



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Counter-Hegemony: How Green Parties Challenge Capitalism as a Dominant Ideology**

Schaick, Isa van

### **Citation**

Schaick, I. van. (2024). *Counter-Hegemony: How Green Parties Challenge Capitalism as a Dominant Ideology*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master Thesis, 2023](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3763495>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# **Counter-Hegemony: How Green Parties Challenge Capitalism as a Dominant Ideology**

**Isa van Schaick**

**S2059398**

Bachelor Thesis



**Universiteit  
Leiden**  
The Netherlands

BSc Political Science: International Relations and Organisations

Faculty of Social and Behavioural Science

Thesis Seminar: Power and World Politics

Supervisor: Dr. I. Bakalov

May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2024

Word count: 7990 (excl. Table of contents, Bibliography and Appendices)

**Table of contents**

1. Introduction.....	2
2. Theoretical framework.....	2
2.1 Structural power.....	3
2.2 Cultural hegemony, intellectuals and counter-hegemony .....	4
2.3 Ideological roots and the effects of disputes in Green parties .....	6
2.4 Capitalism, anti-capitalism, market ecology, eco-socialism and ‘transformismo’ .....	7
3. Methodology .....	9
3.1 Green parties and election manifestos .....	9
3.2 Diverse case selection .....	10
3.3 Content analysis .....	12
3.4 Coding scheme.....	12
4. Results.....	15
4.1 Ecocentrism-anthropocentrism spectrum.....	16
4.2 Criticism and endorsement .....	17
4.3 Alternative economy or alternative within the current economy.....	18
4.4 Macro proposals: alternative measures of growth and circular and ‘zero’ economies .....	18
4.6 Micro proposals: Governmental (local) investment and tax reform.....	19
4.7 Combination: EU cooperation and international aid .....	20
5. Discussion & Conclusion.....	20
Bibliography .....	22
Appendix A.....	26
Appendix B.....	28

## **1. Introduction**

In a rapidly warming climate, Green parties are at the political forefront of demanding change in society in order to reduce the effects of climate change. Initially Green parties remained true to pursuing solely environmental issues, but their policy agendas have broadened to encompass various fields, as documented by Poguntke (2002, pp. 139-140) and Blühdorn (2009, pp. 42-49). Despite this broadening, little research has been conducted on the economic policies pursued by Green parties. This intersection is crucial, as economic growth often conflicts with ecological sustainability. Gill and Law (1989) suggest that Green parties are part of a counter-hegemonic bloc, challenging the dominant capitalist ideology (p. 495). This supposition, however, is underdeveloped in the literature and this article aims to fill that gap. There is a need to investigate whether Green parties are part of a counter-hegemony, particularly as capitalism's reliance on fossil fuels exacerbates the climate crisis humanity faces (Altvater, 2007, p. 39).

The research question guiding this study is: 'To what extent do anti-capitalist ideas influence Green party policy, and, to what extent are they affected by the fundamentalist-pragmatist debate?' This research project seeks to identify if Green parties are part of an anti-capitalist movement as earlier suggested. To address this question, the most recent election manifestos of 14 Green parties in the Global North have been analysed for their word usage and economic policies. The thesis is comprised in the following sections: First, the theoretical framework that this research project is based on will be outlined in section 2. Subsequently, the methodology of the thesis will be discussed in section 3. The results of this research project can be found in section 4. And, finally, the thesis concludes with a discussion and conclusion in section 5.

By systematically exploring these sections, this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the economic dimensions of Green party policies and their potential role in anti-capitalistic movements, and, ultimately contribute to the broader discourse on ecological sustainability and economic policy.

## **2. Theoretical framework**

In this thesis, the connection between Green parties and anti-capitalist policy will be investigated. As will be argued in the following section, Green parties are expected to have criticism on the ideas of capitalism based on their contrasting foundational ideologies, primarily the philosophy of ecologism. However, the extent to which Green parties challenge

capitalism is expected to be dependent on the influence of pragmatists and fundamentalists. This expectation is based on the theories outlined below and is structured in this section as follows. First, the concept of structural power is discussed and flaw in its conception is highlighted. Then, cultural hegemony as a form of structural power is analysed, with particular emphasis on the role of intellectuals. Third, the theorized ideological roots of Green parties will be discussed. In addition, the influence of the fundamentalist-pragmatist debate on proposed policy will be outlined. Lastly, an expectation for the potential anti-capitalistic criticisms that could be observed in the data will be discussed. This section will conclude in a hypothesis, which will be the expected outcome of this research.

### *2.1 Structural power*

Structural power is “the power to decide how things shall be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to corporate enterprises,” (Strange, 2015, p. 27). In other words, structural power is the control over the formal and informal institutions that shape the way actors behave towards one another. It is the power to alter “the range of choices that are open to others, without apparently putting pressure directly on them (...)” (Strange, 2015, p. 34). Strange argues that this structural power is split into four dimensions, which are: security, finance, production and knowledge (2015, p. 29). Having a dominant influence over these dimensions, she argues implicitly, is the true source of power in the modern world. Although this definition of power is convincing, it possesses a fundamental flaw: these structures are arguably embedded within one larger meta-structure.

Strange refers to the beforementioned structures as ‘common sense’ (2015, p. 32). However, in order for social constructions such as these institutions (finance, mode of production, etc.) to be listed as ‘common’, they need to be legitimized by the masses that believe in them. These structures can thus not only be seen as containing objective material power, they contain a certain subjective ‘ideational’ power as well (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, p. 42). Hence, the power over knowledge—who controls it and who has access to it—becomes salient, and perhaps the most important aspect of the structural power definition by Strange. I would argue that this meta-structure, the power of dominant ideas that shape the world, is responsible for the wide acceptance of capitalism. This meta-structure that determines the frameworks in which power of capitalism as a system is expressed is maybe best exemplified by the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony.

## 2.2 *Cultural hegemony, intellectuals and counter-hegemony*

Cultural hegemony is a concept developed by Marxist- and political thinker Antonio Gramsci. Although Gramsci never directly defined the concept, it is often conceptualized as: “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on by social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is ‘historically’ caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production,” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12). Cultural hegemony thus refers to the masses accepting dominant ideas that benefit a ruling class, whose power stems from their historically based role in production. This hegemony thus relies on material factors that empower dominant classes and disempower subordinate ones. These power relations, based on the role in production, are known as a ‘historic bloc’; a term for the constellation of force which combines “material forces, institutions, and ideologies,” which “form an alliance of class forces,” (Gill & Law, 1989, p. 476). It is thus argued that both material factors as well as ideational factors shape the outcome of power exertions and which are legitimized by consent of the masses. Consent of the masses is however paired with the notion of domination, and this ‘direct domination’ is expressed by the state (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12). The phenomenon of cultural hegemony is argued to be a dialectic force and can thus be seen as a mixture of both consent and coercion (Lears, 1985, p. 598; Bakalov, 2024, p. 80).

The dominant culture of the ruling class thus shapes the “values, norms, perceptions, beliefs, sentiments, and prejudices that support and define the existing distribution of goods, the institutions that decide how this distribution occurs, and the permissible range of disagreements about those processes,” (Lears, 1985, p. 568). A notion which holds especially true for the relationship between culture and power under capitalism (Lears, 1985, pp. 568-569). Gramsci argued with cultural hegemony, that capitalism as an economic system of material accumulation and distribution is kept in place by an ideology which is held by a great group of people, and that benefits a certain kind of elite and ruling group. As discussed in section 2.1, this dominant culture can be perceived as an expression of structural power, as it has the power to shape the framework within which actors make their choices. However, who is at play at the formation of this meta-structure? Here lies a special role for what Gramsci defines as ‘intellectuals’.

