Postcommunism & Postmaterialism?
The Foundations of Green Politics in Estonia

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The Estonian Greens

- Green Movement in late 1980s
- Green party/parties established in 1989/90
- Disappeared after 1995 elections
- Re-established in 2006
- 2004 European elections: Marek Strandberg
- Entered the parliament in 2007 (7.1% votes, 6 seats)
- Poor results in 2009
- Lost parliamentary representation in 2011: 3.8% votes

Table 1. Electoral support for Green parties in Europe

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Denmark (Socialists)	*8.3*				*7.3*				*7.6*			*6.4*				*6.0*		*13.0*				
Luxembourg					10.9					9.1					11.6					11.7		
Austria	4.8				7.3	4.8				7.4			9.5				11.0		10.4			
Germany	5.0				7.3				6.7				8.6			8.1				10.7		
Switzerland		6.1				5.0				5.0				7.4				9.6				
Finland		6.8				6.5				7.3				8.0				8.5				7.3
Hungary[a]																					*7.5*	
Belgium (Ecolo)		5.1				4.0				7.4				3.1				5.1			4.8	
Netherlands[b]					3.5				7.3				7.0	5.1			4.6				6.6	
Sweden		3.4			5.0				4.5				4.6				5.2				7.3	
Estonia			2.6															7.1				3.8
Belgium (Groen!)		4.9				4.4				7.0				2.5				4.0			4.4	
France				4.1				6.8					4.5					3.3				
Czech Republic	4.1		6.5						1.1				2.4				6.3				2.4	
Ireland			1.4					2.8					3.8					4.7				1.8
Denmark[b]	1.7				3.1				2.7			2.4				3.4		2.2				
Italy			2.8		2.7		2.5					2.2					2.1					
Greece																		1.1		2.5		
Cyprus												2.0					2.0					
Latvia[c]			*1.2*																			
Great Britain			0.5					0.2				0.6				1.0					1.0	

