# How Similar, How Different? Comparing Green Party Members

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## Introduction

Compared with other political party families, one distinguishing aspect of the Greens has been their commitment to a new style of party politics which places a lot of emphasis on internal party democracy. Green parties set out to be different, to reject a hierarchical structure focused on party leaders, giving their members a real say in matters of party policy and the way the party is run. While some of the earlier idealistic notions of 'grass roots democracy' may have given way to a more moderate interpretation of what internal party democracy could mean in practice, the Greens arguably are still very different from other parties, giving a lot more power to ordinary party members.

Given the central role played by party members in the Greens, the study of party membership could be seen as particularly important. Gaining insights into the characteristics of green party members is likely to reveal important aspect of the identity of specific green parties. Comparing the features of green party members across countries may tell us a lot about the nature of green politics in different political systems.

In the chapter, I am presenting a number of findings of a comparative survey of green party members conducted in the early 2000s in most countries of Western Europe. This survey in which the same questions were asked at roughly the same time across Europe is to date the only reliable source of information on the comparative aspects of green party members.

A major feature of this comparison is the ideological positioning of party members. How left- or right-wing are green party members? What are their attitudes to key issues such as pacifism, European integration and private enterprise? What is the social make-up of green party members in terms of age and social class? How active or passive are green party members? If there are major crossnational differences, how can we explain them?

## Data

Over the years, there have been a number of surveys of green party members, starting in the mid-1980s with Kitschelt and Helleman's survey of Belgian green party activists (Kitschelt and Hellemans 1990). In the 1990s, a series of national surveys of green party members were published in Britain (Rüdig *et al.* 1991), France (Roche and Benhamias 1991), Belgium (Delwit and De Waele 1996), and the Netherlands (Lucardie *et al.* 1999). These studies were generally conceived as national studies and made crossnational comparisons rather difficult.<sup>1</sup>

In order to overcome this limitation and allow for proper comparisons between countries, a major survey of green party members was carried out in the early 2000s. The European Green Party Membership (EGPM) project<sup>2</sup> aimed to create a reliable

Individual national surveys were carried out under the responsibility of the following researchers, often with additional financial support from their home institutions: Australia: Ariadne Vromen (University of Sydney); Austria: Wolfgang C. Müller (University of Vienna); Belgium (AGALEV): Jo Buelens (Free University Brussels);Belgium (ECOLO): Benoît Rihoux (Catholic University of Louvain); Finland: Jukka Paastela (University of Tampere); France: Daniel Boy (CEVIPOF, Paris) and Benoît Rihoux (Catholic University of Louvain); Germany: Wolfgang Rüdig (University of Strathclyde); Greece: Iosif Botetzagias (University of the Aegean); Republic of Ireland: John Garry (Queen's University Belfast); Italy: Roberto Biorcio (Bicocca University, Milan); the Netherlands (Groen-Links): Paul Lucardie and Wijbrandt van Schuur (University of Groningen); New Zealand: Tim Bale (Sussex University); Norway: Gunnar Grendstad (University of Bergen); Spain: Luis Ramiro (University of Murcia); Sweden: Anders Widfeldt (University of Aberdeen); UK (England & Wales): Wolfgang Rüdig (University of Strathclyde); UK (Scotland): Lynn Bennie (University of Aberdeen).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A first systematic comparative effort was carried out by Thomas Cordier, a researcher at the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands. In 1994, he carried out a survey of green party members in the Netherlands, Germany and France, using an identical questionnaire. However, only the Dutch sample could claim to be representative of the national party; the German and French samples were limited to specific regions. The comparative potential of this survey was thus not very great (Cordier 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The project 'European Green Party Members' was funded by the British Academy under its Large Research Grant programme (LRG-31746) and directed by Wolfgang Rüdig (University of Strathclyde). Additional support was provided by the Research Development Fund of the University of Strathclyde. The financial support of the British Academy and the University of Strathclyde is gratefully acknowledged.

database to compare green party members across countries. For this, a set of common questions to be administered in all countries were chosen. Questionnaires contained a set of identical questions were then mailed to members of 18 green parties in 15 countries in 2002 and 2003.

--- Table 1 about here ---

The survey included most countries in Western Europe as well as green parties in New Zealand and Australia (see Table 1). The modalities of the project varied between countries, taking account of both nation-specific political conditions and the resources available. In all cases, nationally representative samples were mailed, with the exception of Australia and Spain where the regional identity and organisation of green parties made such an approach impossible. In Australia, the survey was limited to the green party in one state, New South Wales. In Spain, members of two regional green parties of Andalucia and Valencia took part. Special circumstances also applied Greece where members taking part in the founding congress of the Ecologists-Greens were surveyed rather than a sample of the national membership.

