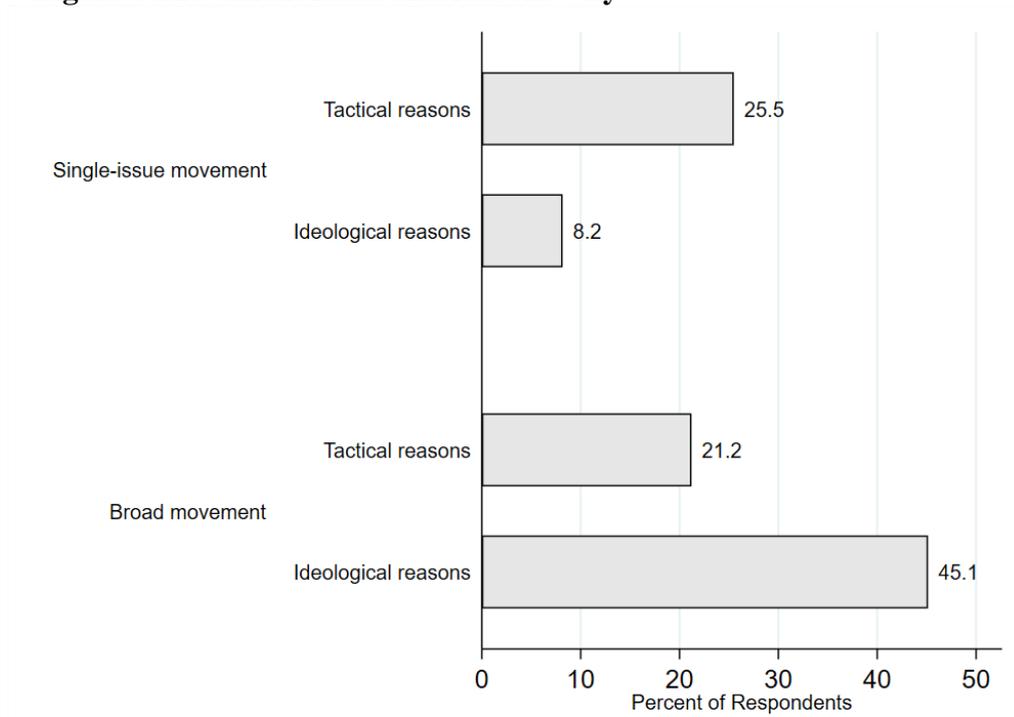
**Comment:** n total respondents, AM agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

As we can see that the concepts of including anti-racism into the movement is a bit more devise idea than the other two. But there it still about 73 percent that

agree in some fashion. The strongest agreement in the three is that indigenous rights should be included in the movement. There is also strong agreement that feminism should be a part as well. The results indicate that there is agreement that these questions should be included but there is a variance in how strongly they agree that it should.

### 5.2.8 Single-issue vs. broad movement.

**Figure 3 Movement focus and reasons why**



**Comment:** This graph combines both question 28 “If you have to choose, do you think that the environmental movement should primarily focus on direct environmental issues or must it broaden and focus on other issues such as gender equality and [economic] equality?” and question 29 “Would you say that your answer to the question above comes more from tactical reasons (because it will effectively lead to change) or from ideological reasons (because it is in line with your view of what environmental politics should be)?”. It first splits the respondents in how they answered in question 28 and then splits those two groups in how they answered in question 29. The percentages therefore add up to 100 percent.

I combine question 28 and 29 into one graph. This is because these questions are linked together. As we can see is that a majority, 67 percent, of respondents want a broad movement. While a smaller portion, 33 percent, want the movement to be a single-issue movement. What is interesting is that most of those that want a broad movement to want this due to ideological reasons while most of those that want a single-issue movement want this due to tactical reasons.

## 5.2.9 Democracy and decentralization

**Table 20 Democracy and decentralization**

Nr.	Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
30	We need to drastically change how the democracy works in Sweden	10,13	21,92	11,6	8,47	29,83	10,31	7,73	543	0,13
31	A sustainable society demands a more local self-governed society than a big state	8,69	24,13	11,78	11,58	26,64	10,42	6,76	518	0,12

**Comment:** n total respondents, AM agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

As discussed in the theory one of the cores of green ideology is radical democratization. What we can see is that there is no agreement around radical democratization with an agreement measurement closer to 0. There is also no unity when it comes to wanting a more decentralised system of governing. What is important to note is that this question has less responses than other indicating that respondents had a difficult time answering the question. These results indicate that there is no unified view on radical democratization in the movement.

## 5.2.10 Influences by liberalism and socialism

**Table 21 Influences by liberalism and socialism**

Nr.	Question	Entirely disagree	--	-	0	+	++	Totally agree	n	AM
32	Green growth is an important part in creating a sustainable society	13,74	15,57	11,72	8,79	21,79	16,12	12,27	546	0,06
33	Capitalism as a system is a main cause of global warming	2,64	2,46	3,16	3,69	19,33	35,5	33,22	569	0,59
34	I am an anti-capitalist	6,59	8,42	7,51	15,38	24,73	22,16	15,2	546	0,30
35	An individual's liberty should not be limited by the well-being of nature	42,35	36,12	9,43	5,16	2,67	2,85	1,42	562	0,65

**Comment:** n: total respondents, AM: agreement measurement. The alternatives between the extremes are Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Somewhat agree Agree.

Question 32 about green growth was the question with the lowest value of van der Eijk's measurement of agreement. It indicates that green growth is one of the larger divides within the movement. One reason for this might be different kinds of ways that individuals use the term 'green growth'. I did not include a definition of green growth which probably influences my results.

When it comes to viewing capitalism as one of the main causes for global warming there is a large unity. About 88 percent agree to some degree with the statement. What is interesting is that there is not as strong agreement with self-

identified as an anti-capitalist but there is still a large portion that agree in some fashion with the statement. This indicates that even though many in the movement are critical of the capitalist system not as many totally oppose it.

There is strong agreement that the movement is against a liberal expression of freedom. Where about 78 percent either entirely disagree or disagree with the idea that an individual's freedom should not be limited by the wellbeing of nature. The results show that they are unified in their positive view of socialist criticism of capitalism and in their negative view of liberal freedom while they are not unified in their view on green growth.