Gramsci describes two kinds of such intellectuals: ‘traditional’ and ‘organic’ intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals are ‘professional’ intellectuals: because of their profession (in academics or as clergy, etc.) they hold a certain position in society and are

broadly considered class-independent, but ultimately rely on former and current class relations. ‘Organic’ intellectuals on the other hand are not seen as ‘professional’ intellectuals, however, they represent a certain class and shape the ideas and aspirations of the class in which they belong (Gramsci, 1971, p. 3). Political parties are seen by Gramsci as such organic intellectuals, as they are the leading representatives of their specific societal sub-group (Gramsci, 1971, p. 105). Both types of intellectuals, however, defend the dominant class ideology by becoming a ‘deputy’ of the ruling class, and “exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government,” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12). It is clear now what role intellectuals play at forming and maintaining a cultural hegemony. However, what role do these intellectuals play in the formation of a counter-hegemony?

In cultural hegemony, intellectuals are thus seen as the representatives of the dominant group and are thought to be creators of philosophies. They teach these philosophies to the masses and these ideologies highly influence the ‘common sense’ experienced by subaltern groups. Especially organic intellectuals, who come out of the different social classes, include in their philosophies elements of good sense, *buon senso*, of the masses, due to ideas having to ‘resonate’ with them. Communication of these ideas are brought forward by culture. Gramsci argues that intellectuals and masses mutually influence each other. This is called the ‘intellectual-mass dialectic’. It supposes that the development of new culture is to grow out of encounters between the intellectuals and masses. The intellectuals fulfil the role of developing new thoughts, while the masses perform the role of spreading and accepting these new ideas, and together they form a new ‘hegemonic bloc’. Combatting the dominant ideology of capitalism, counter-hegemonies may arise out of the intellectual-masses dialectic that try to challenge and conceptualize alternatives to the hegemonic culture (Olsaretti, 2016, pp. 342-353). By proposing a new philosophy, intellectuals can shape a new culture (or new ‘framework’), which paves the way for new forms of interaction among actors.

As Gill and Law (1989) suggest in their article: Green parties are considered to form part of this counter hegemonic bloc (p. 495). However, they provide no reasoning why they come to this conclusion. The possible answer here lies in the role Green parties play as ‘organic’ intellectuals and the system-challenging principles on which Green parties are founded: ecologism. This principle will be further explicated in the following paragraphs.

### *2.3 Ideological roots and the effects of disputes in Green parties*

Green party ideological roots lie in the spread of eco-philosophy, or ‘ecologism’ short, and the emergence of new social movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Ecologism falls under two categories: deep ecology and ‘shallow’ ecology. Deep ecology centres around the idea of ecocentrism, a philosophy that attributes all species on Earth with innate value. ‘Shallow’ ecology, a more anthropocentric view, dictates that nature only has value because humans place value on it. In addition to ecologist thought, Green parties commit to many ideals of the social movements of the time in their party ideology, including civil rights and environmental movements (Burchell, 2002, pp. 8-14). These social movements originated from grass-roots initiatives and matured into professionally organized organizations (Gladwin, 1994, p. 60), and, are associated with “the search for alternative forms of social and cultural life,” (Touraine, 1985, p. 749). These ecological ideologies and social movements, later highly inspired the founding ideology of Green parties. However, the degree to which Green parties remained faithful to these founding ideologies vary across parties and over time. As pressure from electoral success intensified, internal discussions began to arise in various (West-European) Green parties between pragmatists and fundamentalists about what the best future course of action should be for Green parties (Doherty, 1992, p. 116).

Given different names in literature (i.e. the Realo-Fundi debate, or the ideologues and pragmatist debate (Kitschelt, 1988)), the fundamentalist-pragmatist debate is essentially an internal party debate between two factions within Green parties. These factions argue about the question to what extent these parties should remain true to the original fundamental values of their constituencies (fundamentalist), or whether they should seek compromise and pursue a governmental role (pragmatist) (Poguntke, 2002, p. 144). The debate is centred around the dilemma of the ‘logic of constituency representation’, which is a fundamentalist logic, and, the ‘logic of party competition’, which is a pragmatist logic. The party direction is influenced by the division of power between these two factions. If a party seems more occupied with constituency representation, it is more influenced by fundamentalists. Is the party more occupied with party competition, however, it is more influenced by pragmatists (Kitschelt, 1988, p. 131). Burchell (2002) links this dilemma with the ‘deep’ and ‘shallow’ ecology debate (p. 20). It is hypothesized that the debate is between proponents for a ‘true’ deep green approach and those in favour for a weaker ‘light’ green compromise (Burchell, 2002, p. 15).

Concluding, although the founding ideology of ecology of Green parties is similar across the different parties, the depth to which it is pursued in politics differs greatly between

parties due to the fundamentalist-pragmatist debates. As parties become more focussed on party competition, the willingness to pursue true green ideals diminishes, as coalition formation becomes more important. It is therefore expected that as parties garner and want more electoral success, pragmatists gain more standing in parties and green values get compromised. This debate has an effect on the political thought expressed by Green political parties, and, this has ultimately an effect on philosophy, as parties perform their role as organic intellectuals. Thus, the pragmatists-fundamentalist debates influence parties stance on ecology, but what effects this has on the formation of counter-hegemonic critique on capitalism is not yet clear. In the last part of this section, the theorised effects of these ideological standpoints on anti-capitalist thought will be introduced, as well as the formation of the hypothesis.

#### *2.4 Capitalism, anti-capitalism, market ecology, eco-socialism and 'transformismo'*

Capitalism in its purest form is defined as: “a system wherein *all of the means of production (physical capital) are privately owned* and run by the capitalist class for a profit, while most other people are workers who work for a salary or wage (and do not own the capital or product),” (Zimbalist & Sherman, 1984, pp. 6-7, my emphasis). This system permits private ownership of natural resources, reflecting a specific human-nature relationship. Green political critiques of capitalism are broken down into two categories: market ecology and ecological socialism. Firstly, Green parties are founded on the principle that the finite nature of the Earth’s resources limits industrial growth. To counteract this economic practice, they advocate for a green society motivated by sustainable growth (Dobson, 2000, p. 56). This is considered ‘market ecology’ (Löwy, 2007, p. 295). Eco-socialism on the other hand, presses for a new societal organisation based on ecological rationality and for the collective ownership of the means of production (O’Connor, 1998, p. 278).

Consequently, as Green parties are expected to resist the core tenets of capitalist market functioning--which inherently do not account for natural limits—they are expected to endorse some form of eco-socialism. In contrast, however, many Green parties are found to and criticised for not addressing the conflict between capitalist economic principles of capital expansion and profit accumulation on the one hand, and the protection of the environment on the other, and are thus considered to endorse a form of ‘market ecology’ (Löwy, 2007, p. 295). This article aims to determine whether Green parties pursue market ecology or eco-socialist policies.

