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Potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability?

The influence of economic situation in election years on political parties' conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship

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Abstract

The problem area of this thesis concerns the way political actors conceive sustainable development. The intention of the study is to examining circumstances possibly influencing how political actors relate to sustainable development. The relevant aspect of sustainable development is the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and the relevant political actors are five parliamentary parties in Sweden. The parties' expressed conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship constitute the dependent variable. The points of comparison constitute Swedish election years of different economic situation. The purpose of the study is to examine if the economic situation in election years affects these expressed conceptions, where political ideology is considered an interacting variable. The hypotheses of the thesis imply that a better economic situation makes the parties more prone to emphasize potential problems in the relationship. Ideology is expected to influences the effect of economic situation. The thesis is thus theory testing. The theoretical framework constitutes of theories on political parties and elections, political actors and sustainable development, as well as theories on different ideas on the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The methods used are both idea analysis and content analysis. The idea analysis uses ideal types as the tools of analysis. The ideal types are designed using theories on media framing and the theories on the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The ideal types represent different conceptions of this potentially conflicting relationship. The content analysis is interested in indicators of the potential conflicts in the relationship. The aggregated results show that economic situation does not have a clear influence on the conceptions in view. The economic situation might however have some effect on parties sensitive to the economic situation; left-wing parties seemed to be more prone to emphasize the potential conflicts in an election year of better economic time. This conclusion does however require more research on the effect of economic situation on theses parties. Future research might also concern the influence of economic situation on how political actors conceive other aspects of sustainable development.

Key words: economic growth, economic situation, environmental sustainability, political parties, sustainable development

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1 Problem area

The transition to a sustainable development is one of the most important and thoroughly accepted political goals of our time. At present, countries, regional authorities and international organisations often keep sustainability strategies, exemplified by Sweden, the European Union and the United Nations.¹ The meaning of sustainable development is however a contested term, and also comprises a variety of different ideas on how to achieve this development. A large debate concerns the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability; sustainable development implies a development that is sustainable in both an economic and environmental sense.² An important alignment of this debate focuses on the possibility of economic growth as a potential problem for environmental sustainability. As Carter accentuates, the most urgent reason for environmental policy was the environmental problems caused by industrial development, and hence economic growth. The relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability is thus highly interesting.³ Political parties are moreover the most important political actors in western representative democracies, and thus of great importance in the transition to a sustainable development. Considering this, a study examining how these actors relate to this important relationship within sustainable development seems interesting and relevant.

There are several things influencing the way political parties can relate to the potentially problematic relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The parties are traditionally committed to the goal of increased economic growth⁴, though the western, market liberal societies are highly dependent on economic growth⁵. Growth is moreover an important measure of the economic situation in a country.⁶ The traditional way of organising policy is moreover one of separating different policy areas, including economic- and environmental concerns. Sustainable development is to some extent a new, more holistic way of regarding different policy areas, though the circumstances mentioned above complicate such an approach.⁷

¹ Reid 1995:xiii-xx

² Carter 2001:195-203, Sterner 2003, Jagers 2005:223

³ Carter 2001:169-178, 191-192, 208-211

⁴ Lönnroth 1986: passim

⁵ Carter 2001:169-178, 191-192

⁶ Regeringen.se (2)

⁷ Carter 2001:169-178, 191-192, 208-211

The importance of economic growth might imply a potential resistance to consider problematic aspects of economic growth. This might be particularly true in worse economic times. Dalton and Holmberg & Oscarsson show that the political debate seems to revolve around economic issues, where the public also seems to ascribe high value to these issues in worse economic times.⁸ The parties are moreover highly influenced by the political debate, particularly in election years.⁹ Problematic aspects of sustainable development, as for instance the potential problems in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, might thus be difficult for the parties to consider in election years of worse economic times.

Carter also shows that traditional political ideologies have incorporated environmental considerations and sustainable development in different ways¹⁰; the traditional ideologies of the parties' do most likely influence their tendencies to emphasize potential conflict in the relationship as well. The amount of effect gained by the economic situation on the parties' conception of the relationship in view might therefore be influenced by the traditional ideologies.

The overall interest of the study is to widen the understanding of the way political actors can relate to sustainable development, where the independent variable of interest is economic situation. The more precise political actors are five of the Swedish parliamentary parties', and the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability constitute the relevant aspect of sustainable development. The purpose of this study is thus to examine if the economic situation affects the conceptions these parties express about this potentially conflicting relationship. Ideology will moreover be considered a possible interacting variable.

Given the possibility of the need to be somewhat critical towards economic growth, or at least certain aspects of it, an examination of circumstances possibly setting the terms for this critical view seem interesting. A result showing that the parties have a tendency to adjust their messages on environmental sustainability to the economic situation is an important result. The important role of parties in the forming of opinion concerning environmental issues makes it

⁸ Dalton 2006:127-128, Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-126, 229-236

⁹ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-126

¹⁰ Carter 2001:62-68

even more interesting.¹¹ The parties' conceptions of sustainable development could thus be an important influence on the public's conception of the same thing, including the way they conceive the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

2 Theoretical framework

The first part of the theoretical framework constitute of a short introduction and theoretical definitions of the most relevant terms of this study; sustainable development, economic growth and environmental sustainability. The next section focuses on the political actors of interest; five parliamentary parties in Sweden. The section will also include a discussion on circumstances possibly setting the terms for the parties' conception on the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The last section finally concerns sustainable development, and the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. An illustration of relevant aspects of the debate on this relationship will be presented; that is the problems economic growth might pose to environmental sustainability. Some attention will however also be paid to theoretical contributions *not* considering the potential conflicts of the relationship, while these considerations are important for the analytical frame of the study. The intention is to reflect different contributions to the theoretical debate on the potentially conflicting relationship, but no claims of covering every contribution of this debate are made. The aim is to present perspectives relevant for this study; that is different ways to relate to the relationship in view. The intention is to use them in the analytic frame.

2.1 Sustainable development

The term sustainable development is an inclusive and immensely contested term. The width of the term has been advantageous for the acceptance of it throughout the world, at the same time risking a much debilitated understanding of it.¹² The most important and influential definition of sustainable development was presented by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987, in the report *Our Common Future*. The WCED definition is the most prevailing in the world and has gained extensive influence. According to WCED sustainable development concerns three vital areas which have to be considered; sustainable development implies sustainability in an economic, social and

¹¹ Djerf 1996:38-40

¹² Carter 2001:195-203, Jagers 2005:223

environmental sense.¹³ The WCED' definition is:

“... development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.”¹⁴

This indicates that the fulfilling of our needs must not result in that future generations are deprived of the ability to fulfil their needs. The report states that economic development is necessary to enable people of today to fulfil their rightful needs. Further, as Jagers accentuates in his disputation, these rightful needs includes more than basic needs, while people have a right to aspire better quality of life as well. The idea is to sustain economic development to provide people with the standards of living they have a right to aspire. This development however has to be environmentally sustainable as well.¹⁵

Environmental Sustainability

Environmental sustainability concerns the environmental part of sustainable development, and basically means that source and sink functions of the earth are not overexploited. According to Goodland this concerns the use of renewable and non-renewable resources, as well as the accumulation of pollution and waste. The bio-physical limits of the earth set the standard for this definition.¹⁶

Economic Growth

Sustainable development includes economic development, which traditionally implies economic growth.¹⁷ Goodland enhances the difference between economic growth and development, where growth implies a quantitative physical or material increase, as oppose to development that implies a qualitative improvement or change.¹⁸ Economic development most commonly implies economic growth¹⁹, and the economic part of sustainable development will in this study be regarded as economic growth.

Economic growth is often defined as a quantitative increase of wealth, or the capital stock.

¹³ Jagers2007:92

¹⁴ WCED 1987:87

¹⁵ Jagers 2007:90-98

¹⁶ Goodland 1995, Jagers 2007:90-91

¹⁷ Elliot 2004:158

¹⁸ Goodland 1995

¹⁹ Regeringen.se (1)

The most common and accepted way of counting this increase is the growth rate of the GDP-measure. This value includes the value of all services and products produced in a particular country in one year. The growth rate is then the relative increase of this value compared to the value of the previous year. High economic growth usually implies a good economic situation, while a low or negative growth rate implies a worse economic situation.²⁰ If no further definitions are formulated, the definition on economic growth will be the growth rate of GDP.

2.2 Political actors

2.2.1. Problems with policies for Sustainable development

Carter discusses difficulties concerning the implementation of policies for a sustainable development, where he stresses two important difficulties in this transition. The first difficulty lies in the fact that producer interests traditionally enjoy more influence on policy than interest concerning environmental consideration. According to Carter this is true while the market liberal societies are highly dependent on economic growth, as a prerequisite for society. Environmental consideration have also been considered as accompanied by costs, for instance in the form of decreased economic growth. The other important difficulty consists of the organization of policy, where different areas of interest are divided into separate units. This poses a problem for the more holistic approach of sustainable development, even though this approach is supposed to constitute a new way of regarding both economic growth and environmental consideration. Sustainable development thus challenges the idea that economic growth and environmental considerations have to be contradictory. However, the market liberal societies' reliance on economic growth and the traditional organization of policy still make this transition complicated.²¹

2.2.2 The political parties and elections

The political parties constitute the most important political actor in western representative democracies.²² In western democracies, at least in Europe, the representative candidates are elected as representatives of a party, and the political parties usually hold both the legislative and the executive powers in a country. In Sweden the parliamentary parties consists of seven parties²³, and five of them will constitute the cases in this study; the Social Democrats, the

²⁰ Regeringen.se (2)

²¹ Carter 2001:208-211

²² Gilljam & Hermansson 2004:15-16, Mair 1990:2

²³ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:199-200

Moderate Party, the Left Party, the Centre Party and the Green Party.²⁴

The most obvious way for people to express their preferences for political parties are through the ballot box in elections. The election thus constitutes the main way for people to evaluate and control their representatives. The party programme and/or party manifesto constitute important means for the parties to express their future policies, and the views and policies presented during the pre-election time are thus often used as guiding principle for voters in the election.²⁵ As Peterson stresses, this is the case in Sweden.²⁶ According to Holmberg and Oscarsson different political issues seem to dominate elections, and the issues relevant in an election further seem to correspond with the current political debate in society.²⁷ Seven major political issues tended to dominate the elections in Sweden during the period of 1988- 2002: the labour market, the economy, the environment, taxes, welfare/health, family issues and foreign- and security policies. Holmberg & Oscarsson show that economic- and employment issues tended to be more important in worse economic times than in better.²⁸ Moreover, some evidence also indicates that environmental issues tend to be less important in worse economic times.²⁹ The economic situation might thus influence the parties' expressed conceptions of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

2.2.3 Party Ideology and Economic Growth

Ideas about socio-economic organisation have constituted the primary division in western democracies. This is traditionally true for Sweden as well, where the parliamentary parties range from socialist to conservative/liberal parties in a left-right dimension, while also containing a Green Party.³⁰

Four of the parties are grounded in conservative and/or liberal thought. The Moderate Party, as is stated in a paper concerning its economic ideology, combines conservative and liberal values. The market principles and the freedom of choice for the individuals are therefore important values for this party.³¹ The Moderate Party will represent two other right-wing

²⁴ The Swedish names are Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Vänsterpartiet, Centerpartiet and Miljöpartiet.

²⁵ Naurin 2004:54-61, Dalton 2006:127-128,

²⁶ Petersson 2003:137-139

²⁷ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-126

²⁸ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004: 147, 122-126, 229-236

²⁹ Bennulf & Selin 1993:73-86

³⁰ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:45-48

³¹ Tobiasson 1986:21-39

parties in this study; Folkpartiet and Kristdemokraterna. The Centre Party, or the traditional farmers' party, is found in the middle-right side in the socio-economic division. Ecology and economy are connected according to this party, and both ecological and economical principles must be followed.³² This indicates that the environment has a more prominent position for this party than the Moderate Party.

The Left Party is a socialist party, for whom the capitalist economy is the most fundamental problem in society, even though this party is more of a reformist kind today. Equity concerns and redistribution of economic wealth are primary focuses for this party, traditionally at least.³³ The Social Democrats is the largest party in Sweden and has strong roles in reformist socialism. Core ideas and policies have concerned an expansionistic labour policy and improved welfare for the large part of the population. The expansion of the public sector has also been an important goal. These three areas all demand a growing economy.³⁴

The Green Party has its roots in the environmental debate, with a primary concern for the environmental condition and environmental protection. The negative consequences on the environment caused by economic growth have been considered and emphasized by most green parties since their initial upcoming, and the Swedish Green Party constitute no exception.³⁵

All of the parties thus have a high dependence on economic growth, except perhaps the Green Party. According to Carter, the traditional ideologies have dealt with, and incorporated, environmental protection and sustainable development in different ways.³⁶ Low & Gleeson identifies three different approaches to the capitalistic society and its effect on the environment: Market Environmentalism, Ecological Modernisation and Ecosocialism.³⁷ Market Environmentalism is, according to Low & Gleeson, a market approach to environmental problems, thus often enhanced from liberal or conservative points of views. Ecological Modernisation is often considered an appealing option for parties in the middle, such as social democratic parties; realising that the free market needs structuring and controlling to become sustainable. Ecosocialism is greening socialistic ideas, where the

³² Molin 1986:52-64

³³ Johansson 1986:82-99

³⁴ Hermansson 1986:65-81

³⁵ Carter 2001:83-105

³⁶ Carter 2001:62-68

³⁷ Low & Gleeson 1999:159-193

capitalistic system is considered the root cause of environmental problems.³⁸ This division will not be used in this study, while the study intends to incorporate more than an ideological division between the parties. It is however likely that the traditional ideologies influence the parties' expressed conceptions of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

2.3 Economic Growth and Environmental Sustainability

The theories and research about the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability have indicated different ways of relating to this relationship. This does not imply that different actors or researchers hold simply one understanding.

The first understanding does not recognize the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The second understanding recognizes the relationship, but not the potential problems economic growth might pose to environmental sustainability. The third and fourth understanding are more sceptical to present economic growth. According to Goodland environmental sustainability occurs when the resource- and sink capacities of the earth are not exceeded and economic growth is kept within the bio-physical limits of the earth.³⁹ There is however no consensus on what it means to stay within these boundaries and one important distinction is between weak and strong sustainability.

Rennings and Wiggering ascertain that weak sustainability imply that natural capital can be substituted by man-made capital, even though Carter emphasizes that stronger *weak* sustainability recognises the need to protect some essential life-supporting systems. Strong sustainability on the other hand emphasizes the importance of compensating for losses of natural capital, i.e. through recycling. The carrying-capacity of the ecosystem is also recognised as something man-made capital cannot substitute for. In its most radical form strong sustainability implies steady-state growth. These sustainability approaches present different ideas of the earth's bio-physical limits, and these differences also concern necessary changes within current economic growth.⁴⁰ Some researchers stress the need for different changes within economic growth to achieve an environmentally sustainable growth; the third understanding of the relationship. Other researcher emphasize that economic growth per se is

³⁸ Low & Gleeson 1999:159-193

³⁹ Goodland 1995

⁴⁰ Rennings & Wiggering 1997, Carter 2001:200-201

the problem and consider economic growth and environmental sustainability an impossible combination; the fourth way of relating to the relationship.⁴¹

2.3.1 Economic Growth vs. the Environment

The first understanding would be to regard economic growth and the environment, and thus environmental sustainability, as separated and possibly conflicting policy areas. As Carter accentuates, sustainable development is often considered a new way of regarding both economic growth and environmental consideration; beyond the separation of policy areas. This new, holistic approach is however not incorporated in the first understanding.⁴²

2.3.2 Economic Growth and Environmental Sustainability

The second way of conceiving this relationship is to consider economic growth a prerequisite for environmental sustainability. This understanding is present in WCED. Elliott accentuates that this understanding has its root in the theories stressing the inescapability of environmental degradation during the first stages of development.⁴³ The Kuznets curves are illustrations of this way of thinking, where economic development is considered a prerequisite for environmental concerns that are absent in the beginning of the development process. Other researchers also stress the positive link between economic growth and improved environmental quality, primarily illustrated by a number of specific pollutants.⁴⁴ WCED also considers poverty, or the lack of resources, a most severe threat to environmental sustainability, and WCED also emphasizes the need for resource and technology transfers to underdeveloped countries to overcome poverty. Growth is thus considered necessary. The idea is to enable poorer countries to “leap-frog” environmentally detrimental stages of development, and to counteract environmentally damaging behaviour caused by poverty.⁴⁵ The examples illustrate views were present economic growth does *not* pose a problem for environmental sustainability.

2.3.3 Changes within Economic Growth

Researchers claiming a need for different kind of changes in current economic growth are accompanying the WECD, while it recognizes a number of necessary changes to achieve

⁴¹ Forsberg 2007

⁴² Carter 2001:169-178, 191-192,208-211

⁴³ Elliott 2004:158,178–181, Carter 2001:198-199

⁴⁴ Sterner 2003:7-8, O'Neill et al. 1996

⁴⁵ Elliott 2004:158,178–181, Sterner 2003:23-24

environmental sustainability. The generational aspect is important, implying that future generation should not enjoy less environmental standard.⁴⁶

The alignment of growth is very much emphasized by Environmental Economist Sterner. If growth takes place in environmentally sound areas, or areas which do not imply more use of energy or natural resources, this growth does not necessarily pose a threat to environmental sustainability. If more capital accumulation could be achieved by more effective use of energy and material as well as less emissions, this could also mean growth that does not threaten environmental sustainability. The use of fossil fuels as energy sources are often considered especially unsustainable, due to its nature of finiteness and its detrimental emissions.⁴⁷ The need for better handling of waste; reuse, recycling etc. are also important to achieve a decreased use of material.⁴⁸

Technological improvements are another important factor, emphasized for instance by Sterner as well as by WCED. Changes in production patterns and making production more material and energy efficient are one way, as well as environmental friendly technology. This would enable the economy to grow without further stressing the resource and/or sink systems of the earth.⁴⁹ Consumption patterns and lifestyles in the richer parts of the world are also considered a problem for environmental sustainability, due to its material and energy intensity.⁵⁰ Changes needed to achieve a sustainable development are emphasized by WCED, as well as by Elliott and Sterner.⁵¹

Pointing to the research on ecological footprints other researchers emphasize that the world is already exceeding the average per capita footprint. This is a measure on the productive land needed to sustain the consumption of a given population, considering the use of resources and disposal of waste. Shanahan & Carlsson-Kanyama accentuate that the richer parts of the world are already transcending the ecological limits. Goodland is another researcher pointing to an overuse of environmental space in the richer parts of the world.⁵² An important point is moreover that the patterns of over consumption in rich countries lead to unsustainable patterns

⁴⁶ Carter 2001:197-199, WCED 1987

⁴⁷ Huesemann 2004

⁴⁸ Sterner & Wahlberg 1997:1-4

⁴⁹ Sterner 2001:4-7, Elliott 2004:178-181

⁵⁰ Sterner 2003:7-10

⁵¹ Jagers 2007:91-98, Elliott 2004:175-177

⁵² Goodland 1995

of production in poorer countries. An important explanatory factor lies in the lack of connection between consumption and production circumstances. Improved information is then a way to regain this connection and change the unsustainable consumption patterns.⁵³

Another problematic aspect of current EG is also emphasized by Sterner, implying that the undervaluation of natural resources and services are an important contributor to the overuse of the earth's resources and sink systems. According to Sterner, the methods for counting growth, like GDP, does not succeed in accurate counting. Correct evaluation of these resources is emphasized as one way to avoid miscalculation in the accumulation of wealth due to the losses of natural capital and services; avoiding that perceived increases of wealth actually result in a decrease, due to the losses of natural capital or services.⁵⁴ According to Sterner etc the problems of undervaluing these resources and services also depends on the nature of these products and services; they are free and open to all. Property rights would thus be one way of increasing the initiative for protecting the resource when scarcity becomes evident, primarily for renewable resources.⁵⁵

WCED and researchers like Sterner, Elliott and Shanahan & Carlsson-Kanyama, accentuate the need for political and economic management control measures, or policy instruments, as very important when coming to terms with the potential problems of present day economic growth. There is however no consensus on the extent of these instruments.⁵⁶ Policy instruments could imply different things; according to Carter they include regulation, voluntary action, government expenditure, and market based instruments. Eco-taxes and tradable permits are examples of market-based instruments.⁵⁷

2.3.4 An Impossible Combination

There are also researchers, like the physicist Huesemann, who consider the idea of constant economic growth impossible in a defined physical space such as the earth. Efficiency, environmental friendly technology or the alignment of growth is not considered sufficient to solve the environmental problems caused by economic growth. The first reason is that western industrial societies are totally dependent on non-renewable minerals and fossil-fuels,

⁵³ Shanahan & Carlsson-Kanyama 2005

⁵⁴ Sterner 2003:17-22, 25-26

⁵⁵ Sterner 2003:15-16, Goodstein 2005: 88-90

⁵⁶ Elliott 2004:23-38, 175-177, Sterner 2001:1-2, 12-13, Shanahan & Carlsson-Kanyama 2005

⁵⁷ Carter 2001:286-285, 295-295

which, apart from its nature of finiteness, also result in major environmental problems. Huesemann also asserts that the possibility to substitute fossil-fuels with renewable energy and infinite resources are too limited to enable a total transition to these alternatives. He states that the renewable energy sources comprehend limits in themselves. Trainer is another researcher stating that renewable energy will be unable to sustain the affluent society currently present in the richer parts of the world, and certainly not if this life style becomes even more widespread.⁵⁸

Swedish researcher Björn Forsberg accentuates the need to revalue society's reliance on economic growth, due to the bio-physical limits of the earth. He asserts that technological changes and efficiency improvements are measures to handle the consequences rather than the substantial causes to the environmental crises of the earth. Instead he considers the model of constant economic growth the actual problem.⁵⁹

Researchers like Huesemann and Goodman accentuate the need for a steady-state economy, where production and consumption levels are kept constant, to enable the economy to stay *within* the biophysical limits of the earth. A society without constant growth requires large scale changes, where matter- and energy intensive consumption patterns and lifestyles must alter dramatically. This also implies a total revaluation of the concept of welfare and wellbeing: from material standards of living to quality of life measured very differently.⁶⁰

2.4 Theory and implications for the problem area

Carter stresses the traditional way of organizing politics, as well as the western societies' market liberal alignment, as inherent difficulties for sustainable development policies. Moreover, all of the traditional parties seem to have strong reliance on economic growth in their traditional ideologies.⁶¹ These are circumstances possibly making the parties somewhat unwilling to emphasize potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability in the first place. Moreover, Holmberg & Oscarsson point to the importance of economic issues in elections of worse economic times.⁶² This might indicate that the parties are less willing to emphasize potential problems of economic growth in

⁵⁸ Huesemann 2004, Trainer 1995

⁵⁹ Forsberg 2007

⁶⁰ Huesemann 2004, Goodland 1995

⁶¹ Carter 2001:169-178, 191-192, Lönnroth 1986: passim

⁶² Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-126, 229-236

election years of worse economic situation, as oppose to election years of better economic situation: the parties' expressed conception of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability might be affected by the economic situation.

As Carter accentuates, the traditional ideologies of the parties probably affect what policies and ideas they adopt concerning sustainable development. It thus seems likely that the traditional ideologies also influence the way the political parties relate to the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability: the traditional ideologies might influence *the effect* of the economic situation on the parties' conceptions of this relationship.

The right-wing parties, represented by the Moderate Party, have very strong traditional beliefs in the capitalist system. These parties might therefore be rather unwilling to emphasize conflicts in the relationship in view, even though the economic situation probably has some effect. The Centre Party is different from the other right-wing parties, while it traditionally emphasizes environmental consideration. This party might thus be more prone to emphasize potential conflicts in the relationship, irrespectively of the economic situation. The Green Party has also a very strong tradition in environmental consideration, and might also be expected to emphasize the potential conflicts more than the other parties, irrespectively of economic situation.⁶³ Following the importance of economic issues in election years of worse economic times⁶⁴, the economic situation might however have some effect on the expressed conceptions.