In each country, a minimum of 500 questionnaires were mailed. If the total membership was less than 500, all members of the party were sent a questionnaire. Additional funding was obtained by several research teams to boost the sample size in some of the countries with larger green party membership.

Due to funding constraints and in order to protect the identity of members in an anonymous survey, we were not able to send out any reminders. The response rates could thus be seen as highly satisfactory. In several countries, response rates of above 50% were achieved. Overall, a total of 8109 completed questionnaires were received, an overall response rate of 43.2%.

All questionnaires are made available on the project website, <u>http://www.egpm.eu</u>

How are the results to be presented? A number of possible features could be expected to have an influence on the shape of green parties in different geographical, cultural, social and political contexts. In Table 2, information is compiled on the age of the party, its electoral strength at the time of the survey, its position in terms of a model of the 'party lifespan' (see below), and any important changes in its position since 2002.

--- Table 2 around here ----

The one aspect that appeared most crucial in the early 2000s when the survey was originally conceived were the changes that were expected to have been experienced by green parties as they changed from 'outsider' parties of protest to established political players, leading some parties to join government at national level.

By the early 2000s, green parties were well established within national parliaments in most countries, although some parties had consistently failed to win representation. While involvement in local and, in some countries, regional government was achieved in the 1980s, Greens had to wait until the late 1990s before they managed to become part of government at national level. In quick succession, Green parties in Finland, Italy, France, Germany and Belgium joined (centre-)left governments (Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 2002; Rihoux and Rüdig 2006). These developments raised a lot of questions about the nature of green party politics. Have green parties become 'normalised' to the extent that their original aims are becoming less important with pragmatic concerns about access to power becoming dominant?

This raised the general question to what extent the nature of green party membership depended on the political role that each party had attained in each country. The main guidance here was provided by Mogens Pedersen's notion of a party 'lifespan' (Pedersen 1982; Rihoux 2001). Parties could be seen as having to clear various thresholds. In order for a new party to be formed, it had to register as a political party or fulfil other ballot access conditions imposed by political systems. Once taking part in elections, parties had to clear the 'threshold of representation' to enter the national parliament. Once in parliament, parties had to strive to be regarded as relevant for possible government formation and finally clear the last threshold to enter government as coalition partners. Would green parties at different stages of development display different characteristics? For example, would parties in government be less radical than green parties that have so far failed to enter national parliaments?

In the tables presented here, green parties are placed on a continuum in terms of their position on a party lifespan continuum. The parties that were in government at the time of the survey, or shortly before, are at the top (Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, and Italy). Within this group, I looked at the possible bargaining strength of each party to decide on a hierarchy (see Rihoux and Rüdig 1996). The German Greens had the highest bargaining strength, being the only coalition partner of the ruling Social Democrats who relied on their parliamentary support to survive. The two Belgian green parties, AGALEV and ECOLO, were part of a six party coalition, and only one of the green parties was required to maintain a parliamentary majority. In France and Italy, green parties had entered government as part of a large left-wing 'bloc', involving different parties, with very little bargaining power as their parliamentary future also depended on their continued membership of this 'bloc'. Finally, the Finnish Greens were considered to have the least bargaining power as they had joined the government as part of a 'surplus coalition', and their votes were not required to sustain the government in office. In fact, the Greens left the government in 2002 in protest over its nuclear policy without the government falling.

After this group of green governmental parties come two parties (New Zealand and Sweden) that were not part of a coalition government but at the time supported or 'tolerated' a minority leftwing government, thus giving them some influence on government policy. This leaves a number of other green parties that have passed the threshold of electoral representation but have not so far been involved in government. The Austrian Greens had consistently increased their parliamentary representation but had not yet been invited to enter government at national level. Also the Dutch Greens had been presented in parliament continuously for many years but had missed out on any government involvement. The Irish Greens were also represented in the national parliament but not as long and were electorally not as strong .

Further down the list come green parties that, by the early 2000s, had still not managed to obtain parliamentary representation at national level. The differences between the Spanish and British Greens were fairly marginal. Both had fairly dismal results at national level in terms of the overall share of the vote. The Spanish Greens at least had had some success at regional level, even becoming part of governments in some regions. The British Greens had managed to make some gains at regional and European level, with their first MEPs elected in 1999.

The weakest green party in the group were arguably the Norwegian Greens that were not threatening to win representation, by some margin, and had little else to show for their activities. The Greek Greens, finally, had just been formed at the time of the survey and thus no electoral record at all.