Market ecology policy proposals fit within capitalism and encompass a variety of arguments that propose alternatives to an unregulated market. This movement focusses on justice, democracy, equality, peace and particularly emphasizes environmental sustainability. Many critiques call for anti-globalist, self-governed and more localized solutions. Others promote a new social order, based on ‘de-growth’ and enhancement of ecological sustainability on a macro level (Lane, 2023, pp. 230-231). ‘De-growth’ is described as “a social movement (...) that opposes economic growth, capitalism, industrialism and other forms of domination, that proposes and works on alternatives (...) for broader social transformation” (Schmelzer and Eversberg, 2017, p. 351). These concepts challenge the core elements of capitalism, such as limitless economic growth based on resource extraction, while not advocating for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. Instead, they propose alternatives within the system and are thus a form of market ecology. In contrast, some anti-capitalist critiques, such as those expressed in eco-socialist theories, call for a completely different economic system, where the means of production are collectively owned and controlled and natural limits are accounted for, thereby overhauling the capitalist system (Löwy, 2007, p. 294).

It is possible that Green parties have diluted their original radical beliefs by integrating into the ruling group, indicating a form of ‘transformismo’. Transformismo, a concept attributed to Gramsci, describes the process whereby radical parties are absorbed into the ruling class, leading to the ‘decapitation’ of radical leaders and the moderation of their criticism (Gramsci, 1971, p. 58-59). This process may cause Green party leaders to become more moderate, diluting the radical environmental movement. If Green parties are influenced more by pragmatists and are subject to transformismo, they may become more aligned with market ecology policies rather than eco-socialist principles.

It is therefore hypothesized that Green parties as the leading representatives of their specific societal sub-groups (Gramsci, 1971, p. 105), will define some form of anti-capitalistic thought based on ecological arguments in their role as ‘organic’ intellectuals. However, as observed in the fundamentalist-pragmatist debate, the electoral success of these parties may lead to a shift towards pragmatism and consequently lead to the moderation of their radical stance. Therefore, larger and/or government parties may be more inclined to propose ‘market ecology’ policies, while smaller and/or opposition parties are expected to adopt more ‘eco-socialist’ policies.

### 3. Methodology

In this research project the data of 14 election manifestos of Green parties were analysed on content and language use. In this section the research method will be explained and accounted for. First, the choice for parties as cases and election manifestos as sources will be clarified. After, the choice for a diverse case selection will be argued for. Thirdly, the choice for content analysis will be explicated. At last, the coding frame for the analysis will be introduced.

#### 3.1 *Green parties and election manifestos*

It is perhaps important to acknowledge the main question about the case choice of this research project. Why analyse parties, and, in particular, Green parties? The reasoning why the analysis of parties is especially considered in this research project is based on several factors. First, Gramsci argues that not only philosophy can figure as an influence on politics, politics can be a source for philosophical change as well (Olsaretti, 2016, p. 341). As discussed in paragraph 2.2 of the theoretical framework, as change is brought forward in philosophy, change is brought forward in the common sense of the masses, which can translate into the formation of a new hegemonic bloc. As politics is considered an influence on philosophy by Gramsci, it becomes important to analyse political thought. Additionally, as earlier stated, parties are considered the leaders of social groups, and can therefore be considered ‘organic’ intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971, p. 105). In addition, parties in general perform the function of an aggregation of ideas, by collecting and balancing different, and often, competing interests (Janda, 2011, p. 789), and combining them into policy proposals (Bingham Powell et al., 2015, pp. 31-32). Party policy proposals, such as those expressed in election manifestos, can therefore be seen as the articulation of the interests of specific social groups within society.

Moreover, election manifestos are considered especially for this analysis as they collect a party’s policy position in one place at one point in time (Eder et al., 2016, p. 83). It is not clear however if party policy presented in the manifestos reflect the true ideology of parties, or ‘ideal policy positions’. As the manifestos are part of campaigning, it can contain diluted positions that outline ‘achievable’ objectives post-elections, ‘policy forecasts’, or adapted texts that would attract a greater audience, ‘stated policy positions’, or, a mixture of all (Laver, 2001, p. 67). This considered however, election manifestos are still the most transparent display of party policy and the most updated version of the total party position on certain agenda’s. It is therefore this data that is considered for this research. Especially the election manifestos for lower house elections are considered in this research. Lower houses are namely not only often

more powerful compared to upper houses, they are directly elected by the public as well (Hague et al., 2016, pp. 133-134).

### *3.2 Diverse case selection*

The selection of the cases is conducted via a diverse case selection method. Diverse cases show the wide variety of possible values cases can contain, which makes hypothesis testable (Seawright, 2008, p. 300). This becomes especially important for this research project, as it tries to answer the hypothesis if party size and role in parliament matters in regards to radicality of the policy position. The Green parties selected show a variety of values; parties are either in parliament (in the lower house) or not, or, form part of the opposition or perform a governmental role. As hypothesized, parties that are smaller and in opposition are expected to be more radical, while parties that are larger and in government are expected to be moderate. As the cases selected display a variety of independent values, this hypothesis can be tested.

As previously mentioned, this research is focussed in particular on Green parties, as these parties are theorized to be part of a counter-hegemonic bloc (Gill & Law, 1989, p. 495). The parties that were selected for this analysis are parties that are prevalent in advanced industrial societies, as it is argued that Green parties have the greatest success in societies where there are active post-materialistic debates that are caused by high levels of societal wealth (Grant & Tilly, 2019, p. 508). This leads to the result that a claim can only be made about this specific region, however, the similar socio-economic setting these parties developed out of, allows for a more fair comparison between parties. Therefore, the most recent election manifestos of 14 Green parties localized in Western states will be analysed on their economic content. The parties that are considered in this analysis are displayed in Table 3.2.1.. In this table the overview of the percentages of seats in their respective parliaments as well as their role in parliament is stated. Besides being situated in highly industrialized states, these parties share in common that they all compete in national elections, with various levels of success. This common objective makes for an effective comparison, as the goal of at least winning seats at the national parliamentary, not just regional elections, across parties align.

Following this, parties were selected for being in the Germanic language region. Languages know certain nuances that can be understood only when familiar with the language and the context in which it is produced. By focussing on the listed parties that have primary documents in Dutch, English and German, which are within the capabilities of the researcher, linguistic subtleties in the original sources can be understood well to make claims about the

meaning of the contents of the election manifestos. This has the negative by-effect that again a claim can only be made about these specific regions. However, the choice for primary sources as data means a more in-depth analysis can be conducted, which allows for the results of the analysis to be more substantial. Future research might focus on other regions, such as the Global South, or other sets of cases within the Global North, or both.

### Overview of the selected cases

State - party	Percentage in parliament (seats in lower house)	Part of government/opposition/no seat in national parliament	Year of election
<b>The Netherlands</b>			
- GroenLinks-PvdA	16,67% (25/150 seats)	Opposition	2023
- Partij voor de Dieren	2% (3/150 seats)	Opposition	2023
- De Groenen	0,0% (0/150 seats)	No seat	2023
<b>Belgium</b>			
- Groen	5,33% (8/150 seats)	Government	2019
<b>Germany</b>			
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	16,03% (118/736 seats)	Government	2021
- Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei	0,0% (0/736 seats)	No seat	2021
- Klimaliste	0,0% (0/736 seats)	No seat	2021
- MUT	0,0% (0/736 seats)	No seat	2021
<b>Austria</b>			
- Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative	14,21% (26/183 seats)	Government	2019
<b>Ireland</b>			
- The Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	7,5% (12/160 seats)	Government	2020
<b>United Kingdom</b>			
- The Green Party (of England and Wales)	0,17% (1/573 seats)	Opposition	2019
<b>Australia</b>			
- The Greens	2,65% (4/151 seats)	Opposition	2022
<b>Canada</b>			
- The Green Party of Canada	0,59% (2/338 seats)	Opposition	2021
<b>New Zealand</b>			
- Green party of Aotearoa New Zealand - Rōpū Kākāriki o Aotearoa, Niu Tirenī	12,2% (15/123 seats)	Opposition	2023

Table 3.2.1.