The left-wing parties have had the objective of delivering welfare to the large proportion of the population and economic growth constitutes an important means in that objective. These parties might therefore be unwilling to emphasize problems in economic growth. On the other hand, the traditional ideologies of the left-wing parties are more comfortable with restricting the market than right-wing parties. For that reason they might be more prone than the right-wing parties to emphasize potential problems in economic growth. They might however be sensitive to the economic situation in an election year, following the high dependence on growth in its welfare policies, and therefore less prone to emphasize potential problems in the

⁶³ Carter 2001:83-105

⁶⁴ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-126, 229-236

relationship in worse economic times. The Social Democrats might be more affected than the Left Party while the redistributive possibilities would be smaller for a more reformist party. The Social Democrats are moreover not as sceptical to market liberalism as is the Left Party.

In summary: the economic situation in an election year might influence the parties' conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship, but the existence of the effect of economic situation is probably dependent on the ideologies of the parties.

2.5 Purpose of the study

An examination of circumstances possibly influencing how political actors relate to sustainable development constitutes the wider aim of the study. The particular focus is moreover the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The study is also presenting a new way to consider this relationship, intending to facilitate a study examining circumstances possibly influencing how political actors conceive the relationship.

The explicit purpose of the study is to examine if the economic situation affects parliamentary parties expressed conception of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while taking the influence of traditional party ideology into account.

2.6 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The parties' conceptions of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are affected by the economic situation: the parties are less prone to pay attention to the potential conflicts of the relationship in election years of worse economic situation.

Hypothesis 2: The traditional ideologies of the parties influence the effect of economic situation, when considering the parties' conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship.

2.1 The left-wing parties, especially the Social Democrats, are more affected by the economic situation than the other parties; they are more prone to pay attention to the potential conflicts of the relationship in election years of good economic situation.

2.2 The Green Party and the Centre Party are the most prone to pay attention to

the potential conflicts in election years of any economic situation, whereas the other right-wing parties are the least prone to emphasize the potential conflicts.

3 Design and Scope of the Study

3.1 Design

This study intends to deepen the understanding of how political actors conceive the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. Five parliamentary parties in Sweden constitute the objects of analysis, or the cases of the study; the Left Party, The Social Democrats, the Green Party, the Centre Party and the Moderate Party. Two different election years are of interest and there are thus twelve objects of analysis. The economic situation constitutes the independent variable; the variable possibly influencing the dependent variable. The political ideologies of the parties are considered an interacting variable. The ideologies of the parties are expected to influence the effect of the independent variable; economic situation. The dependent variable is the conception of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

The study is theory testing, while the intention is to test a theory on circumstances possibly influencing how political actors conceive the relationship in view. The theory is moreover expressed through the hypotheses. The study also includes a theory generating aspect, while the hypotheses are developed using earlier research, but combined in a new way. The design is comparative and intends to make a comparison in-between party and between contexts. Election years with different economic situations are used as the independent variable and constitute the different contexts of the study. A comparison between parties is of interest because of the interacting variable of ideology. The parties' expressed conceptions are the central phenomenon to be examined in this study.

3.2 Independent variables

Political parties' conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are in focus in this study. The independent variable possibly influencing these conceptions is the economic situation. The contents of *economic situation* used in this study will constitute of the rate of economic growth (GDP) and the rate of unemployment, while also including the voters' opinion of the importance of these issues. One year will represent a good economic year; a high rate of economic growth and a low

unemployment rate. The public's valuation of these issues should be rather low. The other year will thus represent a worse economic year; a low rate of economic growth and a high rate of unemployment. The public's opinion of these issues should be high.

Economic situation is chosen as the independent variable because economic growth constitutes an important aspect of the economic situation. Economic growth is moreover very important in western societies. Economic growth is also very important in traditional party ideology. The political debate also seems to focus more on economic issues in worse economic times, as seems the political debate.⁶⁵ While the parties are strongly influenced by the political debate in election years⁶⁶, the economic situation might influence the parties' conception of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

The interacting variable, the political ideologies of the parties, is chosen while this variable is very relevant for parties' conceptions in general. There probably is a more direct effect of ideology on the parties' conceptions as well, but this is not the primary interest of this study. Considering the importance of ideology, it is however most likely that this variable will influence the amount of effect of the primary independent variable: the economic situation.

3.2 Dependent variable

The dependent variable is conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The dependent variable is chosen while this aspect of sustainable development is highly interesting. This is true while the potential problems within economic growth and environmental sustainability is highly debated and considered an important aspect. It is also true while economic growth is such a vital part of the market liberal societies. This makes the potential conflicts of economic growth very interesting.

3.3 The Cases; Objects of Analysis

The five parliamentary parties of Sweden constitute *objects of analysis*. Parliamentary parties are chosen while they represent one of the most important political actors of western

⁶⁵ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004; 122-126, 229-236

⁶⁶ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004; 122-126, 229-236

representative democracy.⁶⁷ The Swedish parliamentary parties are strategically chosen, mainly because of a specific interest in Sweden. The result will obviously concern parties in Sweden, but it might still be of some value for parliamentary parties in other West European countries. This is true while most Western European countries have the same left-right wing socio-economic division as is relevant in Sweden.⁶⁸ Five parties; The Left Party, The Social Democrats, The Green Party, The Centre Party, and The Moderate Party are chosen, representing parties from both socialist, social democratic, right-center and liberal-conservative parties, as well as a green party. This spread is necessary while the traditional ideologies are of interest as an interacting variable, and it allows for a comparison over different ideologies.

While the hypotheses do not imply a difference between the four liberal and/or conservative parties, except for the Centre Party, only one liberal-conservative party will be studied in this thesis: the Moderate Party. The Moderate Party is chosen as a representative of the other right-wing parties partly because of the importance of this party compared to the others. The Moderate Party is however also a strategic choice, while the Moderate Party constitutes an easy case; this party is the most right-wing of the right-wing parties. If the hypotheses do not hold true for this party one might suspect that the hypotheses do not hold true for less right-wing parties either.

Even though the Green Party was not represented in parliament in 1991-1994, it received enough votes for representation in 1994. Since then the Green Party has been represented in the parliament. The party is therefore defined as a parliamentary party and thus constitutes an object of analysis in both election years.⁶⁹

3.4 Points of comparison

Years of election are chosen as points of comparison because the connection between the current political debate and the parties' expressed conceptions seem to be greatest in those years. This is true while the parties are the most sensitive to the public debate in election years, when their ideas, or conceptions, serve as guidelines for voters.⁷⁰ Election years are chosen according to the most-similar-design. This design implies that the points of

⁶⁷ Gilljam & Hermansson 2004:15-16, Mair 1990:2

⁶⁸ Lijphart 1990:253-265

⁶⁹ SCB:s hemsida (1)

⁷⁰ Holmgren & Oscarsson 2004:199-200

comparison should be as similar as possible, with the exception of the relevant independent variable; economic situation.

The worse economic year constitutes of 1994. This year had a positive growth rate (3,9 %) for the first time in three years and the economic development had thus been negative for a three years before this election.⁷¹ This year is chosen, despite the high growth rate, because of the negative trend in earlier years. The unemployment rate was around 8 %, and had been rising the past few years.⁷² Among voters, 30 % considered the economy an important issue and 41 % employment issues.⁷³ This year represents a very clear *worse* economic year, where problems in the economy were highly relevant and economic- and employment issues were considered very important by the voters.

The better economic year constitutes of 2002, where the growth rate was 2 % and the unemployment rate 4 %.⁷⁴ In this election, only 10 % considered the economy an important issue, and only 8 % employment issues. 2002 is a good representative of better economic times, while the growth rate was positive since nearly a decade and the unemployment was low. The public's opinion on the importance of these issues was moreover rather low.⁷⁵

3.4.1 Discussion on the points of comparison (Generalisation prospects)

When using the most-similar-design it is important to control for other relevant independent variables: factors beside the economic situation in Sweden possibly influence the parties' expressed conceptions. The international environmental debate is one such factor. Years after 1992 are chosen for this reason, while the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development and Environment took place in that year. It was foremost after this conference that *sustainable development* fully entered the stage of international environmental politics. The 1992-follow up, the conference in Johannesburg, did however take place in 2002, but this conference was not as influential as the one in Rio de Janeiro.⁷⁶ To keep the international environmental agenda as solid as possible, election years as close in time as possible are preferable. The mandate period does however put natural limits to the closeness in time, as does the economic situation.

⁷¹ SCB: hemsida (2)

⁷² SCB:s hemsida (3)

⁷³ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-123

⁷⁴ SCB: hemsida (2), SCB:s hemsida (3)

⁷⁵ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-123

⁷⁶ Elliott 2004:25-27

Years *before* the recent debate on climate change are also chosen for the above reason. Even though it would have been interesting to test the hypothesis after this debate, it would be nearly impossible. The debate has not stretched through two different election years and certainly not through two different economic situations. 2002 are however used instead of 1998, even though the economic growth was higher in 1998 than 2002 and this year is closer to 1994. The voters' opinion on the importance of economic issues is however considered more important. In 1998 economic issues were still considered important, possibly because of the deep recession in the beginning of the decade.⁷⁷

Sudden incident causing extensive environmental distress might also influence the public debate, while such an incident could cause a very specific and intensified environmental focus in that year.⁷⁸ No extraordinary environmental incidents do however not seem to have appeared in those years. Changes in traditional ideology might also influence the parties' conception of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. If a difference between the parties' conceptions would appear in the two different economic times, there is always the possibility that the difference depends on ideological changes, rather than economic situation. Election years as close in time as possible are thus preferable for this reason as well, while it seems likely that the risk of changes in ideology increases over time. The choice of election years has thus been severely limited because of the importance of keeping other independent variables constant.

4 Methods

The thesis intends to examine if the economic situation in an election year affects the parties expressed conception on the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The hypotheses focus on the amount of attention the parties pay to this relationship. The analyses thus intend to elucidate whether or not the economic situation affects the conceptions in view, and *the attention* paid to the potential conflicts in the relationship. Trying to answer this, the study uses written material in a text analysis, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method is content

⁷⁷ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-123, Nutek:s hemsida (1)

⁷⁸ Djerf Pierre 1996:343-345

analysis and the qualitative analysis is idea analysis. Idea analysis is chosen while, as Bergström & Boréus accentuate, ideas could be either understandings of reality or phenomenon in reality, understanding of how one should act as regards to the phenomenon and/or the values one subscribes to the phenomenon.⁷⁹ While the study tries to elucidate *expressed conceptions* of the parties, the use of idea analysis seems both accurate and favourable. A quantitative approach could however serve as a good complement to the qualitative analysis, when considering *the amount* of attention the parties pay to the potentially conflicting relationship. Content analysis will therefore also be used in this thesis. The basis for the frame of analysis is a general theory on expressed conceptions; media framing. The content of the analytic frame is then made up of the theories presented in the section on economic growth and environmental sustainability.

4.1 Media framing

Media framing resides in the field of media research and considers media's framing of political issues. According to this theory, framing of an issue always involves some kind of interpretation; actors could interpret, and thus frame, the same issue in different ways. The consequence is that framing always implies that some aspects of an issue are put forward, while leaving other aspects out. This process could moreover be both conscious and unconscious.⁸⁰

The theories concern the media as an actor, but the focus of the theories is on framing itself. Since framing most likely occurs when other actors relate to political issues as well, the theoretical tools used in media framing might therefore be applied to other actors also. The relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability could be regarded a political issue, and the parties' expressed conceptions of this phenomenon could moreover be considered framing of this phenomenon. These theories could therefore serve as a good basis for the analyses.

Referring to Robert M Entman, media researcher Jesper Strömbäck, argues that the framing of issues holds four different attributes. The first is *the* definition of the phenomenon, or rather the problem, where the interpretation of the phenomenon in view can be made in different

⁷⁹ Bergström & Boréus 2000:148-157

⁸⁰ Strömbäck 2000:215-250

ways. Different definitions on the phenomenon of half a glass of water could thus be a glass half-full or half-empty. The second part concerns *the causes* of the problem. Depending on the definition, the causes of a problem could be perceived differently. The third part is *the valuation* or the moral judgment of the problem, while every interpretation involves some kind of valuation. The last part of framing concerns *the solutions* an actor considers in regard to the problem, which could also be perceived differently.⁸¹

4.2 Summary – Economic Growth and Environmental Sustainability

Four different ways to conceive the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are presented in the theoretical framework.⁸² The different ways cover understandings that both *do* and *do not* emphasize the potential problems in this relationship:

1. Economic growth and the environmental/environmental sustainability are considered as separated; two unconnected policy areas.
2. Economic growth is perceived as a prerequisite for environmental consideration/sustainability; economic growth in its present form does not pose any potential problems for environmental sustainability.
3. Changes within economic growth are perceived as necessary to achieve environmental sustainability.
4. Economic growth *per se* is problematic for environmental sustainability.

4.3 Idea analysis

Four categories, or *attributes*,⁸³ are used in the analyses. The attributes are founded on the four aspects of media framing. They are also founded on the different aspects of ideas, expressed by Bergström & Boréus. Attribute 1 consists of the very understanding of a phenomenon, in this case the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and sustainable development. Attribute 2 is made up of the perceived causes to the potential conflicts in the relationship, and Attribute 3 is consisting of the perceived solutions to these potential problems. Attribute 2 and 3 are founded on the theories of media framing. The fourth attribute constitutes of the valuation of the expressed conceptions. This attribute constitute an

⁸¹ Strömbäck 2000:215-250

⁸² See 2.3

⁸³ This term is used by Strömbäck, but the term will have a slightly different meaning in this study. Jmf. Strömbäck 2000:215-250

important aspect both in the theories of ideas, presented by Bergström & Boreús, and in the theories of media framing.⁸⁴ The theoretical framework on the different ways to conceive the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability will moreover be used to give the attributes more precise meanings and contents.

4.3.1 Tools of analysis⁸⁵ - Ideal types

Ideal types are used in the qualitative idea analysis. The four understandings of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability constitute the different ideal types. These understandings, or conceptions, are presented in the theoretical summary above. They intend to cover all possible conceptions, as well as being exclusive. The ideal types are however just theoretical, and more than one conception could be expressed in the same election manifesto. The conceptions and the empirical indicators of the conceptions are visualised in the frame of analysis (Figure 1).

Attribute 1; Understandings of the relationship

Attribute 1, the very understanding of the relationship, constitutes the foundation of the ideal types, since the ideal types are based on the four different understandings of the relationship. The ideal types are:

1. A conception that lacks any understanding of *a relationship* between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and thus of potential conflicts as well.
2. A conception, with an understanding of the relationship as if economic growth is not posing a potential problem for environmental sustainability. Economic growth might even be considered a prerequisite for environmental sustainability.
3. A conception, with an understanding of the relationship as containing potentially conflicting dimensions. *Aspects of economic growth* pose a problem to environmental sustainability.
4. A conception, with an understanding of the relationship as containing potentially conflicting dimensions. Economic growth *per se* is considered a problem for environmental sustainability.

Attribute 2 and 3; causes and solutions to the potential conflicts

⁸⁴ Strömbäck 2000:215-250, Bergström & Boréus 2000:148-149

⁸⁵ Strömbäck 2000:215-250, Bergström & Boréus 2000:148-149

The perceived causes and solutions, Attribute 2 and 3, are also important parts of the ideal types. Causes and solutions however only constitute parts of the two conceptions that actually understand the relationship as containing potential conflicts or problems; the third and fourth conceptions. The first and second ideal types do not contain causes and solutions, while these ideal types represent understandings of the relationship as not containing potential problems. Attribute 2 and 3 are moreover divided into two different groups of causes and solutions. One group constitute causes and solutions compatible with the third understanding, in which different *aspects of economic growth* are considered a problem for environmental sustainability. The other group are instead compatible with the fourth understanding, in which economic growth *per se* is considered a problem. Empirical indicators for causes and solutions of both conceptions are explicitly presented in Figure 2, compiled using the theoretical framework on the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.⁸⁶

Empirical indicators for causes and solutions, when *different aspects of economic growth* are considered a problem for environmental sustainability (Conception 3), are identified as:

Attribute 2: Causes

- Recourses- and energy consuming production patterns
- The use of fossil fuels and finite resources
- Overuse of environmental space in the richer parts of the world
- An alignment of economic growth constantly consuming more recourses and energy
- Misleading comprehension of growth / Incorrect evaluation of natural recourses and services
- Consumption patterns and lifestyles in the richer parts of the world
- Lack of connection between consumption patterns and consequences of production

Solutions: Attribute 3

- Technological innovations: Environmentally friendly technology and energy / Improved efficiency
- Changes in the alignment of growth: Growth which do not consume more resources and energy

⁸⁶ See 2.3.3 and 2.3.4

- Changes in the comprehension of growth: Adequate evaluation of natural resources and services / Improved and defined property rights
- Changes in lifestyles and consumption patterns
- Elucidating the consequences of consumption patterns
- Policy instruments concerning environmental issues and sustainability

Empirical indicators for causes and solutions, when *economic growth in itself* is understood as a problem for environmental sustainability (Conception 4), are identified as:

Causes: Attribute 2

- The idea of the indefinite, constant economic growth
- The idea of constant material improvement as the measure of wellbeing and welfare

Solutions: Attribute 3

- A steady state economy
- Changes in the notion on welfare
- Policy instruments to counteract economic growth in itself

Attribute 4; Valuation of the overall conceptions

The fourth attribute is used to evaluate the overall conceptions expressed by the parties. The same election manifesto can contain representation of different conceptions, and therefore an interpretation of the *overall* conception might be necessary. It will also be possible for different election manifestos to express the same conception, even though there might be significant differences within those conceptions; foremost of interest for Conception 3 and 4. Attribute 4 will facilitate in the valuation of the overall conceptions, to enable comparisons between election manifestos representing the same conception. The significance and substantiality of the represented conceptions will constitute the indicators in this valuation.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ See 4.3.4

Figure 1. Frame of Analysis: Idea analysis

Theoretical categories	Empirical indicators
<p>Conception 1 Lack of an understanding of the relationship <i>and</i> potential conflicts of it</p> <p>Conception 2 An understanding of the relationship, where economic growth is considered as <i>not</i> posing a problem for environmental sustainability</p> <p>Conception 3 An understanding of the relationship as containing potential conflicts, where <i>aspects of economic growth</i> pose a problem to environmental sustainability</p> <p>Conception 4 An understanding of the relationship as containing potential conflicts, where economic growth per se is considered a problem for environmental sustainability</p>	<p>Conception 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the environment and/or environmental considerations/protection are considered irrespectively of economic growth • economic growth is considered irrespectively of the environment and/or environmental considerations/protection <p>Conception 2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic growth and environmental sustainability are perceived as possible to achieved simultaneously through <i>sustainable development</i> • lack of indicators for Conceptions 3 and/or 4 • economic growth is perceived as good/needed for environmental consideration/protection/sustainability <p>Conception 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • empirical indicators of Attribute 2 and 3, representing Conception 3, are identified <p>Conception 4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • empirical indicators of Attribute 2 and 3, representing Conception 4, are identified

Figure 2. Empirical Indicators: Attribute 2 and 3

<p>Causes: Attribute 2</p> <p>Conception 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consideration only for present generations • Resource- and energy consuming production patterns • The overuse/emissions of finite resources and energy ¹ • Overuse of environmental space in the richer parts of the world • An alignment of economic growth constantly needing more resources and energy • Misleading comprehension of growth • Incorrect evaluation of natural resources and services • Consumption patterns and lifestyles in the richer parts of the world <p>Conception 4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The idea of indefinite, constant growth <i>in itself</i> • The idea of constant material improvement as the measure of wellbeing and welfare 	<p>Solutions: Attribute 3</p> <p>Conception 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Considering future generations • Improved efficiency in the use of energy and resources • Reuse and recycling • Environmentally friendly energy and technology • Decreased emissions of environmentally damaging substances • An alignment of economic growth not consuming more resources and energy / a more ecological alignment of growth • Adequate evaluation of natural resources and services • Improved and defined property rights concerning natural resources • Changes in lifestyles and consumption patterns in the richer parts of the world • Improved connection between consumption and production • Policy instruments concerning environmentally connected issues² or sustainability <p>Conception 4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A steady state economy • Changes in the notion on welfare • Policy instruments to counteract economic growth in itself
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¹Fossil fuels constitute important finite source of energy.

² Implies the environment, nature or the indicators of Attribute 3 and 4.

4.3.2 Criteria for conclusions

The manifestos are not considered as one single unit; different paragraphs in the manifestos can hold different conceptions. Even sentences can be considered a relevant paragraph, when the empirical indicators are found in one single sentence. This means that the same election manifesto could express different conceptions. An evaluation to decide what conception is the most prevailing in the manifesto might therefore be necessary. An evaluation will also be of interest to distinguish the strength of the overall conception, to enable a comparison between manifestos representing the same conception. This valuation will facilitate in deciding *the amount* of attention paid to the potentially conflicting relationship, even though the same conception is expressed. Attribute 4 will facilitate in this evaluation.

Conception 1

The first conception is one that lacks an understanding of any relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and though of the potential conflicts. Paragraphs containing references to the environment and/or environmental consideration/protection without references to economic growth will be judged as Conception 1. The same is true for paragraphs containing references only to economic growth. Moreover, no causes and solutions (empirical indicators of Attribute 2 and 3) to the potential conflicts are expressed in these paragraphs. This understanding does consequently *not* pay attention to either the relationship or the potential conflicts in the relationship.

Conception 2

The second conception is one where the understanding is that there is a relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. This understanding does not recognize the potential conflicts of that relationship. Empirical indicators are economic growth referred to as necessary, good, and/or in no conflict with environmental sustainability through sustainable development, as well as the lack of references to empirical indicators of Attribute 2 and 3. References to sustainable development, without referring to indicators of Attribute 2 and 3 are judged as a conception lacking an understanding of potential conflicts. References to sustainable development are handled this way partly based on a notion made by Carter. He claims that most parties have incorporated sustainable development in their policies, but the term could imply anything from radical changes to basically business as usual.⁸⁸ Therefore

⁸⁸ Carter 2001:199-200

sustainable development, without precise indicators, could imply practically no changes at all.

Paragraphs containing references to the environment and/or environmental considerations/protection/sustainability in combination with economic growth will be judged as Conception 2. This is true for paragraphs containing references to sustainable development, without reference to empirical indicators of Attribute 2 and 3, as well. The second understanding does recognize a relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, but not the potential conflicts of it.

Conception 3

The third conception recognizes a relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability; different aspects of economic growth are considered a potential problem for environmental sustainability. Empirical indicators of this conception are causes and solutions, Attribute 2 and 3, of Conception 3. Paragraphs containing references to these empirical indicators will be judged as Conception 3. This conception pays attention both to the relationship in view *and* potential conflicts in the relationship. This conception will be judged as paying more attention to potential problems than the second conception.

Conception 4

The fourth conception recognizes a relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, understanding potential conflicts in the relationship as originating from economic growth. The very phenomenon of economic growth poses a problem to the environmental sustainability. The empirical indicators are the causes and solutions, Attribute 2 and 3, of Conception 4. Paragraphs containing references to these empirical indicators will be judged as conception 4. This conception does pay attention both to the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, *and* to the potentially conflicting dimensions of it. This conception does consequently pay more attention to the potential conflicts than the third conception.

If there are paragraphs containing somewhat unclear references, the interpretation will be discussed and reinforced by argumentation.

The overall conception and the valuation of the conceptions: Attribute 4

The interpretation of the overall conception will not use Attribute 4, while it follows a simple

logic. Election manifestos containing representation of only one conception will be judged as expressing an overall conception of that kind. Election manifestos containing both the first and second conception will be judged as representing Conception 2; emphasizing of a relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability overrules representation of the first conception. Election manifestos containing references to both Conception 1 and/or Conception 2, in combination with the third, will be judged as Conception 3. Emphasizing of potential conflicts in the relationship overrules the representation of conceptions *not* emphasizing those potential conflicts. Election manifestos containing references to both the second and the forth conceptions will not be judge as the forth, while this combination seems theoretically impossible; one cannot judge economic growth in itself as the problem, while at the same time considering economic growth as in no conflict with environmental sustainability. The existence of references to both the third and forth conception will be the most tricking combination. This combination of conceptions will use Attribute 4 to decide which conception that is the most prevailing.

