

THE FRISIAN POLITICAL PERCEPTION ABOUT POST- GROWTH AND IT'S IMPLICATIONS

Abstract

There is a need for an alternative for the currently prevailing societal and economic systems due to the widening gap in wealth distribution, escalating loss of biodiversity, and the manifestation of increasingly extreme weather patterns due to climate change. One of the given alternatives is post-growth. This study examines the political perception and intention towards post-growth within Friesland, based on semi-structured interviews conducted with eight political parties. Friesland was selected as case due to its potential alignment with post-growth, due to the Frisian paradox. Meaning that there is no strong correlation between economic growth and social wellbeing. The research resulted in two main findings. First, based on given definitions there is still relatively limited knowledge about a post-growth economy. Second, in terms of the number of political parties in Friesland, a majority is largely receptive to a transition towards a post-growth economy. Three themes emerge on how the transition can be achieved: responsibility, democracy and distribution, and actions that the Frisian politics can undertake themselves. Interestingly, the number of supporters and opponents of a transition to post-growth among voters is nearly equal. Meaning, despite having more parties in favour, it cannot be asserted that there is a majority within the Frisian provincial states.

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Introduction

It is becoming increasingly evident that there are inherent flaws in our system of production and consumption. Illustrative of this are the escalating loss of biodiversity (1), and the manifestation of increasingly extreme weather patterns due to climate change (2). The growing evidence led to an increasing number of academics and organizations call for prioritizing social and environmental well-being within the planetary boundaries, assessed by a much wider range of social and environmental indicators, as opposed to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth as a political goal (3,4). However, the World Bank and United Nations continue to preach an alternative based on growth, namely green growth (5,6). The green growth theory suggests that sustained economic growth is acceptable given that technological advancements and product substitution will make it possible to completely uncouple growth in GDP from the extraction of natural resources and corresponding carbon emissions (7). However, evidence has proven the contrary, necessitating that policymakers explore alternatives wherein priorities shift towards social and ecological progress, rather than economic growth (7). One such alternative is post-growth.

The general concept of a post-growth economy and society deemphasizes the political ambition of economic growth in favour of social and environmental health. Post-growth futures can take the shape of steady-state economics, doughnut economics, well-being economics, or degrowth. These are distinct from one another mostly in terms of how they approach change (8), whereby degrowth is considered the most 'radical' of the alternatives (9). Changes that post-growth futures typically agree on include localising the economy, cooperative and sharing economies, redistribution of wealth and income, and a stronger participatory democracy (10–13). Paulson & Büchs (2020) measured an average support among citizens for post-growth of 60.5% across 34 European nations. Post-growth values like post-materialism, collectivism and environmentalism were found to be supported among the participants. The results, however,



were two folded. On one hand it was concluded that the key to make a post-growth economy more attractive to economically disadvantaged groups, is to place more focus on redistribution and enhancing their opportunities and livelihoods. This conflicted with the policy preferences and values of people who are better-off, such as individualism, meritocracy and hierarchy. On the other hand, there seems to be enough support for (local) governments to engage in strong interventions that are needed for a change towards a post-growth economy, like providing structural support and financial resources (14). Due to the societal support for a transition towards a post-growth economy it is interesting to research the political perception and corresponding intentions about post-growth, as politicians have an important role in implementing a post-growth economy. In addition, their perception is not been explicitly identified (6,18–21).

Understanding the perspectives and intentions of political actors on post-growth is crucial to facilitate the transition to a post-growth economy, as these individuals can be regarded as the executive arm of national politics. While executive bodies are responsible for implementing policies from higher levels, it is also widely recognized that they may pursue their own agendas (16). Particularly in situations where the transition to a post-growth economy is perceived as risky, decisions are likely to be made in favour of maintaining the status quo (17). Political actors do so in order to maximize support from stakeholders to enhance their chances of success in future elections (18). Moreover, individuals' faith in a positive outcome diminishes when they perceive the need to surmount particular barriers (19). This reality amplifies the difficulty of acting towards a post-growth economy.

An interesting context to research the perspective of political actors on post-growth is Friesland. Friesland is considered as one of the poorest and most "disadvantaged" provinces in the Netherlands (20). However, it is also characterized by a high level of non-economic well-



being and prosperity (21). One could even argue that Friesland is already a post-growth oriented province compared to more growth-oriented areas, hence why it is interesting to research the political perceptions and intentions. To ascertain the perception and intentions of Frisian politicians regarding post-growth, the following research question has been formulated:

What are the Frisian political perceptions of a post-growth economy and what are their intentions towards it?

By addressing the research question, the aim of this study can be achieved, namely, to delineate the Frisian political perception on a post-growth economy in Friesland, ascertain their willingness to transition towards it and how. This inquiry aims to contribute valuable insights to post-growth scholars regarding the feasibility of their concept. Furthermore, it is intended to offer guidance to politicians and other stakeholders in their endeavours to progress towards a post-growth economy.