Some parties were considered for analysis but later discarded. First, the Green party of Switzerland was excluded, since this party theoretically could not form a part of a coalition government, per Swiss Constitutional laws. According to this fact, no effect for opposition/governmental roles could be measured for this party, which would hinder the analysis. Secondly, the Green party of the US was discarded from the analysis, as election manifestos exist only on state-level and solely party principles exist nation-wide. Likewise, the Green party of Northern Ireland and the Green party of Scotland were discarded, as they only participate in regional elections, not on national-level elections. To make the comparison between the parties considered as equal, only manifestos for national elections are considered. In the case of MUT and Klimaliste, however, regional election manifestos are analysed as proxy data, as both parties support individual candidates that compete on the national level.

### *3.3 Content analysis*

A logical choice for the analysis of the meaning behind certain policy choices of Green parties lies in the analysis of the content. Content analysis is a method that derives the meaning behind certain phrasing and other textual data. At the heart of this method lies the coding scheme (Schreier, 2013, pp. 2-7). Via a developed coding scheme the content of the election manifestos is analysed on the economic policy positions these parties have, with focus on positions on capitalism and possible anti-capitalistic critique. The units of analysis is sentence-level text-excerpts. Special emphasis is laid upon what kinds of concepts are used to describe alternatives to capitalism, if at all. The coding schemes for this research are stated in the below tables 3.4.1. until 3.4.4..

### *3.4 Coding scheme*

For the analysis of the data, a coding scheme is created following Schreier (2013) guidelines (p. 12). In the multiple tables below the elements of the coding scheme are listed in order of concept, description, examples and rules. The coding scheme makes use of the theoretical expectations stated in the theoretical framework enhanced by inductively defined categories that were found during a pilot-run with the coding scheme. The election manifestos will be analysed on the type of ecologist perspective parties have and divided into ‘deep ecology (ecocentrism)’ and ‘shallow’ ecology (anthropocentrism)’, which represent either more fundamentalist or pragmatist standpoints. An additional category of ‘combination’ is added, as per the pilot it became noticeable that parties often merge the two ideologies into one policy that suits both philosophies. Parties thus position themselves somewhere on the spectrum between the two ideologies. Besides this ideological spectrum, the different types of

expected anti-capitalistic positions are described as follows. First, the overall party stance on capitalism is determined as either ‘criticism’ or ‘endorsement’. Note here only a position is stated and not a specific policy proposal. Secondly, the material will be assessed on whether the proposed policy is an alternative economic system, or, an alternative *within* the current economic system. The latter is further defined as: ‘macro policy proposals’, ‘micro policy proposals, or ‘combination’. Furthermore, the parties analysed are categorized according to the following formula:

Part of parliamentary body (yes/no) + Party size (% seats) + Government or Opposition

The party size of political parties is categorized based on a 10% threshold. Small parties are those with less than 10% of the vote, while large parties are those with more than 10% of the vote. As earlier stated, parties that are not part of the parliament or are in opposition and small in size are expected to be radical and more ecocentric in position. In contrast, parties that are larger and part of the government are expected to be more moderate and more anthropocentric in position.

## Ideology

Concept	Description	Examples	Rules
<b>Ecocentrism (Deep ecology)</b>	A philosophy that ascribes innate value to the natural world, apart from the value the natural world is deemed by humans.	“Giving animals rights is not enough. In the policy choices we make, we should account for animal welfare.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Places wealth on non-human objects beyond their utility or profitability in human terms.</li> <li>- Value is placed on health of the planet, biodiversity, animal rights and welfare, etc.</li> </ul>
<b>Anthropocentrism (‘Shallow’ ecology)</b>	A philosophy that dictates that nature only has value because humans place value on it.	“States in the (Global) South get the chance to process and handle raw materials into products, so that they can earn more themselves.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Places wealth on human valued objects in terms of utility and profitability to humans.</li> <li>- Utility of raw materials that provide in livelihood security, etc.</li> </ul>
<b>Combination</b>	Displays both mentions of anthropocentrism as ecocentrism.	“We need an extensive biomass strategy so that the production and the import of biomass for energy generation or	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Places wealth on human valued as well as on non-human valued objects.</li> </ul>

	animal feed does not destruct animal welfare.”	-	Value is placed on either its profitable or utilisable worth to humans, as well as on its worth to non-humans.
--	--	---	--

Table 3.4.1.

### Party stances on capitalism

Concept	Description	Examples	Rules
<b>Criticism</b>	Criticisms on capitalism without a policy proposal how to alter it.	“It is an assault driven forward by corporations and the privileged few, putting profit over people and the places they love.”	- Criticism on economic activity in regards to fixation on growth despite planetary boundaries, health, environmental damage, etc.
<b>Endorsement</b>	Statements that endorse the current capitalistic system.	“We advocate good conditions for small businesses and the self-employed so that they have good competition chances.”	- Positive mentions of economic growth, enhancement of market position, etc.

Table 3.4.2.

### Proposed party policy

Concept	Description	Examples	Rules
<b>Alternative economic system</b>	Policy proposals that present an alternative economic system other than capitalism.	E.g. eco-socialist policies advocating for collective ownership of means of production and ecological rationality.	- Provides another economic system than capitalism.
<b>Alternatives within the current economic system</b>	Policy proposals that endorse capitalism in the way it is but propose alternatives to the current system that are more environmentally friendly.	“A comprehensive development of environmental and resource taxes incl. co2 limit taxes.”	- See annotations of rules under ‘Specified party proposals’.

Table 3.4.3.

## Specified party proposals

Concept	Description	Examples	Rules
<b>Alternatives within the current system: macro policy proposals</b>	Policy proposals that present alternative solutions within the current capitalist system, without dismantling the economic system as a whole. Policy proposals in which parties argue for systemic level changes within the capitalistic system.	“The Bruto Domestic Product should not be the only measure of economic success, in addition a ‘Common-good-balance’ should be drawn up that defines the purpose of economic activity.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentions of ‘de-growth’</li> <li>- Mentions of ecological sustainable growth</li> <li>- Mentions of circular economies</li> <li>- Mentions of alternative measures of wealth</li> <li>- Mentions of global cooperation</li> </ul>
<b>Alternatives within the current system: micro policy proposals</b>	Policy proposals that present alternative solutions within the current capitalist system, without dismantling the economic system as a whole. Policy proposals in which parties argue for small-scale changes within the capitalistic system.	“Stimulating sustainable entrepreneurship, with investment policy in fiscal policy that gives chances to start-ups and local enterprises that are important for the climate transition.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentions of anti-globalist policy</li> <li>- Mentions of self-governing</li> <li>- Mentions of localized solutions</li> <li>- Mentions of subsidies for national and regional organisations</li> </ul>
<b>Combination</b>	Policy proposals of systemic as well as small-scale changes within the capitalistic system.	“All municipalities draw upon a common good balance and develop into exemplary common good municipalities.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentions of either local, international as well as systemic solutions.</li> </ul>

Table 3.4.4.