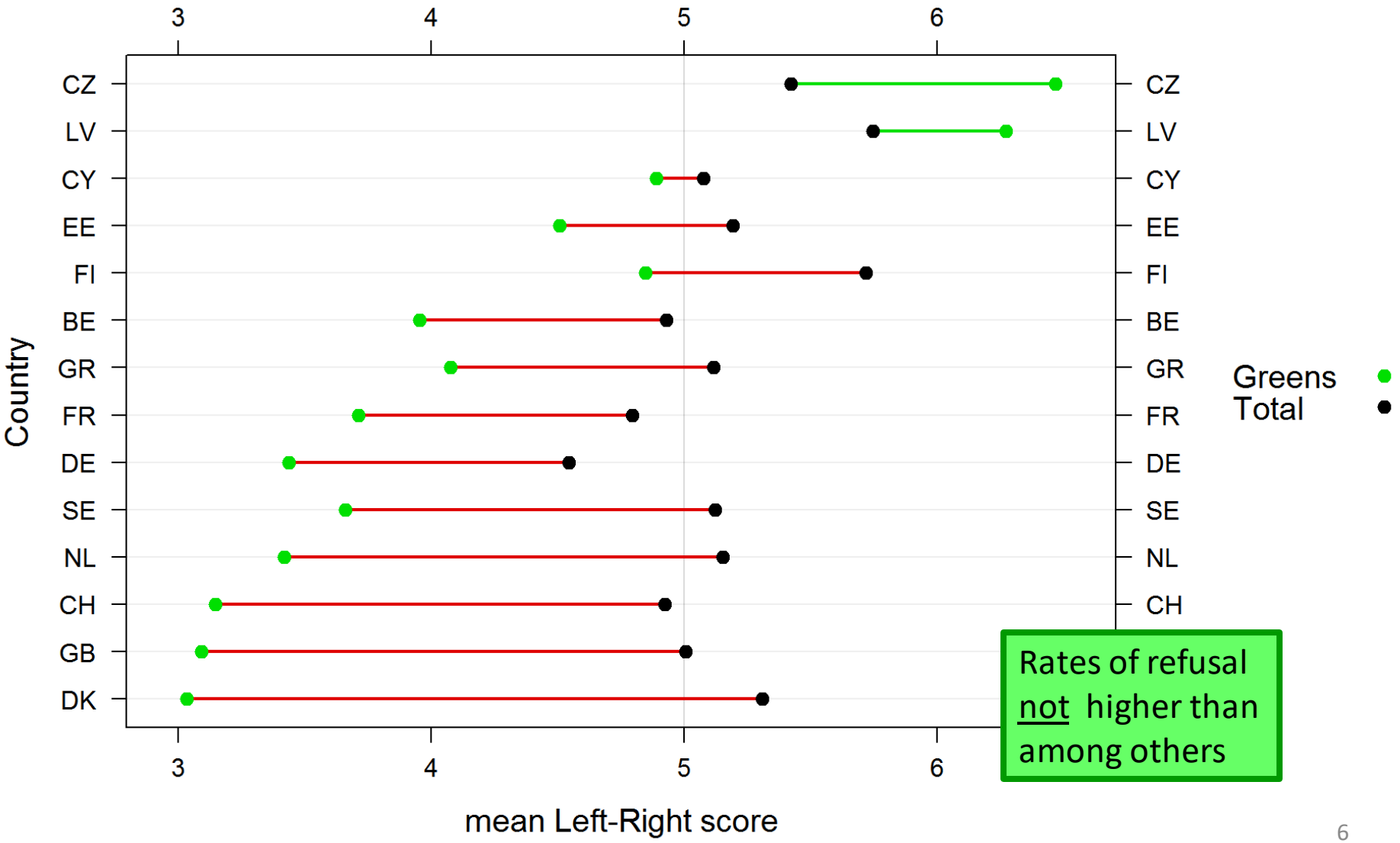
Green parties in CEE

- Weaker than in Western Europe
- Some recent success stories:
  HU, EE, CZ, SI?, LV?
- **Estonian Greens** still the second most popular Green party in CEE
- Interesting as a case study
  and for comparisons to CZ and WE greens
- European Social Survey 2008/9 (65)
- *Party supporters = "Greens"*

Greens, Post-materialism and the Left

- **Value change** in 1960s/70s a crucial factor behind the rise of Greens in Western Europe
- **Post-material / self-expression values**
- As against material/survival
- "Green", "new politics", "new left" & "liberal left"
- But: providing an alternative to the Right/Left a Green aim