This research report is structured in the following manner. The subsequent chapter provides a literature review that outlines the fundamental concepts and theoretical framework. Next, the empirical strategy is explained, whereafter the expected outcomes and a summary of the outcomes is provided. Hereafter the results are being discussed. Finally, the paper concludes with conclusions, recommendations, limitations and paths for future research.

Literature review

The literature review will discuss and describe the concept of post-growth, followed by an examination of the political perception and intention towards post-growth in general and in Friesland.

Post-growth

In the current discussion, post-growth should not be interpreted as referring to shrinking (due, for example, demographic change) or recession (unplanned declining economic performance), either of which could result in unexpected environmental advantages. It should be interpreted as a pre-planned transition towards a post-growth economy (22). Post-growth rejects the idea that private and societal prosperity can only be ensured through constant growth in measurable economic performance - regardless of negative externalities, the limited availability of resources, and ecological sustainability (22). Some, like Blühdorn (2017), argue that advanced modern societies are already post-growth societies, meaning that they no longer prioritize continuous economic growth. Instead, they recognize that pursuing further growth is becoming increasingly difficult and comes at the cost of certain individuals or groups. In other words, while the idea of growth is not completely discarded, it is acknowledged that the pursuit of endless growth is unsustainable and leads to inequality.

While many explanations of post-growth exist, this research uses a part of the framework created by McGreevy et al. (2022) for post-growth food systems as a guideline. McGreevy's framework is chosen due to its clear outlines and is expanded with additional literature. Although the framework has five principles, this research focusses on three of them as they are interlinked with sustainable entrepreneurship (25,26). The used principles are: economic, social-ecological and allocative. Each of the principles will be discussed below.



Economic principle

The economic principle places sufficiency over efficiency in a post-growth economy. Sufficiency has significant philosophical, political, and ethical implications. It means generating enough to meet demands while also promoting the wellbeing and stewardship of people who produce it. Sufficiency addresses the social-ecological boundaries that are related to the health and wellbeing of communities, to local ecologies, and to their places within larger ecologies (24).

When looking at sufficiency from a financial perspective, it is interesting to take a closer look at the relationship-to-profit of businesses and their incorporation structure (27). Both concepts have strong interlinked ties in terms of ownership and investment, and inhibit, allow for, or encourage the pursuit of certain business purposes, such as social or private financial gain. While certain organizational structures prioritize private profit generation more than others, critics suggest that for-profit businesses have the potential to foster problematic dynamics such as inequality, environmental degradation, consumerism and market concentration (28). Literature suggests that only one structure is not pursuing for private gains, which is a not-for-profit structure. This structure naturally enables and encourages organisations to focus on social and ecological benefits (29,30).

On the other end of the spectrum, there are proponents of "trickle-down economics." This theory assumes that rapid and substantial economic growth, along with its accompanying profits, will automatically benefit the masses in terms of job creation and other economic opportunities (31). An example is publicly-traded shareholder corporations, which can be pressured by their structure to create short term profits for a select group of shareholders (32,33).



A more neutral and widely accepted point of view is that profit is acceptable because it provides companies with the opportunity to invest in sustainability (34). Examples of such approaches include B Corporations, Corporate Social Responsibility, and the triple bottom line framework (34,35).

Social-ecological principle

The social-ecological principle places regeneration over extraction in a post-growth economy. Regeneration aims for lower production rates, that are in tune with the current and long-term processes occurring in ecosystems and among people (36), whereas extraction can be described as the removing of metals, minerals or fossil fuels from earth (37) with negative health and environmental impacts due to toxic exposures and others hazards (38). This emphasizes the importance of bio-culturally diversified systems that produce practices that guarantee the standard of living and a landscape that preserves habitat for wild animals and ecological interconnections (24). To address the ecological aspect, there is an increasing consensus to reform the industrial agricultural production system to align with ecological boundaries (39–42). One proposed alternative is the adoption of Nature-Inclusive Farming (NIA), which is guided by three fundamental principles: utilizing ecosystem services instead of external inputs, reducing environmental impacts, and enhancing non-functional biodiversity and landscape quality (43). However, despite the potential benefits of NIA, there remain several arguments against its implementation, such as insufficient economic incentives for farmers and resistance from established regimes (44).