To evaluate the strength of the overall conceptions, Attribute 4 will be used, locking at the substantiality and significance of that conception. The significance will be decided by looking at the prominence of the overall conception in the manifesto; if this conception is very numerous in its appearance, this is an indicator of its significance. If other conceptions are more prominent than the overall conception, it is an indicator of low significance. The diversity of indicators for the overall conception is another way to determine the significance of that conception; this will foremost be of interest for the third and forth conceptions. The substantiality will be judged by looking at the explicitness and preciseness of the empirical indicators, also mainly of interest for the third and forth conceptions. Indicators that state a more explicit mode of change, like stating the exact areas in need of changes, are indicators of substance. A more floating indicator holds less substance. High significance and high substance of the overall conception implies a strong overall conception.

The points of comparison will also facilitate in the valuation of the overall conception.

4.3.3 Procedure of the analysis

The first step of the analysis will be to identify relevant paragraphs in the data; the election manifestos. The paragraphs of interest will be paragraphs containing references to the environment, environmental considerations/protection, sustainability and/or sustainable

development, as well as the indicators of Attribute 2 and 3. Paragraphs containing references only to economic growth will also be of interest. The second step will be to identify what conceptions are expressed in the paragraphs and the criteria for conclusions will be used in this step. These criteria will be also used in deciding the overall conception of a manifesto. Attribute 4 will then be used to evaluate the strength of the overall conception.

The interpretation of the relevant paragraphs will be presented in Appendix 1, visualising the entire idea analysis; the overall conception will not be presented there.

4.4 Content Analysis

This analysis is a complement to the idea analysis; causes and solutions (Attribute 2 and 3) are the empirical indicators of interest in the content analysis. The indicators constitute the content of interest. There are two different groups of causes and solutions, but this division will not be used; contents touching upon these empirical indicators will instead be considered as if the party is *paying attention* to the potential conflicts. The number of indicators will thus be counted and constitute a measure of the amount of attention paid to these conflicts.

The number of indicators will also be weighed against the number of words in the election manifestos; to receive a measure of the relative importance of the indicators in the manifesto. This measure will be received by dividing the number of indicators by the number of words. The intention is to control for the lengths of the manifestos, as a complement to the simple counting of indicators. Words are chosen as the points of comparison to avoid the problem of different character style and lengths of sentences. The placement of the indicators will not be considered, neither will the value prescribed to the indicator. This analysis is only supposed to serve as a complement to the qualitative analysis; i.e. if the results of the idea analysis show that parties express the same conception.

Both causes and solutions will be counted, even though they concern the same type of indicators. Different policy instruments will be counted separately. One policy instrument concerning different indicators will also be counted separately. The environment and sustainability / sustainable development on its own are not counted as indicators. Single words or parts of sentences can together make up the indicators; some interpretation of the meaning of the sentences might be needed.

The results of the content analysis will be presented shortly in the results, and also visualised in Appendix 3. The entire analysis and the explicit judgements of this analysis will moreover be presented in Appendix 2.

4.5 Validity and generalisation prospects

The frame of analysis serves as the necessary structure facilitating a systematic test, as is the criteria for conclusions. These tools are quite explicit, and have been followed strictly, implying good reliability. This is also implying good transparency.

The empirical indicators are visualized in the frame of analysis (Figures 1 and 2). The frame of analysis is developed using theories on idea analysis and media framing; the content is moreover defined using the theoretical framework on *Economic Growth and Environmental Sustainability*.⁸⁹ Considering the theories on media framing and idea analysis it seems likely that the attributes constitution the basis of the ideal types are relevant parts of actors' expressed conceptions. The design of the ideal types have thus tried to incorporated relevant aspects of the dependent variable; the expressed conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. The theoretical framework is also used in the design of the different ideal types, trying to incorporate the relevant understandings of the relationship in view. Following the presented theoretical framework four understandings appear. The first theoretical ideal type is corresponding rather well with the empirical indicators of that ideal type; a very close correspondence. The empirical indicators of the other ideal types are not as equal to its theoretical correspondence, but the empirical indicators are corresponding very well with the theoretical framework constituting the basis for the ideal types. Even for the very explicit empirical indicators of Conceptions 3 and 4 the indicators are retrieved in the theoretical framework. This implies good correspondence between the theoretical and empirical definitions.

The ideal types are moreover developed explicitly for this thesis, intending to examine if economic situation is a factor affecting how political actors conceive this relationship. Earlier research and theories constitute the foundation for the ideal types. "New" ideal types are used, while no present categories were identified that could serve the purpose of the study. The

⁸⁹ See 2.3

theoretical framework for instance presented the categorisation in Market Environmentalism, Ecological Modernisation and Ecosocialism, and the categorisation focuses on the incorporation of sustainable development in traditional ideologies.⁹⁰ This categorisation would thus not have been suitable for this study. The intention of this study was instead to examine a different influence than ideology; economic situation. Ideology does however constitute an interacting variable, but using these categories would not have enabled testing of the hypotheses. Other categorisation, such as strong and weak sustainability would not have been sufficient either, while this categorisation would not have included the first two ideal types. It is also more inclusive than the conception of the potential problems of economic growth.⁹¹

There is of course always the possibility that theories that would have resulted in a different organisation have been neglected. A very much different organisation however seems unlikely, due to the explicitness and comprehensiveness of the ideal types. The ideal types thus seem like a good categorisation of the different conceptions in view. The results will however show whether or not this organisation was suitable for the purpose of the study. This will be discussed after the presentation of the results.

For the external validity generalization prospects are of interest. The results will concern the five parties represented in the study, and they will concern the years of 1994 and 2002. The intention is however that the result will have a somewhat wider reach, although this always implies difficulties. The tendencies of the results will however hopefully be possible to generalize to other election years as well, while these specific years constitute the cases of the study. Generalizing to other years as well might though imply some problems, particularly while parties tend to be extra sensitive to the current political debate in those years.⁹² The research presented by Naurin, stressing the fact that parties in Sweden do tend to implement their election promises, could however indicate that the policies presented in an election year tend to correspond with the actually implemented policies.⁹³ This is however not enough to state that the conceptions of the relationship in view presented in an election year are representative for conception in other years as well.

⁹⁰ Low & Gleeson 1999:159-193

⁹¹ Carter 2001:200-201

⁹² Gilljam & Hermansson 2004:4-61, Dalton 2006:127-128

⁹³ Naurin 2004:60-61

Generalization for other parties is also of interest. The most relevant aspect concerns the fact that the Moderate Party represents two other right-wing parties. This choice is made while the hypotheses do not imply any differences between the right-wing parties, except for the Centre Party. Economic growth is considered very important for all right-wing parties, and the Centre Party is the only right-wing party with a traditional environmental policy. The results might therefore not be expected to differ very much between the other right-wing parties.⁹⁴ There is however other substantial differences between the parties that could influence the conceptions in view. To be certain that the hypotheses hold true also for other right-wing parties, a study of these parties might however be necessary. It will though hopefully be possible to use the results of the Moderate Party also for the other right-wing parties: the choice is strategic. If the hypothesis do not hold true for the most right-wing party it will most likely not hold true for the Liberal Party or the Christian Democrats either.

Applying the results to parties outside of Sweden is even more difficult. The tendencies of the results might however be of some value in other West European countries, while the Swedish parties primarily are based on the same ideologies as is present in this part of Europe.⁹⁵

4.6 Data

The data used in this study is election manifestos of the Social Democrats, the Left Party, the Green Party, the Centre Party and the Moderate Party in 1994 and 2002. Election manifestos are chosen, while the expectation is that this data is influenced by the current political debate, as well as the economic situation. Election manifestos are very much linked to elections, at the same time constituting an important tool in the voter's choice of party, and might therefore be expected to be highly affectable.⁹⁶ The connection between election manifestos and the economic situation is therefore more likely to appear in election manifestos, than in more ideological data, such as party programs, which are not updated as often. The election manifestos will however not be able to represent the parties' complete conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship. Party communication takes many forms, where media often play an important role. Debates in newspapers or TV might have been an alternative or complementary. While the scope of the thesis states certain limits, election manifestos were chosen as data. The election manifestos are very important in elections, and the conceptions

⁹⁴ Lönnroth 1986:passim

⁹⁵ Lijphart 1990:253-265

⁹⁶ Gilljam & Hermansson 2004:54-61, Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004:122-123

represented in the manifestos are still very relevant for the purpose of the study.

There is however a problem with the data concerning the 2002-election manifesto of the Centre Party. It states a visionary ambition, rather than a policy oriented as are the other manifestos. Difficulties in evaluating the strength of the conception in this manifesto might therefore appear; visions are rarely very explicit. If the overall conception of this manifesto is Conception 3 or 4, the quantitative analysis might be helpful; the measure of the relative importance of the indicators could serve as an indicator of the importance of the conception. It is however necessary to treat the results from this manifesto carefully.

5 Results

This part presents the results of the two analyses, where most attention will be given to the results of the idea analysis, presented in the first section. The second section presents the results from the content analysis and the last section constitutes of an analysis of the implications of the results for the hypotheses.

5.1 Idea analysis⁹⁷

The results are based on the idea analysis and the whole analysis is presented in Appendix 1. The presented quotations are examples of relevant, representative paragraphs of the manifestos. The results from the idea analysis will be presented separately for each party, followed by a short comparative discussion for every party.

5.1.1 The Social Democrats

Election manifesto 1994

“Our goals for the upcoming four years are; accomplishing economic growth, reducing unemployment, establishing healthy state finances, stabilizing and securing the welfare.”

“Cooperation over nation borders – working for peace, employment and environment.”

These paragraphs contain expressions of Conception 1; no connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability is made. This conception is much represented in the manifesto, and achieving economic growth is given high priority. There is however paragraphs containing Conception 2 as well;

“Sweden can withstand the unemployment if we manage to build for the future, investment and accomplish a sustainable growth.”

A conception recognising a connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability are expressed, through the need for sustainable development. No references to

⁹⁷ All the quotations in the results are free translations from the original Swedish manifestos of each party and year respectively. All references to contents in the manifestos consider the currently analyzed manifesto.

empirical indicators for either the third or fourth conceptions are found; thus an example of Conception 2. This paragraph is the only one containing references to the second conception. The following paragraphs instead represent Conception 3:

“Energy efficiency will be stimulated. New environmental- and energy investments will be implemented. ... The goal is to create an ecologically sustainable society.”

“Raised environmental taxes.”

These paragraphs contain the third conception, while empirical indicators for this conception are apparent; the achievement of ecologically sustainable society, improved energy efficiency, investments in environmentally friendly technology, as well as environmental taxes. Taxes and investments are thus examples of policy instruments.

This election manifesto contains three different conceptions, where Conception 1 is the most prominently represented. Following the criteria for conclusion, the existence of the third conception however overrules the other two; the overall conception is Conception 3. Attribute 4 is then used to evaluate this conception, while considering the significance and substantiality of Conception 3. The first conception is very prominent in this manifesto and the achievements of economic goals are very important. The third conception is thus not the most prevailing conception, and this implies a low significance for Conception 3. The indicators of the third conception are moreover not very diverse, also implying low significance for Conception 3. Substantiality is then considered by looking at the preciseness of the indicators; increased environmental taxes are a rather precise indicator, even though no specific areas are mentioned. The other paragraph does however contain rather imprecise indicators, i.e. stimulation of energy efficiency. The combined impression of the substantiality is though that the indicators have little substance.

The overall expressed conception is Conception 3; thus a conception emphasizing the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. This conception will however be interpreted as weak; due to its low significance and little substantiality. The manifesto is paying little attention to the potential conflicts.

Election manifesto 2002

“Sweden are to proceed with high economic growth, low unemployment and healthy finances of state.”

“Growth in the whole country.”

These paragraphs contain indicators of Conception 1; economic growth is considered on its own. No connection to the environment is made. There are a few more paragraphs of this kind in the manifesto. The paragraph below however accentuates a connection, representing Conception 2:

“Disarmament and human rights, international law and sustainable development, free and fair trade – this is and shall be cornerstones in Swedish foreign policy.”

Sustainable development is accentuated, without referring to the indicators of Conception 3; representation of Conception 2. This paragraph is the only one representing the second conception. Paragraphs that do contain indicators for Conception 3 are instead more numerous:

” ... Sweden must in a better way take care of the possibilities for innovation, technological development and new jobs spurring from an environmentally friendly development. We want to stimulate investments in technology transfers. The cars must become more environmentally sound and the renewable energy must be extended. We want to increase investments to achieve more efficiency in the use of energy. ...”

“All countries must ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The Swedish emissions of carbon dioxide should decrease by 4 %.”

This paragraphs contain several indicators of Conception 3; an environmentally friendly development is put forward; the alignment of growth, as well as environmentally friendly technology and investments in renewable energy forms and energy efficiency. The need for

policy instruments is also accentuated; through the need for the Kyoto Protocol. These paragraphs cover the relevant indicators of this manifesto.

Conception 3 is though the overall expressed conception in this manifesto as well. Conception 1, emphasizing the importance of economic growth on its own, is however prominent; implying lowered significance for Conception 3. There is diversity among the indicators, covering different kinds of changes, even though most of them concern technological changes; implying some significance. There are however rather explicit and precise indicators, i.e. pointing to explicit areas that are in need of changes, as well as presenting a precise emission goal. This gives substantiality to the third conception, according to Attribute 4.

The manifesto does recognise potential conflicts in the relationship; Conception 3 is expressed. This conception contains some significance, as well as substantiality, but it is not very strong.

Comparison

When comparing the two manifestos it is easier to consider the strength of Conception 3; the conception expressed in both 1994 and 2002. The interpretation is that the paragraphs representing the first conception are not as prevailing in the election manifesto in 2002; the paragraphs referring only to economic growth are not as significant in the latter manifesto. The representation of Conception 3 is also more numerous in 2002 and the indicators are both more diverse and precise; thus holding more significance and more substantiality. The third conception is stronger in 2002; the potential conflicts are thus given more attention in this manifesto.

5.1.2 The Left Party

Election manifesto 1994

This election manifesto does not contain any references to economic growth alone, though two paragraphs contain references to the environment without referring to economic growth; thus representing Conception 1. The first conception is thus not very prevailing in this manifesto. Conception 2 is more prominent, where recognition of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability is accentuated, exemplified below:

“The Left Party stands for a long-term sustainable development, socially, environmentally and economically.”

Sustainable development is accentuated, but no references to potential conflicts in the relationship; an indicator of Conception 2. The most prevailing conception is however the third one, represented in most of the paragraphs relevant for this analysis. Several different indicators of Conception 3 are represented, where a few examples are presented:

“A transition to a more environmentally friendly and less energy consuming production, an extension of the railway system, and decontamination of houses could also create new jobs.”

“Large investments are necessary to achieve the transition to a sustainable development. ... Private consumption must be a lower priority.”

“... 2. Environmental changeover creates new jobs. ... Replace oil, coal and nuclear power with renewable energy sources like bio fuel, solar energy and wind and resource preserving building technology, will create many new jobs within research, forestry, agriculture and the building industry.”

*“... 3. Changes of lifestyles – for the environment
As consumers we can affect the environment through our consumption habits. ...
The consumer is not in the position to decide what characteristics products have as waste in the future. Here the rules of society must become more stringent.
Economic policy instruments are needed.”*

These paragraphs contain clear indicators of Conception 3; changes in the alignment of growth, the use of fossil fuels, renewable energy and resource efficiency. Lifestyles and consumption patterns are also accentuated. Policy instruments to achieve this are put forward, and policy instruments are moreover considered necessary in many areas.

Following the criteria for conclusion, Conception 3 is the overall conception of the manifesto. Using Attribute 4 to consider the substance and significance of this conception, it becomes

clear that Conception 3 is rather strong. The examples of paragraphs containing the third conception only represent a small part of the paragraphs of this manifesto; there were seven paragraphs of this conception. Conception 3 is the most prominent conception in the manifesto, implying high significance to this conception. The significance is also raised by the diversity in the indicators. The indicators are also precise in its statements; clearly stated areas of interest are put forward, as well as indicating that consumption must not be considered more important than sustainability concerns. This implies substantiality as well.

The overall conception is Conception 3 and the significance and substantiality of this indicator implies a strong conception; the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability thus receive rather much attention.

Election manifesto 2002

The first conception is represented in this manifesto as well:

“Economic development is needed in every region.”

The first conception is however not the most prevailing in the manifesto, rather the opposite. Conception 2 is not well represented either, expressed only in one paragraph. This paragraph accentuates the need to depreciate debt for poor countries; resources are needed to achieve a sustainable development.

It is however Conception 3 that is the most prevailing conception, where the following paragraphs exemplifies this:

“Profit and employment must not be superior to the goal of an ecologically sustainable development.”

“A green tax change will facilitate in the reduction of resource overuse.”

“Our production patterns and lifestyles must alter dramatically to become long-term sustainable. The rich world must not continue to consume the majority of the resources of the earth.”

“Our goal must be to use a fair part of the environmental space. This calls for an efficient and reduced use of resources and drastically reduced emissions of environmentally damaging substances.”

“All infrastructures must carry their own environmental costs.”

These paragraphs contain several diverse indicators of Conception 3; changes in the alignment of growth and the need to regulate the economy for sustainability concerns. It is explicitly stated that profit and unemployment concerns must not be superior to environmental concerns. The overuse of environmental space is also accentuated, and it needs to change. Improved efficiency in the use of material and resources, as well as policy instruments is accentuated; i.e. a green tax change. The valuation of natural resources and services is also emphasized, through the need for all infrastructures to carry their own environmental costs. Moreover, in other paragraphs the manifesto emphasizes the need to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide, where improved conditions for environmentally friendly energy and energy efficient technology are considered necessary.

International adjustments are also put forward; international trade should adjust to the environmental as a way to enable poor countries to keep high environmental standards. Policy instruments and observance of all ready existing international agreements on the environment are emphasized to achieve this.

Conception 3 is the overall conception. Due to its numerous and prevailing representation it receives high significance. The conception also covers a range of different indicators, which also implies high significance. Using Attribute 4, the substantiality seems high; the indicators are very clear, i.e. stating the superiority of sustainability concern. They also state that infrastructure must carry their own environmental costs, and suggest tax changes in explicit areas. Conception 3 of this manifesto is very strong; the potential conflicts in the relationship are thus very much emphasized.

Comparison

When comparing the manifesto from 1994 with the 2002-manifesto, the diversity of the indicators is larger in 2002. The indicators concern most of the indicators presented in the frame of analysis; more than emphasized in the manifesto from 1994. Life style changes are

one such indicator that is emphasized more in 2002; compared to consumer interests in 1994. The substantiality is also more prevailing, mainly demonstrated in the explicit reference to the superiority of sustainability concerns. The third conception is strong in both manifesto, but a comparison shows that the significance and substantiality of the third conception is higher in 2002; the 2002-manifesto thus pays more attention to the potential conflicts, even though the difference is not very large.

5.1.3 The Green Party

Election manifesto 1994

This manifesto contains a few paragraphs expressing the first conception, but they only concern references to the environment or sustainability, without referring to economic growth; economic growth does not stand alone. There are moreover no paragraphs containing the second conception. The third conception is instead the most prominently represented. Several different indicators of the third conception are found, where the examples below try to capture the diversity:

“During the 1980th the Green Party pleaded for long-term, thorough going changes, to enable the transition from the developmental phase of industrial society, to an ecologically and socially sustainable information- and service society.”

”Resources are set aside for payment of the environmental debt.”

These paragraphs contain clear indicators of the third conception; the need for changes in the alignment of growth and the existence of an environmental debt. Uncompensated losses of natural resource and sink capacities have to be considered, thus reevaluated.

“Investments in modern environmental-, energy-, information- and resource technology are stimulated i.e. through tax changes and jurisdiction. This will enable the green path of the economy, as well as the service sector, to extend.”

“A transition of totally 100 billons (out of 400 billons) should be transmitted from tax on labor to taxes on energy, natural resources and emission under a

period of ten years.”

The two above paragraphs emphasize the need for changes to energy efficient and environmentally friendly technology, both indicators of the third conception. Also investments, taxes and jurisdiction are put forward to achieve this change; policy instruments. Apart from the exemplified paragraphs, there are also a few recognizing the need for different policy instruments to protect certain types of nature, i.e. the rivers in the north. Biodiversity is also accentuated as threatened; the need for correct evaluation of nature.

The overall conception expressed in this manifesto is Conception 3. Several different indicators of this manifesto are accentuated, and the other conception is hardly represented at all; implying high significance for the third conception. The diversity in the indicators also strengthens the significance. The indicators are moreover very precise and explicit; i.e. stating the exact amount of tax changes to achieve technological shifts, what specific areas and how the alignment of growth should change to become sustainable; this gives high substantiality to the manifesto.

Consequently, the high significance and substantiality implies a strong conception; the expressed conception pay much attention to the potential conflicts

Election manifesto 2002

“ - for a long-term sustainable development ... ”

This is an example of a few paragraphs containing Conception 2. There are however no paragraphs containing the first conception, in fact, there is no reference to economic growth in the manifesto at all. The most prominently represented conception is instead Conception 3, exemplified below:

“We challenged many strong interests, who take advantage of humans and environment to achieve short term profit. ... Both humans and our common environment are torn down. The stress of society affects the ecosystems, us and our children. Our policies provide a path away from stress, ill health, over consumption and environmental destruction. Our goal is a society at balance

with nature, where everybody's resources and possibilities are safeguarded."

"The upcoming years we will be working for: ...

A transition that takes its starting point in our children and grand children's right to a sustainable future and living space."

These paragraphs refer to changes in the alignment of growth; a sustainability transition is suggested, also incorporating the intergenerational aspect and the overuse of environmental space. Moreover, the change must strive at a society being at balance with nature. Over consumption; that is consumption patterns of some parts of the world, as well as lifestyles changes (stress society) are also emphasized. These are indicators of Conception 3.

"Introduce environmentally related road fees in the big cities." ...

Congestion charges will provide less crowding and more resources to extend public transportation."

"Reduce the taxes on labor – both income and employment taxes – and raise the taxes on energy, natural resources and environmentally damaging emission."

"We demand that rules and taxation shall favor environmentally advantageous fuels, particularly renewable."

These paragraphs express the need for policy instruments, and also consider the valuation of natural resources and services; environmentally related road fees are introduced. Policy instruments to promote renewable energy are expressed as well. The need for world trade to consider environmental standards to counteract negative impacts of short-term economic considerations is also put forward in another paragraph; that is policy instruments.

These are indicators of Conception 3.

Economic growth is not mentioned once in this manifesto, but the headline of the manifesto does imply sustainable development; thus usually economic growth as well. Even though growth has no prominent position in this manifesto, the interpretation is not that economic growth per se is unwanted. There is rather a need for radical changes within growth; Conception 3. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that no explicit references

indicating that economic growth itself is considered a problem. Economic growth was moreover mentioned in the manifesto from 1994, implying that changes within economic growth is considered.

Conception 1 is the overall conception of this manifesto. The numerous representation of Conception 3 and the diversity of the indicators of Conception 3 imply high significance to the third conception. These indicators are moreover often very precise and explicit; stating the exact areas in need of changes (road fees, areas in need of tax changes). This gives high substantiality to Conception 3 as well.

Conception 3 is thus very strongly expressed in this manifesto; the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability receive very much attention.

Comparison

When comparing the two manifestos, a vague tendency is that Conception 3 seems to be somewhat stronger in the 2002-manifesto. This interpretation is based on the fact that economic growth is not even mentioned in this manifesto, and the diversity in the indicators seems larger in 2002; i.e. consumption and lifestyle changes are put forward in this manifesto and not in 1994. Technological solutions also receive less attention 2002; implying the need for more extensive changes such as changes in the alignment of growth. The indicators of Conception 3 in the 1994-manifesto are however very precise and explicit, and also emphasizes the need for changes in the alignment of growth. The higher substantiality of Conception 3 in 2002 might though imply some difference, even though it is small.

5.1.4 The Centre Party

Election manifesto 1994

The election manifesto of 1994 contains some references to Conception 1; economic growth and the environment/sustainability are mentioned separately.

“Broad political deals that can provide stable information, economic development, reduce state deficit and stop a cumulating state debt are needed.”

“The environmental threats are global and must be resolved through

cooperation.”

This is not the most common conception in the manifesto. Conception 2 is also expressed, stating that the party combines economic and environmental concerns. No conflicts are however mentioned;

“The Centre Party combines economic development with environmental responsibility.”

The most prevailing conception in the manifesto is however Conception 3. Different indicators are identified and expressed in the paragraphs:

“The most prominent challenge of the future will be to build a society in harmony with nature.”