Left-Right self-placement: Greens & others

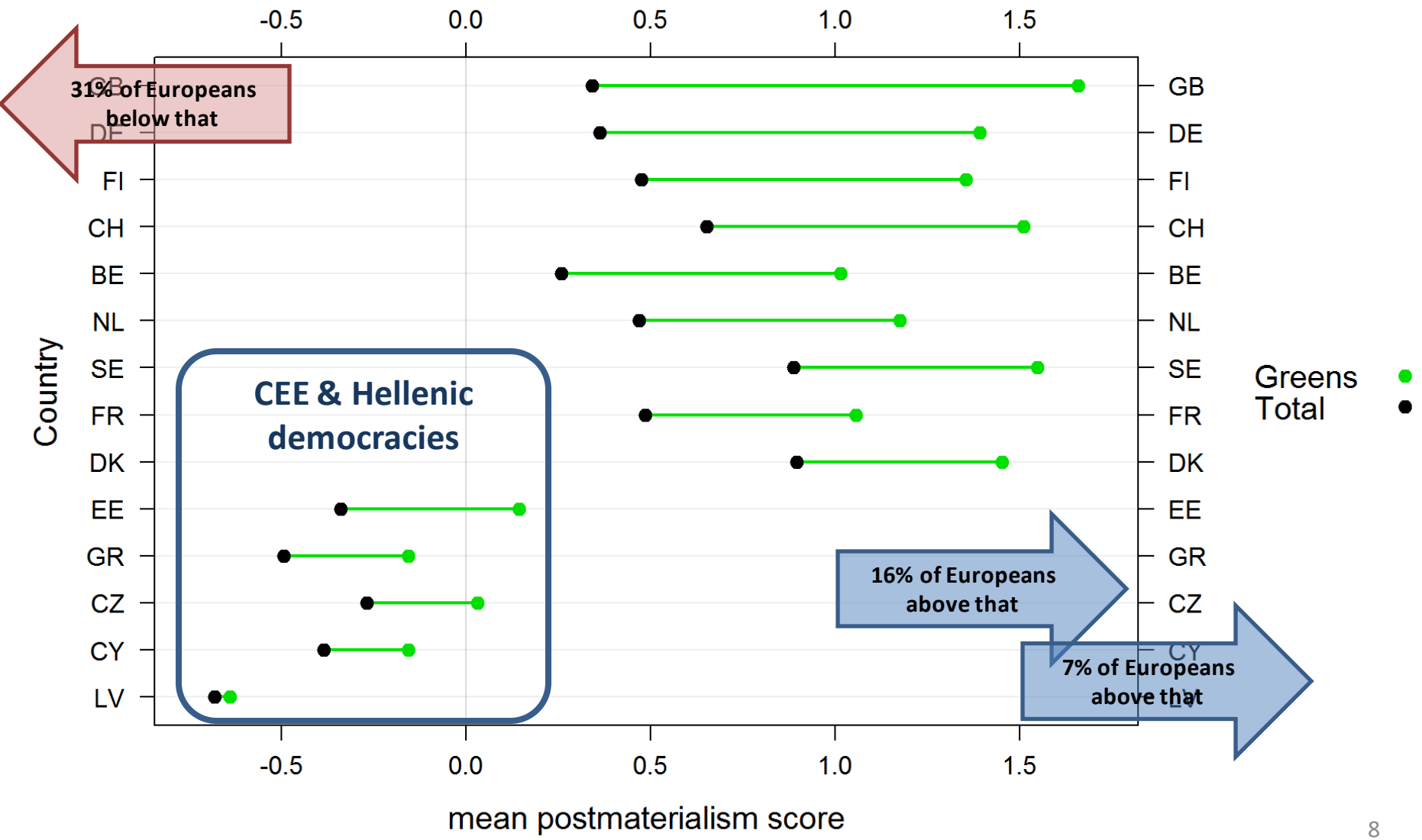


Rates of refusal not higher than among others

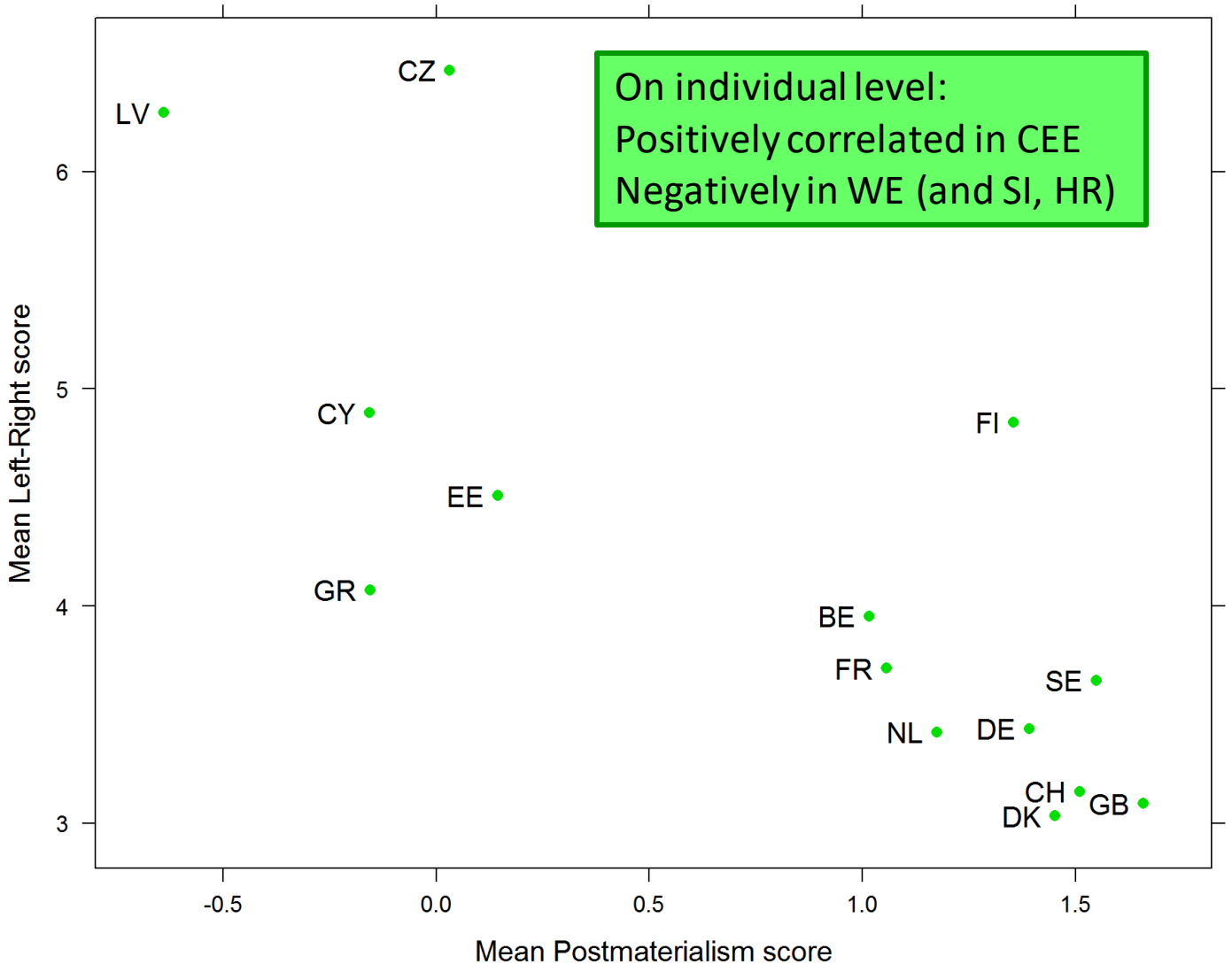
Post-materialist value orientations

- Emphasis on **self-expression and quality of life** over economic and physical security:
  - *Important to make own decisions and be free;*
  - *… think new ideas and being creative;*
  - *… be rich, have money and expensive things (rev.);*
  - *… live in secure and safe surroundings (rev.);*
  - *… government is strong and ensures safety (rev.)*
- How **happy** are you? (0: extremely unhappy, 10: extremely happy);
- **Gays and lesbians** free to live their own life as they wish (1: disagree strongly … 5 agree strongly);
- Have you signed a **petition** / taken part in a lawful **demonstration** / **boycotted** certain products during the last 12 months?