When contextualizing the regenerative principle within society a reduction in working hours could be considered (45). A growing body of psychological research on happiness indicates that, under specific conditions and for particular population groups, a reduction in working hours has the potential to align with and even enhance overall well-being, despite

leading to a decline in income (46). The reduction in working hours offers individuals the opportunity to recover and pursue a meaningful and fulfilling life enriched with pleasure and positive emotions, as not everyone has the opportunity to attain this level of fulfilment through their jobs (47). Moreover, a decrease in income corresponds to diminished prosperity and, as a result, decreased levels of consumption. This reduction in consumption contributes to a lower overall environmental impact (48). In fact, as early as 1930, the renowned liberal economist and philosopher John Maynard Keynes espoused the idea that, within a century, the average working week would be limited to fifteen hours (49). However, current circumstances do not align with this prediction. Presently, the Dutch government is even promoting a forty-hour workweek through the provision of full-time bonuses in order to main economic growth (50).

Allocative principle

The allocative principle places distribution over accumulation in a post-growth economy. Accumulation can be described as the increasing centralization of production and wealth (51). Distribution, on the other hand, speaks to the ongoing appropriation of indigenous territories and the effects of colonialism and imperialism, which are still being perpetuated by modern systems (24,52). It tackles how domestic and international trade undermine production at community- and family-scale while promoting global industry concentration (53). Regional economies that depend on both land and water are characterized by a distribution principle at the regional level. This principle is often facilitated by strong connections between producers and customers (24). Unequal distribution can be considered as one of the main problems of the current capitalist economy.

One of the given solutions is implementing wealth and income caps in a post-growth transformation according to François et al. (2023), arguing that income and wealth caps are innovative tools able to complement other policies aimed at unfair distributions of resources.



The exact threshold for the caps has not been established in existing literature (55). However, examples are provided of ratios in which the highest incomes may earn between 5 and 20 times more than the lowest incomes (54). The generated money can be used to finance guarantees for minimum income or reduced work time, which are commonly seen as need eco-social policies regarding to post-growth scholars (54). Another argument for wealth caps and more equal distribution of wealth is given by Frey (2018), arguing that people become less happy when the wealth differences grow within a country. One of the counter arguments against wealth caps or tax for the rich is that it can result in demotivated high productive people and a decrease in competition (56). However, it depends on one's perspective whether one sees this as a negative consequence or not.

Political perceptions and intentions towards post-growth

Limited studies have been conducted on the current political perceptions of post-growth. However, the role of politics in growth-oriented economies has been extensively examined. Some scholars describe international politicians as gatekeepers of the growth economy (57), indirectly shedding light on the perceptions regarding growth and post-growth. In a study of a so-called post-growth region in East Germany, it was found that economic stagnation and a declining population led to political discontent (58). However, it is debatable whether this region can truly be classified as a post-growth area, as the decline was not planned, which is a fundamental characteristic of a transition to a post-growth economy (22).

From a political-economic point of view there are multiple arguments against a post-growth economy perceived by politicians. First, the most commonly cited argument against post-growth is the risk of unemployment. Second, there are no alternative indicators that have succeeded in replacing GDP as standard indicator of economic prosperity. Third, pension plans (in the Netherlands) depend on economic growth to counteract changing demographics. In all



three barriers were constellations identified that foster the continuation of economic growth (15).

Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that (green) left-wing politics are increasingly supporting post-growth, while right-wing politics continue to defend and pursue economic growth (59). Despite the alignment of left-wing politics with post-growth, some scholars argue that post-growth politics should be based on entirely different political perceptions than those currently dominant (60).

Political perceptions and intentions towards post-growth in Friesland

To obtain an initial assessment of Frisian political perspectives and intentions towards post-growth, an analysis was conducted on the election programs of all parties that received more than three percent of the votes in the provincial elections of 2023. The analysis is based on the frequency of the term 'post-growth' in the programs, as well as the frequency of the terms 'economy' and 'economic' and the mention of a regular economy in a growth context. The results of this analysis are presented in Appendix A.

The findings indicate that none of the parties employed the term 'post-growth' in their election program. However, several parties did express the need to observe ecological limits, promote fairer wealth distribution, and foster broad prosperity. These ideas may be considered components of a post-growth economy. Furthermore, out of the eleven parties analysed, ten of them mentioned the terms 'economy' and 'economic' in their election programs, with an average frequency of sixteen mentions per party. Notably, six out of the eleven parties referenced regular economic growth in their programs, with an average frequency of six mentions per program. Additionally, certain parties made use of terms such as 'versatile' and 'robust



economy', which were excluded from the analysis due to their potential for diverse interpretations, for example, like economic growth.

Finally, the analysis has several intriguing results, including the observation that the largest party made by far the most frequent mention of regular economic growth (ten times) and that circular economic growth was encouraged more than regular economic growth. Interestingly all political parties agreed to a certain degree that the Frisian economy should become circular. Furthermore, one party explicitly stated that economic growth was no longer a priority.

A visualization has been created to illustrate the interrelationships between the various concepts in the literature review, as depicted in Figure 1.