“The transition of Sweden from an exploration- and consumption society to a recycling society has been started under the guidance of the Centre Party.”

These paragraphs emphasize the need to achieve a society in harmony with nature; the nature of current production (exploration) and consumption patterns are thus put forward as a problem; an indicator of Conception 3.

“The transition to a recycling society develops new environmental technology. It contributes to environmentally adjusted energy, - transportation- and distribution systems. Large investments are needed. This will create many new jobs and more resource efficient production.”

“Increased taxes- and fees load on environmentally damaging activity is not only necessary, but also desirable.”

These paragraphs accentuate ways to achieve a change; investments, as well as taxes and fees are considered necessary; policy instruments. Environmental friendly technology and energy efficiency are also put forward. The intergenerational aspect and the existence of an environmental debt, incorrect evaluation of natural resources, are expressed in another

paragraph:

“Every generation must carry its own environmental cost. The environmental debt must be paid.”

The overall conception is Conception 3, and the numerous representations indicate a high significance to the conception. The diversity of the indicators also strengthens the significance of the third conception. The substantiality is also high while the indicators are precise; explicit statements of the need for changes in the alignment of growth, the need for environmentally damaging activity to be costly and the preciseness of what areas that is of interest for policy instruments. The necessity of growth is however also an important point of the manifesto; though it needs to changes. Emphasizing of economic growth is however compatible with the third conception.

Given the significance and substantiality, the third conception is strong; the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability is much emphasized.

Election manifesto 2002

This manifesto is different from the other manifestos; it states in its introduction that it will state visions for the future, rather than policy suggestions. This indicates a problem for the judgment of substantiality of the relevant conceptions; visions are rarely very precise.

The 2002-manifesto contains references to Conception 1, 2 and 3. Conception 1 is represented, though not to a great extent; the necessity of economic growth in every region of Sweden is one such paragraph. The need for the development to be sustainable is however represented in more paragraphs. One section indicates the need for the development to be sustainable in all three senses; economically, socially and ecologically:

“The development has to be economically sustainable. It has to generate a surplus to pay off our debts and it must not be based on promises paid by our children.”

“The development must also be socially sustainable. ... A particular challenge

is to provide the prerequisite for countries heavily indebted to achieve development. That is why an extensive depreciation of debts for the poorest countries must come to place, as well as a free and fair trade.”

These paragraphs are examples of Conception 2, while they make a connection between sustainability and economic growth or development; no indicators of potential conflicts is however emphasized. Conception 2 is even clearer in the following paragraph:

“The basis for a sustainable development is that the economy provides resources, for the individuals and for society. A sustainable development is thus a cornerstone in our policy.”

As noted above, Conception 3 is however also expressed in this manifesto:

“The knowledge of the need for the economy to take human and environmental consideration is spreading.”

“A new balance is needed to achieve a long-term sustainable welfare.”

“The development must be ecologically sustainable. Growth must be achieved without consuming more resources. It must take place on the term set by nature, close the cycles and reduce the consumption of finite resources.”

These paragraphs all consider the need for the alignment of growth to change. The last one also expresses the need to reduce the consumption of finite resources, as well as recycling and reusing; indicators of Conception 3. There is also one paragraph accentuating the need for policy instruments to achieve this change; the favoring of environmentally friendly companies is put forward.

The overall expressed conception of this manifesto is Conception 3. There is a rather large diversity in the indicators for Conception 3, even though the indicators are few; changes in the alignment of growth, recycling and reuse, energy efficiency and environmentally friendly technology. This indicates high significance for the third conception. The second conception is rather well represented as well, while economic growth is considered the most prominent

prerequisite for all other areas; the economy must provide resources. This lessens the significance of the third conception. The substantiality of the third conception is not very high, even though they clearly states that the development must stay within the limits of the earth and be at balance with nature. No specific policy areas are considered, and the suggested policy instruments are only to *favor* companies considering the environment; a rather imprecise indicator.

In sum, Conception 3 is neither strong nor weak; potential conflicts are however emphasized in this manifesto.

Comparison

Comparing the manifestos of the Centre Party, it seems like the potential conflicts are emphasized more in the 1994-manifesto. On the other hand, the relevant *kind of* conception has not changed, even though the strength of that conception possibly has weakened. It is still the third conception that represents the overall expressed conception of the manifestos, even though economic growth is considered very relevant in both manifestos. The diversity of indicators, as well as the preciseness of them though seems to have changed, indicating that the conception was stronger 1994. This could however be a result of the difference between the two manifestos; the 2002-manifesto being more of a vision statement.

5.1.5 The Moderate Party

Election manifesto 1994

This election manifesto contains several paragraphs representing expressions of the first conception; no connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability is emphasized.

“We want a powerful common European environmental policy.”

“It is liberalization and deregulation that will strengthen the growth- and competitiveness of the European economies.”

Economic growth and the environment are considered separately and Conception 1 is quite numerous in its appearance in the manifesto. No paragraphs are found that contains references

to sustainable development; that is no representatives of Conception 2. There are however two paragraphs expressing Conception 3.

“A free energy market is the foundation for cheap and good energy. Security- and environmental standards must be set high. The use of fossil fuels must be counteracted. Sweden should have the safest nuclear power in the world. “

This paragraph contains references to indicators of Conception 3; the use of fossil fuels and policy instruments in the form of environmental standards. On the other hand, the paragraph also clearly states that the energy market should be unregulated. This can be interpreted as the primary goal expressed in this paragraph and not environmental or sustainability goals.

“The renewal of the environmental policy continues. Economical policy instruments will be used on a voluntary basis to make everybody part of improving the environment of Sweden. The limit on carbon dioxide emissions is vital and amongst other things it must affect the energy policy.”

This paragraph is also representing the third conception; economical and political policy instruments are introduced. These are indicators of solutions to potential problems, although the economical policy instruments should be used on a voluntary basis.

While there are references to Conception 3, this is the overall conception expressed in this manifesto. The first conception is however the most frequently represented conception; much more prominent than the third conception. Economic growth is moreover considered highly important without considerations made for the environment or sustainability. This implies low significance for the indicators of Conception 3, as does the diversity of the empirical indicators for Conception 3; the paragraphs represent very few indicators. The indicators are moreover not substantial indicators of Conception 3; fossil fuel is considered a problem but no clear solution is accentuated. The limit on carbon dioxide could imply one way, even though it is only intended to *influence* the energy policy. Moreover, the energy market should remain unregulated. Imprecise and floating indicators thus give low substantiality. Moreover, the prize and quality of energy seem more important than the environmental effects of this energy.

Due to the low significance and substance, Conception 3 will be judged as weak; thus as paying little attention to the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

Election manifesto 2002

This manifesto contains several paragraphs expressing Conception 1; economic growth and environmental sustainability are considered separated goals, exemplified by these paragraphs:

“Sweden is in need of several reforms to enhance the liberty of individuals and families, strengthen the multi-cultural society and stimulate growth.”

“Our long term goals are:

That Sweden’s economy will grow faster than the OECD; s’ ...

That Sweden will have the cleanest environment in the world ...”

The last paragraph visualizes the lack of connection very explicitly; two separated goals and sustainability concerns in economic growth are not emphasized. Paragraphs containing reference to Conception 1 are rather numerous, mainly represented by paragraphs on economic growth. There are though also paragraphs representing Conception 3, even though no representatives of the second conception are found. To achieve a good environment, the Moderate Party for instance has the following objectives:

“Tax policies providing Sweden with an attractive investments’ climate for modern, environmentally friendly production methods. Abandoned tax on nuclear power and halting the nuclear dismantling. Blocking subventions on hydropower. “

“In the modern economy with its environmentally aware consumers, the ability to live up to environmental standards becomes a perquisite for prosperity and growth. This calls for great investments in environmentally friendly technology and assumes taxation that does not disfavour the renewal of production.”

These paragraphs represent Conception 3, while empirical indicators for this conception are found; investments and taxes to promote investments in environmentally friendly production

methods and technology. Both of these indicators represent policy instruments. The last paragraph however also emphasizes that environmental consideration is perceived as necessary for growth and prosperity.

There is one more paragraph containing the third conception, with references to policy instruments, implying that the policy instrument must be used in proportion to company size:

“Reasonable sanctions for violation of environmental regulations, which also considers the size of companies.”

This paragraph is highly interesting while it recognises potential conflicts, at the same time emphasizing the necessity of considering the economic side of the conflict. Empirical indicators are found, but the actual content of that indicators represent indicators of problems for economic growth rather than for the environment. Potential problems of environmental sustainability (the interest of this study) caused by economic growth are thus not emphasized.

There are references to Conception 3 and it is thus the overall conception. Due to the numerous representation of the first conception, the significance of the third conception is rather low. The indicators are moreover not very diverse, also implying low significance. The somewhat unclear indicators also indicate little significance; one paragraph implies the problem of environmental standards for companies. The substance is not high either, due to the imprecise indicators. One paragraph imply that the taxes should not disfavour the renewal of production, but no clear statement is done on how this changing of taxation will be implemented. Investments in environmentally friendly technology are also present but unspecified.

The low significance and substantiality thus results in a weak overall Conception 3; the potential conflicts of the relationship receive little attention in this manifesto.

Comparison

Following the above discussion it is rather difficult to detect any differences in the manifestos at the different points of comparisons.

5.2 Content Analysis

The content analysis is presented in its entirety in Appendix 2, while the results are presented shortly below. The number of indicators implies the number of times an empirical indicator of Conception 3 appeared in the material, while no manifesto expressed the fourth conception. The relative importance of the indicators is decided by dividing the number of indicators with the number of words in the entire manifesto. The number resulting from this division is in parts per mille. It is used as the measure of relative importance of the indicators, compared to the entire manifesto.

The Social Democrats:

The election manifesto of 1994 contained 6 empirical indicators of Conception 3, and the measure of the relative importance of the indicators was 2.4 ‰. In the 2002- manifesto 11 indicators were found, and the indicators constituted 3.8 ‰ of the content. Both measures showed that the 2002-manifesto paid more attention to the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

The Left Party

The manifesto of 1994 contained 20 empirical indicators of Conception 3. The relative importance showed that the indicators constituted 9.4 ‰ of the entire content. The results of the 2002-manifesto showed 31 indicators, and a relative importance of 5.5 ‰. The number of indicators had increased substantially in 2002, but the relative importance of these indicators had decreased; the results showed no clear indication of more attention being paid in 2002.

The Green Party

The 1994-manifesto contained 24 empirical indicators for Conception 3. The relative importance was 17 ‰. The number of indicators in 2002 was 25, and the relative importance of the indicators was 17 ‰. No change in the amount of attention paid to the potential conflicts thus appeared in this analysis.

The Centre Party

The results for this party presented 25 empirical indicators of Conception 3 in the 1994-manifesto. These indicators constituted 13 ‰ of the content; the relative importance. The

election manifesto of 2002 contained 8 indicators, and the results of the comparison showed a relative importance of 3 %. A drastic decrease both in the number of indicators and in the relative importance of these indicators was the result of a comparison between the two years. More attention was thus paid to the potential conflicts in 1994. There is however the problem of the different kind of manifesto in 2002; this manifesto was more of a presentation of visions than of policies. Due to the very much lower relative importance of the potential conflicts in the 2002-manifesto and the very large difference between the years, the results might however imply a decreased attention, even when considering the difference of the manifestos.

The Moderate Party

The election manifesto of 1994 contained 4 empirical indicators of Conception 3, and a relative importance of the indicators of 1.6 %. The 2002-manifesto had 5 indicators, and the relative importance was 0.87 %. The relative importance of the indicators had thus decreased in 2002, but the number of indicators was practically the same. The small numbers of indicators and the low relative importance in both years however implies no real change in the amount of attention paid to the potential conflicts.

5.3 Analysis of the results

The third conception was prevailing in all of the manifestos, and the content analysis thus only concerned Conception 3. There was however a large difference in the strength of the third conception, visualized in the results from both of the analyses. The next section is an aggregated analysis of the results, and the basis of this analysis is the implications of the results for the hypotheses.

5.3.1 Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis stated that the economic situation affects the parties' conceptions of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. More attention would be paid to the potential conflicts in the better economic year of 2002.

The results from both of the analyses implied that the Social Democratic 2002-manifesto paid more attention to the potential conflicts than did the manifesto from 1994. The difference visualized in the idea analysis was based on the higher significance of the third conception in

2002, while the first conception was less prominent in the 2002-manifesto. The substantiality of the indicators of Conception 3 was also higher in 2002. The content analysis showed that both the number of indicators and the relative importance of these indicators had increased in 2002. The aggregated results though imply that Conception 3 was stronger in 2002; more attention was paid to the potential conflicts in that year.

The results of the idea analysis showed that the 2002-manifesto of the Left Party paid a little more attention to the potential conflicts, compared to the 1994-manifesto. The third conception was stronger in 2002, while the indicators of Conception 3 were more explicit and precise, as well as more diverse. It also stated the superiority of sustainability concerns more strongly. The content analysis also presented more indicators in the manifesto from 2002, even though the relative importance of these indicators was less than in 1994. The aggregated result will be interpreted as if more attention was paid to the potential conflicts in the 2002-manifesto.

The result of the idea analysis for the Green Party showed a slightly stronger third conception 2002, mainly due to the greater diversity among the indicators. The content analysis could however not support this conclusion; no more indicators and no greater relative importance. The conclusion will be that it is difficult to conclude a difference in the strength of Conception 3 between the different points of comparison; slightly more attention might have been paid to the potential conflicts between economic growth and environmental sustainability in 2002.

The results from the idea analysis for the Centre Party showed that the third conception was stronger in 1994, using the significance and the substantiality of this conception. The content analysis also presented results implying this difference, even though the manifesto differed from each other. The potential conflicts of the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability thus received more attention in the 1994-manifesto. The results from both the analyses also imply that the difference is large enough to support this conclusion, even though the manifestos were of different kinds. This will also be the aggregated conclusion, even though it is somewhat uncertain.

Little difference appeared in the results of the idea analysis for The Moderate Party; the strength of Conception 3 was basically the same. The content analysis gave no more clarity;

the number of indicators had increased while the relative importance of the indicators had decreased. The results will then be interpreted as if no difference appeared in the amount of attention paid to the potential conflicts at the different points of comparison.

All of the parties express the third conception, even though the strength of that conception was shifting in between and between the parties. Two of the parties seemed to have paid more attention to the potential conflict in 2002, the election year of better economic situation; the Social Democrats and the Left Party. The Centre Party instead showed an opposite tendency, while the Moderate Party and the Green Party appeared indifferent. This result is not in line with the first hypothesis; it implied that all of the parties would pay more attention to the potential conflicts in 2002. This hypothesis was not supported by the aggregated results.

5.3.2 Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis concerned the ideological influence on the effect of economic situation. Looking at the results, ideology seemed to play an important part and possibly even affecting the effect of economic situation; though not entirely as anticipated.

The left-wing parties were expected to be more sensitive to the economic situation than the other parties, and thus pay more attention to the potential conflict in the better economic year, 2002. Considering the aggregated results above, it seems as if the Social Democrats and the Left Party were the parties mostly affected by the economic situation; these are the only parties showing a stronger third conception in the better economic year. This is thus in some way in line with the second hypothesis.

The results though also indicate that the Moderate Party, the Centre Party and the Green Party were less affected by the economic situation than the left-wing parties. The result for the Centre Party is however a little difficult; the party appeared to express a weaker third conception in 2002 than in 1994. This was not implied by the hypotheses. This party thus seems very unaffected by the economic situation, but this would probably be an incorrect assumption due to the different kind of manifesto presented by this party in. The expected change of paying more attention in the better economic year is however smaller for this party than for the left-wing parties; the change even went in the “wrong” direction.

The Moderate Party moreover seemed to be the party paying *the least* attention to the

potential conflict at both points of comparison, even though there are no distinct difference between this parties conceptions and the conception of the Social Democrats in 1994. The relative importance of the indicators is however smaller for the Moderate Party. This was implied by the second hypothesis.

This hypothesis also implies that the Green Party and the Centre Party would pay the most attention to the potential conflicts, irrespectively of economic situation. This part of the hypothesis did not turn out to be true; the Left Party paid more attention to the potential conflicts than did The Centre Party, not to the least in 2002. This conclusion is based mainly on the strength of the indicators for the third conception; the indicators of Conception 3 were more significant in the manifestos of the Left Party. The first and second conceptions were also less prominent in these manifestos, and the indicators of Conception 3 also more diverse; consumption patterns and lifestyle changes receive a more prominent position in the manifestos of the Left Party. It is difficult to conclude if there is a difference in the strengths of the third conception between the Green Party and the Left Party. The results of the Green Party presented a larger relative importance of the indicators, but the Left Party is the only party stating the superiority of sustainability concerns over economic growth and employment interests. The hypothesis was however not correct when it came to the parties paying the most attention to the potential conflicts.

5.3.3 Discussion

An examination of circumstances possibly influencing how political actors relate to sustainable development constitutes the wider aim of the study. The purpose of the study was to examine if the economic situation influences the parties' expressed conception of the relationship in view. The hypotheses constituted the predictions of how this influence would appear.

The analytic tools of the analyses are of course of interests when discussion the results; did the ideal types capture relevant aspects of the expressed conceptions in view, and did they facilitate in the testing of the hypotheses? Representation of all conceptions was found in the manifesto, and they also appeared rather easy to distinguish. This indicates that the tools of analysis were suitable for the purpose of the study. However, though only one conception appeared in the manifestos, a dimension might have been an alternative; used to distinguish the different amount of attention paid to the potential conflict, starting with no attention. On

the other hand, the valuation on where in the dimension the expressed conception would be placed would have been difficult. The different ideal types could serve as points of comparison and facilitated in the valuation of the overall conception.

For most part of the analysis it was rather easy to follow the criteria for conclusions, which would indicate that they were suitable for the study. In the idea analysis there were however some paragraphs containing unclear indicators of Conception 3, but the interpretation has been explained in the results. The content analysis implied some more problems; it was sometimes difficult to remain consequent when counting the indicators. The procedure has however followed the criteria for this analysis. To overcome misleading interpretation, an attachment stating the exact judgments has also been provided. Following these criteria the content analysis seems accurate for the study as well.

The hypotheses did however not turn out to be entirely true. There were some differences in the parties expressed conceptions at the different points of comparison, but three of the parties did not pay more attention to the potential conflicts in the better economic situation. The second hypothesis, concerning the possible influence of ideology on the effect of economic situation, did however seemed to have made some interesting predictions. The parties expected to be the most sensitive to the economic situation did also present the largest difference; more attention was paid in the better economic year. The Social Democrats and the Left Party showed the largest difference in the expressed conceptions at the different points of comparison, and paid more attention to the potential conflicts in 2002.

The large difference in the strength of the conceptions between the Social Democrats and the Left Party, as well as the lack of differences at the points of comparison for the other parties, indicate that there are other circumstances influencing the conceptions in view. The ideology seems to be one thing, while there was a large difference in the strength of the conceptions between different parties. Differences due to ideology were however anticipated, but the ideological influence did not turn out as expected. The Left Party paid more attention to the potential conflicts than did The Centre Party. The strength of the third conception for the Left Party was moreover equal to that of the Green Party; this was not expected either. Considering that the Left Party is a socialist party, and thus traditionally skeptical to market liberalism, this result might however be less surprising.

There is also a difference in the strength of Conception 3 between the Green Party, the Left Party and the Centre Party (at least in 1994) on one hand, and the Social Democrats and the Moderate Party on the other hand. The diversity of the indicators is larger for the first three parties; production patterns, the alignment of growth and lifestyle changes are put forward for the first three parties, whereas technological changes in combination with policy instruments constitute the indicators for the other parties. Economic growth is considered only to a small amount in the manifestos of the Left Party and the Green Party; as appose to the prominent position of growth in the election manifesto of the Social Democrats, the Moderate Party and the Centre Party. It is also interesting to note the change of the Centre Party; the fact that the potential conflicts received much less attention in the better economic year. This might depend on the difference in the kinds of manifesto, but might also be an indication in a shift of focus.

The ideological differences do however not explain the difference *in between* parties. Changes in ideology might of course constitute a reason for this change, but since the change appeared in three of the parties, this seems unlikely. Another variable possible influencing the conceptions might instead be the environmental debate, which might have changed during the relevant eight-year period even though the points of comparison tried to consider this. All the parties do not present a change, and this explanation thus however also seems inadequate in itself. Moreover, there is always the possibility of inappropriate points of comparisons; perhaps different points of comparisons would have resulted in another result.

The results also show that the parties do recognize the potential conflicts that economic growth might pose to environmental sustainability. There is however a large difference in the attention paid to these conflicts between the parties. Economic situation moreover seems inadequate to explain the differences in between the parties. The largest parties, therefore possibly also the most influential, pay the least attention to these conflicts. Considering the research accentuating the potential problems and the parties' influence on public opinion, this could be problematic.

Finally, the appearance of an effect of economic situation for the parties that was expected to be the most sensitive to economic growth might imply that the economic situation has some influence. The results are however not strong enough to conclude that economic situation has this effect on the parties' conception; it is however *possible* that this independent variable has

some influence on parties' that are sensitive to the economic situation. This is an interesting possibility, implying that those potential problems of economic growth could receive a lower priority in worse economic times. Economy is thus more important than sustainability concerns.

This is interesting for the wider purpose of the study; circumstances possibly affecting how political actors conceive sustainable development. The results could not support that economic situation is such a circumstance; it might however indicate a possibility of that circumstance having some influence, at least on actors sensitive to the economic situation. This is interesting while sustainable development is supposed to include sustainability concerns in all times. To make any statements of this kind will however require more research.

5.4 Conclusions

None of the hypotheses turned out to be true. Parts of the indications of the hypotheses were however supported by the results.

Hypothesis 1: The economic situation did not affect all of the parties' conceptions of the potentially conflicting relationship; more attention was not paid to the potential problems in the better economic year.

Hypothesis 2: Ideology seemed to have some influence on the effect of economic situation, as well as a more direct influence.

The Social Democrats and the Left Party showed a difference in conceptions at the different points of comparison; these parties paid more attention to the potential conflicts in the better economic year. The second hypothesis did imply the largest difference for those theories and these parties were the only parties paying more attention to the potential conflicts in the better economic year.

The Green Party and the Centre Party did not pay the most attention to the potential conflicts, as was indicated by the hypothesis. The Green Party and the Left Party paid basically the same attention to the potential conflicts, and both of these parties paid more attention to the potential conflicts than did the Centre Party, irrespectively of economic situation.

Economic situation thus seems like an inadequate explanation for changes in the parties'

conception of the potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. When considering the ideological influence on the effect of economic situation, the results might imply an effect of economic situation. This is for parties sensitive to the economic situation. To be able to conclude that the economic situation has an effect on the conceptions of these parties further research will however be necessary.

Research examining the effect of economic situation on how political actors conceive other aspects of sustainable development might be one interesting aspect. Another might be to examine the effect on economic situation for other European left-wing parties. It might also be of interest to include other right-wing parties, or a normal manifesto of the Centre Party.

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1 The Social Democrats

1.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Våra mål för de kommande fyra åren är att få igång tillväxten, minska arbetslösheten, skapa sunda statsfinanser och stabilisera statsskulden samt klara välfärden.” (Sverige behöver en ny färdriktning)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Sverige kan pressa ned arbetslösheten om vi får igång framtidsbyggandet, investeringarna, och får till stånd en uthållig tillväxt.” (Sverige behöver en ny färdriktning)

C2: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, in the sense that sustainable development is considered. No conflicts are however enhanced, while no references to indicators of either Conception 3 or 4 are found.

”Sveriges ekonomi har krympt tre år i rad genom att framtidsbyggandet, investeringarna, har försummats.” (Sverige är på fel väg)

C1: Lack of economic growth is considered problematic, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Den ekonomiska tillbakagången och den borgerliga politiken har lett till en omfördelning till förmån för dem som är välbärgade och till nackdel för dem som har små inkomster.” (Sverige är på fel väg)

C1: economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; 1. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

C1: No connection between improved environment and economic growth.

”Frågan om svenskt medlemskap i EU avgörs av folkomröstningen i november. Om svenska folket i höst säger ja till medlemskap kommer en socialdemokratisk regering att sätta kampen mot arbetslösheten och miljöförstöringen främst på dagordningen för vår medverkan i det europeiska samarbetet.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; 1. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

C1: No connection, instead the environment is considered separately, sustainable development is not considered.