## 4. Results

In this section the key findings of the study will be presented. The section is organized as follows: First, the findings related to ideology and the effects of the pragmatist-fundamentalist debate on party stance are presented. Second, criticisms and endorsements will be outlined. Third, the findings of the presence of plans for an alternative economy or an alternative within the economy will be highlighted. Fourth, building on the findings in the previous section, the specific macro and micro economic policy proposals will be discussed in the remaining parts.

#### *4.1 Ecocentrism-anthropocentrism spectrum*

First it is important to acknowledge where Green parties fall on the spectrum of ecocentrism and anthropocentrism. The coding of election manifestos revealed varying degrees of ecocentrism and anthropocentrism among the parties. A combination of anthropocentrism and ecocentrism predominated in 8 parties, with a prevalence ranging from 50,77% to 64,71% of the coded text (see Appendix B). Of these 8 parties, 4 parties are considered large (>10%), and 3 out of 8 are in government. For example, The Austrian Green party mentions “The protection of our soil, water and air as the basis of life must be prioritised in all forms of agricultural activity,” (2019, p. 22, my translation). This excerpt highlights both the protection of nature and the endorsement of agriculture for human utility. Additionally, texts proposing for example the benefits of a cooler climate on collective health were included in this category.

Ecocentrism was the second most prevalent, predominantly found in 5 parties with excerpts ranging from 49,65% to 72,13% of the coded text. All of the 5 parties are considered small (<10%) and are either in opposition or not part of the parliamentary at all. For example the Dutch Partij voor de Dieren states in their manifesto: “The convictions of this programme stem from our ecocentric thought: animals, climate, nature and environment form for the Party for the Animals the guiding principles,” (2023, p. 5, my translation). These text excerpts emphasize the well-being of nature and animals, independent of profitability and human utility. For example, policy that mentioned ‘rewilding’ of natural landscapes in order to promote biodiversity, as well as policy that promoted ‘ecoducts’ were also put into this category.

Purely anthropocentric sentences were the least common, ranging between 0% to 22,57% of the coded texts. Text excerpts such as those expressed in the Irish Green party election manifesto: “Water is one of our most precious resources and every human has a basic right to sufficient, safe and affordable water,” (2020, p. 44), which denote the utility of resources for humans were coded with anthropocentrism. Note that only text excerpts explicitly mentioning the utility of raw materials for humans were categorized as anthropocentric. Many Green parties highlighted policy for gender equality and reducing discrimination, and although these are of use to humans, they do not explicitly describe the role nature plays for humans.

Overall, Green parties seem to position themselves somewhere along the ecocentrism-anthropocentrism spectrum. Larger and governmental parties seem slightly more likely to combine the two ideologies, smaller, opposition and extra-parliamentary parties seem more predominantly ecocentric, although this is not proven statistically. What now needs to be

further developed is how this ideological background influences the parties on their economic policy. The following sections will highlight whether the ideological background influences the party's stance on capitalism and economic policy.

#### *4.2 Criticism and endorsement*

Many Green parties criticize the current economic system for being excessively growth- and profit-driven at the expense of humans and nature and failing to account for the Earth's natural carrying capacity. 11 Out of 14 parties are regardless of their size more critical than supportive of the system with a range of 73,91% and 100% of the text excerpts expressing criticism. Regarding the systems wastefulness, Austria's Green party states: "Our current economy is based on extracting resources from nature, producing excessive new products, using them for a short time and then throwing them away," (2019, p. 14, my translation). Green parties are particularly critical of the role of transnational corporations and their tax evasion schemes. The Australian Greens mention: "Many of the biggest coal & gas corporations pay no tax and send their profit offshore tax free." (2022, Tackling the climate crisis section, para. 2). Both the Australian Greens and the Green party in the United Kingdom criticize donations from the wealthy to politicians, including donations from the fossil fuel industry. The UK Greens states: "Money buys power in our current system, with donations from wealthy individuals and groups shaping the priorities of establishment politicians," (n.d., p. 11).

However, Green parties are not solely critical on the system. Many explicitly highlight the value of medium and small enterprises, stating they are the backbone of society. The Canadian Green party mentions: "Small businesses are the backbone of the Canadian economy, creating more employment in the private sector than the big corporations," (2021, p. 18). A view which is shared by the Dutch GroenLinks-PvdA party about Dutch small and medium companies as well (2023, p. 27). The German party Bündnis 90/die Grünen endorses global capitalistic trade, stating: "Trade is an important foundation of our prosperity: Fair trade contributes to deepening of international partnerships and thus to a safer world," (2021, p. 79). Despite this, looking at all the data in Appendix B it becomes clear that only 3 out of 14 parties endorse the current system more than they criticize it, ranging between 53,33% and 63,34% of the coded excerpts being considered endorsement. Bündnis 90/die Grünen, de Groenen and the Green party of Canada seem to be lightly more supportive than critical of the current economy. Size of the party and ideological background does not seem to play a role in amount of criticism or endorsement. Therefore, there seems to not be an effect of party size and depth of ecocentric

thought on party positions regarding capitalism. How ecocentric ideology affects economic proposals, however, will be further outlined in the subsequent paragraph.

#### *4.3 Alternative economy or alternative within the current economy*

A thorough examination of the analysed party manifestos reveals that no party explicitly expresses a plan for an alternative economy. Although parties often criticize the workings of capitalism, no substantive alternative economic system is proposed. Instead, parties of all sizes have proposed modifications and limitations to the current economic system while keeping the premises of the capitalistic economic system intact. For instance, the Ökologisch Demokratische Partei proposal of: “Using instead of owning: Promoting shared use, rental and exchange,” (2021, p. 7), does provide an alternative to private ownership, yet does not signify a complete overhaul of capitalism. Therefore, excerpts such as this were not coded as an alternative economic system, since it is not proposed as a serious systemic alternative. It is merely a promotion of the concept of sharing resources, but is not legally binding mandate. All parties thus pursue alternatives within the economy, however, not all in the same manner. Notably, micro policy proposals outweigh the macro policy proposals in 13 of the 14 election manifestos, with micro proposals accounting for between 46,27% and 89,47% of the observed text excerpts. This disparity may be influenced by the inclusion of regional election manifestos, such as those of MUT and Klimaliste. The subsequent sections will provide a detailed analysis of these macro and micro policy proposals.

#### *4.4 Macro proposals: alternative measures of growth and circular and ‘zero’ economies*

A majority of parties (9 out of 14) propose alternative measures of growth than measuring GDP. Terms as “Gemeinwohl-Bilanz” (common good balance) (ÖDP, 2021, p. 36) and “ecological growth” (Partij voor de Dieren, 2023, p. 11), are used to install a measure of growth that takes into account human, animal and environmental well-being. Other parties either do not mention it (4), or endorse GDP as is (1, Canada). Apart from proposing alternative measures of growth, the concept of circular economy, or ‘Kreislaufwirtschaft’/‘circulaire economie’, is promoted by a majority of the analysed parties (10 out of 14) regardless of their size and role, aiming to close the loop of resource usage. Not only do parties mention closing the loop, they also frequently mention to minimize the amount of resources consumed. Klimaliste mentions both: “To achieve global justice, industrial countries must drastically reduce their resource consumption. We will therefore realise a comprehensive circular economy that rethinks the principle of waste and pollution,” (2021, p. 80, my translation).