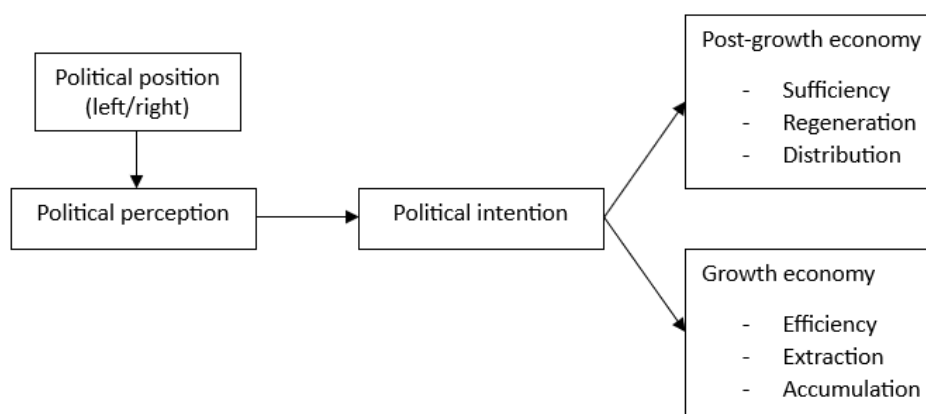


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Methodology

This chapter sequentially describes the research design, participants, data collection procedure, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

Research design

The methodology that was used to answer the research question is a qualitative case study methodology. According to Merriam & Tisdell (2015), qualitative research is a systematic process that involves selecting a study design that is in line with the research topic and is used to produce empirical knowledge by utilizing social or scientific methodologies. It is ideal to use a case study approach that involves inductively analysing particular examples or instances since it enables the researcher to engage with participants and conceptualize a holistic concept of the phenomenon (62).

Using a case study has certain limitations. For example, findings derived from a case study research are not easily applicable or transferable to other contexts (63). However, there is a certain degree of generalization possible, particularly in terms of theory generalization. While specific findings cannot be expanded beyond this research, the theories explored and developed can be applied to a broader or different context (64). For example, although the findings of this research cannot be directly applied to other areas, certain patterns and emerging theories can serve as frameworks for similar contexts, such as other provinces in the Netherlands. It is possible to test whether the stance of a particular political party in Friesland about post-growth is similar in other provinces as well. One significant advantage of the case study approach is its ability to provide in-depth insights into a specific topic, such as political perceptions of post-growth in Friesland, rather than relying on superficial data (62).

Participants

The participants of this research are representatives of eight different provincial political parties in Friesland. The parties, their political position and their representatives, that engaged in this research can be found in Appendix B. Due to the busy schedule of provincial politics it was opted to use the convenience sampling method, which is a nonprobability sampling

technique (65). Although there are multiple limitations to nonprobability sampling techniques, due to the arbitrary selection, it still is described as useful when there is limited amount of time, resources and workforce (65). All political parties receiving 3% or more of the votes in Friesland's 2023 election, which were twelve, have been invited for this research. The invitations were sent via direct emails towards the representatives of the party, or by calling them. A requirement for each of the representatives is having economy in their portfolio, as post-growth can be described as an economics concept (66). Parties from both the left and right side of the political spectrum have been interviewed in order to reduce the selection bias and enhance the representativeness of the sample.

Data collection procedure

The data has been collected with a semi-structured interview-based data-gathering strategy in the context of the SEP from the Master Sustainable Entrepreneurship. The participants have been informed about the context of the research on beforehand. The used data collection method allows the researcher to present specific concepts and provides participants the opportunity to express their opinions on them. Subsequently, further probing and questioning can be conducted to delve deeper into their perspectives (67). The interviews were held face-to-face in Dutch, varied in time between 25 to 85 minutes and were scheduled between weeks 16 and 20. Each interview was recorded with an iPhone, this created the opportunity to transcribe and code the gathered data. As an iPhone was used as a recording instrument there was the possibility of observer bias (68).

The researcher strived to create the same situational factors for all interviewees, to reduce bias regarding measurement errors. To do so, each interview was planned in the Provincial House of Friesland. Multiple common actions were taken to improve the quality of the interviews (69): an interview guide was made (Appendix C), which was reviewed by peers



and the supervisor. The interview guide has been written in Dutch due to the fact that all participants were Dutch as well. Furthermore, the interview guide was tested through a pilot interview. This process led to several modifications that facilitated a smoother flow of the interview.

The type of interviewing adopted can be described as co-construction. Co-constructed interviewing is a method of conducting in-depth, conversational interviews that emphasizes collaboration in creating and examining the meaning-making process of storytelling and listening (70). This was achieved by providing brief overviews of the concept of post-growth and its underlying principles during the interviews and requesting participants to share the perceptions of their political party on them. Subsequently, these perceptions were discussed from multiple perspectives and augmented with practical examples. This approach also ensured consistency in the definitions used in each interview.