## 5.3 The 8 archetypes of the environmental movement

To better understand all these different divides, I will here present my results of a principal component analysis (PCA).

nr	Questions (abbreviated)	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4	Comp5	Comp6	Comp7	Comp8
7	Non-parliamentary	+							-
8	Radical	+							
9	Deep ecologist				+				
10	Anthropocentric	-	-	-					
11	Animal rights	+		+					+
12	Eco-centric	+	+	+					
13	Left (-) Right (+)	-					+		
14	Left-right is irrelevant		+		+		+		
15	GW above all other		+		-		+		
16	Limit rights		+				-		
17	Population control		+				-		
19	Demonstrations	+			-		+		
20	Civil disobedience	+					+		
21	Evade punishment	+		-		+			
22	Destroy property	+		-					
23	Violence towards humans		+	-		+			
24v1	Science is good	-			-	+			
24v2	Science misguided but good			-		-			+
25	Anti-racism	+	-						
26	Indigenous rights	+	-	+					
27	Feminism	+	-						
28	Broad movement	+	-						
29	Ideological reasons		-			+		-	
30	Radical democratization	+			+				
31	Decentralisation	+			+				
32	Green growth					+			
33	Capitalism is a main cause	+					-		
34	Anti-capitalist	+					-		
35	Liberal freedom							+	
	Eigenvalue	6,4494	2,30369	2,15312	1,87377	1,43926	1,3235	1,18376	1,0412
	Variance explained (cumulative)	0,2224	0,3018	0,3761	0,4407	0,4903	0,536	0,5768	0,6127

Comment: Number of observations included is 316. The + and - stands for coefficients that have a value above half of the highest coefficient, in absolute terms, in the specific component. The + is then given to positive coefficients and the - to negative coefficients.

Above I present the eight components that have an Eigen value above 1. All 27 components with their coefficients in numbers can be seen in Appendix 4. These eight components explain 61 percent of the variance in the data. Only 316

respondents are included in this analysis as it is required that the respondent have answered all the questions included.

I will present these as eight archetypes of the environmental movement. I will do this for two reasons. The first is that it becomes easier to grasp the components when they are named. The second is to build theory and try to discern the biggest ideological streams in the environmental movement. What is important to note that the inverted of all these are also true. As discussed in the method the sign of the coefficient is not relevant in more than their relation to the other coefficients. But I will not each time discuss that the vice versa also is true instead I remind the reader here.

Component 1 is the one that explains the most variance. It explains about 22 percent of the variance in the data. I call Component 1 the Radical leftist. The Radical leftist is showing a Fundi perspective in that they are pro a non-parliamentary approach that aims for a radical change of society. They are against an anthropocentric view and instead have an eco-centric view where they include animals and nature as subjects of moral concern. The Radical leftist places themselves on the left. They are in favour of demonstrations and civil disobedience, and they view it as legitimate for an activist to actively evade punishment and to destroy property for the cause. They do not have a strong belief in science's role in solving the ecological crisis. The Radical leftist wants a broad movement that includes anti-racism, indigenous rights, and feminism. They want a radical democratization of society and want it in decentralized way. Lastly the Radical leftist see capitalism as the main cause of climate change, and they define themselves as anti-capitalists.

I call Component 2 the Survivalist. They oppose an anthropocentric viewpoint and instead have an eco-centric view on morals. They view the left-right dimension as irrelevant for environmental politics. They have survivalist perspective where they are positive in all three survivalism questions. That global warming stands above all other political questions, they are in favour of limiting rights and they are more in favour of population control. They are more in favour of using violence towards other humans for the environmental cause. They want a single-issue movement and do not want to include anti-racism, indigenous rights and feminism. And they want this mainly due to tactical reasons.

I have named Component 3 the Pacifist. The Pacifist oppose an anthropocentric moral view and instead want to include animals and nature. They oppose activist actively escaping punishment. They are strictly anti-violence both towards humans and property. They are negative to the view that science is currently misguided but is good in its essence. Lastly, they think it is important to include indigenous rights into the environmental movement.

I call Component 4 the Deep ecologist. They believe in the classical deep ecologist idea that it is more important to redefine our morals and norms in relation to nature than to stop the current issue of climate change. The Deep ecologist does not see the left-right dimension as relevant to environmental politics. They do not see global warming as more important than all other political question, which might follow that they concern other environmental question such as biodiversity. They are not as positive of demonstrations as an effective tool for

the movement. They are critical of the positive view on science. The Deep ecologist is in favour of a decentralized radical democratization.

I have named component 5 the Rationalist. The Rationalist think that it is legitimate to escape punishment in relation to activism and is also more positive than the rest of using violence towards humans. They think that science is good and will be important to stop climate change and they oppose the view that it is misguided. Whether they want a broad or narrow movement is not clear, but they answered the question through ideological reasons. And they are positive of green growth.

I call Component 6 the Right-winger. The Right-winger are more to the right than other in the movement and they do not view the left-right dimension as relevant to environmental politics. They think that global warming stands above all other questions, but they are negative to the two other survivalist views of limiting rights and population control. They think that demonstrations and civil disobedience are effective tools for the movement. They do not see capitalism as the main cause of global warming and oppose calling themselves anti-capitalist.

I have named component 7 the Liberal. The liberal chose the way the want the movement to be through tactical reasons. They are also in favour of liberal view of freedom. Meaning that they do not believe that an individual's freedom should be limited by the well-being of nature.

I call Component 8 the Animal-rights advocate. They think that the movement is most effective inside of parliament. They strongly believe that humans do not have the right to kill animals. Lastly, they think that the way we view science now is correct, but it is misguided at the moment.

Together these eight components explain 61 percent of the variance in the data. I want to remind that the opposite of the archetype is also true. That the inverted archetype is also true for how the streams take form in the movement.

## 6 Discussion

In this part I will discuss the implications of my results. My goal has always been a descriptive one, to understand the ideological position of the environmental movement. I have through creating a never-before-seen dataset been able to examine the ideological divides in the movement. These results give a new opportunity to understand the environmental movement. I begin with discussing my first research question and how the ten divides have answered it. This is followed by a discussion about my second research question and how the eight archetypes have helped me answer it.