As the EGPM survey was conducted more than 10 years ago, it would be interesting to look at how the green parties participating have fared in recent years (for sources, see the chapter *30 Years Greens in Europe*, in this volume). While the basic position of most green parties has not fundamentally changed in recent years, there are some interesting fluctuations. Of those parties in government in 2001-2002, two – Finland and France – were (again) in government by early 2013. The German and Belgian Greens had not been able to return to government after the early 2000s, but these parties had recovered or even improved on their electoral standings and are strongly represented in government at regional level. For other parties, their fundamental situation had not significantly changed. The Greens of New Zealand and Sweden were still electorally strong but had failed to move beyond supporting minority governments. The Austrian and Dutch Greens also had not achieved government participation. Among the weaker green parties, the Spanish had managed to achieve representation but only as a result of short-lived and unstable electoral alliances, with a continued failure to constitute a strong green party at national level. The British Greens had finally entered the House of Commons in 2010, with other successes in Scotland, but otherwise remained marginal at national level. The Norwegians had continued to fail in national elections, with some successes at local level. And the Greek Greens had increased their share of the vote, with a first MEP elected in 2009, but had narrowly missed out on representation in the national parliament.

To a major extent, the results of 2002 could thus be expected to be fairly resistant to change over time, although only further surveys would be able to demonstrate this.

## The Nature of Membership

How stable is the membership of green parties? One problem faced by many environmental organisations is a very high fluctuation rate. Have green parties managed to build up a core of members and activists that are committed to the party?

--- Table 3 about here ----

A first indicator would be the length of membership. In Table 3, I have compiled the share of members that joined shortly before the survey took place (in the same year or the year before) and those who have been members for five years or more. The results show some interesting patterns. In three countries, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, more than 70% of members had joined more than 5 years ago, indicating a very stable party with long-term activists. At the other end of the spectrum, there are parties with between one third and half of the membership only joined recently. The 'lifespan' model here does not appear to be very relevant. The Norwegian and also the English Greens have a fairly high number

of long-standing members while the figures for France, Italy and New Zealand are quite low. Green parties in all English-speaking countries (with the partial exception of England and Wales) show fairly low levels of long-term members and a high influx of new members, indicating that different 'cultures' of membership may be relevant here.

How committed are party members to their party? Asked how strongly members supported their party, fairly large majorities across all countries expressed either 'fairly strong' or 'very strong' support. Only Italy sticks out as a case where almost 50% failed to express strong support which may be related to the Greens losing their position in government the year before the survey. Compared with other countries, the level of support is also weaker in Germany, presumably reflecting the major internal debates some decisions taken in government had caused. Among other parties in government, however, support is fairly high in Belgium, France, and Finland.

Is party lifespan related to the level of support? While government appears to have created some problems with a minority of members for the German Greens, support is also fairly low at the other end of the spectrum among parties that had not won parliamentary representation at national level (Britain, Norway, and Greece). This may indicate difficulties faced by parties to motivate members without being present in parliament.

How does the commitment to the party translate into party activity? Asked about how often party members had attended local party meetings in the last 12 months, the share of members who failed to attend any meetings at all is shown in Table 3. Particularly green parties in France and Wallonia, as well as Spain, display a very high level of meeting activity. The degree of inactivity is particularly high in Norway and Britain. Also some well established green parties, such as the Dutch and Swedish Greens, show a high level of disengagement with 40-50% of members not attending any meetings. Overall, party lifespan again is of limited use but may explain why parties excluded from parliamentary activity may be less active.

## **Demographics**

Greens are usually seen as a party of the young. There is certainly strong evidence in the German case that green party membership was dominated by those under 40 in the 1980s. In one regional green party in Germany, Rhineland-Palatinate, for which official data are available, only 16% of members were aged 40 or older in 1985. By 2004, the share of members over 40 had increased to 75%, with a third of members aged 50 or older (cf. Rüdig 2009).

If we look at the data from 2002, we see a fairly uniform pattern (see Table 4). Greens in the 2000s had aged in comparison with the 1980s. The mean age in all cases was between 40 and 50 years. This indicates that the Greens continued to attract strong support from the '68 and 'new social movement' generations that were politicized during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

--- Table 4 about here ---

In terms of gender, most green parties have succeeded in attracting significant numbers of women. Compared with the high number of female voters that support the Greens, however, the membership still lags behind, with the share of women usually limited to about a third. Countries in Northern Europe, in particular Sweden, Finland and also the Netherlands, have done particularly well in mobilising women to join green parties. Green parties generally appear to mirror here the features of national political cultures in terms of the level of representation of women in the political system.

Greens are also generally expected to be well educated, and this is supported by the data. A high share of members have university degrees.

Another demographic feature that we could expect to be important for green parties is occupation. Stephen Cotgrove has advanced the theory that environmental activists come from a particularly section of the middle class, the 'caring professions' that are removed from a profit-oriented capitalist economy (Cotgrove 1982). The data generally support this theory (see Table 5). Many green party members not only have professional occupations but work in areas such as social work, education and health. Greens are also predominantly located in the public sector.