Data analysis

The data analysis process was as followed. All interviews were transcribed (Appendix D) with Trint, whereafter data segments from the transcribed interviews were coded according the Gioia method in a deductive manner. The Gioia method employs a coding process consisting of three hierarchical levels (71). At the lowest level were the first-order categories, which correspond to the direct responses of the study participants. These categories were organized under second-order themes, allowing for the grouping of related responses. Finally, the second-order themes were classified under three overarching theoretical dimensions of post-growth: economic, social-ecological, and allocative. A coding tree (Appendix E) was produced by this approach with Atlas.ti and Microsoft Excel. Ultimately, the first-order codes that came forward in at least four of the interviews were classified as a significant finding. In addition, based on personal expertise of the researcher, some singular first-order codes have been



classified as equally important findings. The researcher acknowledges this method is prone to measurement bias in order to steer towards particular results. Each singular first-order code was evaluated thoroughly to reduce the measurement bias. In addition, parts of the coding tree have been evaluated with peers and/or the Supervisor. No data saturation occurred due to the short time frame wherein the research was conducted and the limited amount of participants.

Ethical considerations

This research adhered to the Netherlands' ethical code of conduct for scientific integrity (72). A consent form, see Appendix F, has been used addressing any potential ethical concerns pertaining to the interviewees. The consent form was written in Dutch due to the fact that all participants were Dutch. The consent form provided participants with the option to remain anonymous, and two of them chose to do so. The report refers to the two parties that have opted for anonymity as Party A/B and Participant A/B. All signed forms can be found in Appendix G. In addition, the Ethics Committee of Campus Fryslân has judged the planned research on forehand based on the CF Research ethics checklist.

Findings

In this chapter, the anticipated and actual outcomes of the interviews are presented, which are presented uninterpreted.

Expected results

Based on the preliminary research, it is expected that post-growth will be reasonably embraced by the political parties in Friesland. This expectation arised from the fact that the Frisian political landscape has expressed the ambition to achieve a circular economy and pursue broad prosperity instead of solely focusing on economic growth. Both of these aspects can be described as components of a post-growth economy. However, it is expected that left-wing

parties would be more receptive, as post-growth can be characterized as a social and ecological concept. Furthermore, there are multiple parties that still emphasize economic growth or strengthening the economy in their election programs, which does not align with the principles of post-growth.

Personal definitions about post-growth

The interviews revealed that almost all parties, to a certain extent, had different definitions of post-growth. However, there were several topics that were mentioned by multiple parties.

The primary topic that is addressed both directly and indirectly is the issue of reduced economic growth and the notion that economic growth should not be an end goal in itself. It is described as important to consider factors beyond the financial aspect and focus on "other matters that are crucial for human well-being." This includes the need to achieve a better balance between ecological factors and the economy. Both GroenLinks and CDA highlight the fact that current levels of production and consumption exceed the sustainable capacity of Friesland and the world, while there is no second world. Reference is made to Earth Overshoot Day, a term frequently used by the latter. In addition to the ecological aspect, multiple parties also emphasize the importance of achieving a better balance in social aspects. A term frequently mentioned in this regard is "broad prosperity," which has already been embraced within the Frisian political landscape.

While there were variations in the definitions put forth by all parties, there is one specific definition, as provided by the ChristenUnie, which reasonably encompasses six out of the eight definitions. The ChristenUnie's definition states: 'Less growth, more optimization between ecology and economy, and between the rich and the poor.' It is noteworthy to highlight that

parties differ in their perspectives on economic growth, with a tendency for left-leaning parties to distance themselves further from growth. The definitions presented by the BBB and Party B do not align with the description put forth. The BBB regards it as an 'idealistic and ideological concept with limited applicability,' while Party B neither endorses the ideology nor resonates with the motivations behind the concept, making it challenging for them to provide a definition.

Sufficiency

A majority of the parties are (largely) committed to transitioning towards sufficiency, whereby the economy meets demand while also providing care for people and the environment. The general reason for the transition are concerns regarding limits to growth and "excess harms." Furthermore, it is repeatedly emphasized that overproduction should never be a goal. A healthy balance between sufficiency and efficiency is desirable, as what is necessary should be produced efficiently. However, the BBB and Party B do not align with this view. Both parties advocate for production that takes place within the framework and development of the free market and claim that it would be a waste not to utilize capacity and knowledge when "the market does not provide a reason to restrict it."