”De europeiska socialdemokratiska partierna har gemensamt lagt fram ett program för fler jobb och färre arbetslösa. Programmet innehåller förslag om omfattande investeringar i vägar, järnvägar, miljö, informationsteknologi och i människors kunskap och kompetens. Vi har också lagt fram ett program för att förbättra vår gemensamma miljö. Tillsammans med andra socialdemokratiska partier vill vi genomföra denna politik.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; 1. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

C3: Connection, while environmental improvement requires investments; policy instruments, an indicator of Conception 3.

”Samarbetet med länderna kring Östersjön bör öka, framför allt när det gäller demokrati,

kultur och miljö. (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; 1. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability are put forward, and no reference to sustainable development are found.

"Biståndet måste inriktas på att stödja de fattiga ländernas långsiktiga utveckling." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; 1. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but not sustainability concerns, and thus no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Att föra vårt land ur den ekonomiska krisen kräver allas medverkan." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Ett nytt samarbete för att klara jobben och välfärden.)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

"Energihushållning stimuleras. Nya miljö- och energi investeringar ska genomföras. Det ger både bättre miljö och fler arbetstillfällen. Målet är att skapa ett ekologiskt uthålligt samhälle." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Investera för framtiden)

C3: Sustainable development is enhanced, as well as potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability; improved efficiency is considered a solution, as well as is environmentally friendly technology. Investments are needed to promote this development. These are indicators of Conception 3.

"Dagens investeringar är basen för morgondagens produktion och välfärd. Nyckeln till ökad tillväxt - och därmed till fler arbeten och minskad arbetslöshet och förbättrade statsfinanser - är att investeringskrisen kan hävas och att Sveriges produktionsförmåga varaktigt kan höjas. En större andel av landets samlade resurser måste användas till investeringar." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Investera för framtiden)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

"Ekonomiska framsteg kräver god infrastruktur: Data- och telenätet bör byggas ut, kommunikationerna förbättras. Bygginvesteringarna ska öka." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Investera för framtiden)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

"Vårt program för ökad kunskap är centralt för Sveriges långsiktiga tillväxt." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Arbetsmarknadspolitiken måste läggas om.)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

"En socialdemokratisk regering kommer att ändra skattesystemet för att uppnå rättvisa samt stimulera till arbete, bättre miljö, god skattemoral och sunda statsfinanser." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and an emphasizing of potential conflicts in the relationship; the need for changes in taxes to achieve improved environment standards; policy instruments. Indicator of Conception 3.

"Miljöskatter höjs." (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and an emphasizing of potential conflicts in the relationship, while environmental taxes are raised; policy instruments concerning the environment. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Vår politik är hel och odelbar: Den bygger på en noggrann avvägning mellan åtgärder som ökar tillväxten, pressar tillbaka arbetslösheten, stärker statsinkomsterna och minskar statsutgifterna” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

”Vi ber om väljarnas förtroende att genomföra vårt program för att öka tillväxten, pressa ned arbetslösheten, stabilisera ekonomin och klara välfärden. Vi begär fullmakt av svenska folket att under valperioden vidta de ytterligare åtgärder som kan krävas för att rädda Sveriges ekonomi.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

C1: economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

1.2 Election manifesto 2002

”Trots de senaste årens framgångar - stark ekonomi, hög tillväxt, låg arbetslöshet - har känslan av otrygghet ökat.” (Inledning)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Vi vill forma ett samhälle där ekonomiska, sociala och ekologiska mål är i balans med varandra. Vi vill att Sverige ska vara ett föregångsland som driver på omställningen till en ekologiskt hållbar värld.” (Inledning)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while these things have to “be in balance with each other”. Potential conflicts are emphasized through the need to for a transition to a more sustainable development; changes in the alignment of growth, indicator for Conception 3.

”Socialdemokratin kommer aldrig att medverka till att Sveriges ekonomi undermineras.” (Inledning)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

”I takt med att ekonomin växer tillförs också sjukvården stora resurser i form av ökade skatteintäkter och generella statsbidrag.” (Trygghet för alla - Bättre sjukvård, fler anställda och kortare köer.)

C1: Economic growth is emphasized, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Inget rör så i grunden människans trygghet som miljön; att luften är giftfri, vattnet rent och grödorna friska. De globala klimatförändringarna är vår tids allvarligaste miljöhot. Sverige ska fortsätta att vara pådrivande i klimatfrågan. Alla länder måste ratificera Kyotoprotokollet. De svenska utsläppen av växthusgaser ska minska med minst fyra procent till år 2010.” (Trygghet för alla - En hållbar utveckling)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized; the need for policy instruments, the Kyoto Protocol. Greenhouse gas emissions also have to be reduced (fossil fuels are an important part of these).

Indicators of Conception 3.

”Havens ekosystem är i obalans. Därför vill vi ge havsmiljöfrågorna en central roll i miljöpolitiken. (Trygghet för alla - En hållbar utveckling)

C1: This environmental problem is not considered in relation to growth in any way, and thus is no connection made.

”Kampen mot de farliga kemikalierna måste fortsätta. En aktiv miljöpolitik måste garantera ekologisk mångfald och naturupplevelser för alla. (Trygghet för alla - En hållbar utveckling)

C1: The importance of protecting biodiversity is emphasized: correct evaluation of natural resources. Indicator of Conception 3..

”Samtidigt måste Sverige bli ännu bättre på att ta tillvara de möjligheter till innovation, teknisk utveckling och nya jobb som en miljödriven utveckling innebär. Vi vill stimulera investeringar i teknikskiften. Bilarna måste bli mindre miljöskadliga och den förnyelsebara energin byggas ut. Vi vill satsa på effektivare energianvändning. Den offentliga sektorn måste gå före.” (Trygghet för alla - En hållbar utveckling)

C3: Potential conflicts in the relationship are emphasized; investments (policy instruments) are needed for a transition to environmentally friendly technology and improved efficiency, as well as a change in the use of finite energy sources; indicators of Conception 3.

”Sverige ska fortsätta att ha hög tillväxt, låg arbetslöshet och sunda statsfinanser.” (Arbete och tillväxt - Ordning och reda i ekonomin)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Vi vill etablera ett nationellt centrum för att främja utveckling, entreprenörskap och export inom miljöteknikområdet.” (Arbete och tillväxt - Ett företagsammare Sverige)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized through the need for promotion of environmentally friendly technology; policy instruments.

”Tillväxt i hela landet.” (Arbete och tillväxt - Tillväxt i hela landet.)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Nedrustning och mänskliga rättigheter, folkrätt och hållbar utveckling, en fri och rättvis handel - det är och ska vara hörnstenar i svensk utrikespolitik.” (Sverige i världen - världen i Sverige)

C2: A connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, referring to sustainable development, but no reference to potential conflict in this relationship, and no references to empirical indicators of either conception 3 or 4.

2 The Left Party

2.1 Election manifesto - 1994

"Vi vill förena arbetarrörelsens klassiska värderingar om solidaritet, rättvisa och demokrati med en radikal miljöpolitik." (Välj solidariteten!)

C1: No connection, while there is no reference to economic growth.

"Vänsterpartiet står för en långsiktig hållbar utveckling, socialt, miljömässigt och ekonomiskt."

C2: Connection, while sustainable development is emphasized, but no references to a potential conflict, while none of the empirical indicators for Conception 3 or 4 are identified.

"Vi arbetar för en ekonomisk omfördelning men också för en medveten miljöpolitik." ...

C1: No connection between economic growth and the environment or sustainability.

"Miljöomställning innebär nya jobb liksom en omfördelning av arbetstiden i riktning mot sex timmars arbetsdag." (Välj solidariteten!)

C3: References to changes in the alignment of growth; indicator of Conception 3.

"Marknadsekonomin måste regleras socialt och enligt miljömässiga hänsyn." (Byt regering – byt politik)

C3: A clear understanding of a connection between economic growth and environmental consideration, and also of the potential conflict between economic growth and environmental sustainability, due to the need to regulate the market; empirical indicator of conception 3, policy instruments concerning the environment.

"En övergång till en mer miljövänlig och mindre energikrävande produktion, en utbyggnad av järnvägar, samt miljösanering av bostäder och lokaler, kan också ge fler och nya jobb." (Arbete)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental consideration. Also an understanding recognizing potential conflicts, while environmentally friendly technology, as well as energy efficiency in production patterns is enhanced; indicators of Conception 3.

"Det behövs en rationell och effektiv produktion av varor och tjänster för att kunna ha en god konkurrenskraft och åstadkomma en uthållig utveckling." (Rättvisa är produktivt)

C2: Connection between environmental sustainability and economic growth, while sustainable development is emphasized, but no understanding of a conflict between them, rather the need for both.

"Stora investeringar måste till för att åstadkomma omställningen till en hållbar utveckling. ... Den privata konsumtionen måste stå tillbaka för detta. Samtidigt krävs en radikal omfördelning till lågavlönade. Så skapas en hållbar tillväxt som varken föröder resurser eller miljö." (Rättvisa är produktivt)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, where potential conflicts are emphasized; Investments are needed to achieve a transition to sustainable development; that is policy instruments, an indicator of Conception 3. Consumption patterns are enhanced as a potential problem of sustainability; also an indicator of Conception 3.

”Räntebetalningar kring ett hundra miljarder kronor tränger ut socialt viktiga poster och nödvändiga miljöinvesteringar.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental consideration, while resources are lacking for environmental investments. Potential conflicts are however also emphasized, through the need for environmental standards.

”Vi vill beskatta energianvändning och lägga höga avgifter på produkter som skadar människors hälsa eller hotar miljön.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

C3: Connection, where potential conflicts are accentuated; policy instruments are perceived as necessary, an indicator of Conception 3.

”Miljöfrågan intar en särställning genom att den handlar om människans långsiktiga överlevnad på jorden. Problemen är ofta globala, men lösningarna lokala. Världens länder antog 1992 ett program för en hållbar utveckling för det nästa århundrade. ... Vänsterpartiet betonar tre huvudinriktningar för att vi ska nå målet om en hållbar utveckling.

1. Välj spår istället för motorväg

I Sverige släpps varje år ut ofattbara 60 miljoner ton koldioxid, som påverkar jordens klimat negativt. Det mesta kommer från vägtrafiken. Enorma motorvägsinvesteringar som Dennispaket i Stockholm och Adelsonpaket i Göteborg, liksom Öresundsbron, binder oss till trafiksystem som leder mot global miljökatastrof. Framtidens transportsystem måste bygga på energisnåla järnvägar, förnyelsebara biobränslen och förbättrad kollektivtrafik.” (Miljö – solidaritet med kommande generationer)

C3: Connection, and also emphasizing of potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability. Empirical indicators of Conception 3 are found; energy efficiency is perceived as necessary as well as environmentally friendly technology, where substitute for fossil fuels are accentuated.

” ... 2. Miljörensning ger jobb

Framtidens arbetstillfällen kommer att skapas inom miljösektorn. Börja avveckla kärnkraften nu! Att ersätta olja, kol och kärnkraft med förnyelsebara källor som biomassa, sol och vind samt resursbevarande byggteknik kommer att skapa många nya jobb inom forskning, skogsbruk, jordbruk och inom byggsektorn. Högteknologi lägger grunden för en miljöanpassad industri som kan ge exportinkomster när traditionella näringar sviktar. Miljöomställningen blir en nödvändighet för hela världen.” (Miljö – solidaritet med kommande generationer)

C3: Connection, and also emphasizing of potential conflicts. Changes in the use of energy are perceived as necessary; that is a transition to renewable energy sources. The transition of growth in an environmentally friendly direction is also perceived as necessary; changes in the alignment of growth. These are empirical indicators Conception 3.

” ... 3. Ändra livsstil - för miljöns skull

Som konsumenter kan vi påverka miljön genom våra köpvanor. Papper och tvättmedel är två produkter där konsumenter visat sin makt och förändrat utvecklingen. Men det behövs en kombination av kunskap hos oss konsumenter och politisk mod att fatta beslut som innebär att produkter granskas i hela sin livscykel innan de släpps ut på marknaden. Konsumenten själv kan inte bedöma vilka egenskaper varor har som avfall i en avlägsen framtid. Här måste samhällets regler skärpas. Även ekonomiska styrmedel är nödvändiga.” (Miljö – solidaritet med kommande generationer)

C3: Connection, and also emphasizing of potential conflicts; life style changes are enhanced

as well as policy instruments to achieve this. These are indicators of Conception 3.

"Vänsterpartiet säger bestämt nej till EU - den Europeiska Unionen Vi gör det därför att ett medlemskap urholkar demokratin och hotar våra möjligheter att föra en politik för välfärd, social rättvisa och bra miljö." (Nej till den europeiska unionen)

C1: No connection is made.

2.2 Election manifesto 2002

"Den som tycker att vinstintresset är viktigare än en bra miljö blir knappast nöjd med vår politik." (Rättvisa och solidaritet)

C3: Clear connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and also recognizing potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability; the possibility of a potential need to regulate the economy for environmental reasons are emphasized, and this is an indicator of either Conception 3 or 4. Based on the other passages containing indicators of potential conflicts, all representatives of conception 3, this passage will also be interpreted as representing Conception 3.

"Det kräver en aktiv näringspolitik, en bättre arbetsmiljö som ger plats för alla, bra förutsättningar för småföretagande och en miljöomställning till en hållbar produktion." (Arbete åt alla)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability; sustainable production. A transition to sustainable production implies changes in the production patterns; indicator of Conception 3.

"Pensionsfonder och andra offentliga aktörer på kapitalmarknaden ska investera sitt kapital i syfte att bekämpa köns- och klassorättvisor, utjämna makten mellan arbete och kapital och till att främja en god och rättvis hushållning med jordens resurser." (Minska storföretagens makt)

C3: A connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, in the sense that the resources of the earth should be used in a sustainable sense. The energy- and resource consuming production patterns might thus have to change, which is an indicator of Conception 3, even though no explicit references is made.

"Vårt sätt att producera och leva måste ändras drastiskt för att kunna bli långsiktigt uthålligt. I den rika världen kan vi inte fortsätta konsumera merparten av jordens resurser." (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Connection between aspects of economic growth and environmental sustainability. Emphasizing of potential conflicts in economic growth, while production patterns and life styles in richer countries need to change, as well as the alignment of growth through the necessity of using less resources; indicators of conception 3.

"Därför måste miljöpolitikens mål vara att vi bara använder en rättvis andel av miljöutrymmet. Detta kräver en effektiv och minskad resursanvändning och kraftigt reducerade utsläpp av miljöförstörande ämnen." (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Several references to indicators of conception 3 are made; the overuse of environmental space; solutions are considered to be efficient and decreased use of resources as well as drastically reduced emissions of environmentally damaging substances.

”Vinstintressen och sysselsättningskrav får inte överordnas målet om en ekologiskt hållbar utveckling.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while profit interests and job opportunities have to stand back for environmental sustainability; that is if that would be needed. Potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are therefore enhanced; the possibility of a potential need to regulate the economy for environmental reasons. That is a management control measure; an indicator of Conception 3.

”Genom en grön skatteväxling kan resursslöseriet minska.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Connection, and also emphasizing of potential problems, in the sense that tax changes is enhanced; policy instruments to achieve decreased use of resources.

”Tillsynen av miljö- och kemikalielagstiftningen måste bli mycket effektivare. Straffen för miljöbrott bör skärpas och det skall bli lättare att fälla dem som gör sig skyldiga till miljöbrott.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: References to potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability, through several different policy instruments; improved environmental regulation and improved possibilities to penalize companies not following environmental regulations; indicators for conception 3.

”Ett av de allvarligaste miljöproblemen är klimatförändringar orsakade av utsläppen av växthusgaser. För att kraftigt minska utsläppen vill vi öka förutsättningarna för minskad energianvändning och främja miljövänlig och energisnål teknik och förnybara bränslen.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental problems. Potential conflicts are emphasized, found in the indicators for conception 3; efficiency in the use of energy efficiency and environmental friendly technology, as well as renewable energy sources.

”Vänsterpartiet verkar för en jämställd och sammanhållen trafikpolitik. Kollektivtrafiken ska byggas ut. Transporter ska föras över från väg till järnväg och sjöfart. Alla transporter måste bära sina fulla miljökostnader.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while all transportation should carry its own environmental cost; internalization of environmental cost – valuation of natural services. Indicator of conception 3.

”Vi vill kunna bedriva en mer långtgående miljöpolitik än vad EUs fria varumarknad idag ger oss rätt till och vi vill lägga om jordbrukspolitiken i mer miljövänlig riktning. Idag kan vi inte fullt ut överblicka de olika risker som finns med genetiskt modifierade grödor. Vi vill därför tillämpa försiktighetsprincipen och ha ett förbud - ett moratorium - mot kommersiell odling av genetiskt modifierade grödor (GMO) till dess vi vet konsekvenserna av att sätta ut dessa grödor. Över hela jorden hotas i dag den biologiska mångfalden, det vill säga den mångfald av livsformer och naturtyper som utgör jordens ekosystem. Den mångfald som idag går förlorad kan inte återskapas. Allt bistånd från Sverige borde prövas utifrån en miljösynpunkt, så att det inte bidrar till att utarma biologisk mångfald i andra länder.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Recognizing potential conflicts. The need for correct evaluation is also implied, while biodiversity are threatened, and requires protection. The need for policy instruments; environmental assessment of all aid to protect biological diversity. Indicators for conception

3.

"Den biologiska mångfalden i Sverige hotas framförallt av kortsiktiga vinstkrav i skogs- och jordbruket. Därför måste bevarandet av biologisk mångfald vara en utgångspunkt för både lagstiftning och beslut om ekonomiska villkor för dessa näringar." (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C3: Emphasizing of potential conflicts; biodiversity is threatened, due to a lack of correct evaluation of natural resources, and there is thus a need to regulate growth for sustainability reasons; policy instruments; indicator of Conception 3.

"Målsättningen bör vara att bevara alla djur- och växtarter i Sverige." (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

C1: No connection between this environmental goal and economic growth.

"Det behövs ekonomisk utveckling i alla regioner." (Regional rättvisa)

C1: Economic growth is considered a good thing, but no connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability is made.

"Många regioner som har svag tillväxt är rika på naturtillgångar" (Regional rättvisa)

C1: Economic growth is considered, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection is made.

"En miljöomställning med biobränslen och bioenergi ger arbete över hela Sverige. En del av vinsterna från vattenkraften ska återföras till de vattenkraftproducerande regionerna." (Regional rättvisa)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while environmentally friendly technology are considered a solution; indicator of Conception 3.

"En omfattande handel kan ha både positiva och negativa konsekvenser. Till det positiva hör att den kan bidra till en välståndsökning medan negativa konsekvenser kan uppstå på grund av exempelvis ökade transporter. Dagens tullar och handelsregler gynnar nästan enbart de redan rika och försvårar dessutom ofta för länder att ställa höga miljökrav. Handelsreglerna måste därför förändras så att de bidrar till att utjämna skillnader mellan fattiga och rika och mellan kvinnor och män. Världshandeln måste anpassas till vad naturen tål. Därför måste fokus flyttas från västvärldens krav på tillgång till råvaror och avsättningsmarknader till de fattiga ländernas berättigade krav på utveckling. Internationella handelsavtal ska fullt ut respektera FN-konventioner om miljö och arbetsvillkor." (Global rättvisa)

C3: Connection between economic growth and the environmental sustainability, while international trade has to be adjusted according to the limits of nature; policy instruments. One way to achieve this is to follow the environmental standards already existing (control measures), as well as the changes in the rules of trade, to improve the ability for poorer countries to keep high environmental standards (control measures).

"De internationella institutionernas politik måste förändras från att ensidigt kräva avregleringar och ökade klasskillnader inom länder till att verka för hållbar utveckling, rättvisa och generell välfärd för alla. Fattiga länders skuldbörda till den rika världen måste minska genom att skulder avskrivs." (Global rättvisa)

C2: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while sustainable development is emphasized. No conflicts are however emphasized, while only indicating the need for sustainable development.

”Utsläppen av växthusgaser ska minskas genom en radikal minskning av de fossilbränslebaserade transporterna.” (Regeringsmakten)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while changes in the use of fossil fuels are considered necessary; indicators of Conception 3.

”Vi vill skapa ett samhälle som är ekologiskt hållbart och där vi bara använder en rättvis del av vårt samlade miljöutrymme. Det innebär att all politik också måste ta hänsyn till vad naturen tål. Bara den politik som gör det är långsiktigt möjligt och ansvarsfull.” (Rättvisa är möjlig)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while the need to change the alignment of growth is accentuated; a transition to an ecological sustainable society, without overusing the environmental space; indicators of conception 3.

3 The Green Party

3.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Vi i Sverige har mycket stora möjligheter att bygga ett ekologiskt hållbart samhälle och därmed bli en förebild.” (Ingress)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, potential conflict emphasized through the need to build an ecologically sustainable society; changes in the alignment of growth.

”Den gångna valperioden - utan miljöpartiet i riksdagen - har präglats av EU-anpassning, ökad arbetslöshet och återtag inom miljöpolitiken.” (Regeringsfrågan)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

”Samtidigt anser vi att en socialdemokratisk regering, byggd på egen majoritet i riksdagen eller byggd på stöd från ett vänsterparti som såväl saknar tradition att föra en ansvarsfull budgetpolitik som att ställa nödvändiga miljökrav, skulle innebära en olycklig maktkoncentration och cementering av gammal betongpolitik.” (Regeringsfrågan)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while the need for “necessary environmental standards” is accentuated; policy instruments, indicator of Conception 3.

”Sverige styrs idag av en nästan självgående stressekonomi. För att återerövra demokratin och säkra långsiktiga samt hållbara investeringar, krävs en övergång till en robust ekonomi som tar tillvara vårt lands unika förutsättningar.” (Budgetunderskott)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability; the need for sustainable investments and changes in the alignment of growth, both indicators of Conception 3.

”Miljöpartiet de Gröna har under hela 80-talet pläderat för långtgående förändringar för att underlätta övergången från industrisamhällets tillväxtfas till det ekologiskt och socialt hållbara informations- och tjänstesamhället.” (Budgetunderskott)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflict; the alignment of growth has to change; indicator for Conception 3.

”Miljöpartiet de Gröna går till val med främst följande politiska principer när det gäller att förbättra statens dåliga ekonomi.

1. Investeringar i modem miljö-, energi-, informations- och resursteknik stimuleras genom bl a skatteväxling och lagstiftning. Därmed kan de gröna stråken och tjänsteproduktionen i ekonomin växa ...” (Budgetunderskottet)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, while emphasizing potential conflicts, where the need for investments in environmentally friendly – and energy efficient technology are emphasized. The need for environmental taxes and laws are also emphasized; policy instruments. Also changes in the alignment of growth are emphasized, with an enlarged service production. These are indicators of Conception 3

” ... 2. Arbetslösheten bekämpas genom miljöinvesteringar, skatteväxling och genom att sänka arbetstiden och därmed fördela jobben. ...” (Budgetunderskottet)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, where the need for investments in the environment are put forward; policy instruments, indicator of Conception 3.

”En röst på Miljöpartiet de Gröna är en röst för en radikal miljöpolitik och en rättvis ekonomisk politik.” (Ja till miljön och jobben – Nej till EU!

C1: No connection between the environment and economic growth.

”Sverige skall aktivt och pådrivande arbeta internationellt för införande av en miljödomstol under FN samt för att påverka Världsbanken så att dess projekt ges en ekologisk inriktning.” (Internationell miljöpolitik)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, where the introduction of an international environmental tribunal are presented; policy instruments. , indicator of Conception 3.

”Första stegen i en långtgående skatteväxling genomförs omedelbart genom att arbetsgivaravgifterna sänks och skatterna på energi (fossila bränslen och uran), utsläpp och råvaror ökas. Totalt bör 100 miljarder kronor (av totalt ca 400 miljarder) överföras från skatt på arbete till energi, råvaror och utsläpp under en tioårsperiod. Hushållen kompenseras inom skatteväxlingssystemet genom sänkt moms på basmat, kollektivtrafik och miljömärkta produkter.” (Skatteväxling)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, where there is a need for raised taxes on fossil energy, natural resources and emissions, as well as a lowered tax rate for environmentally friendly goods; policy instruments, indicators for conception 3.