--- Table 5 around here ----

In summery, the typical green party member is in his 40s and early 50s, male, and works in education or social services. While these findings confirm the usual perception of people engaged in green party politics, perhaps the most important aspect they raise is the effect of the 'greying' of the Greens, first identified twenty years ago by Bürklin and Dalton (1994). Greens may benefit at first as the older pre '68 generations pass away and the share of those socialised in the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the electorate increase (cf. Rüdig 2012). However, more recent generations, such as the Generation X and the 'millennial generation', are reported to be more materialistic, at least in the US (Twenge and Kasser 2013). If this pattern was also to apply to Europe, green parties may struggle to attract younger voters and members in greater numbers.

Later data on the age and gender of green party members is only available for Germany: a survey in 2009 found that 52% of members were aged 50 or older while in a previous survey carried out in 1998, just 19% had been in that category (Klein 2011, p. 46). In terms of gender, the share of women among party members remained constant at 38% (Klein 2011, p. 43).

## Ideology

The Greens are usually seen as the outcome of the student movement and the 'New Left', displaying 'post-materialist' values (Inglehart 1977, 1990). As 'left-libertarians' (Kitschelt 1988), they combine a commitment to social justice with a liberal attitude to social issues. One important question is to what extent the political successes experienced by green parties, entering parliaments and participating in government, has changed the ideological outlook of green party members.

How left-wing and post-materialist are green party members? We need to take account of different starting positions of various

parties. In the early 1980s, the German Greens were seen as very left-wing, reflecting the influence of the various far-left groups that played a key role in the foundation process. Green parties in other countries had also influenced strongly by left-wing movements, for example in Southern Europe. In the Netherlands, the party GreenLeft had emerged out of a fusion of various left-of-centre parties including the Communist Party. This contrasted with countries where green parties were not part of the development of left-wing politics, as for example in Britain (cf. Müller-Rommel 1982).

Members were asked to rate themselves on a left-right scale between 0 (left) and 10 (right), and were also asked the classic questions devised by Inglehart to distinguish between materialists and post-materialists. The results as displayed in Table 6 show some variations but also a lot of communality. In most countries, post-materialists were in a clear majority.

---- Table 6 about here ----

As far as left-right positioning is concerned, some key differences emerge. The Finnish and the Swedish Greens were the most rightwing and the most left-wing parties were found in France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. The German Greens were not particularly left-wing but still clearly to the left of Finland and Sweden. British Green party members, on other hand, placed themselves slightly to the left of the German Greens which appears to be a turnaround from their position some twenty years earlier.

While the extra-parliamentary green parties are more likely placed more towards the left, it is difficult to assess the role of party lifespan from these figures. The French and Italian Greens had entered government as part of a left-wing bloc but their placement well to the left of most other green parties could not purely be the result of coalition formation. The period in government does not appear to have 'moderated' their outlook. Being part of a government with many parties and little influence may have imposed few restrictions on these parties to maintain a high level of ideological radicalism.

Further to self-placement on the left-right scale, members were also asked two questions that could be seen as reliable indicators of leftright positioning, on the role of free enterprise and a government's responsibility to reduce differences in incomes. These results are displayed in Table 6. The main surprise form these results is the position of the German Greens where more than a third expressed support for 'free enterprise' and one-fifth rejected a role of government in reducing inequalities of income. On these questions, even the more right-wing green party members from Finland and Sweden do not reach German levels. One possible interpretation is that the German Greens did have a strong 'neo-liberal' minority in the early 2000s that had a fairly high degree of influence within the parliamentary party. The Greens at that time did not object to major tax reductions as well as welfare state reforms which reduced the income of the poorer sections of society and contributed to the creation a huge low-wage sector.

Since leaving government in 2005, the influence of the more economically conservative Greens appears to have been reduced, with the 2013 election programme emphasizing the need for tax increases and addressing inequality. However, according to a survey in 2009, German green party members placed themselves at 3.0 on the 0-10 left-right scale, a further slight move to the right in comparison with 2002 (Spier 2011, p. 121).

Apart from the left-right division, perhaps the most important issue that has divided green parties in Europe has been European integration. Traditionally, green parties in Scandinavia as well as in the UK have remained sceptical about the European project while most continental parties, such as the German, Belgian, French and Italian Greens, have been enthusiastic about European integration (cf. Rüdig 1996; Bomberg 1998). To what extent is this reflected in members' views?

--- Table 7 about here ---

Members were asked to locate themselves on a scale of 1 to 10 in terms of their preference on European unification, and were also asked whether they thought the European Union had been good for their country. The results, displayed in Table 7, show some mayor differences. At one extreme, there are the EU-enthusiasts which include France, Italy, Spain, Greece, followed by Germany, Belgium and Austria. The Dutch Greens lag a bit behind. More eurosceptic attitudes are displayed by the English-speaking countries, the UK and Ireland. Even more firmly eurosceptic are Norway (not a member of the EU), Sweden and Finland.