Where 10 parties speak explicitly of circular economies, the Green party of England and Wales talks briefly about a “zero-waste system” where domestic waste is recycled, but not the resources in the broader sense of the (industrial) society (n.d., p. 7). The Green party of Canada states that it aims for a “net-zero emissions” economy in terms of CO2 emissions, but not about “net zero” resource wastage (2021, p. 8). Furthermore, the remaining parties, De Groenen and MUT, mention to aim for sustainable and efficient use of resources, with no explicit notion of how to achieve such a regulation on a systemic scale. MUT for example mentions: “Sustainable management: the principle of careful use of natural resources and the material prerequisites for future economic activity must apply at all costs,”(2023, p. 7).

#### *4.6 Micro proposals: Governmental (local) investment and tax reform*

In this excerpt: “[We] support stimulating the economy through low interest rates and investment as an appropriate Keynesian counter-cyclical measure,” (2024, p. 26, my translation), De Groenen sum up a tendency of governmental investment policy proposals found in all election manifestos. With policy ranging from setting up a national investment fund for investment in Green small businesses and start-ups, as well as investing in sustainable education and innovation, Green parties try to stimulate the society towards a more sustainable economy. An example of such a governmental investment aim is found in the Belgian Groen election manifesto: “With forward-looking policies, we encourage green entrepreneurship and a vibrant local economy,” (2024, p. 12). Also, as the excerpt highlights, there is an emphasis by many parties on investing in small businesses to improve local and regional economies. Additionally, the Australian, New Zealand and Canadian Green parties acknowledge their large indigenous communities by mentioning to want to invest in the “First nation” people, that better protect the environment based on their indigenous principles.

Not only do Green parties advocate for investing in society and economy, they often call for ending subsidies to polluting organisations such as the fossil fuel industry, specifically targeting tax breaks for fuel in sectors like aviation. Additionally, all Green parties propose various changes in income and wealth taxes, as well as reforms to value-added tax (VAT) and excise duties. By reforming the tax system, Green parties aim to achieve greater equality, ensuring that polluters and the wealthy pay their fair share. Furthermore, by reforming the VAT and excise system, the Greens propose ways to stimulate the economy in a manner that encourages individuals and businesses to make more sustainable choices regarding their consumption and use of resources. The Green party of New Zealand lists such a measure:

“Progressively increase the landfill levy and continue to use the revenue for waste minimisation, including funding for community waste reduction initiatives,” (2023, p. 40).

#### *4.7 Combination: EU cooperation and international aid*

A combination of micro and macroeconomic policy was the least frequent type of text excerpt found. Between 1,96% and 21,23% of the found excerpts was considered as such. What was noticeable for a majority of the Green parties that are located in the European Union (9 out of 10), is that they pressed on cooperation with this governing body. By advocating for change in regards to EU subsidies and international taxes, these parties are proponents of international cooperation, in order to alter the economy. The Irish Green party proposes: “(...) the EU [should] increase its support and funding for research and technology innovation, with a focus on environmental innovation,” (2020, p. 65). The other parties located outside of the EU mention wanting to invest more in international aid and green initiatives overseas.

In conclusion, all Green parties propose a variety of micro and macro policy proposals. How these proposals are to be interpreted, will be outlined in the subsequent paragraphs.

### **5. Discussion & Conclusion**

The data shows that although there seems to be a slight difference in the amount of ecocentrism in the parties, which correlate somewhat with their sizes, it does not affect the economic policies they propose. No alternative economy is proposed by either larger parties or smaller parties. Instead, all parties propose alternatives within the capitalistic economy, rather than advocating for the system’s complete abolition. The parties implicitly endorse market ecology capitalism by merely suggesting different taxation rules and investing in innovation and green entrepreneurship. This approach allows businesses and individuals to continue resource extraction with minimal consequences.

These findings have several implications. First, Green parties seem to have been affected by ‘transformismo’. They have not been able to stay radically committed to deep green ecological values and allow free markets to exist despite the negative environmental impacts. By becoming part of the government, Green party leaders perhaps have been ‘decapitated’, which is indicated by moderation of their economic policy. By investing in green technology innovation while maintaining capitalistic principles, it becomes evident that Green parties implicitly endorse capitalist market functioning. They thereby support an ecologically-reformed market economy, or ‘market ecology’, instead of an eco-socialist society. This is in line with an observation by Löwy (2007, p. 295), stated on page 8 of this thesis.

Secondly, while Greens emphasize taxing the wealthy and criticising their tax evasion, they do not question how these individuals and organisations accumulated their wealth. This lack of critique means that Green parties endorse the current system, setting no rules about the relationship between nature and economic activity, and posing no limit to how much wealth an individual or business can accumulate. This approach arguably leads to the unchecked growth of businesses that profit off of environmental destruction. These points considered, Green parties cannot be considered part of the counter-hegemony; instead, they can be considered part of the hegemon, preserving capitalism, albeit in a greener facade.

This study was not without its flaws. First, as a qualitative study, the results do not bear any statistical significance, which questions the generalizability of the findings. Further research could adopt a quantitative method, to verify the observations made in this study. Secondly, qualitative research is sensitive to the subjectivity of the researcher, potentially introducing bias into the outcomes. Repeating this study could help mitigate such bias. Lastly, this study focusses on parties in the Global North, overlooking a multitude of Green parties in other regions. This exclusion introduces bias as well. Further research could investigate Green party positions in countries with different industrialization levels, particularly those with histories of socialist or communist regimes or colonial pasts, as these historical contexts might influence their policy development and political strategies. Lastly, as it is unclear what part of the election manifesto is ideologically driven, achievable policy or designed to attract voters, true policy stances of parties are left to discover. Further research could be conducted via interviews with voters or party officials to extract the true vision of the party.

In conclusion, this research paper set out to analyse the economic policy of Green parties. On the premise that Green parties might form a counter-hegemony, this paper sought to verify that Green parties questioned capitalism as an economic system and provide a new way of economic organization. By analysing the content of election manifestos of 14 Green parties in the Global North, it was observed Green parties do not propose an alternative economy to the capitalist economy that exists, regardless of their size and ideological background. They do however propose alternative economic policy within the capitalist system, such as a different measure of growth and investing in the development of new green technologies. To better address the climate crisis, Green parties are advised and urged to look critically at their economic policy proposals in order to better address the need for economic change in order to mitigate the effects humans have on the environment.