”Lagstiftning fastställer slutdatum för svensk kärnkraft som komplement till att kärnkraftbolagens försäkringsansvar för yttre skada marknadsanpassas och ökas från 1,2 miljarder kronor till 1000 miljarder kronor. Överföringskapaciteten för elkraft från Norrland och Norge förstärks.” (Energipolitiken)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while the valuation of nature is adjusted; correct evaluation of natural resources is considered a solution. Indicator of Conception 3.

”De orörda älvorna grundlagsskyddas och anslagen för inköp och bevarande av bl a urskog och gammelskog tredubblas till ca 600 miljoner kronor årligen. Medel avsätts för betalning av miljöskulden. Miljöskyddskommittens förslag till miljöbalk ersätter omedelbart nuvarande regerings förslag.” (Naturvärden)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized. The need for protecting the environment through laws and through investments: policy instruments concerning the environment. An environmental debt is emphasized, indicating a correction of the valuation of natural resources and services. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Miljöavgifter på 300 procent införs på konstväve och bekämpningsmedel; medlen återförs till jordbruket vilket ger ekologisk odling konkurrensfördelar jämfört med idag. Kadmium förbjuds i konstgödsel.” (Jordbruket)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, different policy instruments are implied to change the alignment of farming in a more environmentally friendly direction; indicator of Conception 3.

3.2 Election manifesto 2002

*” - för en långsiktigt hållbar utveckling ...
Solidaritet med djur, natur och det ekologiska systemet,
Solidaritet med kommande generationer,” (Ingress)*

C3: Connection between economic growth and sustainability; sustainable development is

emphasized, as well as potential conflicts, through the emphasizing of future generations: indicator of Conception 1.

”Vi är nytänkare och ifrågasätter den rådande samhällstrukturen. Vi utmanar därför många starka krafter, som utnyttjar människa och miljö för kortsiktig ekonomisk vinning. ... Både vi människor och vår gemensamma livsmiljö slits ner. Samhällsstressen drabbar såväl ekosystem som oss själva och våra barn. Vår politik erbjuder en väg bort från stress, ohälsa, överkonsumtion och miljöförstöring. Vårt mål är ett samhälle i balans med naturen, där allas resurser och möjligheter tas tillvara.” (Inledning)

C3: Connection, while potential conflicts are emphasized; the alignment of growth is considered negative for the environment. Consumption patterns of over consumption are considered a problem. These are indicators of Conception 3.

”Vi värnar om djur och natur, kommande generationer och människorna i Sverige och världen.” (Inledning)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts while considering the generational aspect; indicator of Conception 3.

”De kommande åren vill vi arbeta för: ...

En omställning som utgår från våra barn och barnbarns rätt till en hållbar framtid och livsmiljö.” (Inledning)

C3: Connection, while potential conflicts are emphasized, though the need for a transition; changes in the alignment of growth that considers the generational aspect. Indicator of Conception 3.

”Grönt gynnsamt näringsklimat” (13. Grönt gynnsamt näringsklimat)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while environmentally friendly businesses should be favoured; policy instruments. Indicator of Conception 3.

”Ett modernt och hållbart transportsystem kräver att en stor del av gods- och persontransporterna förs över till järnväg. Priserna för person- och godsbefordran måste sänkas. Detta är en nyckelfråga om vi ska kunna minska utsläppen av koldioxid och motverka växthuseffekten.” (Satsa på tåg och järnvägar)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, where policy instruments to achieve sustainable infrastructure are emphasized. To decrease the emissions of carbon dioxide (fossil fuels). Indicators of Conception 3.

”Köerna och miljöproblemen i våra större städer kan inte lösas med nya trafikleder. Trängselavgifter ger mindre trängsel och mer resurser för att bygga ut kollektivtrafiken.” (Inför miljörelaterade vägavgifter i storstäderna)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized while the need for policy instruments are considered though crowding fees, to overcome an environmental problem; indicator of Conception 3.

”Vi kräver att regler och skatter ska gynna miljöbättre drivmedel, speciellt förnyelsebara.” (Öka användningen av miljöbättre drivmedel)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while the need for taxes and laws facilitating in the transition to environmentally friendly fuels; different policy instruments; indicators for conception 3.

”Vi kräver en snabb avveckling av bromerade flamskyddsmedel som finns i bland annat

datorskärmar, minskad spridning av tungmetaller, och ett förbud mot AZO-färgämnen i livsmedel.” (Skärpt kemikalielagstiftning)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while enhancing the need for regulation to improve the environmental quality; policy instruments; indicator of Conception 3.

”Det som är miljömässigt riktigt och förenligt med en långsiktig hållbar utveckling ska vara billigt för konsumenten.” (Lägre moms på ekologiskt odlad mat)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while indicating the need to promote a transition to sustainable consumption patterns; policy instruments; indicator of Conception 3.

”Alla ska kunna garanteras tillgång till livsmedel av hög kvalitet, fria från tillförda giftsubstanser. Både Sveriges och EU:s jordbrukspolitik måste främja mat som är ekologisk, GMO-fri och närproducerad.” (Bra mat)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while enhancing the need to support ecologically cultured food through; policy instruments. Indicator of Conception 3.

”Rovfisket måste upphöra Torsken är så gott som slut i både Östersjön och Västerhavet. Fisket måste stoppas till dess att beståndet återhämtat sig. Begränsa trålfisket.” (Rädda livet i havet)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while accentuating the need for policy instruments to control commercial fishing; indicator of Conception 3.

”Sänk skatten på arbete - både inkomstskatter och arbetsgivaravgifter - och höj skatten på energi, råvaror och miljöförstörande utsläpp, även för flyg och fartyg.” (Grön skatteväxling)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while stressing the need for raised taxes on energy, emissions and natural resources; policy instruments, indicator of conception 3.

”Vi vill avveckla kärnkraften med ekonomiska styrmedel och förbättra villkoren för den förnybara energin, bland annat genom att ställa krav på energibolagen att sälja mer förnyelsebar energi. Barsebäck ska stängas omgående.” (Avveckla kärnkraften och ställ om energisystemet)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while stressing the need to promote renewable energy; policy instruments, indicators of Conception 3.

”För att motverka den orättvisa världsordningen och den globala, kortsiktiga kapitalismen kräver vi att Sverige är pådrivande för att Världshandelsorganisationernas avtal underställs FN-konventioner om mänskliga rättigheter och miljöskydd, samt införandet av en internationell skatt på valutatransaktioner (en sk T obinskatt)” (En mer rättvis världsekonomi)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized through the need for environmental standards in international trade; policy instruments, indicator of Conception 3.

*” ... Det finns en annan väg.
den gröna och långsiktigt hållbara ... ”* (Avslutning)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, while the need for changes in the alignment of growth to a sustainable one is accentuated; indicator of Conception 3.

4 The Centre Party

4.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Centerpartiet förenar ekonomisk utveckling med miljöansvar.” (Inledning)

C2: Connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/sustainability. No clear reference to potential conflicts, as well as no references to empirical indicators for Conceptions 3 or 4.

”Det behövs breda uppgörelser som ger stabila besked, ekonomisk utveckling, minskar underskottet i statens budget och hejdar den växande statskulden.” (Inledning)

C1: No connection between economic growth and the environment in any way. Growth is considered separated from environmental sustainability.

”Det bryter den nödvändiga uppgången i ekonomin.” (Rädda välfärdsstaten)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary. No connection to environmental consideration.

”Den viktigaste uppgiften under kommande mandatperiod är att bringa Sveriges ekonomi i balans.” ... ”Det kan bara ske med en kombination av åtgärder. Viktigast av allt är en minskad arbetslöshet och en hållbar ekonomisk utveckling.” (Rädda välfärdsstaten)

C2: Sustainable development; that is a connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability. Considers sustainability in respect to economic growth, but no conflicting dimensions are considered; indicators of Conception 3 or 4.

”En ökad skatte- och avgiftsbelastning på miljövådlig verksamhet är inte bara nödvändig utan också önskvärd.” (Inkomstförstärkningar)

C3: Potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are emphasized; increased fees for environmentally detrimental businesses, as well as increased taxes, policy instruments. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Endast genom att förena ekologiskt ansvar med ekonomisk utveckling skapas grund för en hållbar utveckling där både underskotten i ekonomin och miljöskulden kan elimineras.” (Inkomstförstärkningar)

C3: Emphasizing the need to combine economic growth with environmental consideration to overcome the environmental problems; potential conflicts is emphasized thorough environmental debt.

”Framtidens största utmaning är att bygga ett samhälle som står i samklang med naturen. Det ger nya gröna jobb.” (Kretslopp)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. The need for changes in the alignment of growth, from exploration nature, to adjusting to the limits of nature. Indicator of Conception 3.

”Varje generation måste bära sina kostnader. Miljöskulden skall betalas.” (Kretslopp)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts; an environmental debt due to incorrect evaluation of natural resources; indicator of Conception 3.

”Arbetet med att omforma Sverige från ett exploaterings- och förbrukarsamhälle till ett kretsloppsanpassat samhälle har påbörjats under centerens ledning. (Kretslopp)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. The need for changed alignment of growth, from an

alignment of growth constantly needing more resources and energy, to one following the principles of recycling. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Kretsloppsprinciperna skall fullföljas genom successivt införande av producentansvar. Det utvecklar produkter med allt lägre resursförbrukning, som kan återvinnas och återanvändas. Avfall blir resurser. Avfallsmängderna skall halveras under 90-talet. Förbränning och deponering av sorterat hushållsavfall och industriavfall skall upphöra.” (Kretslopp)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. The need for changes concerning production patterns are accentuated, with less use of resource, as well the need for recycling and reuse. The need for decreased amounts of wastes are also emphasized; then need for policy instruments; Indicators of Conception 3.

”Centern föreslår en stor skatteväxling med sänkt skatt på arbete och företag, men högre skatt på koldioxidutsläpp och miljöstörande råvaruanvändning och verksamhet. Under 90-talet bör en skatteväxling i storleksordningen 25 miljarder kr genomföras. Skatteväxlingen syftar både till att minska miljöskulden och att skapa nya jobb.” (Miljö och jobb)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. Raised taxes on environmentally damaging businesses; policy instruments. Payment of environmental debt; correct evaluation of natural resources. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Omvandlingen till ett kretsloppssamhälle utvecklar ny miljöteknik. Det bidrar till miljöanpassade energi-, transport- och distributionssystem. Stora investeringar krävs. Det ger många nya jobb och en resurssnålare produktion.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. Changes in the alignment of growth is needed, environmentally friendly energy and less resource intensive production is a goal (solutions). Indicators of Conception 3.

”Under de senaste åren har en omfattande utbyggnad av biobränslebaserade värme- och kraftvärmesystem genomförts, främst i kommunal regi. Denna positiva utveckling måste förstärkas genom höjda miljöavgifter, miljöklassning av fordon och drivmedel samt investeringar i miljöanpassade energi- och transportsystem, både för näringslivet och hushållen.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. Raised environmental fees, environmental classification of vehicles and gas, the need for investments in environmentally adjusted infrastructure of energy- and transportation; policy instruments. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Staten bör initiera ett omfattande investeringsprogram för förnybar energi. Det ger bättre miljö. Det ger gröna jobb. ... Statsgarantierna bör flyttas från kärnkraften till nya investeringar i förnybar energi.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. Investments in renewable energy; indicators of Conception 3.

”Kärnkraftsavvecklingen skall fullföljas genom tillförsel av inhemsk miljövänlig energi och en allt effektivare energianvändning.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts. Improved energy efficiency and environmentally friendly energy; indicators of Conception 3.

”Centern avvisar Dennispaketets miljardslukande Öster- och Västerleder genom Storstockholms grönområden, liksom vi avvisar Öresundsbron som miljöfarlig, dyr och otidsenlig.” (Regional utveckling)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/sustainability.

"I städerna gäller det att skapa närhet mellan arbete och bostad, lokal service, bättre miljö och mindre trafik." (Stadsmiljö)

C1: No connection; good environment are considered separated from economic growth.

"Miljöhoten är globala och måste lösas i samverkan. De ekonomiska klyftorna mellan fattiga och rika länder måste bekämpas." (Sverige och EU)

C1: The environment is not considered as connected to economic growth.

"Om folkomröstningen leder till medlemskap skall Sverige driva på i miljöfrågorna, förbättra regionalpolitiken, se till att EUs ekonomiska politik inriktas på trygg sysselsättning och hållbar tillväxt samt verka för att EU tar in nya medlemmar från centrala och östra Europa" (Sverige och EU)

C2: Connection in the sense that sustainable development is considered a goal, rather than just economic growth; no potential conflicts are however emphasized.

4.2 Election Manifesto 2002

"Kravet på lika villkor är högt ställt - både i att ge rättvisa förutsättningar för var och en och i att avstå från att försöka kontrollera människors livsval. Genom en sådan politik läggs grunden för ett samhälle där människor får växa. Så anser vi att Sverige kan bli ett land med stora möjligheter, långsiktig tillväxt och hållbar välfärd." (Livskraft, livskvalitet, självbestämmande)

C2: Connection, where sustainable growth welfare is emphasized; but no potential conflicts.

"Insikten om att ekonomin måste ta mänskliga och miljömässiga hänsyn sprider sig." (Sverige - en del av en värld i ständig förändring)

C3: Connection, and emphasizing of potential conflicts; the economy has to consider the environment. The need for changes in the alignment of growth, indicator of Conception 3.

"Den regionala klyvningen av Sverige har accelererat; regioner med låg tillväxt har tappat än mer i förhållande till några få tillväxtcentra" (Sverige - en del av en värld i ständig förändring)

C1: Economic growth is considered irrespectively of the environment/sustainability.

"Det krävs också en ny balans för att åstadkomma långsiktigt uthållig välfärd." (En ny färdriktning)

C3: Emphasizing potential conflicts, while accentuating the need for a new balance to achieve a sustainable welfare; changes in the alignment of growth.

"Grunden för att kunna erbjuda lika villkor är att ekonomin åstadkommer resurser, för enskilda människor och för det gemensamma. En hållbar ekonomisk utveckling är därför en hörnsten i vår politik. Hållbar utveckling i Sverige förutsätter också en hållbar utveckling globalt." (Hållbar utveckling)

C2: Sustainable development is considered necessary, but no conflict between economic growth and the environment is emphasized.

"Utvecklingen måste vara ekologiskt uthållig. Tillväxten måste ske genom att bruka utan att

förbruka. Den måste ske på de villkor naturen ställer upp, sluta kretsloppen och minska förbrukningen av ändliga naturresurser.” (Hållbar utveckling)

C3: Potential conflicts are emphasized, where the need to lessen the use of finite resources is emphasized, the need for a society of recycling is also accentuated. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Klimatfrågan är den största globala utmaningen. Vi ska vara ett föredöme och bidra till en lösning. Sverige ska ha de bästa villkoren i världen för företag som tar miljöansvar.” Hållbar utveckling)

C3: Connection, where potential conflicts are emphasized, though the need for favourable terms for environmentally friendly businesses.

”Utvecklingen måste vara socialt uthållig. Den måste omfatta hela samhället och alla människor för att bevara trovärdigheten. En särskild utmaning är att ge förutsättningar för länder som dignar under skuldbördor att åstadkomma utveckling. Därför måste en omfattande avskrivning av de fattigaste ländernas skulder komma igång och en fri och rättvis handel stödjas.” (Hållbar utveckling)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, even though a connection between social sustainability and economic growth is emphasized. The need for resources for development is emphasized, but not *sustainable* development.

”Utvecklingen måste också vara ekonomiskt uthållig. Den måste generera överskott för att betala av våra skulder och den får inte bygga på löften som våra barn ska betala.” (Hållbar utveckling)

C1: No connection, economic growth is considered irrespectively of environmental sustainability.

5 The Moderate Party

5.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Att fullfölja återupprättandet av Sverige som en företagar- och tillväxtnation.” (Framtidens idéer - Det bästa för Sverige)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Ekonomi i fritt fall har förbytt till en ekonomi i tydlig uppgång. Då ökade arbetslöshet och budgetunderskott samtidigt som produktion och investeringar rasade - nu ökar produktion och investeringar tydligt och arbetslöshet och underskott minskar.” (Framtidens idéer - Det bästa för Sverige)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection. Economic growth is considered “good” irrespectively of sustainability.

”Svenska företag skall kunna utvecklas och växa i Sverige för att erbjuda nya och riktiga jobb.” (En tid av förändring och framtidstro)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection, though economic growth clearly is the goal.

”Det är genom liberalisering och avregleringar som de europeiska ekonomiernas tillväxt- och konkurrenskraft kan stärkas.” (Ett starkt Sverige i ett starkt Europa)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection, while economic growth clearly is the goal.

”Vi vill ha en kraftfull gemensam europeisk miljöpolitik.” (Ett starkt Sverige i ett starkt Europa)

C1: A statement of the way they wish to proceed with the environmental policy. No connection to economic growth.

”Endast en politik som håller nere skatterna och minskar de offentliga utgifterna kan ge det företagsklimat och den utveckling i ekonomin som krävs för fler och nya jobb. ... Det är genom en växande ekonomi och minskade offentliga utgifter som statens skuldbörda kan stabiliseras 1998 för att därefter kunna minska.” (De två utmaningarna)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”Företagens nya och förmånliga villkor är en stabil grund för ekonomisk tillväxt och nya investeringar.” (De två utmaningarna)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”En fri energimarknad skapar goda förutsättningar för billig och bra energi. Säkerhets- och miljökraven måste ställas högt. Användningen av fossila bränslen skall motverkas. Sverige skall ha världens säkraste kärnkraft.” (De två utmaningarna)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability, in the sense that environmental standards should be regarded concerning the use of energy; policy instruments, indicator of Conception 3. Moreover, the use of fossil fuels should be counteracted. Thus a need for change concerning the use of fossil fuels; indicator of Conception 3. On the other hand, the energy market is considered best unregulated, which imply no conflict in the relationship.

"Höjda skatter för att minska budgetunderskottet motverkar inte det grundläggande problemet att de offentliga utgifterna är för stora utan motverkar investeringar och ekonomisk tillväxt." (Spara för att stoppa skatthöjningar och statskund)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Sänkta skatter på företagande och sparande har skapat nya förutsättningar för tillväxt och riktiga jobb." (Lägre skatter för högre tillväxt)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Miljöpolitikens förnyelse ska fullföljas. Ekonomiska styrmedel utnyttjas konsekvent för att på frivillighetens väg göra alla delaktiga i arbetet på att ge Sverige en ännu bättre miljö. Koldioxidtaket är viktigt och måste påverka bland annat energipolitikens utformning." (En förnyad miljöpolitik.)

C3: A connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability is made, emphasizing potential conflicts in the relationship. Policy instruments are moreover considered necessary; to achieve a better environment and to limit the emissions of carbon dioxide. Indicator for Conception 3.

"Vår biståndspolitik verkar för frihet, demokrati och marknadsekonomi i utvecklingsländerna. Det ger bäst förutsättningar också för ekonomisk utveckling och minskad fattigdom." (Frihet och fred)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection. The need for economic growth is emphasized, but not the need for sustainability.

5.2 Election Manifesto 2002

"Efter nästan ett årtionde av oavbruten uppgång är världsekonomin nu inne i en djup och utdragen nedgång som ställer stora krav på politiken." (Frihet för Sverige)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Under mer än trettio års tid har Sverige halkat efter ekonomiskt. Vår ekonomi växer långsammare än andra länders i goda tider och försvagas kraftigare när det går ned. Avtagande tillväxt har långsiktigt försvagat sysselsättningen och undergrävt välfärdens bas. Vårt land har i dag den sämsta ekonomiska utvecklingen i Norden och ligger på 17:e plats i OECD." (Frihet för Sverige)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Om ingenting görs åt utgifterna och tillväxten riskerar Sverige bara om några år att ha ett budgetunderskott på uppemot 100 miljarder kronor." (Frihet för Sverige)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Det är bara en sådan som kan bryta den onda cirkeln svag tillväxt - försvagad sysselsättning - urholkade finanser - stigande skatter - försämrade tillväxtvillkor." (Sverige behöver en ny regering)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth

and environmental consideration/protection.

"Därför är vårt långsiktiga mål:

att Sveriges ekonomi ska växa snabbare än OECD:s, ...

att Sverige ska ha Europas renaste miljö." (Sverige behöver en ny regering)

C1: No connection, the two goals are considered irrespectively of each other.

"Sverige behöver en rad reformer som syftar till att öka individens och familjens frihet, stärka mångfalden och stimulera tillväxten." (Utmaningar och reformer)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Vårt mål är att svensk ekonomi ska kunna växa med minst tre procent om året och ha en tillväxt som varaktigt överstiger genomsnittet i EU och OECD." (Ekonomi i balans)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Vårt andra viktiga skäl är att sänkta skatter får fart på tillväxten." (Sänkta skatter)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Det moderna samhället, med en dynamisk ekonomi och ett hälsosamt arbetsliv, ett samhälle som möter människors krav på goda livsbetingelser i allt som rör kultur, miljö och fritid, bärs upp av människans kunskap om sig själv och naturen." (Utbildning för kunskap)

C1: No connection, the standard of the environmental is not connected to economic growth.

"Så här vill moderaterna stärka företagen under de fyra närmaste åren:

Rimliga miljöstraff som tar hänsyn till företagets storlek. Samma trygghet för företagare som för anställda i de sociala trygghetssystemen."

(Företagande för nya jobb)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental consideration, where potential conflicts in the relationship between economic growth and environmental sustainability are emphasized; policy instruments are emphasized, indicator of conception 3. Although in this case the argument is for lowered standards.

"Bristen på fungerande infrastruktur lägger hinder i vägen för utvecklingen. I storstadsområdena leder det till att tillväxten hämmas." (En infrastruktur för framtiden)

C1: Economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

"Jord- och skogsbruket, trädgårdsnäringen och fisket är ryggraden i näringslivet i stora delar av landet. De gröna näringarna är som allt annat företagande beroende av ett gott företagsklimat. ... Däremot kan vi erbjuda livsmedel av högsta kvalitet och till låg miljökostnad." (Jordbruk och företagande i glesbygd)

C1: The green companies are considered like everybody else; it is probably not environmentally friendly companies that are implied, but rather the once mentioned in the first sentence. No connection between economic growth and the environmental sustainability

"Vi vill ta till vara Sveriges goda förutsättningar att erbjuda Europas renaste miljö, med de

grönaste skogarna, det klaraste vattnet och den renaste luften.

Sverige har unika möjligheter att vara ett föregångsland i arbetet för en renare miljö. (En god miljö)

C1: No connection between economic growth and the environment, and sustainable development is not mentioned.

”I den moderna ekonomin med dess allt mer miljömedvetna konsumenter är förmågan att leva upp till miljökraven också en förutsättning för lönsamhet och tillväxt. Det kräver ofta stora investeringar i miljövänlig teknologi och förutsätter således en beskattning som inte missgynnar produktionens förnyelse.” (En god miljö)

C3: A connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability is made, in the sense that environmental consideration is perceived as necessary for growth and prosperity. Potential conflicts are emphasized through the need for investments in environmentally friendly technology, favourable taxes for investments to enable a change in production patterns; policy instruments. Indicators of Conception 3.

”Klimatfrågorna är för närvarande det största globala miljöhotet som alla länder har ett ansvar för att möta. Vi slår därför vakt om kärnkraften som den mest miljövänliga energikällan.” (En god miljö)

C1: No connection between the environmental problem and economic growth, thus representing Conception 1.

”Allt miljöarbete har en internationell dimension. I samarbetet inom EU och FN ska Sverige vara pådrivande. Ge Sverige rollen som aktiv samarbetspartner i EU:s och FN:s gemensamma miljöarbete.” (En god miljö)

C1: No connection between economic growth and the environment.

”En skattepolitik som ger Sverige ett attraktivt investeringsklimat för nya satsningar på moderna, miljövänliga produktionsmetoder. Avskaffad skatt på kärnkraftsel och stopp för kärnkraftsavvecklingen. Stopp för subventioner till vattenkraftsutbyggnad.” (En god miljö)

C3: Connection between economic growth and environmental sustainability. Potential conflicts in the relationship are emphasized, while indicators of Conception 3 are found; policy instruments in the form of a propitious climate for environmentally friendly investment.