If we combined left-right and pro-anti EU positions, then a map of the green ideological space in Europe emerges (see Figure 1). The largest groups are parties in the centre of Europe that are both predominantly left-wing and pro-Europe. Two other groups distinct from this main group are the English-speaking countries and Scandinavia. All are a more eurosceptic than the main group, and most of them also tend to be somewhere less left wing. Ireland, Scotland and England/Wales form one cluster, fairly close together. The differences between Norway, Sweden and Finland are more pronounced, with Sweden and Finland both significantly more right-wing than the other green parties.

--- Figure 1 about here ---

Overall, the ideological positioning of members tends to reflect individual national traditions and political conditions rather than their stage of party development with reference to the lifespan model. The effects of entering parliament and government are difficult to assess without detailed evidence from previous years.

### **Grassroots Democracy**

One of the key demands of green parties has been its focus on the principle of participatory democracy. Stemming from the critique of political institutions promoted by the student movement of the 1960s, the parties that emerged from it saw the promotion of democracy as a central aim. The idea of 'grassroots democracy' as determining the internal workings of green parties was one of the four 'pillars' of the German Greens and has been promoted as one of the defining aspects of green parties as 'new politics' parties (Poguntke 1993).

To what extent do green parties feature as a 'new politics' parties committed to grassroots democracy? One key aspect in this debate is the principle of collective leadership. At the beginning of the development of green parties, most opted for a form of collective leadership, with the absence of a single leader used to emphasize the green demand for a different type of politics. In some countries, this led to some spirited debates. In a media democracy, can a party operate without a single leader?

At the time of the survey in the early 2000s, most green party did not subscribe to a 'single leader' model. Many parties had two or more 'spokespersons', often with a quota for women. Some green parties had, however, opted for a single leadership model. This included Austria, The Netherlands, and Ireland and Flanders (the Flemish-speaking part of Belgium). In other parties, there had been debates about a single leader, for example in England, but this was still resisted by the time of the survey.

The results of a question about a 'single leader' revealed a very high degree of disparity across countries. In a number of cases, party members rejected the idea very firmly, with 75-100% objecting this idea in Norway, New Zealand, France, and the French-speaking part of Belgium. In Germany, more than one third of members approved of the idea of a single leader although this issue had never been placed on the agenda. Joshua Fischer at the time was widely regarded as the 'virtual' leader of the party, but no serious attempt had ever been made to formalize this. Quite a number of parties were divided on the issue, with practically equal numbers in favour or against. This included Italy, Sweden, and England and Scotland. This left a number of countries where a 'single' green leader received overwhelming support which included the Flemish-speaking part of Belgium, Finland, Austria, the Netherlands, Ireland and Greece – all countries in which green parties had already adopted this model.

Again, the party lifespan model is not particularly useful in explaining this outcome. As before, we have different national traditions and cultures which have emerged that might explain these differences.

## Conclusions

What can we learn from the results of our comparative green party membership survey? In this short chapter, I could only touch on a small number of aspects, and further more detailed analyses are still forthcoming. But a few conclusions can be made.

In many ways, these results confirm previous analysis of the nature of green activists. Party members are well educated, postmaterialists, and tend to see themselves as left-of-centre. There are a number of aspects in which green party members in various countries are rather different. Members are clearly more eurosceptic and less left-wing in some countries than in others. The internal stability of parties is also different, with some relying predominantly on long-term members while others have more difficulties maintaining a stable membership base. Finally, some parties have embraced the idea of a 'single leader', thus becoming more similar to other parties in terms of their organisation, while others continue to keep a collective leadership.

How are we to explain these differences? The main guiding principle of the chapter was the idea of the impact of party lifespan. Could various aspects of green party members be explained with the position of parties as extra-parliamentary, being represented in parliament or holding government office? The explanatory value of the lifespan model turned out to be fairly limited. While more detailed analysis needs to be undertaken, the main conclusion appears to be that the nature of green parties and their membership was not fundamentally altered by the processes of entering parliament and taking party in governments. There were some significant differences between extra-parliamentary green parties and the rest, but a lot of different perspectives among parties with significant parliamentary and governmental records. Many of differences between parties that were found appear to reflect different histories of party formation and party development in each country as well as nation-specific political discourses

Finally, to what extent can the findings on party membership in 2002 predict the future development of the party? Could the ideological position of party members be a good predictor of future government involvement? The apparent move of the German Greens to the right could have been seen as a precursor of the party moving to the centre, opening up new coalition possibilities with centre-right parties. While this was the subject of extensive debates in the 2000s and early 2010s, only two such coalitions emerged at regional level and were not very successful. The chances of a 'black-green' coalition at federal level may, however, be greater than they were ten years before. With a substantial share of both members and voters regarding the Greens as a part of the left, an opening of the Greens towards centre-right coalitions would still be a risky step (cf. Rüdig 2013).