My first research question was “*When it comes to ideology, how divided is the environmental movement?*”. To begin I will shortly summarize what unifies and what divides the environmental movement. I separate these into those that are *more* unified and those that are *more* divided because plenty of areas does not clearly draw one way or the other.

There are plenty of different ideological areas that the movement is more unified in. The environmental movement has a more unified view on:

- That a radical change of society is needed.
- That they are shallow ecologists.
- That they have an eco-centric perspective of including nature as subjects of moral concern.
- That they position themselves on the left.
- That they have survivalist attitudes, except in the question of population control.
- That they are positive to demonstration, civil disobedience and anti-violence towards humans.
- That they are positive to including intersectional concerns.
- That they want a broad movement, where the dominant position is that it should be broad due to ideological reasons.
- That they have a positive view on a socialist criticism of capitalism.
- That they have a negative view on liberal freedom.

This is interesting since I argued one should find disagreement in these areas due to earlier discussion on environmental theory. This indicates that some of the discussions may take a bigger place in academia than on the ground in the environmental movement. That they are unified in their radical and anti-capitalist views are interesting. This shows that the movement is a radical movement as whole and not only in minor parts. Something that is important to remember is that even if the movement have a united positive view in one area it does not mean that they are unified in how strongly they agree.

Following this there are also divides in the movement's ideology. The environmental movement has a more divided view on:

- Whether the movement is more effective within or outside of parliament.
- Their view on anthropocentric ideas and animals as subjects of moral concern.
- The relevance of left-right dimension to environmental politics.
- The question of population control.
- If activists should actively try to escape punishment and if violence towards property is moral.
- Their view on science, although the more positive view on science is dominant.
- If radical democratization is needed and if it should focus on decentralization.
- If green growth is an important part of creating a sustainable society.

My results show that the movement is not entirely cohesive. Questions like parliamentary approach and the relevance of the left-right scale have a long history of disagreement in the movement are still dividing the movement to this day. There are fundamental questions here that shows that the diversity of the movement's ideology exists.

In Doherty's book *Ideas and Actions in the Green Movement* he writes "Acceptance of the diversity of the green movement means accepting the impossibility of a unified green movement strategy" (Doherty 2002, 221). Even if my results indicate that the movement is more unified than earlier theoretical discussion might have thought there are still divides present in the movement. My results indicate that the movement is not a monolith. There are questions that do divide this movement. If one follows the words by Doherty this will have implications for the future of the movement as it entails that a unified strategy for the movement is impossible.

What is important to note is that I simplify these theoretical discussions to test this through a quantitative fashion. Therefore, a lot of the complexity is lost. It is possible to assume that agreement is easier to find when a political question is simplified, and disagreement may be easier to find when complexities are included. This might mean that there is even more disagreement that is missed through my methodological choice.

My second research question was "How does these divides interconnect with each other?". To answer this question, I constructed eight 'archetypes' of the environmental movement. These eight are the Radical leftist, the Survivalist, the Pacifist, the Deep ecologist, the Rationalist, the Right-winger, the Liberal and the Animal-rights advocate. These archetypes explain how the different streams in the movement take form. The archetype that explained the most variance in the data is the Radical leftist. Showing that a good way of explaining what people active in the environmental movement believe in is whether they agree or disagree with the Radical leftist.

What is interesting is that the components created by PCA create plausible archetypes. This shows that individuals in the movement seem to have consistent

ideological orientation as ideological positions one would expect interlink actually do. This might indicate that even if the environmental movement is not as overtly ideological as other social movement it contains individuals who have firm grasp of their ideological positions.

What I have shown is that the environmental movement is not a monolith. The movement is divided in several areas. But at the same time there are areas where I would have expected deeper divides due to earlier theoretical discussions but could not find it. It opens for more analysis of the ideology of the movement. What needs to be examined now is why some areas have divisions and others do not.

## 7 Conclusion

In this thesis I have examined how divided the ideology of the environmental movement is. Through a discussion on earlier theory, I have devised ten areas where divisions are possible to exist. To test these ten divides, I created a survey. The survey was spread in Sweden through social media and environmental organisations e-mail lists. The survey got 574 respondents who self-identify as a part of the environmental movement. The results indicate both ideological concepts where the movement is unified but also some areas with great divisions. This indicates that it follows other social movements that have unifiers and divisions at the same time. My results test empirically which theoretical discussions are active in the movement making it possible to move beyond theory. To understand how the divisions interconnect I performed a principal component analysis. The components created were introduced as 'archetypes' to easier understand them. Eight 'archetypes' were created. These were the Radical leftist, the Survivalist, the Pacifist, the Deep ecologist, the Rationalist, the Right-winger, the Liberal and the Animal-rights advocate. The results show that there is a diversity within the environmental movement.

As this thesis breaks new ground it opens the potential for further research. I will here highlight three areas that I deem the most important. First, the thesis was constructed as a most-likely design as Sweden is a country with a strong environmental public opinion. This opens the need for further research in countries with weaker environmental opinion. To test if there are still divides in the environmental movement in countries where fewer have environmental concerns. It might be that the more the movement is a minority the closer activists are with each other. Examining the environmental movement in non-western countries is also important as this thesis does not aim to generalize for them. Second, there is also more analysis that can be done with the data collected for this thesis. Because of limitations of time and space it has not been possible to do in-depth analysis of each divide. The dataset includes a lot of control variables which makes it suitable for regression analysis. Third, the eight archetypes that I have found in the data are interesting. Intuitively they feel applicable on studies on the environmental movement. A broadening of these archetypes is needed through applying them with a more qualitative method.