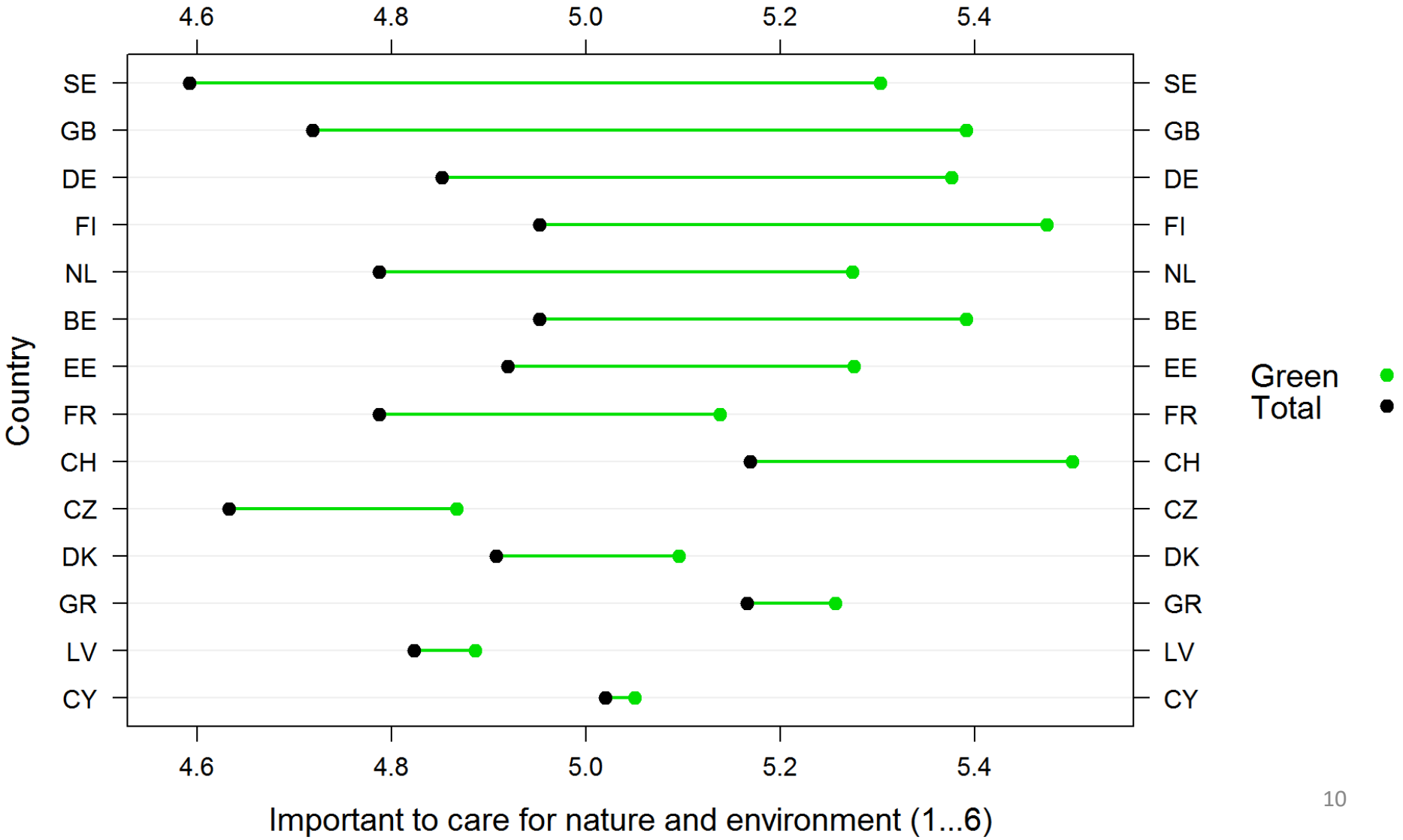
Post-materialism: Greens & others