## Bibliography

- Altvater, E. (2007). The Social and Natural Environment of Fossil Capitalism. *Socialist register*, 43(1), 37-59.
- Anonymous (2024). *Logo Leiden University* [photo]. Retrieved February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2024, from <https://huisstijl.leidenuniv.nl/nl/basiselementen/logo-s/>
- Bakalov, I. (2024). Hegemony and the dynamics of power: a Gramscian update for the study of power in IR. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 27(1), 70-94.
- Barnett, M. & Duvall, R. (2005). Power in International Politics. *International Organization*, 59, 39-75.
- Bingham Powell, G., Dalton, R. J. & Strøm, K. W. (2015). *Comparative Politics Today: a world view. Eleventh Edition*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education
- Blühdorn, I. (2009). Reinventing Green Politics: On the Strategic Repositioning of the German Green Party. *German Politics*, 18(1), 36-54.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. (2021). Deutschland. Alles ist drin. Bundeswahlprogramm 2021. Bereit, weil Ihr es seid. Retrieved from: <https://www.gruene.de/artikel/wahlprogramm-zur-bundestagswahl-2021>
- Burchell, J. (2002). Chapter 1: A 'New' Challenge to Party Politics? Analysing Green Party Development and Change. In J. Burchell (Ed.) *The Evolution of Green Politics: Development and Change Within European Green Parties* (pp. 8-30). London: Taylor and Francis.
- De Groenen. (2024). Aanpassen aan de draagkracht van de aarde: verkiezingsprogramma 2024. Retrieved from: <https://www.degroenen.nl/partijprogramma.html>
- Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative. (2019). Wen würde unsere Zukunft wählen? Wahlprogramm Nationalratswahl 2019. Retrieved from: <https://gruene.at/organisation/partei/programm/parteiprogramm/>
- Dobson, A. (2000). 3 The sustainable society. In A. Dobson (Ed.) *Green Political Thought* (pp. 56-92). London: Routledge.
- Doherty, B. (1992). The Fundi-Realo Controversy: An Analysis of Four European Green Parties. *Environmental Politics*, 1(1), 95-120.

- Eder, N., Jenny, M. & Müller, W. C. (2017). Manifesto functions: How party candidates view and use their party's central policy document. *Electoral Studies*, 45, 75-87.
- Gill, S. R. & Law, D. (1989). Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital. *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(4), 475-499.
- Gladwin, M. (1994). The Theory and Politics of Contemporary Social Movements. *Politics*, 14(2), 59-65.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. In Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith (Eds. Trans.). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grant, Z. P. & Tilly, J. (2019). Fertile soil: explaining variation in the success of Green parties. *West European Politics*, 42(3), 495-516.
- Green party - Comhaontas glas. (2020). Manifesto. Towards 2030: a decade of change. Retrieved from: <https://www.greenparty.ie/campaigns/all-campaigns/towards-2030-decade-change>
- Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand – Rōpū Kākāriki o Aotearoa, Niu Tirenī (2023). Green Party Manifesto 2023. The time is now. Retrieved from: [https://www.greens.org.nz/manifesto\\_2023](https://www.greens.org.nz/manifesto_2023)
- Green party of Canada. (2021). Platform 2021. Green Future. Life with Dignity. Just Society. Retrieved from: [https://www.greenparty.ca/sites/default/files/gpc\\_platform\\_en\\_v-02.pdf](https://www.greenparty.ca/sites/default/files/gpc_platform_en_v-02.pdf)
- Groen. (2024). Groen: verkiezingsprogramma. Retrieved from: [https://www.groen.be/programma?gad\\_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjwxqayBhDFARIsAANWRnQwwPVuZiQmtuEXZlaqSDknxjeBRlYaorMqI0v4mo\\_37yE7oov8nfAaAr27EALw\\_wcB](https://www.groen.be/programma?gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjwxqayBhDFARIsAANWRnQwwPVuZiQmtuEXZlaqSDknxjeBRlYaorMqI0v4mo_37yE7oov8nfAaAr27EALw_wcB)
- GroenLinks - PvdA. (2023). Samen voor een hoopvolle toekomst. GroenLinks-PvdA verkiezingsprogramma 2023. Retrieved from: <https://groenlinkspvda.nl/verkiezingsprogramma/>
- Hague, R., Harrop, M. & McCormick, J. (2016). *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*. London: Palgrave.

- Janda, K. (2011). Interest Aggregation and Articulation. In G. T. Kurian (Ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Political Science*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (1988). Organisation and Strategy of Belgian and West German Ecology Parties: A New Dynamic of Party Politics in Western Europe? *Comparative Politics*, 20(2), 127–154.
- Klimaliste Rheinland-Pfalz. (2021). Klimaplan Rheinland-Pfalz. Retrieved from: <https://klimalisterlp.de/programm>
- Lane, D. (2023). 12 The ‘Anti-Capitalist’ Critique. In D. Lane (Ed.), *Global Neoliberal Capitalism and the Alternatives: from Social Democracy to State Capitalisms* (pp. 220-233). Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- Laver, M. (2001). Chapter 5 Position and salience in the policies of political actors. In M. Laver (Ed.) *Estimating the Policy Position of Political Actors* (pp. 64-75). London: Routledge.
- Lears, T. J. J. (1985). The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities. *The American Historical Review*, 90(3), 567-593.
- Löwy, M. (2007). Eco-Socialism and Democratic Planning. *Socialist register*, 43, 294-309.
- MUT. (2023). Partei MUT: Menschlich. Konsequenz. Logisch. Landtagswahlprogramm 2023. Retrieved from: <https://www.partei-mut.de/landtagswahl/>
- O’Connor, J. (1998). *Natural Causes. Essays in Ecological Marxism*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei. (2021). Wahlprogramm zur Bundestagswahl 2021. Das Gute gewinnt! Retrieved from: <https://www.oedp.de/programm/bundestagswahlprogramm>
- Olsaretti, A. (2016). Croce, Philosophy and Intellectuals: Three Aspects of Gramsci’s Theory of Hegemony. *Critical Sociology*, 42(3), 337-355.
- Partij voor de Dieren. (2023). Een wereld te herwinnen. Tweede Kamerverkiezingen: Verkiezingsprogramma. Retrieved from: <https://www.partijvoordedieren.nl/al-onze-idealen>
- Poguntke, T. (2002). 7: Green parties in national governments: From protest to acquiescence? *Environmental politics*, 11(1), 133-145.

- Schmelzer, M. & Eversberg, D. (2017). Beyond growth, capitalism, and industrialism? Consensus, divisions and currents within the emerging movement for sustainable degrowth. *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 9(1), 327-356.
- Schreier, M. (2013). Qualitative Content Analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Seawright, J. & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selections Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 294-308.
- Strange, S. (2015). Chapter 2: Power in the world economy. In S. Strange (Eds.), *States and Markets* (pp. 25-46). London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- The Green Party of England and Wales. (n.d.) Our Political Programme. Retrieved from: <https://policy.greenparty.org.uk/our-policies/our-political-programme/>
- The Greens Australia. (2022). Greens 2022 Election Platform. Retrieved from: <https://greens.org.au/platform>
- Touraine, A. (1985). An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 749-787.
- Zimbalist, A. & Sherman, H. J. (1984). Chapter 1: Political and Economic Systems. In A. Zimbalist and H. J. Sherman (Eds.) *Comparing Economic Systems: A Political-Economic Approach* (pp. 3-29). Florida: Academic Press, Inc.

## Appendix A

The following list is the overview of the analysed election manifesto documents published by various Green parties between 2019 until 2024. A total of 14 election manifestos were analysed for this research. Text excerpts from this dataset were categorized following the coding schemes under section 3.4. The complete overview of coded text can be requested from the author.

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. (2021). Deutschland. Alles ist drin. Bundeswahlprogramm 2021.

Bereit, weil Ihr es seid. Retrieved from: <https://www.gruene.de/artikel/wahlprogramm-zur-bundestagswahl-2021>

De Groenen. (2024). Aanpassen aan de draagkracht van de aarde: verkiezingsprogramma 2024.

Retrieved from: <https://www.degroenen.nl/partijprogramma.html>

Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative. (2019). Wen würde unsere Zukunft wählen?