## 8 References

- Bergendal, Malin. 2021. 'Panelen – om en grönvit miljörelse'. Syre. <https://tidningensyre.se/2021/11-februari-2021/panelen-om-en-gronvit-miljororelse/> (April 22, 2021).
- Berglund, Oscar, and Daniel Schmidt. 2020. 'Extinction Rebellion and Climate Change Activism: Breaking the Law to Change the World'. 1st ed. 2020. Springer International Publishing.
- Berlin, Daniel, 1975, and Lennart J Lundqvist 1939. 2012. 'Do Leopards Ever Change Their Spots? The Development of Political Trust among Swedish Green Party Sympathisers'. *Environmental Politics* 21(1): 131–52.
- Boström, Magnus. 2001. *Miljörelsens mångfald*. Bjärnum: Bjärnums tr.
- Boucher, Jean Léon, Garfield T. Kwan, Gina R. Ottoboni, and Mark S. McCaffrey. 2021. 'From the Suites to the Streets: Examining the Range of Behaviors and Attitudes of International Climate Activists'. *Energy Research & Social Science* 72.
- Carter, Neil. 2007. *The Politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 2006. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dobson, Andrew. 2007. *Green Political Thought*. 4. ed. London: Routledge.
- Doherty, Brian. 2002. *Ideas and Actions in the Green Movement*. Psychology Press.
- Ecker, Alejandro. 2011. *Statistical Software Components AGRM: Stata Module to Calculate van Der Eijk's Measure of Agreement 'A'*. Boston College Department of Economics.
- Esaiasson, Peter, Mikael Gilljam, Henrik Oscarsson, and Lena Wängnerud. 2012. *Metodpraktikan : Konsten Att Studera Samhälle, Individ Och Marknad*. 4., [rev.] uppl. Norstedts juridik.
- Falk, Elisabeth, Frida Sandelin, and Marcus Weissenbilder. 2021. *Den Nationella SOM-Undersökningen 2020 - En Metodöversikt*. SOM-rapport nr 2021:2.
- (Fältbiologerna) 'Fältbiologerna antar nytt antikapitalistiskt program för miljörättvisa'. 2021. Fältbiologerna. <https://www.faltbiologerna.se/faltbiologerna-antar-nytt-antikapitalistiskt-program-for-miljorattvisa/> (April 22, 2021).

- Forsyth, Tim. 2014. 'Science'. In *Critical Environmental Politics*, Routledge.
- Francis, Paul J., and Beverley J. Wills. 1999. 'Introduction to Principal Components Analysis'.
- Franzen, Axel, and Dominikus Vogl. 2013. 'Two Decades of Measuring Environmental Attitudes: A Comparative Analysis of 33 Countries'. *Global Environmental Change Part A: Human & Policy Dimensions* 23(5): 1001–8.
- (Fridays For Future 1) 'Fridays For Future – What Does It Take to Go on a Strike?' Fridays For Future. <https://fridaysforfuture.org/take-action/how-to-strike/> (May 6, 2021).
- (Fridays For Future 2) 'Fridays for Future – How Greta Started a Global Movement'. Fridays For Future. <https://fridaysforfuture.org/what-we-do/who-we-are/> (April 20, 2021).
- Garner, Roberta. 1996. *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*. McGraw-Hill.
- Harring, Niklas, 1979, and Jacob Sohlberg. 2017. 'The Varying Effects of Left–Right Ideology on Support for the Environment: Evidence from a Swedish Survey Experiment'. *Environmental Politics* 26(2): 278–300.
- Hay, Peter. 2002. *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Humphrey, Mathew. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies: Green Ideology*. Oxford University Press.
- Ingelhart, Ronald et al. 2014. 'World Values Survey Wave 6 (2010-2014)'. <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp> (May 13, 2021).
- Jagers, Sverker, Simon Matti, Henrik Oscarsson, and Sara Persson. 2020. "'How Dare You?'" *Gretaeffekter På Svensk Miljö- Och Klimatopinion*'. In *Regntunga Skyar*, Göteborgs universitet: SOM-institutet.
- Jagers, Sverker. 2009. 'In Search of the Ecological Citizen'. *Environmental Politics* 18(1): 18–36.
- Jolliffe, I. T. 2002. *Principal Component Analysis*. [Elektronisk Resurs]. 2nd ed. Springer.
- Jönsson, Erik. 2019. *Miljöopinionen i Valundersökningarna 1982-2018*. Göteborgs universitet: Statsvetenskapliga institutionen. Valforskningsprogrammets rapportserie 2019:7.
- Kaijser, Anna, and Annica Kronsell. 2014. 'Climate Change through the Lens of Intersectionality'. *Environmental Politics* 23(3): 417–33.

- Kelly, Stephanie, and Devika Kumar. 2021. 'Explainer: The Dakota Access Pipeline Faces Possible Closure'. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/dakota-access-pipeline-faces-possible-closure-2021-05-04/> (May 6, 2021).
- Larsson Heidenblad, David. 2021. *Den Gröna Vändningen: En Ny Kunskapshistoria Om Miljöfrågornas Genombrott under Efterkrigstiden*. Nordic Academic Press.
- Lola Girerd et al. 2020. '“Free” Not to Engage: Neoliberal Ideology and Collective Action. The Case of the Yellow Vest Movement'. *International Review of Social Psychology* 33(1).
- Lönnroth, Alexandra. 2019. 'Avhoppad MP-politiker startar nytt parti'. SVT Nyheter. <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/partiet-vandpunkt-siktat-mot-eu-valet> (May 6, 2021).
- Lundgren, Patrik. 2020. 'Skogsbolagen skövlar våra renbetesmarker'. Aftonbladet. <https://www.aftonbladet.se/a/X891bo> (April 22, 2021).
- MacDonald, Andrew W., and Reza Hasmath. 2020. *How Citizens Order Their Political Mind: Contemporary Ideology in China*. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. SSRN Scholarly Paper.
- Magyar, Zsuzsanna Blanka. 2017. 'What Makes Party Systems Different? A Principal Component Analysis of 17 Advanced Democracies 1970-2013'.
- Malm, Andreas. 2021. *How to Blow Up a Pipeline*. Brooklyn: Verso.
- Martiskainen, Mari et al. 2020. 'Contextualizing Climate Justice Activism: Knowledge, Emotions, Motivations, and Actions among Climate Strikers in Six Cities'. *Global Environmental Change* 65.
- Methmann, Chris, and Angela Oels. 2014. 'Vulnerability'. In *Critical Environmental Politics*, Routledge.
- Moon, Michael. 2014. *Grön Filosofi: Tankar Kring En Ny Ideologi*. Arkiv.
- Moors, Guy, Natalia D. Kieruj, and Jeroen K. Vermunt. 2014. 'The Effect of Labeling and Numbering of Response Scales on the Likelihood of Response Bias'. *Sociological Methodology* 44: 369–99.
- (Naturskyddsföreningen 1) 'Samma land, inte samma rättigheter'. 2017. Naturskyddsföreningen. <https://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/samma-land> (April 22, 2021).
- (Naturskyddsföreningen 2) 'Det här är vi'. 2015. Naturskyddsföreningen. <https://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/om/foreningen/det-har-ar-vi> (May 6, 2021).