An aspect highlighted by several parties is taking responsibility for products used within Friesland. Therefore, D66 believes the economy of Friesland must undergo a "radical transformation" in order to take full responsibility. Taking responsibility is described as resolving issues within Friesland rather than shifting them outside the province while continuing to benefit from them. Furthermore, it is argued that growth is not inherently bad. Multiple parties believe that growth only becomes problematic when companies are excessively driven by profit maximization and prioritize maximizing returns for shareholders above all else. The need to shift the focus from maximum growth to maximum flourishing is emphasized. In concrete terms, this means moving away from a mindset of "more, more, more" and instead



considering "what is necessary for people to be happy." Part of this entails exploring ways to promote smaller production cycles with local products.

Despite the general willingness for a transition, several issues have been identified. Firstly, there is the problem that local Frisian parties alone cannot determine whether the transition will be initiated. Party A emphasizes that "this should be approached at the European level", "but society itself must initiate the change, and there must be public support." Secondly, "whether Friesland is open to it is not up to politics. The citizens determine it." Most parties don't believe "a government that controls everything and imposes regulations. That's simply not how it works." The parties have a strong belief that individuals and businesses themselves can and should take responsibility to ensure lasting change. Thirdly, the risk of companies departing from Friesland due to restrictions on their growth is viewed as a realistic concern. These restrictions can lead to companies losing their position in the global market as a result of "a lack of global competitiveness". Consequently, it is anticipated that companies can and will opt for another province or country as their operating base.

However, the parties do identify several viable options. Firstly, the Frisian political landscape can "encourage, drive, stimulate, and raise awareness. Part of this involves "raising awareness among citizens that growth is not the future," for both producers and consumers. Multiple parties provide the example of mobile phones, highlighting that "you don't need a new phone every two years." Secondly, the Frisian political landscape can decide which companies should receive support, and which should not. The companies that the parties are willing to support are clearly identified, companies that align with the Frisian ambitions of a circular economy and broad prosperity. Particularly, potential is seen in a circular economy. Companies that will not be supported are those that produce goods deemed unsustainable. The ChristenUnie, for instance, cites companies that manufacture pants that are designed to be



discarded within a year as an illustrative example. Thirdly, there is support for the idea of requiring companies to have plans in place to increase circularity and/or reduce emissions before obtaining a permit.

However, GroenLinks raises a caveat regarding these ideas that would also promote post-growth in Friesland. Highlighting that Friesland was one of the first provinces to embrace the concept of broad prosperity and express it as an ambition, nevertheless there have been few concrete actions taken to support it, and the same applies to circularity.

Relationship to profit

An example of sufficiency in post-growth literature is the relationship that companies have with profit, stating that only non-profit companies are truly sustainable. No party fully agrees with this notion. As "companies exist to make a profit," and the current economy has brought "success and prosperity to the Netherlands and many other (Western) countries." With the exception of the BBB and Party B, all parties agree that excessive profits are highly detrimental and undesirable. The ChristenUnie describes a conscious economy with responsible profit as perfectly fine. This means that companies should not exist solely for growth and profit for shareholders. In addition, there is an agreement that the shareholder model can be described as "destructive" and too focused on short-term gains. Finally, if the implementation of such measures were desired, it should be implemented at the European level.

Regeneration

There is also a majority in favour of a transition that prioritizes regeneration over extraction. This implies that there is majority support for producing at a pace that aligns with the needs of both nature and people, both in the present and the future. The CDA, Party A, and the ChristenUnie express their optimism about regeneration by referring to the circular

economy. Stating that more should be repairable. By repairing existing products, less extraction is required. Awareness is also highlighted as an important factor. One example is given by the CDA, which is the mindset of "simply buying less." While there is confidence in the possibility of making the transition, the problem of discussing timelines is raised. Discussions exist regarding when such a goal should be 100% achieved, which ultimately only delays action.

All parties, except for Party B, agree that the agro-industry is the right sector to take a significant step towards a transition to regeneration, wherein farming practices are extensified. Particularly, nature-inclusive farming is seen as "the future," comprising a "healthy economic enterprise, a healthy soil, a healthy environment, and the production of healthy food." The ChristenUnie summarizes it as "being conscious of everything you have." Which is necessary because "the current system depletes the soil" and require artificial means. However, D66 acknowledges the challenge of extensification "when it comes to a healthy soil and biodiversity" because "the Northern clay belt is more or less the global leader when it comes to seed potatoes." The same clay belt can play an "incredibly important role in feeding the world," which the BBB believes should not be wasted. Moreover, the parties emphasize that a transition is "all about fair remuneration" for farmers. A farmer could reduce the number of cows if they "receive a fair price for their meat or a good reward for nature conservation."

Reduced workweeks

A practical example related to regeneration is a reduced number of hours in standard workweeks. Among the interviewed parties, the majority is not convinced that reducing working hours would benefit the ecology. However, there is a consensus that it could enhance the social aspect by improving people's mental well-being. Most parties agree on finding a healthy balance, acknowledging that the impact on mental well-being may vary depending on the individual. D66 states, "When it comes to people, there are never easy answers or solutions."