Wahlprogramm Nationalratswahl 2019. Retrieved from: <https://gruene.at/organisation/partei/programm/parteiprogramm/>

Green party - Comhaontas glas. (2020). Manifesto. Towards 2030: a decade of change.

Retrieved from: <https://www.greenparty.ie/campaigns/all-campaigns/towards-2030-decade-change>

Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand – Rōpū Kākāriki o Aotearoa, Niu Tirenī (2023). Green

Party Manifesto 2023. The time is now. Retrieved from: [https://www.greens.org.nz/manifesto\\_2023](https://www.greens.org.nz/manifesto_2023)

Green party of Canada. (2021). Platform 2021. Green Future. Life with Dignity. Just Society.

Retrieved from: [https://www.greenparty.ca/sites/default/files/gpc\\_platform\\_en\\_v-02.pdf](https://www.greenparty.ca/sites/default/files/gpc_platform_en_v-02.pdf)

Groen. (2024). Groen: verkiezingsprogramma. Retrieved from:

[https://www.groen.be/programma?gad\\_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjwxqayBhDFARIsAANWRnQwwPVuZiQmtuEXZlaqSDknxjeBRlYaorMql0v4mo\\_37yE7oov8nfAaAr27EALw\\_wcB](https://www.groen.be/programma?gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjwxqayBhDFARIsAANWRnQwwPVuZiQmtuEXZlaqSDknxjeBRlYaorMql0v4mo_37yE7oov8nfAaAr27EALw_wcB)

GroenLinks - PvdA. (2023). Samen voor een hoopvolle toekomst. GroenLinks-PvdA

verkiezingsprogramma 2023. Retrieved from: <https://groenlinkspvda.nl/verkiezingsprogramma/>

- Klimaliste Rheinland-Pfalz. (2021). Klimaplan Rheinland-Pfalz. Retrieved from: <https://klimalisterlp.de/programm>
- MUT. (2023). Partei MUT: Menschlich. Konsequent. Logisch. Landtagswahlprogramm 2023. Retrieved from: <https://www.partei-mut.de/landtagswahl/>
- Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei. (2021). Wahlprogramm zur Bundestagswahl 2021. Das Gute gewinnt! Retrieved from: <https://www.oedp.de/programm/bundestagswahlprogramm>
- Partij voor de Dieren. (2023). Een wereld te herwinnen. Tweede Kamerverkiezingen: Verkiezingsprogramma. Retrieved from: <https://www.partijvoordedieren.nl/al-onze-idealen>
- The Green Party of England and Wales. (n.d.) Our Political Programme. Retrieved from: <https://policy.greenparty.org.uk/our-policies/our-political-programme/>
- The Greens Australia. (2022). Greens 2022 Election Platform. Retrieved from: <https://greens.org.au/platform>

## Appendix B

The following tables show the frequency the coded sentences in the dataset.

### GroenLinks-PvdA

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	26	37,68%
Anthropocentrism	6	8,7%
Combination	37	53,62%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	69	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	17	73,91%
Endorsement	6	26,09%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	23	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	156	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	156	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	42	26,92%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	98	62,82%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	16	10,26%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	156	100%

### Partij voor de Dieren

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	72	49,65%
Anthropocentrism	11	7,59%
Combination	62	42,76%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	145	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	40	97,56%
Endorsement	1	2,44%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	41	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	81	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	81	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	35	43,21%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	41	50,62%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	5	6,17%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	81	100%

## De Groenen

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage of text</b>
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	44	72,13%
Anthropocentrism	1	1,64%
Combination	16	26,23%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	61	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	3	42,86%
Endorsement	4	57,14%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	7	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	62	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	62	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	13	20,97%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	45	72,58%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	4	6,45%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	62	100%

## Groen

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage of text</b>
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	34	44,74%
Anthropocentrism	3	3,94%
Combination	39	51,31%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	76	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	3	75%
Endorsement	1	25%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	4	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	126	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	126	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	23	18,25%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	81	64,29%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	22	17,46%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	126	100%

## Bündnis 90/Die Grünen

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	48	21,24%
Anthropocentrism	51	22,57%
Combination	127	56,19%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	226	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	7	46,67%
Endorsement	8	53,33%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	15	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	136	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	136	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	67	49,29%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	62	45,59%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	7	5,15%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	136	100%

## Ökologisch Demokratische Partei (ÖDP)

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	11	34,38%
Anthropocentrism	0	0%
Combination	21	65,62%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	32	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	3	100%
Endorsement	0	0%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	3	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	
Alternatives within the current economic system	67	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	67	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	26	38,8%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	31	46,27%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	10	14,93%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	67	100%

## Klimaliste

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	26	35,62%
Anthropocentrism	6	8,22%
Combination	41	56,16%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	73	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	6	85,71%
Endorsement	1	14,29%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	7	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	145	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	145	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	27	18,62%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	95	65,52%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	23	15,86%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	145	100%

## MUT

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	29	59,18%
Anthropocentrism	3	6,12%
Combination	17	34,69%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	49	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	12	85,71%
Endorsement	2	14,29%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	14	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	61	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	61	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	13	21,31%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	44	72,13%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	4	6,56%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	61	100%

## Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	31	27,86%
Anthropocentrism	6	5,36%
Combination	75	66,96%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	112	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	20	83,33%
Endorsement	4	16,67%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	24	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	179	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	179	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	50	27,93%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	91	50,84%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	38	21,23%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	179	100%

## The Green Party – Comhaontas Glas

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	20	45,45%
Anthropocentrism	4	9,1%
Combination	20	45,45%,
<i>Total excerpts</i>	44	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	6	85,71%
Endorsement	1	14,29%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	7	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	130	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	130	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	14	10,77%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	98	75,38%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	18	13,85%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	130	100%

## The Green Party of England &amp; Wales

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	17	68%
Anthropocentrism	1	4%
Combination	7	28%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	25	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	8	100%
Endorsement	0	0%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	8	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	18	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	18	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	5	27,78%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	12	66,67%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	1	5,55%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	18	100%

## The Australia Greens

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	15	51,72%
Anthropocentrism	0	0%
Combination	14	48,28%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	29	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	21	100%
Endorsement	0	0
<i>Total excerpts</i>	21	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	76	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	76	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	2	2,63%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	68	89,47%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	6	7,9%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	76	100%

## Green party of Canada

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	19	27,94%
Anthropocentrism	5	7,35%
Combination	44	64,71%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	68	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	4	36,36%
Endorsement	7	63,64%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	11	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	103	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	103	100%
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	23	22,33%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	76	73,79%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	4	3,88%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	103	100%

## The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand - Rōpū Kākāriki o Aotearoa, Niu Tirenī

Concept	Frequency	Percentage of text
<b>Ideological standpoint</b>		
Ecocentrism	26	40%
Anthropocentrism	6	9,23%
Combination	33	50,77%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	65	100%
<b>Party stances on capitalism</b>		
Criticism	6	100%
Endorsement	0	0%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	6	100%
<b>Proposed party policy</b>		
Alternative economic system	0	0%
Alternatives within the current economic system	51	100%
<i>Total excerpts</i>		
<b>Specified party proposals</b>		
Alternatives within the current system: macro	11	21,57%
Alternatives within the current system: micro	39	76,47%
Alternatives within the current system: combination	1	1,96%
<i>Total excerpts</i>	51	100%