Green parties in Belgium, France and Italy in 2002 were clearly on the left of the spectrum, and thus a radical change in coalition partner may have been very unlikely. The Finnish Greens, on the other hand, in 2002 were already quite different from their sister parties in Europe, being locating in a far more centrist position and having a single party leader. Therefore, their entry into the centreright coalition in 2007 perhaps was not a particular surprise.

A similar argument could be made about Ireland. The party in 2002 was not particularly radical in terms of either left-right position or postmaterialism. It thus could be seen as a party more likely to be open to the idea of entering a coalition with centre-right parties, and this is what happened in 2007.

The 2002 survey was, however, only a snapshot of party membership at one time point. Parties can change, as can individuals, and thus further research needs to be undertaken to analyse the changes that green parties have undergone in recent years.

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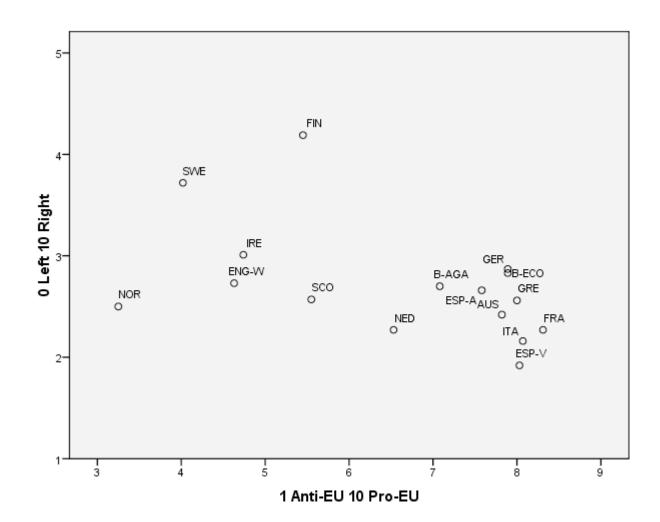


Figure 1: Position of Green Parties on Left-Right and pro-anti EU axes

Source: European Green Parties Membership Survey, 2002/2003.

Abbreviations:	
AUS	Austria
B-AGA	Belgium – AGALEV
B-ECO	Belgium – ECOLO
ENG-W	England and Wales
ESP-A	Spain – Andalucia
ESP-V	Spain - Valencia
FIN	Finland
FRA	France
GER	Germany

GRE	Greece
IRE	Republic of Ireland
ITA	Italy
NED	The Netherlands
NOR	Norway
SCO	Scotland
SWE	Sweden

# Table 1: Green Party Membership Survey 2002-2003

Country	Party	Total Membership	Questionnaires Mailed	Valid Responses	Response Rate (Gross)
				%	
Australia	NSW Greens	2400	2400	806	33.6
Austria	Die Grünen	1714	1714	572	33.4
Belgium	AGALEV	6000	500	279	55.8
	ECOLO	4000	500	265	53.0
Finland	Vihreä Liitto	1650	825	397	48.1
France	Les Verts	9000	3000	1209	40.3
Germany	Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	45000	2201	1085	49.3
Greece	Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι	129	129	31	24.0
Italy	Federazione dei Verdi	20000	999	291	29.1
Ireland	Green Party/Comhaontas Glas	650	650	294	45.2
Netherlands	GroenLinks	15000	500	251	50.2
New Zealand	Green Party of Aotearoa	4067	1000	520	52.0
Norway	De Grønne	500	500	186	37.2
Spain	Los Verdes de Andalucia	400	400	73	18.3
-	Els Verds del Pais Valencia	100	100	38	38.0
Sweden	Miljöpartiet De Gröna	8000	500	255	51.0
UK	Green Party of England & Wales	4000	2334	1297	55.6
	Scottish Green Party	517	517	260	50.3
TOTAL		123,160	18,769	8,109	43.2