Counter arguments are also presented, such as the need to earn a living and the current challenge of finding an adequate workforce. GroenLinks suggests that Friesland should consider whether labour hours and resources should be allocated to filling shelves in discount stores or directed towards areas where there is genuine needs. Ultimately, the parties believe that this issue does not solely fall within the realm of politics. People and businesses need to collectively agree on the extent and timing of work.

Distribution

There is a small majority of parties in favour of a transition towards distribution, which entails decentralization and a more equitable distribution of capital and resources. The primary reason cited by the opponents is that a post-growth economy, based on the principle of distribution, bears too much resemblance to a planned economy. The small majority that advocates for a transition underline the need for a transition in order to create a "fair world" by reducing the "enormous imbalance" between the rich and the poor. As GroenLinks describes a transition towards distribution focuses on "the well-being of all residents and the common interest above individual interests." The shared perception is that a system designed to benefit only 1% will eventually implode. Hence why a "realistic distribution of what this earth has to offer" is a must. In addition, there is limited comprehension for companies like Albert Heijn and Arriva, where "considerable profits are generated" and "shareholders become rich while sleeping." Multiple parties propose that "a smaller portion should go to shareholders, while a larger portion should benefit those at the bottom." Nonetheless, all parties agree that business owners may earn higher incomes than employees, but emphasize the necessity of striking a balance in this regard.

Despite the majority supports a transition, it still is perceived as challenging. For example, GroenLinks mentions that "not only the money lies with a select group, the power as

well." Furthermore, it is emphasized once again that a transition cannot be achieved solely from within Friesland. It needs to be embraced by the people, and there must be a movement "from the government and from the political sphere." An important role is to be played by national or European legislation, as distribution cannot be regulated at provincial level. As "one of the core responsibilities of a government" is the distribution of wealth, ensuring sufficient jobs and livelihood security. However, there is a consensus that the current tax system is wrong. There should be more taxation on wealth and less on labour. Currently, "you lose half of your income" when you work, while "you hardly pay any taxes" if you invest. Progressive taxation is promoted numerous times and is described as making exceptional accumulation financially unattractive. However, this kind of taxation should be regulated at the European level, "otherwise, you drive entrepreneurs to other countries." This will not happen when implemented across Europe, "because they can make money in Europe." However, for some, central regulation goes too far, and they emphasize that those who have more should look out for those who have less. Furthermore, the BBB indicates that farmers should reconsider their distribution methods if they are not satisfied with the current distribution. In other words, take responsibility in your own hands.

What is indicated as possible within the Frisian political landscape is considering which businesses to embrace in Friesland and which ones to exclude. Activities should be "to encourage cooperatives that operate with closed loops." This includes local energy and food cooperatives. In doing so, the money remains within the local economy instead of going to shareholders, which is decentralization.

Income and wealth caps

A practical example from the literature that promotes distribution is the implementation of income and wealth caps. To begin, two parties do not see any value in this approach and



predicts negative effects on the innovative power of the economy. The BBB describes it as a "principle for a socialist utopia." Nevertheless, the majority considers it a good idea to implement caps. However, the representative from Party A mentions that his stance may deviate from the average party member. Reference is made to the principle of "strongest shoulders" and the observation that the current income distribution is "grossly imbalanced." The precise threshold for the caps should be determined by specialists, and while earning more through hard work is acceptable, it should not come at the expense of the community. The parties believe that fiscal implementation through taxation is the most suitable approach. Despite the political parties supporting the income and wealth caps, Party A cautions about the level of support among their voters. While proponents may readily agree on the post-growth principle, aspects such as maximization of ownership and reduced work, etc. do not resonate well. Due to time constraints, this practical example was not presented to the CDA. However, during the interview, it was mentioned that they support the "strongest shoulders" principle but are against central regulation.

Discussion

The aim of this research, which is to delineate the Frisian political perception on a post-growth economy in Friesland, ascertain their willingness to transition towards it and how, will now be discussed. The discussion will unfold as follows: firstly, an examination of the perception. Secondly, an exploration of the Frisian political intentions towards post-growth, and finally, an analysis of three themes that emerged from the interviews.

Frisian political perception on post-growth

To begin with, it is interesting to note that most parties had little to no knowledge of the post-growth concept, and during the interviews, almost no consistent definition was provided. Consequently, it can be concluded that post-growth is not yet an established notion within the



Frisian political landscape. This partially explains why none of the parties referenced to a post-growth economy in their election plans. What becomes evident is that the majority of parties describe post-growth as being similar to broad prosperity and a circular economy. Several parties also make reference to both concepts in their election plans, which Friesland also express as their ambition. Nevertheless the following description summarizes it well, "Less growth, more optimization between ecology and economy, and between the rich and the poor."