- Nyström, Susanne. 2021. 'Susanne Nyström: Märta Stenevis huvuduppgift blir att se till att MP:s gröna svar går genom rutan'. DN.SE. <https://www.dn.se/ledare/susanne-nystrom-bredda-inte-partiet-sa-att-klimatpolitiken-forsvinner/> (April 22, 2021).
- Oliver, Pamela E., and Hank Johnston. 2000. 'What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research'. *Mobilization* 5(1): 37–54.
- Olsson, Hans. 2021. 'Märta Stenevi lockas av makt och inflytande: "Jag är inte rädd"'. DN.SE. <https://www.dn.se/sverige/marta-stenevi-lockas-av-makt-och-inflytande-jag-ar-inte-radd/> (April 22, 2021).
- Pederby, Tryggve. 2020. *Väljarnas Bedömningar Av Partiernas Politik 1979-2018*. Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Göteborgs universitet. [https://www.gu.se/sites/default/files/2020-11/2020%2013%20Pederby%20-%20Va%CC%88ljarnas%20bedo%CC%88mningar%20av%20partiernas%20politik%201979-2018\\_0.pdf](https://www.gu.se/sites/default/files/2020-11/2020%2013%20Pederby%20-%20Va%CC%88ljarnas%20bedo%CC%88mningar%20av%20partiernas%20politik%201979-2018_0.pdf).
- Price, Stephan, Clare Saunders, and Cristiana Olcese. 2014. 'Movements'. In *Critical Environmental Politics*, Routledge.
- Pulido, Laura. 2000. 'Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 12–40.
- Riksdagsförvaltningen. 2014. 'Sverige har fått en ny regering'. <https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/aktuellt/2014/okt/3/sverige-har-fatt-en-ny-regering/> (May 7, 2021).
- Rogvall, Filippa. 2019. 'De Är Svenskarna Bakom Den Radikala Klimatgruppen'. *Expressen*. <https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/klimat/de-ar-svenskarna-bakom-den-radikala-klimatgruppen/> (January 25, 2021).
- Rootes, Christopher, and Eugene Nulman. 2015. 'The Impacts of Environmental Movements'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Oxford University Press.
- Ruedin, Didier. 2020. 'An Introduction to the R Package Agrmt'. : 17.
- (SCB1) *Befolkningens utbildning 2018*. 2019. Statistiska Centralbyrån. <http://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/utbildning-och-forskning/befolkningens-utbildning/befolkningens-utbildning/pong/publikationer/befolkningens-utbildning-2018/> (April 13, 2021).
- (SCB 2) 'Sveriges befolkning'. Statistiska Centralbyrån. <http://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sverige-i-siffror/manniskorna-i-sverige/sveriges-befolkning/> (April 26, 2021).
- (SCB 3) 'Medianlöner i Sverige'. Statistiska Centralbyrån. <http://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sverige-i-siffror/utbildning-jobb-och-pengar/medianloner-i-sverige/> (April 26, 2021).

- Snow, David. 2004. *'Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fiefs'*. In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements.*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Supermiljöbloggen. *'Här kan du engagera dig i miljökampen!'* Supermiljöbloggen. <https://supermiljobloggen.se/nyheter/har-kan-du-engagera-dig-i-miljokampen/> (April 23, 2021).
- Telesiene, Audrone, and Matthias Gross. 2016. *Green European: Environmental Behaviour and Attitudes in Europe in a Historical and Cross-Cultural Comparative Perspective*. Routledge.
- Teorell, Jan, and Torsten Svensson. 2007. *Att Fråga Och Att Svara: Samhällsvetenskaplig Metod*. 1. uppl. Liber.
- Thomsen, Dante. 2019. *'Greta Thunbergs Väg Från Skolstrejkande Tonåring till Ikon'*. SVT. <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/greta-thunbergs-vag-fran-skolstrejkande-15-aring-till-ikon> (April 20, 2021).
- Thörn, Håkan, and Sebastian Svenberg 1984. 2016. *'We Feel the Responsibility That You Shirk: The Politics of Responsibility and the Case of the Swedish Environmental Movement'*. *Social Movement Studies* 15(6): 593–609.
- Thunberg, Greta, Luisa Neubauer, and Angela Valenzuela. 2019. *'Why We Strike Again'*. Project Syndicate. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/climate-strikes-un-conference-madrid-by-greta-thunberg-et-al-2019-11> (March 22, 2021).
- (Val Digital) *'Miljöpartiets Opinionssiffror'*. Val.Digital. <https://val.digital/Party-MP/> (January 25, 2021).
- (Valforskningsprogrammet) *Formulär: Valundersökning 2018*. Valforskningsprogrammet, Göteborgs universitet.
- Van Der Eijk, Cees. 2001. *'Measuring Agreement in Ordered Rating Scales'*. *Quality & Quantity* 35(3): 325.