”En arbetsmarknad för rörlighet och tillväxt” (En arbetsmarknad för rörlighet och tillväxt)

C1: No connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

”EU ska syssla med sådana uppgifter som ger ett reellt mervärde av att lösas gemensamt, till exempel den gemensamma marknaden, utrikes- säkerhetspolitiken, kampen mot internationell brottslighet och terrorism samt gränsöverskridande miljösamarbete.” (Europasamarbetet)

C1: No connection between economic growth and the environment.

”Valet står mellan höjda skatter eller sänkta, mellan mindre valfrihet eller mer, mellan mer regleringar eller avregleringar, mellan fler som måste leva på bidrag eller färre, mellan lägre tillväxt eller högre, mellan ett försämrat klimat för arbete och företagande eller nya och bättre villkor för tillväxtens drivkrafter.” (Alternativ den 15 september)

C1: economic growth is considered necessary, but no connection between economic growth and environmental consideration/protection.

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1. The Social Democrats

1.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Våra mål för de kommande fyra åren är att få igång tillväxten, minska arbetslösheten, skapa sunda statsfinanser och stabilisera statsskulden samt klara välfärden.” (Sverige behöver en ny färdriktning)

”Sverige kan pressa ned arbetslösheten om vi får igång framtidsbyggandet, investeringarna, och får till stånd en uthållig tillväxt.” (Sverige behöver en ny färdriktning)

”Sveriges ekonomi har krympt tre år i rad genom att framtidsbyggandet, investeringarna, har försummats.” (Sverige är på fel väg)

”Den ekonomiska tillbakagången och den borgerliga politiken har lett till en omfördelning till förmån för dem som är välbärgade och till nackdel för dem som har små inkomster.” (Sverige är på fel väg)

”Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.”(Detta vill Socialdemokraterna)

”Frågan om svenskt medlemskap i EU avgörs av folkomröstningen i november. Om svenska folket i höst säger ja till medlemskap kommer en socialdemokratisk regering att sätta kampen mot arbetslösheten och miljöförstöringen främst på dagordningen för vår medverkan i det europeiska samarbetet.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; l. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

”De europeiska socialdemokratiska partierna har gemensamt lagt fram ett program för fler jobb och färre arbetslösa. Programmet innehåller förslag om omfattande investeringar i vägar, järnvägar, miljö, informationsteknologi och i människors kunskap och kompetens. Vi har också lagt fram ett program för att förbättra vår gemensamma miljö. Tillsammans med andra socialdemokratiska partier vill vi genomföra denna politik.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; l. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

1 indicator: Investments to improve the environment; policy instruments concerning the environment.

”Samarbetet med länderna kring Östersjön bör öka, framför allt när det gäller demokrati, kultur och miljö. (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; l. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

Biståndet måste inriktas på att stödja de fattiga ländernas långsiktiga utveckling. Samarbetet med länderna kring Östersjön bör öka, framför allt när det gäller demokrati, kultur och miljö. (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna; l. Samarbeta över gränserna - för fred, arbete och miljö.)

”Att föra vårt land ur den ekonomiska krisen kräver allas medverkan.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Ett nytt samarbete för att klara jobben och välfärden.)

Energihushållning stimuleras. Nya miljö- och energi investeringar ska genomföras. Det ger både bättre miljö och fler arbetstillfällen. Målet är att skapa ett ekologiskt uthålligt samhälle.” (Investera för framtiden)

3 indicators: Efficiency in the use of energy. Investments in energy efficiency *and*

environmentally friendly technology.

”Dagens investeringar är basen för morgondagens produktion och välfärd. Nyckeln till ökad tillväxt - och därmed till fler arbeten och minskad arbetslöshet och förbättrade statsfinanser - är att investeringskrisen kan hävas och att Sveriges produktionsförmåga varaktigt kan höjas. En större andel av landets samlade resurser måste användas till investeringar.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Investera för framtiden)

”Ekonomiska framsteg kräver god infrastruktur: Data- och telenätet bör byggas ut, kommunikationerna förbättras. Bygginvesteringarna ska öka.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Investera för framtiden)

”Vårt program för ökad kunskap är centralt för Sveriges långsiktiga tillväxt.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Arbetsmarknadspolitiken måste läggas om.)

”En socialdemokratisk regering kommer att ändra skattesystemet för att uppnå rättvisa samt stimulera till arbete, bättre miljö, god skattemoral och sunda statsfinanser.” (Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

1 indicator: Policy instruments; taxes to achieve an environmental improvements.

“Miljöskatter höjs.” (Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

1 indicator: Policy instruments; taxes concerning the environment.

”Vår politik är hel och odelbar: Den bygger på en noggrann avvägning mellan åtgärder som ökar tillväxten, pressar tillbaka arbetslösheten, stärker statsinkomsterna och minskar statsutgifterna” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

”Vi ber om väljarnas förtroende att genomföra vårt program för att öka tillväxten, pressa ned arbetslösheten, stabilisera ekonomin och klara välfärden. Vi begär fullmakt av svenska folket att under valperioden vidta de ytterligare åtgärder som kan krävas för att rädda Sveriges ekonomi.” (Detta vill Socialdemokraterna - Statsfinanserna måste saneras!)

6 indicators

2539 Words

0,00236 ≈ 2,4 ‰

1.2 Election Manifesto 2002

”Trots de senaste årens framgångar - stark ekonomi, hög tillväxt, låg arbetslöshet - har känslan av otrygghet ökat.” (Inledning)

”Vi vill forma ett samhälle där ekonomiska, sociala och ekologiska mål är i balans med varandra. Vi vill att Sverige ska vara ett föregångsland som driver på omställningen till en ekologiskt hållbar värld.” (Inledning)

1 indicator: Alignment of growth; changes to achieve an ecologically sustainable growth.

”Socialdemokratin kommer aldrig att medverka till att Sveriges ekonomi undermineras.” (Inledning)

”I takt med att ekonomin växer tillförs också sjukvården stora resurser i form av ökade

skatteintäkter och generella statsbidrag.” (Trygghet för alla - Bättre sjukvård, fler anställda och kortare köer.)

”Inget rör så i grunden människans trygghet som miljön; att luften är giftfri, vattnet rent och grödorna friska. De globala klimatförändringarna är vår tids allvarligaste miljöhot. Sverige ska fortsätta att vara pådrivande i klimatfrågan. Alla länder måste ratificera Kyotoprotokollet. De svenska utsläppen av växthusgaser ska minska med minst fyra procent till år 2010.” (Trygghet för alla - En hållbar utveckling)

2 indicator: The need for policy instruments; Kyotoprotokollet. Decreased use of green house gases (fossil fuels).

”Havens ekosystem är i obalans. Därför vill vi ge havsmiljöfrågorna en central roll i miljöpolitiken. (En hållbar utveckling)

”Kampen mot de farliga kemikalierna måste fortsätta. En aktiv miljöpolitik måste garantera ekologisk mångfald och naturupplevelser för alla. (En hållbar utveckling)

2 indicator: A need to counteract environmentally detrimental chemicals; the need for policy instruments. The importance of protecting biodiversity: correct evaluation of natural resources.

”Samtidigt måste Sverige bli ännu bättre på att ta tillvara de möjligheter till innovation, teknisk utveckling och nya jobb som en miljödriven utveckling innebär. Vi vill stimulera investeringar i tekniskiften. Bilarna måste bli mindre miljöskadliga och den förnyelsebara energin byggas ut. Vi vill satsa på effektivare energianvändning. Den offentliga sektorn måste gå före.” (En hållbar utveckling)

5 indicators: Changes in the alignment of growth, through an environmentally adjusted growth. Investments in environmentally friendly technology. The use of environmentally friendly technology. Renewable energy. Efficiency in the use of energy.

”Sverige ska fortsätta att ha hög tillväxt, låg arbetslöshet och sunda statsfinanser.” (Arbete och tillväxt - Ordning och reda i ekonomin)

”Vi vill etablera ett nationellt centrum för att främja utveckling, entreprenörskap och export inom miljöteknikområdet.” (Ett företagsammare Sverige)

1 indicator: Investment in environmentally friendly technology; policy instruments.

”Tillväxt i hela landet.” (Arbete och tillväxt - Tillväxt i hela landet.)

”Nedrustning och mänskliga rättigheter, folkrätt och hållbar utveckling, en fri och rättvis handel - det är och ska vara hörnstenar i svensk utrikespolitik.” (Sverige i världen - världen i Sverige)

11 indicators

2905 Words

0,00378 ≈ 3,8 ‰

2 The Left Party

2.1 Election Manifesto 1994

”Vi vill förena arbetarrörelsens klassiska värderingar om solidaritet, rättvisa och demokrati med en radikal miljöpolitik.” (Välj solidariteten!)

”Vänsterpartiet står för en långsiktig hållbar utveckling, socialt, miljömässigt och ekonomiskt.” (Välj solidariteten!)

“Vi arbetar för en ekonomisk omfördelning men också för en medveten miljöpolitik.” ...

”Miljöomställning innebär nya jobb liksom en omfördelning av arbetstiden i riktning mot sex timmars arbetsdag.” (Välj solidariteten!)

1 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth.

”Marknadsekonomin måste regleras socialt och enligt miljömässiga hänsyn.” (Byt regering – byt politik)

1 indicator: The need for regulation for environmental reasons; policy instruments.

”En övergång till en mer miljövänlig och mindre en energikrävande produktion, en utbyggnad av järnvägar, samt miljösanering av bostäder och lokaler, kan också ge fler och nya jobb.” (Arbete)

2 indicators: Environmentally friendly technology. Improved energy efficiency in production patterns.

”Det behövs en rationell och effektiv produktion av varor och tjänster för att kunna ha en god konkurrenskraft och åstadkomma en uthållig utveckling.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

”Stora investeringar måste till för att åstadkomma omställningen till en hållbar utveckling. ... Den privata konsumtionen måste stå tillbaka för detta. Samtidigt krävs en radikal omfördelning till lågavlönade. Så skapas en hållbar tillväxt som varken föröder resurser eller miljö.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

2 indicators: Investments are needed to achieve changes in the alignment of growth. Consumption patterns have to change to achieve this transition.

”Räntebetalningar kring ett hundra miljarder kronor tränger ut socialt viktiga poster och nödvändiga miljöinvesteringar.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

1 indicator: Environmental investments are considered necessary.

”Vi vill beskatta energianvändning och lägga höga avgifter på produkter som skadar människors hälsa eller hotar miljön.” (Rättvisa är produktivt)

2 indicators: Environmental taxes; policy instruments. Environmental fees; policy instruments.

”Miljöfrågan intar en särställning genom att den handlar om människans långsiktiga överlevnad på jorden. Problemen är ofta globala, men lösningarna lokala. Världens länder antog 1992 ett program för en hållbar utveckling för det nästa århundrade. ... Vänsterpartiet betonar tre huvudinriktningar för att vi ska nå målet om en hållbar utveckling.”

1. Välj spår istället för motorväg

I Sverige släpps varje år ut ofattbara 60 miljoner ton koldioxid, som påverkar jordens klimat negativt. Det mesta kommer från vägtrafiken. Enorma motorvägsinvesteringar som Dennispaket i Stockholm och Adelsonpaket i Göteborg, liksom Öresundsbron, binder oss till trafiksystem som leder mot global miljökatastrof. Framtidens transportsystem måste bygga på energisnåla järnvägar, förnyelsebara biobränslen och förbättrad kollektivtrafik. ...” (Miljö - solidaritet med kommande generationer)

3 indicators: The use of fossil fuels (emissions of carbon dioxide). Improved energy efficiency in the infrastructure. Environmentally friendly technology (renewable energy).

” ... 2. Miljöstatsning ger jobb

Framtidens arbetstillfällen kommer att skapas inom miljösektorn. Börja avveckla kärnkraften nu! Att ersätta olja, kol och kärnkraft med förnyelsebara källor som biomassa, sol och vind samt resursbevarande byggteknik kommer att skapa många nya jobb inom forskning, skogsbruk, jordbruk och inom byggsektorn. Högteknologi lägger grunden för en miljöanpassad industri som kan ge exportinkomster när traditionella näringar sviktar. Miljöomställningen blir en nödvändighet för hela världen.” (Miljö – solidaritet med kommande generationer)

5 indicators: The use of fossil fuels (causes). Changes to environmentally friendly technology (renewable energy; solutions). Improved efficiency in the use of resources (solutions). Changes of resource consuming production patterns. An environmental transition; changes in the alignment of growth.

” ... 3. Ändra livsstil - för miljöns skull

Som konsumenter kan vi påverka miljön genom våra köpvanor. Papper och tvättmedel är två produkter där konsumenter visat sin makt och förändrat utvecklingen. Men det behövs en kombination av kunskap hos oss konsumenter och politisk mod att fatta beslut som innebär att produkter granskas i hela sin livscykel innan de släpps ut på marknaden. Konsumenten själv kan inte bedöma vilka egenskaper varor har som avfall i en avlägsen framtid. Här måste samhällets regler skärpas. Även ekonomiska styrmedel är nödvändiga.” (Miljö – solidaritet med kommande generationer)

3 indicators: Patterns of consumption. Increased environmental regulation; policy instruments. Economical policy instruments. To achieve changes in consumption patterns.

20 indicators

2122 Words

0,00942 ≈ 9,4 ‰

2.2 Election Manifesto 2002

”Den som tycker att vinstintresset är viktigare än en bra miljö blir knappast nöjd med vår politik.” (Rättvisa och solidaritet)

”Det kräver en aktiv näringspolitik, en bättre arbetsmiljö som ger plats för alla, bra förutsättningar för småföretagande och en miljöomställning till en hållbar produktion.”

(Arbete åt alla)

1 indicator: An environmental transition; changes in the alignment of growth.

”Pensionsfonder och andra offentliga aktörer på kapitalmarknaden ska investera sitt kapital i syfte att bekämpa köns- och klassorättvisor, utjämna makten mellan arbete och kapital och till att främja en god och rättvis hushållning med jordens resurser.” (Minska storföretagens makt)

”Vårt sätt att producera och leva måste ändras drastiskt för att kunna bli långsiktigt uthålligt. I den rika världen kan vi inte fortsätta konsumera merparten av jordens resurser.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

3 indicators: Patterns of production need to change. Life styles need to change. Changes in the use of resources; changes in the alignment of growth that does not consume more and more resources.

”Därför måste miljöpolitikens mål vara att vi bara använder en rättvis andel av miljöutrymmet. Detta kräver en effektiv och minskad resursanvändning och kraftigt reducerade utsläpp av miljöförstörande ämnen.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

3 indicator: Changes in the overuse of environmental space. Improved efficiency in the use of resources..

”Vinstintressen och sysselsättningskrav får inte överordnas målet om en ekologiskt hållbar utveckling.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

”Vänsterpartiet anser att för samhället avgörande infrastruktur som till exempel energibolag och vattenverk ska ägas av folket gemensamt och inte enbart drivas i vinstintresse. Genom en grön skatteväxling kan resursslöseriet minska.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

1 indicators: Tax changes to achieve a decreased use of resources.

”Tillsynen av miljö- och kemikalielagstiftningen måste bli mycket effektivare. Straffen för miljöbrott bör skärpas och det skall bli lättare att fälla dem som gör sig skyldiga till miljöbrott.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

3 indicators: Surveillance of environmental regulation should be more effective; policy instruments. Raised penalties for environmental crimes; policy instruments. Simplified procedure to convict “environmental criminals”; policy instruments.

”Ett av de allvarligaste miljöproblemen är klimatförändringar orsakade av utsläppen av växthusgaser. För att kraftigt minska utsläppen vill vi öka förutsättningarna för minskad energianvändning och främja miljövänlig och energisnål teknik och förnybara bränslen.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

5 indicators: The use of fossil fuels; emphasized through the problem of greenhouse gas emissions. Investments to achieve; 1. Improved efficiency in the use of energy, 2. Environmentally friendly *and* energy efficient technology, 3. Renewable energy sources.

”Avvecklingen av kärnkraften ska fortsätta. Vi vill öka de ekonomiska resurserna för att möjliggöra sanering av förorenad mark runtom i landet.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

”Vänsterpartiet verkar för en jämställd och sammanhållen trafikpolitik. Kollektivtrafiken ska byggas ut. Transporter ska föras över från väg till järnväg och sjöfart. Alla transporter måste bära sina fulla miljökostnader.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

1 indicator: All infrastructures must carry its own environmental cost; correct evaluation of natural resources.

”Vi vill kunna bedriva en mer långtgående miljöpolitik än vad EUs fria varumarknad idag ger oss rätt till och vi vill lägga om jordbrukspolitiken i mer miljövänlig riktning. Idag kan vi inte fullt ut överblicka de olika risker som finns med genetiskt modifierade grödor. Vi vill därför tillämpa försiktighetsprincipen och ha ett förbud - ett moratorium - mot kommersiell odling av genetiskt modifierade grödor (GMO) till dess vi vet konsekvenserna av att sätta ut dessa grödor. Över hela jorden hotas i dag den biologiska mångfalden, det vill säga den mångfald av livsformer och naturtyper som utgör jordens ekosystem. Den mångfald som idag går förlorad kan inte återskapas. Allt bistånd från Sverige borde prövas utifrån en miljösynpunkt, så att det inte bidrar till att utarma biologisk mångfald i andra länder. (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

4 indicators: A transformation of the agriculture policy in an environmentally direction, through the use of policy instruments; the precautionary principle and through prohibition of commercial culture of GMO-crops; two different policy instrument to improve environmental quality. The threat towards biodiversity is enhanced (cause). The need for correct evaluation through regulation to protect biodiversity is also enhanced; policy instruments (solution).

”Den biologiska mångfalden i Sverige hotas framförallt av kortsiktiga vinstkrav i skogs- och jordbruket. Därför måste bevarandet av biologisk mångfald vara en utgångspunkt för både lagstiftning och beslut om ekonomiska villkor för dessa näringar.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

3 indicators: Incorrect evaluation of natural resources; the threat towards biodiversity. Jurisdiction to protect biodiversity; policy instruments. Economical terms to promote protection; policy instruments.

”Målsättningen bör vara att bevara alla djur- och växtarter i Sverige.” (Rättvist miljöutrymme)

”Det behövs ekonomisk utveckling i alla regioner.” (Regional rättvisa)

”Många regioner som har svag tillväxt är rika på naturtillgångar” (Regional rättvisa)

”En miljöomställning med biobränslen och bioenergi ger arbete över hela Sverige. En del av vinsterna från vattenkraften ska återföras till de vattenkraftproducerande regionerna.” (Regional rättvisa)

1 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth, through the use of environmentally friendly technology.

”En omfattande handel kan ha både positiva och negativa konsekvenser. Till det positiva hör att den kan bidra till en välståndsökning medan negativa konsekvenser kan uppstå på grund av exempelvis ökade transporter. Dagens tullar och handelsregler gynnar nästan enbart de redan rika och försvårar dessutom ofta för länder att ställa höga miljökrav. Handelsreglerna måste därför förändras så att de bidrar till att utjämna skillnader mellan fattiga och rika och mellan kvinnor och män. Världshandeln måste anpassas till vad naturen tål. Därför måste fokus flyttas från västvärldens krav på tillgång till råvaror och avsättningsmarknader till de fattiga ländernas berättigade krav på utveckling. Internationella handelsavtal ska fullt ut respektera FN-konventioner om miljö och arbetsvillkor.” (Global rättvisa)

3 indicators: Current trade regulation complicate environmental regulation; environmental regulation is thus considered necessary; policy instruments. International trade regulation should also respect current environmental regulation; policy instruments. International trade should also be adjusted to the limits of nature; indicator of the need policy instruments to

protect the environment.

”De internationella institutionernas politik måste förändras från att ensidigt kräva avregleringar och ökade klasskillnader inom länder till att verka för hållbar utveckling, rättvisa och generell välfärd för alla. Fattiga länders skuldbörda till den rika världen måste minska genom att skulder avskrivs.” (Global rättvisa)

”Utsläppen av växthusgaser ska minskas genom en radikal minskning av de fossilbränslebaserade transportererna.” (Regeringsmakten)

1 indicator: Decreased use of fossil fuels through a decrease in transportation using fossil fuels.

”Vi vill skapa ett samhälle som är ekologiskt hållbart och där vi bara använder en rättvis del av vårt samlade miljöutrymme. Det innebär att all politik också måste ta hänsyn till vad naturen tål. Bara den politik som gör det är långsiktigt möjlig och ansvarsfull.” (Rättvisa är möjlig)

2 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth; a transition to an environmentally sustainable society, *without* overuse of environmental space.

31 indicators

5682 Words

0,00545 ≈ 5,5 ‰

3 The Green Party

3.1 Election Manifesto 1994

”Vi i Sverige har mycket stora möjligheter att bygga ett ekologiskt hållbart samhälle och därmed bli en förebild.” (Ingress)

1 indicator: Building an ecologically sustainable society: changes in the alignment of growth to an ecologically sustainable one.

”Den gångna valperioden - utan miljöpartiet i riksdagen - har präglats av EU-anpassning, ökad arbetslöshet och återtag inom miljöpolitiken.” (Regeringsfrågan)

”Samtidigt anser vi att en socialdemokratisk regering, byggd på egen majoritet i riksdagen eller byggd på stöd från ett vänsterparti som såväl saknar tradition att föra en ansvarsfull budgetpolitik som att ställa nödvändiga miljökrav, skulle innebära en olycklig maktkoncentration och cementering av gammal betongpolitik.” (Regeringsfrågan)

1 indicator: The need for environmental standards: policy instruments.

”Sverige styrs idag av en nästan självgående stressekonomi. För att återerövra demokratin och säkra långsiktiga samt hållbara investeringar, krävs en övergång till en robust ekonomi som tar tillvara vårt lands unika förutsättningar.” (Budgetunderskott)

2 indicators: The need for sustainable investments: policy instruments. Changes in the alignment of growth.

”Miljöpartiet de Gröna har under hela 80-talet pläderat för långtgående förändringar för att underlätta övergången från industrisamhällets tillväxtfas till det ekologiskt och socialt hållbara informations- och tjänstesamhället.” (Budgetunderskott)

2 indicators: The alignment of growth (industrial growth) is the cause of the problems. Changes in the alignment of growth (ecologically sustainable service society) are the solution to the problem.

”Miljöpartiet de Gröna går till val med främst följande politiska principer när det gäller att förbättra statens dåliga ekonomi.

1. Investeringar i modern miljö-, energi-, informations- och resursteknik stimuleras genom bl a skatteväxling och lagstiftning. Därmed kan de gröna stråken och tjänsteproduktionen i ekonomin växa. ... ” (Budgetunderskottet)

5 indicators: Investments in environmentally friendly technology, energy efficient technology and less resource effective technology. Changes in taxation to promote this; policy instruments. Changes in jurisdiction to promote this; policy instruments.

” ... 2. Arbetslösheten bekämpas genom miljöinvesteringar, skatteväxling och genom att sänka arbetstiden och därmed fördela jobben. ... ” (Budgetunderskottet)

1 indicator: Environmental investments; policy instruments.

”En röst på Miljöpartiet de Gröna är en röst för en radikal miljöpolitik och en rättvis ekonomisk politik.” (Ja till miljön och jobben – Nej till EU!

”Sverige skall aktivt och pådrivande arbeta internationellt för införande av en miljödomstol under FN samt för att påverka Världsbanken så att dess projekt ges en ekologisk inriktning.”

(Internationell miljöpolitik)

1 indicator: The introduction of an international environmental tribunal; policy instruments.

”Första stegen i en långtgående skatteväxling genomförs omedelbart genom att arbetsgivaravgifterna sänks och skatterna på energi (fossila bränslen och uran), utsläpp och råvaror ökas. Totalt bör 100 miljarder kronor (av totalt ca 400 miljarder) överföras från skatt på arbete till energi, råvaror och utsläpp under en tioårsperiod. Hushållen kompenseras inom skatteväxlingssystemet genom sänkt moms på basmat, kollektivtrafik och miljömärkta produkter.” (Skatteväxling)

4 indicators: Raised taxes on energy, emissions and natural resources. Lowered tax on environmentally friendly goods.

”Lagstiftning fastställer slutdatum för svensk kärnkraft som komplement till att kärnkraftbolagens försäkringsansvar för yttre skada marknadsanpassas och ökas från 1,2 miljarder kronor till 1000 miljarder kronor. Överföringskapaciteten för elkraft från Norrland och Norge förstärks.” (Energipolitiken)

1 indicator: Correct evaluation of natural resources; indicator of Conception 3.