## Table 2: Key Variables of Party Development

Party	Country	Year of Party Foundation	Share of the vote (last national elections before survey)	Stage in 'party lifespan'	Change 2002-present
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	Germany	1980	6.7 (1998)	Government (since 1998)	Left government in 2005
AGALEV	Belgium	1982	7.0 (1999)	Government (since 1999)	Left government and lost parliamentary representation in 2003; returned to parliament in 2007
ECOLO	Belgium	1980	7.4 (1999)	Government (since 1999)	Left government in 2003
Les Verts	France	1984	4.1 (1997)	Government (since 1997)	Left government in 2002; returned to government in 2012
Vihreä Liitto	Finland	1987	7.3 (1999)	Government (since 1995)	Left government in 2002, returned to government in 2007
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	1990	2.2 (2001)	Parliamentary Representation (in government 1996-2001)	Returned to government in 2006; left government and lost parliamentary representation in 2008
Green Party	New Zealand	1990	5.2 (1999)	Parliamentary Representation (since 1996), support of minority government (1999-2002)	Support of minority government 2005-2008
Miljöpartiet - De Gröna	Sweden	1981	4.5 (1998)	Parliamentary Representation (1988-91, 1994-); support of minority government since 1998	Support of minority government ended 2006
Die Grünen	Austria	1987	7.4 (1999)	Parliamentary Representation (since 1986)	-
GroenLinks	The Netherlands	1990	7.3 (1998)	Parliamentary Representation (since 1989)	-
Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	Republic of Ireland	1981	3.8 (2002)	Parliamentary Representation (since 1989)	Entered government in 2007; left government and lost

					parliamentary representation in 2011
NSW Greens	Australia	1992	5.0 (2001)	Extra-Parliamentary (House of Representatives –but represented in the Senate since 1996)	Won first seat in House of Representatives in a general election in 2010, support of minority government
Los Verdes de Andalucia	Spain	1984	0.3 (2000)	Extra-Parliamentary (but Greens elected to regional parliament in alliance with PSOE)	First Green member of parliament elected in 2004 in alliance with PSOE; dissolved to join new green party EQUO in 2011 which failed to win representation
Els Verds del Pais Valencia	Spain	1984	0.3 (2000)	Extra-Parliamentary	First Green member of parliament elected in 2004 in alliance with PSOE; refused to join new green party EQUO in 2011 but failed to win representation in alliance with IU
Green Party of England & Wales	UK	1973	0.6 (2001)	Extra-Parliamentary	First Green MP elected in 2010
Scottish Green Party	UK	1973	0.0 (2001)	Extra-Parliamentary (but represented in Scottish Parliament since 1999)	Greens supported Scottish minority government 2007- 2011
De Grønne	Norway	1988	0.2 (2001)	Extra-Parliamentary	-
Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι	Greece	2002	-	Extra-Parliamentary	-

## Table 3: Membership

% Did not attend any local party meeting last 12
g any local party meeting last 12
meeting last 12
months
29
37
57
18
10
11
11
29
29
16
16
37
42
23
52
18
_
14
17
3
5
53
33
50
53
60
-

Party	Country	Age (mean)	% Female	% University
				Degree
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	Germany	45	38	61
AGALEV	Belgium	42	54	82
ECOLO	Belgium	50	38	88
Les Verts	France	48	32	74
Vihreä Liitto	Finland	43	58	54
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	45	29	51
Green Party	New Zealand	49	39	49
Miljöpartiet - De Gröna	Sweden	50	54	45
Die Grünen	Austria	43	35	42
GroenLinks	The Netherlands	47	64	86
Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	Republic of Ireland	46	43	57
NSW Greens	Australia	47	52	67
Los Verdes de Andalucia	Spain	40	30	64
Els Verds del Pais Valencia	Spain	43	16	58
Green Party of England & Wales	UK	50	41	62
Scottish Green Party	UK	47	37	74
De Grønne	Norway	42	44	43
Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι	Greece	43	37	61

Table 4: Demographics (Age, gender, education)

#### **Table 5: Occupation** Country % Party % % Professional Employed in Employed Occupation Education, Public Health, Social Sector/charity Services Bündnis Germany 52 40 60 '90/Die Grünen 47 AGALEV Belgium 46 64 Belgium ECOLO 46 40 58 Les Verts France 56 46 63 Vihreä Liitto Finland 50 41 56 Federazione dei Italy 47 37 52 Verdi Green Party New Zealand 48 42 42 Miljöpartiet -Sweden 46 60 -De Gröna Die Grünen 37 60 Austria 55 GroenLinks The 49 45 68 Netherlands Green Party -Republic of 48 33 46 Comhaontas Ireland Glas NSW Greens Australia 53 63 -Los Verdes de Spain 30 33 62 Andalucia Els Verds del Spain 29 34 53 Pais Valencia Green Party of UK 56 45 56 England & Wales Scottish Green UK 59 45 65 Party De Grønne Norway 40 47 57 43 33 58 Greece Οικολ**ό**γοι Πράσινοι