## 9 Appendix

### Appendix 1: How organisations responded.

<b>Environmental organisations</b>	<b>Answered</b>	<b>Mailed out the survey</b>
Extinction Rebellion	Yes	No but offered to spread it through social media instead
Fossil free Sverige (350.org)	Yes	No but offered to spread it through social media instead
Fridays for Future	No	No
Fältbiologerna	Yes	No but offered to spread it through social media instead
God Jord	No	No
Greenpeace	No	No
Grön ungdom	No	No but offered to spread it through social media instead
Gröna studenter	Yes	No
Jordens vänner	No	No
Klimataktion	No	No
Klimatriksdagen	Yes	No
Klimatstudenterna	Yes	No
Klimatsverige	No	No
Miljöpartiet	No	No
Naturskyddsföreningen	Yes	No
Partiet Vändpunkt	Yes	No
PUSH Sverige	No	No
Skydda skogen	Yes	<b>Yes</b>
Vi håller oss på jorden	Yes	<b>Yes</b>
Världsnaturfonden	No	No

## Appendix 2: Facebook-groups where the survey was posted

Facebook groups	Link to group
Extinction Rebellion	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/111639329775138/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/111639329775138/</a>
Fridays for future Malmö	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/2039983506040671">https://www.facebook.com/groups/2039983506040671</a>
Fältbiologerna	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/faltbiologerna">https://www.facebook.com/groups/faltbiologerna</a>
God Jord	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/GodJord">https://www.facebook.com/groups/GodJord</a>
Grön ungdom	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/medlemgronungdom">https://www.facebook.com/groups/medlemgronungdom</a>
Gröna studenter	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/381893651965630">https://www.facebook.com/groups/381893651965630</a>
Jordens vänner	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/361543740673500">https://www.facebook.com/groups/361543740673500</a>
Klimataktion	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/9536817294">https://www.facebook.com/groups/9536817294</a>
Klimatklubben	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/klimatklubben/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/klimatklubben/</a>
Klimatnyheter	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/447754045324349">https://www.facebook.com/groups/447754045324349</a>
Klimatstudenterna	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/269572243891426">https://www.facebook.com/groups/269572243891426</a>
Miljöpartiet	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/256144748126134">https://www.facebook.com/groups/256144748126134</a>
Naturens rättigheter i samhället	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/naturensrattigheter">https://www.facebook.com/groups/naturensrattigheter</a>
Naturskyddsforeningen	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/naturskyddsforeningen">https://www.facebook.com/groups/naturskyddsforeningen</a>
Partiet Vändpunkt	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/partietvandpunkt">https://www.facebook.com/groups/partietvandpunkt</a>
Positiva klimatnyheter	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/382811495246083">https://www.facebook.com/groups/382811495246083</a>
PUSH Sverige	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/179391205474477">https://www.facebook.com/groups/179391205474477</a>
Skydda skogen	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/54996954022">https://www.facebook.com/groups/54996954022</a>

## Appendix 3: Environmental attitudes worldwide

Country/region	Protecting environment	Economic growth	Other answer	n
Malaysia	73,62	22,15	4,23	1300
Chile	70,51	26,53	2,96	946
India	69,83	30,17	0	3411
Uruguay	69,71	28,88	1,41	921
Colombia	67,99	31,81	0,2	1490
Peru	67,64	30,94	1,42	1128
Uzbekistan	66,36	30,79	2,85	1403
Morocco	65,91	26,24	7,85	968
Brazil	65,86	32,38	1,75	1368
China	65,71	31,46	2,83	1977
Mexico	64,3	34,07	1,64	1955
<b>Sweden</b>	<b>64,28</b>	<b>33,65</b>	<b>2,07</b>	<b>1159</b>
Philippines	64,18	35,07	0,76	1192
Qatar	64,05	35,95	0	1043
Taiwan ROC	62,56	36,76	0,67	1186
Ecuador	62,21	36,43	1,35	1183
Kyrgyzstan	61,46	38,54	0	1448
Argentina	61,43	34,02	4,55	923
Australia	60,59	39,41	0	1454
Georgia	60,58	38,14	1,28	1172
Hong Kong SAR	58,72	36,97	4,31	998

Thailand	58,18	39,21	2,61	1186
Belarus	58,03	38,09	3,88	1494
Libya	56,98	38,45	4,57	1927
Russia	55,37	40,11	4,53	2254
Kazakhstan	53,93	42,93	3,13	1500
New Zealand	52,49	47,51	0	682
Turkey	52,01	47,79	0,2	1492
Estonia	51,44	47,08	1,48	1421
Ghana	49,68	49,23	1,1	1552
South Korea	49,15	38,84	12,01	1174
Palestine	48,9	49,11	1,99	957
Ukraine	48,4	44,47	7,13	1500
Slovenia	47,13	45,25	7,62	1010
Germany	47,04	42,33	10,62	1996
Pakistan	46,11	52,88	1,02	1182
Netherlands	45,21	54,79	0	1721
Cyprus	45,11	48,27	6,62	982
Iraq	44,33	49,83	5,84	1164
Lebanon	43,94	55,41	0,64	1090
Armenia	43,89	54,21	1,9	998
Singapore	42,72	54,44	2,84	1971
Poland	40,13	55,43	4,43	902
Yemen	38,33	60,98	0,7	861
Algeria	38,27	52,65	9,08	980
Zimbabwe	38,27	60,93	0,8	1500
United States	38,07	61,93	0	2180
Romania	37,33	61,18	1,49	1409
Spain	37,31	61,35	1,34	1123
Jordan	37,14	62,08	0,78	1155
South Africa	36,93	62,22	0,85	3531
Japan	35,93	47,54	16,54	1542
Tunisia	35,68	64,32	0	1079
Nigeria	35,19	63,96	0,85	1759
Azerbaijan	34,9	63,09	2,01	997
Egypt	32,11	67,3	0,59	1523
Kuwait	31,05	62,81	6,14	1140
Rwanda	22,13	41,65	36,21	1527
Haiti	3,88	96,12	0	1931

Comment: Question was formulated as “Here are two statements people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of them comes closer to your own point of view? (Read out and code one answer)”: “1 Protecting the environment should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs.” “2 Economic growth and creating jobs should be the top priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.” “3 Other answer (code if volunteered only!).” Source: (Ingelhart et al. 2014)