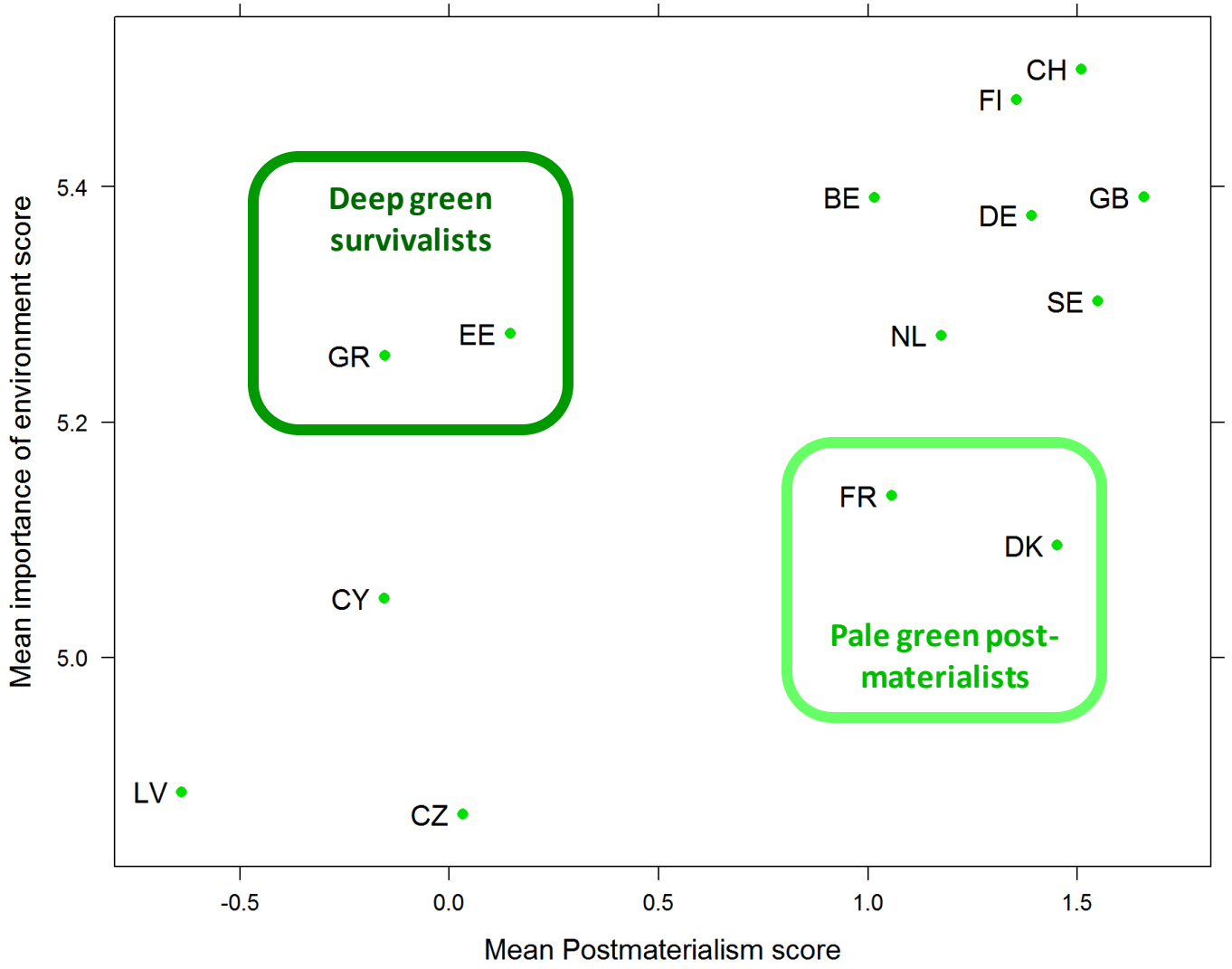
Green supporters: Post-materialism & Left-Right