”De orörda älvarna grundlagsskyddas och anslagen för inköp och bevarande av bl a urskog och gammelskog tredubblas till ca 600 miljoner kronor årligen. Medel avsätts för betalning av miljöskulden. Miljöskyddskommittens förslag till miljöbalk ersätter omedelbart nuvarande regerings förslag.” (Naturvården)

3 indicator: Protecting the environment through laws and through investments: Policy instruments concerning the environment. Correct evaluation of natural resources; the need to pay an environmental debt.

”Miljöavgifter på 300 procent införs på konstväve och bekämpningsmedel; medlen återförs till jordbruket vilket ger ekologisk odling konkurrensfördelar jämfört med idag. Kadmium förbjuds i konstgödsel.” (Jordbruket)

3 indicators: Environmental fees on artificial fertilizers and economic promotion of ecological culture; policy instruments. Regulation on fertilizers; policy instruments.

”Järnvägstunnel under Öresund utreds som alternativ till bron, motorvägssatsningar i Dennispaket (Stockholm) och Adelsohnpaket (Göteborg) stoppas.” (Öresundsbron)

24 Indicators

1445 Words

0,01660 ≈ 17 ‰

3.2 Election Manifesto 2002

- ”för en långsiktigt hållbar utveckling ...

Solidaritet med djur, natur och det ekologiska systemet,

Solidaritet med kommande generationer,” (- för en långsiktigt hållbar utveckling)

1 indicator: Considering future generations: indicator of Conception 3.

”Vi utmanar därför många starka krafter, som utnyttjar människa och miljö för kortsiktig ekonomisk vinning. ... Både vi människor och vår gemensamma livsmiljö slits ner. Samhällsstressen drabbar såväl ekosystem som oss själva och våra barn. Vår politik erbjuder

en väg bort från stress, ohälsa, överkonsumtion och miljöförstöring. Vårt mål är ett samhälle i balans med naturen, där allas resurser och möjligheter tas tillvara.” (Inledning)

2 indicators: Over consumption as a problem; consumption patterns. Changes in the alignment of growth to achieve a society “in balance with nature”; changes in the alignment of growth.

”Vi värnar om djur och natur, kommande generationer och människorna i Sverige och världen.” (Inledning)

1 indicator: Considers future generations; emphasizes the generational aspect.

”De kommande åren vill vi arbeta för: ...

En omställning som utgår från våra barn och barnbarns rätt till en hållbar framtid och livsmiljö.” (Inledning)

1 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth.

”Grönt gynnsamt näringsklimat” (13. Grönt gynnsamt näringsklimat)

1 indicator: Business climate in favour of environmentally friendly businesses; the need for policy instruments.

”Ett modernt och hållbart transportsystem kräver att en stor del av gods- och persontransporterna förs över till järnväg. Priserna för person- och godsbefordran måste sänkas. Detta är en nyckelfråga om vi ska kunna minska utsläppen av koldioxid och motverka växthuseffekten.” (Satsa på tåg och järnvägar)

2 indicators: Lowered prices on railways to achieve sustainable infrastructure (solutions); policy instruments. Emissions of greenhouse gases (causes); the use of fossil fuels.

”Köerna och miljöproblemen i våra större städer kan inte lösas med nya trafikleder. Trängselavgifter ger mindre trängsel och mer resurser för att bygga ut kollektivtrafiken.” (Inför miljörelaterade vägavgifter i storstäderna)

1 indicator: Economical policy instruments to overcome an environmental problem.

”Vi kräver att regler och skatter ska gynna miljöbättre drivmedel, speciellt förnyelsebara.” (Öka användningen av miljöbättre drivmedel)

2 indicators: Regulation *and* taxes in favour of environmentally friendly fuels (energy); policy instruments.

”Vi kräver en snabb avveckling av bromerade flamskyddsmedel som finns i bland annat datorskärmar, minskad spridning av tungmetaller, och ett förbud mot AZO-färgämnen i livsmedel.” (Skärpt kemikalielagstiftning)

3 indicators: Winding up of certain chemicals. Decreased diffusion of heavy metals. Regulation towards certain chemicals; the need for policy instruments.

”Det som är miljömässigt riktigt och förenligt med en långsiktigt hållbar utveckling ska vara billigt för konsumenten.” (Lägre moms på ekologiskt odlad mat)

1 indicator: Low price on environmentally friendly goods; policy instruments.

”Alla ska kunna garanteras tillgång till livsmedel av hög kvalitet, fria från tillförda giftsubstanser. Både Sveriges och EU:s jordbrukspolitik måste främja mat som är ekologisk, GMO-fri och närproducerad.” (Bra mat)

1 indicator: Promotion of ecological food; policy instruments.

”Rovfisket måste upphöra. Torsken är så gott som slut i både Östersjön och Västerhavet. Fisket måste stoppas till dess att beståndet återhämtat sig. Begränsa trålfisket.” (Rädda livet i havet)

3 indicators: Fish stop and limitation on trawling fishery; policy instruments.

”Sänk skatten på arbete - både inkomstskatter och arbetsgivaravgifter - och höj skatten på energi, råvaror och miljöförstörande utsläpp, även för flyg och fartyg.” (Grön skatteväxling)

3 indicator: Raised taxes on energy, natural resources and emissions; policy instruments.

”Vi vill avveckla kärnkraften med ekonomiska styrmedel och förbättra villkoren för den förnybara energin, bland annat genom att ställa krav på energibolagen att sälja mer förnyelsebar energi. Barsebäck ska stängas omgående.” (Avveckla kärnkraften och ställ om energisystemet)

1 indicator: Improved terms for renewable energy; policy instruments.

”För att motverka den orättvisa världsordningen och den globala, kortsiktiga kapitalismen kräver vi att Sverige är pådrivande för att Världshandelsorganisationernas avtal underställs FN-konventioner om mänskliga rättigheter och miljöskydd, samt införandet av en internationell skatt på valutatransaktioner (en sk T obinskatt)” (En mer rättvis världsekonomi)

1 indicator: Changes in the organisation in world economy; the need for world trade to follow environmental regulation; policy instruments.

” ... Det finns en annan väg, den gröna och långsiktigt hållbara ... ” (Avslutning)

1 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth; to achieve sustainability.

25 Indicators

1480 Words

0,01689 ≈ 17 ‰

4 The Centre Party

4.1 Election Manifesto 1994

”Centerpartiet förenar ekonomisk utveckling med miljöansvar.” (Inledning)

”Det behövs breda uppgörelser som ger stabila besked, ekonomisk utveckling, minskar underskottet i statens budget och hejdar den växande statskulden.” (Inledning)

”Det bryter den nödvändiga uppgången i ekonomin.” (Rädda välfärdsstaten)

”Den viktigaste uppgiften under kommande mandatperiod är att bringa Sveriges ekonomi i balans.” ... ”Det kan bara ske med en kombination av åtgärder. Viktigast av allt är en minskad arbetslöshet och en hållbar ekonomisk utveckling.” (Rädda välfärdsstaten)

”En ökad skatte- och avgiftsbelastning på miljövådlig verksamhet är inte bara nödvändig utan också önskvärd.” (Inkomstförstärkningar)

2 indicators: Tax changes and fees on environmentally detrimental activity; Policy instruments.

”Endast genom att förena ekologiskt ansvar med ekonomisk utveckling skapas grund för en hållbar utveckling där både underskotten i ekonomin och miljöskulden kan elimineras.” (Inkomstförstärkningar)

1 indicator: Environmental debt: incorrect evaluation of natural resources.

”Framtidens största utmaning är att bygga ett samhälle som står i samklang med naturen. Det ger nya gröna jobb. (Kretslopp)

1 indicator: Changes in the alignment of growth to achieve environmental sustainability.

”Varje generation måste bära sina kostnader. Miljöskulden skall betalas.” (Kretslopp)

1 indicator: Paying environmental debt: correct evaluation of natural resources.

”Arbetet med att omforma Sverige från ett exploaterings- och förbrukarsamhälle till ett kretsloppsanpassat samhälle har påbörjats under centerns ledning. (Kretslopp)

2 indicators: Alignment of growth in need of too much resources and energy (cause). Changes of the alignment of growth (solution).

”Kretsloppsprinciperna skall fullföljas genom successivt införande av producentansvar. Det utvecklar produkter med allt lägre resursförbrukning, som kan återvinnas och återanvändas. Avfall blir resurser. Avfallsmängderna skall halveras under 90-talet. Förbränning och deponering av osorterat hushållsavfall och industriavfall skall upphöra.” (Kretslopp)

5 indicator: Producer responsible for their waste to promote less use of resources, recycling and reuse. The amount of waste needs to be diminished; policy instruments. Combustion and deposition of unsorted waste needs to stop; policy instruments

”Centern föreslår en stor skatteväxling med sänkt skatt på arbete och företag, men högre skatt på koldioxidutsläpp och miljöstörande råvaruanvändning och verksamhet. Under 90-talet bör en skatteväxling i storleksordningen 25 miljarder kr genomföras. Skatteväxlingen syftar både till att minska miljöskulden och att skapa nya jobb.” (Miljö och jobb)

3 indicators: Tax changes on emissions of carbon dioxide and environmentally damaging activity; policy instruments. Emphasizing of an environmental debt: incorrect evaluation of natural resources.

”Omvandlingen till ett kretsloppssamhälle utvecklar ny miljöteknik. Det bidrar till miljöanpassade energi-, transport- och distributionssystem. Stora investeringar krävs. Det ger många nya jobb och en resurssnålare produktion.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

3 indicators: Changes in the alignment of growth, to a more ecological one; leads to development of environmentally friendly technology. Environmentally friendly energy is a solution. Less resource intensive production is a solution.

”Under de senaste åren har en omfattande utbyggnad av biobränslebaserade värme- och kraftvärmesystem genomförts, främst i kommunal regi. Denna positiva utveckling måste förstärkas genom höjda miljöavgifter, miljöklassning av fordon och drivmedel samt investeringar i miljöanpassade energi- och transportsystem, både för näringslivet och hushållen.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

3 indicators: The need to supports development of renewable energy through ; raised environmental fees, environmental classification of vehicles, investments in environmentally friendly energy; policy instruments.

”Staten bör initiera ett omfattande investeringsprogram för förnybar energi. Det ger bättre miljö. Det ger gröna jobb. ... Statsgarantierna bör flyttas från kärnkraften till nya investeringar i förnybar energi.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

2 indicators: Investments in environmentally friendly technology. Promotion of renewable energy; policy instruments.

”Kärnkraftsavvecklingen skall fullföljas genom tillförsel av inhemsk miljövänlig energi och en allt effektivare energianvändning.” (Investeringar för Miljö-Sverige)

2 indicators: Promotion of environmentally friendly energy *and* efficiency in the use of energy.

”Centern avvisar Dennispaketets miljardslukande Öster- och Västerleder genom Storstockholms grönområden, liksom vi avvisar Öresundsbron som miljöfarlig, dyr och otidsenlig.” (Regional utveckling)

”I städerna gäller det att skapa närhet mellan arbete och bostad, lokal service, bättre miljö och mindre trafik.” (Stadsmiljö)

”Miljöhoten är globala och måste lösas i samverkan. De ekonomiska klyftorna mellan fattiga och rika länder måste bekämpas.” (Sverige och EU)

”Om folkomröstningen leder till medlemskap skall Sverige driva på i miljöfrågorna, förbättra regionalpolitiken, se till att EUs ekonomiska politik inriktas på trygg sysselsättning och hållbar tillväxt samt verka för att EU tar in nya medlemmar från centrala och östra Europa” (Sverige och EU)

25 indicators

1948 Words

0,01283 ≈ 13 ‰

4.2 Election Manifesto - 2002

”Kravet på lika villkor är högt ställt - både i att ge rättvisa förutsättningar för var och en och i att avstå från att försöka kontrollera människors livsval. Genom en sådan politik läggs grunden för ett samhälle där människor får växa. Så anser vi att Sverige kan bli ett land med stora möjligheter, långsiktig tillväxt och hållbar välfärd.” (Kompass för samhällsförnyare - Centerpartiets valplattform 2002)

”Insikten om att ekonomin måste ta mänskliga och miljömässiga hänsyn sprider sig.” (Sverige - en del av en värld i ständig förändring)

1 indicator: The economy need to take environmental consideration; policy instruments.

”Den regionala klyvningen av Sverige har accelererat; regioner med låg tillväxt har tappat än mer i förhållande till några få tillväxtcentra” (Sverige - en del av en värld i ständig förändring)

”Det krävs också en ny balans för att åstadkomma långsiktigt uthållig välfärd.” (En ny färdriktning)

1 indicator: The need for changes in the alignment of growth to achieve sustainability is emphasized.

”Grunden för att kunna erbjuda lika villkor är att ekonomin åstadkommer resurser, för enskilda människor och för det gemensamma. En hållbar ekonomisk utveckling är därför en hörnsten i vår politik. Hållbar utveckling i Sverige förutsätter också en hållbar utveckling globalt.” (Hållbar utveckling)

Utvecklingen måste vara ekologiskt uthållig. Tillväxten måste ske genom att bruka utan att förbruka. Den måste ske på de villkor naturen ställer upp, sluta kretsloppen och minska förbrukningen av ändliga naturresurser.” (Hållbar utveckling)

4 indicators: Alignment of growth has to be ecologically sustainable; changes in the use of resources is needed, an adjustments to the terms of nature, changes in the accumulation of waste, as well as decreased use of finite resources.

”Klimatfrågan är den största globala utmaningen. Vi ska vara ett föredöme och bidra till en lösning. Sverige ska ha de bästa villkoren i världen för företag som tar miljöansvar.” (Hållbar utveckling)

2 indicators: Favourable terms for environmentally friendly companies; policy instruments.

”Utvecklingen måste vara socialt uthållig. Den måste omfatta hela samhället och alla människor för att bevara trovärdigheten. En särskild utmaning är att ge förutsättningar för länder som dignar under skuldbördor att åstadkomma utveckling. Därför måste en omfattande avskrivning av de fattigaste ländernas skulder komma igång och en fri och rättvis handel stödjas.” (Hållbar utveckling)

”Utvecklingen måste också vara ekonomiskt uthållig. Den måste generera överskott för att betala av våra skulder och den får inte bygga på löften som våra barn ska betala.” (Hållbar utveckling)

8 indicators

2617 Words

0,00305 ≈ 3 ‰

5 The Moderate Party

5.1 Election manifesto 1994

”Att fullfölja återupprättandet av Sverige som en företagar- och tillväxtnation.” (Framtidens idéer - Det bästa för Sverige)

“Ekonomi i fritt fall har förbytts till en ekonomi i tydlig uppgång. Då ökade arbetslöshet och budgetunderskott samtidigt som produktion och investeringar rasade - nu ökar produktion och investeringar tydligt och arbetslöshet och underskott minskar.” (Framtidens idéer - Det bästa för Sverige)

”Svenska företag skall kunna utvecklas och växa i Sverige för att erbjuda nya och riktiga jobb.” (En tid av förändring och framtidstro)

”Det är genom liberalisering och avregleringar som de europeiska ekonomiernas tillväxt- och konkurrenskraft kan stärkas.” (Ett starkt Sverige i ett starkt Europa)

”Vi vill ha en kraftfull gemensam europeisk miljöpolitik.” (Ett starkt Sverige i ett starkt Europa)

”Endast en politik som håller nere skatterna och minskar de offentliga utgifterna kan ge det företagsklimat och den utveckling i ekonomin som krävs för fler och nya jobb. ... Det är genom en växande ekonomi och minskade offentliga utgifter som statens skuldbörda kan stabiliseras 1998 för att därefter kunna minska.” (De två utmaningarna)

”Företagens nya och förmånliga villkor är en stabil grund för ekonomisk tillväxt och nya investeringar.” (De två utmaningarna)

”En fri energimarknad skapar goda förutsättningar för billig och bra energi. Säkerhets- och miljökraven måste ställas högt. Användningen av fossila bränslen skall motverkas. Sverige skall ha världens säkraste kärnkraft.” (De två utmaningarna)

2 indicators: Environmental standards for the energy market; policy instruments. The use of fossil fuels is considered a problem and should be counteracted; policy instruments.

”Höjda skatter för att minska budgetunderskottet motverkar inte det grundläggande problemet att de offentliga utgifterna är för stora utan motverkar investeringar och ekonomisk tillväxt.” (Spara för att stoppa skattehöjningar och statsskuld)

”Sänkta skatter på företagande och sparande har skapat nya förutsättningar för tillväxt och riktiga jobb.” (Lägre skatter för högre tillväxt)

”Miljöpolitikens förnyelse ska fullföljas. Ekonomiska styrmedel utnyttjas konsekvent för att på frivillighetens väg göra alla delaktiga i arbetet på att ge Sverige en ännu bättre miljö. Koldioxidtaket är viktigt och måste påverka bland annat energipolitikens utformning.” (En förnyad miljöpolitik.)

2 indicators: Economical policy instruments to achieve an improved environment. A limit on emissions of carbon dioxide (fossil fuels) is accentuated; policy instruments.

”Vår biståndspolitik verkar för frihet, demokrati och marknadsekonomi i utvecklingsländerna.

Det ger bäst förutsättningar också för ekonomisk utveckling och minskad fattigdom.” (Frihet och fred)

4 indicators

2441 Words

0,00163 ≈ 1,6 ‰

5.2 Election manifesto 2002

”Efter nästan ett årtionde av oavbruten uppgång är världsekonomin nu inne i en djup och utdragen nedgång som ställer stora krav på politiken.” (Frihet för Sverige)

”Under mer än trettio års tid har Sverige halkat efter ekonomiskt. Vår ekonomi växer långsammare än andra länders i goda tider och försvagas kraftigare när det går ned. Avtagande tillväxt har långsiktigt försvagat sysselsättningen och undergrävt välfärdens bas. Vårt land har i dag den sämsta ekonomiska utvecklingen i Norden och ligger på 17:e plats i OECD.” (Frihet för Sverige)

”Om ingenting görs åt utgifterna och tillväxten riskerar Sverige bara om några år att ha ett budgetunderskott på uppemot 100 miljarder kronor.” (Frihet för Sverige)

”Det är bara en sådan som kan bryta den onda cirkeln svag tillväxt - försvagad sysselsättning - urholkade finanser - stigande skatter - försämrade tillväxtvillkor.” (Sverige behöver en ny regering)

”Därför är vårt långsiktiga mål:
att Sveriges ekonomi ska växa snabbare än OECD:s, ...
att Sverige ska ha Europas renaste miljö.” (Sverige behöver en ny regering)

”Sverige behöver en rad reformer som syftar till att öka individens och familjens frihet, stärka mångfalden och stimulera tillväxten.” (Utmaningar och reformer)

”Vårt mål är att svensk ekonomi ska kunna växa med minst tre procent om året och ha en tillväxt som varaktigt överstiger genomsnittet i EU och OECD.” (Ekonomi i balans)

”Vårt andra viktiga skäl är att sänkta skatter får fart på tillväxten.” (Sänkta skatter)

”Det moderna samhället, med en dynamisk ekonomi och ett hälsosamt arbetsliv, ett samhälle som möter människors krav på goda livsbetingelser i allt som rör kultur, miljö och fritid, bärs upp av människans kunskap om sig själv och naturen.” (Utbildning för kunskap)

”Så här vill moderaterna stärka företagen under de fyra närmaste åren:
Rimliga miljöstraffavgifter som tar hänsyn till företagets storlek. Samma trygghet för företagare som för anställda i de sociala trygghetssystemen.” (Företagande för nya jobb)
1 indicator; Reasonable environmental standards are emphasized; policy instruments.

”Bristen på fungerande infrastruktur lägger hinder i vägen för utvecklingen. I storstadsområdena leder det till att tillväxten hämmas.” (En infrastruktur för framtiden)

”Jord- och skogsbruket, trädgårdsnäringen och fisket är ryggraden i näringslivet i stora delar av landet. De gröna näringarna är som allt annat företagande beroende av ett gott företagsklimat. ... Däremot kan vi erbjuda livsmedel av högsta kvalitet och till låg miljökostnad.” (Jordbruk och företagande i glesbyggd)

”Vi vill ta till vara på Sveriges goda förutsättningar att erbjuda Europas renaste miljö, med de grönaste skogarna, det klaraste vattnet och den renaste luften. Sverige har unika möjligheter att vara ett föregångsland i arbetet för en renare miljö.” (En god miljö)

”I den moderna ekonomin med dess allt mer miljömedvetna konsumenter är förmågan att leva upp till miljökraven också en förutsättning för lönsamhet och tillväxt. Det kräver ofta stora investeringar i miljövänlig teknologi och förutsätter således en beskattning som inte missgynnar produktionens förnyelse.

3 indicators: Environmental standards are emphasized; policy instruments. Investments in environmentally friendly technology; policy instruments. Favourable taxes for investments to enable a change in production patterns.

”Klimatfrågorna är för närvarande det största globala miljöhotet som alla länder har ett ansvar för att möta. Vi slår därför vakt om kärnkraften som den mest miljövänliga energikällan. Allt miljöarbete har en internationell dimension. I samarbetet inom EU och FN ska Sverige vara pådrivande.” (En god miljö)

”Allt miljöarbete har en internationell dimension. I samarbetet inom EU och FN ska Sverige vara pådrivande. Ge Sverige rollen som aktiv samarbetspartner i EU:s och FN:s gemensamma miljöarbete. (En god miljö)

En skattepolitik som ger Sverige ett attraktivt investeringsklimat för nya satsningar på moderna, miljövänliga produktionsmetoder. Avskaffad skatt på kärnkraftsel och stopp för kärnkraftsavvecklingen. Stopp för subventioner till vattenkraftsutbyggnad.” (En god miljö)

1 indicator: Favorable climate for environmentally friendly investment; policy instruments.

”En arbetsmarknad för rörlighet och tillväxt” (En arbetsmarknad för rörlighet och tillväxt)

”EU ska syssla med sådana uppgifter som ger ett reellt mervärde av att lösas gemensamt, till exempel den gemensamma marknaden, utrikes- säkerhetspolitiken, kampen mot internationell brottslighet och terrorism samt gränsöverskridande miljösamarbete.” (Europasamarbetet)

”Valet står mellan höjda skatter eller sänkta, mellan mindre valfrihet eller mer, mellan mer regleringar eller avregleringar, mellan fler som måste leva på bidrag eller färre, mellan lägre tillväxt eller högre, mellan ett försämrat klimat för arbete och företagande eller nya och bättre villkor för tillväxtens drivkrafter.” (Alternativ den 15 september)

5 indicators

5740 Words

0,00087 ≈ 0,87 ‰

6 Content Analysis; Clarifications

Interpretation of indicators:

- Indicators of the necessity of changes, such as prohibition will be judged as an indicator of policy instruments.
- Environmental debt is considered an indicator of the need to reevaluate the resources and services of nature.
- External damage is interpreted as problem for the environment.
- Green house gases are interpreted as an indicator of the use of fossil fuels.
- Building of an ecological welfare is considered an indicator of the need for changed alignment of growth.
- Headlines are not counted as a separated indicator.
- Changes in the alignment of growth are counted as 1 indicator, even though some specification concerning other indicators is made.
- References to biodiversity as threatened are interpreted as an indicator of the need for correct evaluation of natural resources and services.

References interpreted as containing no indicators:

- Cooperation concerning the environment in any way
- Environmental programs or policies on their own
- Sustainable growth on its own
- Indicators of nuclear power
- Problems of the climate on its own

APPENDIX 3.

Visualization; Results of the content analysis

Election manifesto	Number of indicators	Percentage
The Social Democrats – 1994	6 indicators	2.4 ‰ of the content
The Social Democrats – 2002	11 indicators	3.8 ‰ of the content
The Left Party – 1994	20 indicators	9.4 ‰ of the content
The Left Party – 2002	31 indicators	5,5 ‰ of the content
The Green Party – 1994	24 indicators	17 ‰ of the content
The Green Party – 2002	25 indicators	17 ‰ of the content
The Centre Party – 1994	25 indicators	13 ‰ of the content
The Centre Party – 2002	8 indicators	3 ‰ of the content
The Moderate Party – 1994	4 indicators	1.6 ‰ of the content
The Moderate Party – 2002	4 indicators	0.70 ‰ of the content