## Appendix 4: Principal component analysis

Variable	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4	Comp5	Comp6	Comp7	Comp8	Comp9	Comp10	Comp11	Comp12	Comp13	Comp14	Comp15
VAR07	0.1554	0.0677	-0.0576	0.1125	0.0043	0.1956	0.1772	-0.5589	0.0556	0.3541	0.1926	0.0123	0.1683	0.2320	-0.4537
VAR08	0.2234	0.0486	0.0408	-0.0878	-0.1520	-0.1129	-0.1326	-0.2021	-0.0135	-0.1250	0.0232	0.4602	0.4513	0.1457	0.2080
VAR09	0.0837	-0.0151	0.0215	0.4288	0.1483	-0.1689	-0.1743	-0.1662	-0.1227	0.4023	-0.2873	0.1522	-0.0117	-0.2695	0.1777
VAR10	-0.1764	-0.2141	-0.3194	-0.1195	0.0368	-0.1267	0.1809	-0.0925	0.0752	-0.1575	0.1292	-0.0161	0.1190	-0.1076	0.1468
VAR11	0.1603	0.1261	0.2189	0.0280	0.1149	0.1599	-0.0453	0.3303	-0.4022	-0.0470	-0.1602	-0.0975	0.5438	0.0871	-0.0637
VAR12	0.1523	0.1834	0.3350	0.1157	-0.0694	0.0937	-0.0364	0.1723	-0.1759	0.1326	-0.0427	0.1523	-0.4281	0.2282	-0.0929
VAR13	-0.2701	0.0862	0.0427	0.1335	0.1260	0.2526	0.0301	0.0643	0.0549	-0.0687	0.0730	0.2142	0.2808	-0.0786	0.1044
VAR14	-0.1186	0.2134	0.0907	0.2573	0.0582	0.3952	-0.0483	-0.0780	0.3334	-0.1479	-0.0924	0.2714	-0.1900	-0.0306	0.3242
VAR15	0.0789	0.2571	0.1998	-0.3028	-0.0086	0.2306	0.1523	0.1331	0.0165	-0.0952	0.4095	0.1728	-0.0874	-0.2169	-0.1258
VAR16	0.1312	0.3482	0.1876	-0.0929	-0.0419	-0.2433	0.0208	-0.1851	0.2329	-0.1264	0.1416	-0.0280	0.0500	0.0683	0.1945
VAR17	0.0515	0.3427	0.1104	0.1118	0.1951	-0.3219	-0.0659	0.1762	0.0915	0.1761	0.2962	-0.3263	0.1012	-0.3018	0.0870
VAR19	0.1912	-0.0322	-0.0501	-0.2945	-0.1006	0.2808	-0.1635	-0.1763	-0.0339	0.3126	0.0267	-0.1739	-0.0292	-0.3002	0.3384
VAR20	0.2509	0.0299	-0.1734	-0.1612	0.0128	0.3432	-0.0697	-0.0346	-0.0543	0.1446	0.0639	-0.1201	0.0430	-0.1412	0.1508
VAR21	0.2014	0.1628	-0.2490	-0.1328	0.3171	0.0216	0.1727	0.1030	-0.0419	0.0803	-0.1298	-0.0237	-0.1949	0.1998	0.0557
VAR22	0.1791	0.1098	-0.4110	-0.1441	0.1726	0.1671	-0.0337	0.1236	-0.1123	-0.1329	-0.1739	0.0307	-0.0614	0.1210	0.0399
VAR23	0.0827	0.2131	-0.2812	-0.0589	0.3233	-0.1967	0.0597	0.1287	0.1869	0.0924	-0.0768	0.4258	0.0246	-0.2942	-0.3459
VAR24v1	-0.2074	-0.0403	0.1981	-0.2235	0.3945	0.0309	-0.0338	-0.2582	-0.1033	-0.1003	-0.0749	-0.0306	-0.1091	0.0687	-0.0084
VAR24v2	0.0993	0.0443	-0.2354	0.1143	-0.4959	-0.0261	0.1612	0.3540	0.2572	0.2321	0.0258	0.0409	0.0251	0.1678	0.0661
VAR25	0.2557	-0.3191	0.1552	-0.0326	0.0663	0.0721	0.1482	0.0767	0.2237	-0.0243	-0.1130	0.0058	0.0497	-0.2075	-0.0705
VAR26	0.2328	-0.2213	0.2346	0.0959	0.0123	0.1131	0.2535	0.0136	0.1042	-0.0360	0.0028	0.0659	-0.0324	-0.1741	-0.0581
VAR27	0.2649	-0.2602	0.1877	-0.0590	0.0760	-0.0055	0.1475	0.1015	0.1764	-0.0269	-0.1699	0.0299	0.0852	-0.0620	-0.0316
VAR28	0.1842	-0.3564	0.0639	0.0164	0.1585	-0.0919	-0.2020	0.0894	0.1412	-0.0996	0.1498	0.0570	-0.1058	0.0547	0.0365
VAR29	0.0732	-0.2656	-0.1007	0.1340	0.2622	0.0629	-0.3979	0.1815	-0.0010	0.1318	0.5433	0.1669	-0.0070	0.2421	0.0547
VAR30	0.2274	0.1286	-0.1344	0.2595	0.1733	0.0732	0.0830	-0.0539	0.1638	-0.2126	-0.0834	-0.1657	0.0710	0.1838	0.1757
VAR31	0.1504	0.0227	-0.0777	0.4206	0.1011	0.1241	0.1694	-0.0722	0.0087	-0.2969	0.1758	-0.3294	0.0149	-0.0593	-0.0677
VAR32	-0.1385	-0.0314	0.2025	-0.1996	0.2809	-0.0580	0.2323	0.0940	0.3302	0.3725	-0.0651	-0.1260	0.1382	0.3948	0.2251
VAR33	0.2686	0.0420	0.0538	-0.1230	-0.0140	-0.2458	0.1297	-0.1289	-0.1451	-0.1185	-0.0423	0.1094	-0.1180	0.0123	0.1881
VAR34	0.2977	0.0043	0.0003	0.0118	-0.0370	-0.2297	-0.0385	-0.1409	-0.1335	-0.1374	0.1264	0.0030	-0.1382	0.1160	0.0626
VAR35	-0.1033	-0.1198	-0.0363	0.1468	0.0687	-0.0328	0.5875	0.0324	-0.4351	0.1407	0.2512	0.2124	-0.0493	-0.0401	0.3206