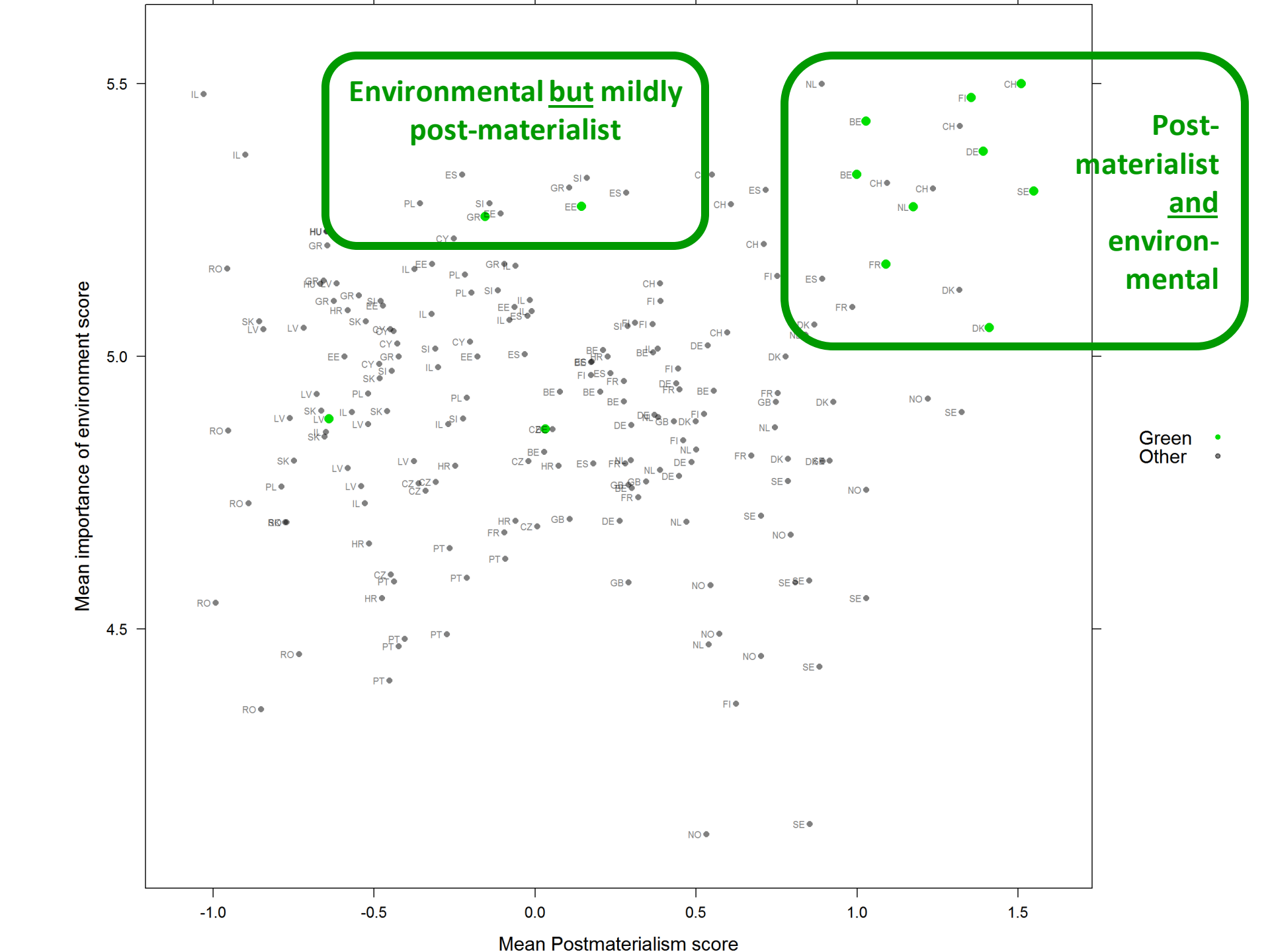


Important to care for nature & environment



Greens: Post-materialism and care for nature & environment




Environmental but mildly post-materialist
Post-materialist and environ-mental
Green
Other
Mean importance of environment score
Mean Postmaterialism score
5.5
5.0
4.5
-1.0
-0.5
0.0
0.5
1.0
1.5

Explaining the lower post-materialism scores

- Lower score of Estonian Greens explained by **lower engagement in activities** (petitions, boycotts, demonstrations) and **tolerance of gays & lesbians**
- Different from the **Czech Greens** who trust others less and aspire for affluence more.

Can modern science be relied on to solve our environmental problems

Party	Agree/agree strongly (%)	Disagree/disagree strongly(%)	N
EE:Estonian Greens	89.9	0.0	65
BE:Ecolo	64.6	12.3	45
CY:The Cyprus Green Party	60.0	20.0	103
FI:The Green League	54.2	20.6	20
FR:Les Verts	47.7	29.2	60
BE:Groen!	44.5	26.7	157
LV:Greens and Farmers Union	44.2	14.7	20
Average	40.9	31.7	1342
SE:Green Party	40.0	21.3	69
NL:Green Left	38.4	24.4	131
CH:Green party	36.9	44.7	15
FR:Autres mouvements écologistes	33.4	13.4	65
GB:Green Party	30.4	52.2	23
DE:Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen)	23.0	42.7	210
CZ:Green Party	18.3	55.0	86
DK:Enhedslisten	15.0	70.0	80
DK: Socialistisk Folkeparti	13.5	60.1	193

Individual level determinants of Green vote

logit analysis

	Estonia 1	se	Estonia 2	se	Czech R	se	Latvia	se
Higher education	0.807***	(0.269)	0.782***	(0.296)	0.177	(0.368)	-0.244	(0.197)
Religiosity	-0.0127	(0.0490)	0.00470	(0.0524)	0.00423	(0.0498)	-0.0571*	(0.0302)
Age	-0.00831	(0.00775)	-0.0132	(0.00834)	-0.0424***	(0.0103)	0.0138***	(0.00526)
Public sector job	0.330	(0.279)	0.403	(0.300)	-0.111	(0.335)	0.169	(0.184)
Left-Right			-0.278***	(0.0693)	0.103*	(0.0602)	-0.0212	(0.0333)
City			-0.0765	(0.292)	-0.272	(0.304)	-0.414**	(0.173)
Constant	-2.509***	(0.447)	-0.853	(0.593)	-1.408**	(0.668)	-1.653***	(0.371)
Observations	929		775		1,015		1,004	
Pseudo R-squared	0.0312		0.0657		0.0665		0.0211	

	Germany	se	Sweden	se	Finland	se	Great Britain	se
Higher education	0.527***	(0.175)	1.044***	(0.264)	0.765***	(0.217)	0.265	(0.465)
Religiosity	0.0559*	(0.0287)	0.0717*	(0.0430)	-0.0665*	(0.0371)	-0.0993	(0.0727)
Age	-6.56e-05	(0.000171)	-0.0342***	(0.00829)	-0.0333***	(0.00696)	0.000200	(0.00107)
Public sector job	-0.00604	(0.203)	0.113	(0.261)	0.0426	(0.224)	0.543	(0.464)
Left-Right	-0.341***	(0.0478)	-0.386***	(0.0588)	-0.267***	(0.0494)	-0.476***	(0.110)
City	0.531***	(0.174)	0.515**	(0.247)	1.023***	(0.199)	-0.273	(0.491)
Constant	-1.770***	(0.244)	-0.613	(0.488)	0.163	(0.442)	-2.094***	(0.569)
Observations	1,972		1,455		1,555		1,436	
Pseudo R-squared	0.0720		0.151		0.154		0.121	

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1