28

## Table 6: Ideology - Left-Right Orientation

Party	Country	% Post- materialists	Left-Right (self) (mean)	% Agree 'Private Enterprise Best'	% Disagree 'Government responsible for reducing
					income differences
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	Germany	72	2.87	36	19
AGALEV	Belgium	60	2.70	20	4
ECOLO	Belgium	49	2.83	9	5
Les Verts	France	55	2.27	11	5
Vihreä Liitto	Finland	58	4.19	29	9
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	48	2.16	8	6
Green Party	New Zealand	58	2.51	14	17
Miljöpartiet - De Gröna	Sweden	54	3.72	19	7
Die Grünen	Austria	59	2.42	15	7
GroenLinks	The Netherlands	42	2.27	14	2
Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	Republic of Ireland	48	3.01	15	8
Los Verdes de Andalucia	Spain	84	2.66	7	6
Els Verds del Pais Valencia	Spain	88	1.92	11	6
NSW Greens	Australia	-	2.42	-	-
Green Party of England & Wales	UK	58	2.73	8	7
Scottish Green Party	UK	70	2.37	9	8
De Grønne	Norway	61	2.50	10	3
Οικολ <b>ό</b> γοι Πρ <b>ά</b> σινοι	Greece	50	2.56	10	3

			~
Party	Country	European unification -1 has gone too far- 10 should be pushed further (mean)	% EU membership 'good thing'
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	Germany	7.89	85
AGALEV	Belgium	7.08	76
ECOLO	Belgium	7.89	81
Les Verts	France	8.31	88
Vihreä Liitto	Finland	5.54	48
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	8.07	89
Green Party	New Zealand	-	-
Miljöpartiet - De Gröna	Sweden	4.02	9
Die Grünen	Austria	7.82	58
GroenLinks	The Netherlands	6.53	71
Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	Republic of Ireland	4.74	64
Los Verdes de Andalucia	Spain	7.58	80
Els Verds del Pais Valencia	Spain	8.03	76
NSW Greens	Australia	-	-
Green Party of England & Wales	UK	4.67	44
Scottish Green Party	UK	5.55	55
De Grønne	Norway	3.25	7
Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι	Greece	8.00	74

## Table 7: Europe

## Table 8: Leadership

Dontr	Country	07
Party	Country	%
		in favour
		'single leader'
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	Germany	36
AGALEV	Belgium	81
	C	
ECOLO	Belgium	15
Les Verts	France	22
Vihreä Liitto	Finland	85
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	53
Green Party	New Zealand	10
Miljöpartiet - De Gröna	Sweden	45
Die Grünen	Austria	62
GroenLinks	The Netherlands	82
Green Party - Comhaontas Glas	Republic of Ireland	82
Los Verdes de Andalucia	Spain	62
Els Verds del Pais Valencia	Spain	33
NSW Greens	Australia	-
Green Party of England & Wales	UK	52
Scottish Green Party	UK	55
De Grønne	Norway	0
Οικολόγοι	Greece	100
Πράσινοι		

## Appendix

## Question wordings:

## Table 3: Membership

**Q**. When did you first join the <Green Party>? year

**Q.** Would you call yourself very strong, fairly strong, not very strong or not at all strong supporter of the <Green Party>?

**Q.** Thinking back over the last 12 months, how often have you attended a local <Green Party> meeting? (Not at all, rarely, occasionally, frequently)

## Table 4: Demographics

Q. In which year were you born?Q. Are you male or female?Q41. Do you have an academic agree?

## Table 5: Occupation

**Q.** Which of the following items best describes the work you do? **<Professional or highly technical work** (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)>

**Q.** Which sector of the economy do you work in?

chocetor or the economy the your normality	
Agriculture, Fishing, Hunting, Forestry	
Industry (e.g. Manufacturing, Mining, Construction, Utilities)	
Education	
Health, Social Services	
Media (Newspaper, radio, TV), Culture (Film, Theatre)	
Security Services (e.g. Police, Armed Forces, etc)	
Other Public Administration (e.g. Local Authority, Civil Service)	
Banking, Finance, Insurance, Property	
Other Services (e.g. retail trade, transport, catering, leisure, cleaning	g, etc.)
Other/Never had a job	

Q. Which type of organisation do you work for?

Private sector firm or company Public sector employer Charity/voluntary sector (charitable company, churches, interest group, etc.) Other

## Table 6: Ideology

**Q.** Looking at the list below, please tick a box next to the one thing you think should be the country's highest priority, the most important thing it should do. And which one do you think should be the country's next highest priority, the second most important thing it should do?

Postmaterialists = Give people more say in government & Protect Freedom of Speech as first & second preference

Maintain order in the nation Give people more say in government decisions Fight rising prices Protect freedom of speech Can't choose

**Q.** In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the following political parties on the scale below where 0 is the most left-wing position and 10 is the most right-wing?

And where would you place YOURSELF on the scale below?

**Q.** How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements? (Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree)

- Private enterprise is the best way to solve <country>'s economic problems

- It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes

### Table 7: Europe

**Q.** Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a ten-point scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position?

**Q.** Generally speaking, do you think <country>'s membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good or bad?

#### Table 8: Leadership

**Q.** 'Established' political parties normally have ONE leader. Do you think the Green Party should have one leader? (Yes, No)