Variable	Comp16	Comp17	Comp18	Comp19	Comp20	Comp21	Comp22	Comp23	Comp24	Comp25	Comp26	Comp27	Comp28	Comp29	Unexplained
VAR07	-0.0684	-0.0945	0.1385	-0.1137	0.1605	0.0323	0.0980	-0.0165	-0.0334	0.1346	0.1095	0.0454	0.0312	-0.0535	0
VAR08	-0.2028	0.3769	0.0422	0.2258	-0.0441	-0.2172	-0.0221	0.1224	0.0726	-0.0780	-0.0171	0.0983	-0.1566	-0.0378	0
VAR09	0.2884	0.1754	0.0918	-0.2268	-0.1838	0.1744	-0.0216	0.2398	-0.0315	-0.0774	0.0825	0.0320	0.0454	0.0087	0
VAR10	0.1078	0.3248	0.1841	-0.2543	0.2552	0.4009	0.1688	-0.1802	0.3595	0.0159	-0.0172	-0.0575	-0.1077	-0.0788	0
VAR11	0.1945	-0.1897	-0.0808	-0.1084	0.2161	0.1168	0.2220	0.0442	0.1518	0.0680	-0.0251	-0.0697	-0.0641	-0.1107	0
VAR12	-0.0263	0.3261	0.2302	0.2145	0.1359	0.2146	-0.0685	-0.3403	0.2466	0.0156	-0.0020	-0.0311	0.0074	-0.0474	0
VAR13	-0.2812	-0.0204	0.2179	0.1086	-0.1460	0.3305	-0.0276	-0.0956	-0.2427	-0.0064	-0.0670	-0.2278	0.5116	0.0644	0
VAR14	-0.0722	-0.1439	-0.1617	-0.2092	0.3926	-0.1180	0.0766	0.1201	0.1087	0.1328	0.0041	0.0364	-0.1278	-0.0969	0
VAR15	0.3500	0.2935	0.0139	-0.2666	-0.1652	-0.0074	0.1001	0.2023	-0.2130	-0.0103	0.0402	0.1334	0.0380	-0.0065	0
VAR16	0.2442	-0.4284	0.2353	0.0367	-0.2549	0.1895	-0.2331	0.0261	0.2955	0.0793	0.0157	-0.1794	-0.0652	-0.0056	0
VAR17	-0.4219	0.0899	0.1209	-0.0505	0.1840	-0.1435	0.0804	-0.0386	0.0488	0.0272	0.1781	0.1871	0.0158	-0.0016	0
VAR19	0.0364	0.0211	-0.1403	0.3225	-0.0815	0.0578	0.2644	-0.1201	0.0387	0.3889	-0.1008	-0.0791	0.0416	-0.0213	0

VAR20	0.0396	-0.0735	0.1251	-0.0275	0.2715	-0.0427	-0.3742	-0.0478	0.0429	-0.6224	-0.0550	-0.0619	0.0129	0.1782	0
VAR21	-0.2917	0.0141	0.2300	-0.1140	-0.1805	0.0089	0.1887	0.3161	-0.0223	-0.0188	-0.4667	-0.1572	-0.1538	-0.1374	0
VAR22	-0.0859	0.0411	0.0522	-0.0560	-0.1284	0.0186	-0.2011	0.0611	0.0796	0.2633	0.6673	0.0504	0.1053	0.0105	0
VAR23	0.1706	-0.0921	-0.2351	0.3031	0.1445	-0.0237	0.0180	-0.1673	0.0857	-0.0096	-0.0922	-0.1022	0.0091	0.0591	0
VAR24v1	-0.0048	-0.0748	-0.0279	0.2481	0.0002	0.1116	0.2192	0.2375	0.2939	-0.2250	0.0465	0.4497	0.2150	0.1589	0
VAR24v2	0.0450	-0.1089	-0.0157	0.1379	0.0309	0.1913	0.2396	0.2729	0.1262	-0.1284	0.0379	0.2732	0.2177	0.0882	0
VAR25	-0.0718	-0.0627	0.0352	-0.0095	-0.0934	-0.0121	-0.2126	-0.0557	0.1175	-0.0324	-0.0479	0.2528	0.2074	-0.6816	0
VAR26	-0.2861	-0.0522	-0.1983	-0.0546	-0.2959	0.0870	0.2927	-0.0469	0.1867	-0.2637	0.3070	-0.3046	-0.2354	0.2174	0
VAR27	-0.0494	0.0297	0.1528	-0.1554	0.1214	0.0091	-0.2299	0.0230	0.0146	0.3907	-0.2248	0.2039	0.0470	0.5879	0
VAR28	0.2102	-0.0989	0.4466	0.2116	0.2798	-0.1649	0.2928	0.1742	-0.2091	-0.0046	0.2089	-0.2603	0.0683	-0.0412	0
VAR29	-0.0374	-0.1347	-0.2175	-0.0981	-0.1727	0.1894	-0.1071	-0.0780	0.0750	0.0527	-0.1053	0.1704	-0.1464	0.0180	0
VAR30	0.2510	0.0655	0.0490	-0.0164	-0.2259	-0.1873	0.2852	-0.5149	-0.1468	-0.1311	-0.0696	0.2568	0.0756	0.0851	0
VAR31	0.0957	0.2566	-0.1773	0.4154	0.0546	0.1803	-0.2137	0.3356	-0.0109	0.0849	-0.0740	-0.0692	-0.0895	-0.0064	0
VAR32	0.1448	0.2443	-0.2711	0.0433	0.0738	-0.0023	-0.1439	0.0161	-0.1197	-0.0426	0.1488	-0.1940	0.0116	-0.0441	0
VAR33	-0.1237	-0.1744	-0.1805	0.0067	0.2482	0.4745	0.0169	-0.0801	-0.5313	-0.0573	0.0832	0.1821	-0.1179	-0.0663	0
VAR34	-0.0323	0.0762	-0.3606	-0.2593	0.1217	-0.1288	0.0442	0.0456	0.1798	0.0010	-0.1073	-0.2739	0.6227	0.0212	0
VAR35	0.0739	-0.1908	0.0735	0.1212	0.0181	-0.2929	-0.0832	-0.0483	0.0710	0.0941	0.0297	0.0614	0.0102	0.0004	0