Frisian political intentions towards post-growth

Prior to this research, it was expected that the Frisian political landscape would be reasonably open to a post-growth economy due to the ambitions expressed regarding the circular economy and broad prosperity. Also, it was expected that left-wing parties would be more open to this idea compared to right-wing parties. Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that left-wing parties, as expected, will advocate for a transition towards a post-growth economy. Interestingly, the more central political parties also generally have a positive attitude towards it. A notable result is that the two most right-wing parties either completely reject or show minimal support for the concept. Therefore, it could be argued that these parties also do not align with the ambitions of a circular economy and broad prosperity. One of these parties is BBB, which prominently emphasized economic growth in their election plan. Therefore, it could be somewhat expected that BBB would not be receptive to a post-growth economy. Both dismissive parties are convinced that a free market, with minimal government intervention, is more beneficial for the economy. Interestingly, the two dismissive parties received nearly an equal share of the votes as the parties that are open to it. Based on this finding, it could be argued that the voters in Friesland are (indirectly) not supporting a transition to a post-growth economy. If this is indeed the case, it would not align with the findings of Paulson & Büchs (2022), who found a majority in public acceptance of post-growth. However,

it should be noted that drawing such conclusions solely based on votes for political parties may not fully capture other significant issues at play, such as the nitrogen crisis.

Responsibility, democracy and distribution, and proposed actions

First, the theme of responsibility, which has been addressed by seven parties. It revolves around who is accountable for the transition towards a post-growth economy. Should a serious effort be made towards this transition, all parties agree that Friesland, and even the Netherlands as a whole, are too small to initiate a substantial transformation. A transition towards post-growth needs to be driven by legislation and progressive taxation at the European level to prevent companies and capital from migrating to other provinces or countries. In addition to emphasizing the role of Europe in the transition, it is also suggested that citizens themselves should take responsibility. Citizens need to be aware that the current consumption pattern is unsustainable and must be reduced, which includes refraining from buying new products without needing them.

Next is the theme of democracy and distribution, which pertains to whom our current democracy, or system, serves. The focus here primarily lies on the distribution of wealth. The majority of parties agree that the current system is no longer sustainable. The democracy is perceived to be influenced by the interests of big capital and corporations, as illustrated by the quote, "not only the money is concentrated within a select group, but the power as well." The majority agreed that some individuals may earn more than others, but the current distribution has become grossly imbalanced, where 99% work for the benefit of the 1%. A slim majority supports government intervention, again at the European level, but there is also a belief that companies themselves must take responsibility. Companies need to prioritize the well-being of their employees and shift their focus away from shareholders. A majority is convinced that this approach is also beneficial for companies in the long run.



The third theme concerns the actions envisioned by the Frisian parties themselves. While the complete transition is beyond the province's scope, they can still contribute significantly. The parties identify three activities for themselves. Firstly, they can encourage, drive, stimulate, and raise awareness within Friesland. This may involve organizing knowledge-sharing events or supporting and facilitating initiatives aligned with the principles of post-growth. Secondly, they can determine which companies should receive support and which should not. It is evident that local cooperatives with closed loops are welcomed and should be supported, as they improve local ecological and social welfare. Companies that can contribute to the circular economy in Friesland should also receive assistance. Additionally, the province aims to create an environment conducive to sustainable entrepreneurs rather than extraction-based businesses. Thirdly, the parties see value in requiring companies to have plans in place for increasing circularity and/or reducing emissions prior to obtaining permits. Meaning that companies must demonstrate their plans for sustainability before acquiring or renewing a permit. Subsequently, the companies should be able to demonstrate the realization of their plans within a few years or provide a well-founded explanation if not all goals have been achieved. This approach ensures the continuity of the province's sustainability efforts.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the answer to the research question "What are the Frisian political perceptions of a post-growth economy and what are their intentions towards it?" can be summarized as follows. To begin with the first part of the question, which pertains to the perception of post-growth within the Frisian political landscape. Firstly, the majority of the parties admitted that they have limited-to-no knowledge about the concept of post-growth. Secondly, all the given definitions diverged significantly from one another. Nevertheless, there is one definition that reasonably summarizes the given definitions, stating, "Less growth, more



optimization between ecology and economy, and between the rich and the poor." The second part of the question, which concerns the intentions of the Frisian political landscape regarding a post-growth economy. It can be concluded that there is a majority in favour of transitioning towards a post-growth economy in Friesland. Three key themes emerge from their answers. Firstly, responsibility. Citizens and governments are both responsible for a transition towards a post-growth economy. Europe should take responsibility for implementing regulations for member states and citizens have to responsibility of their way of consuming by reducing it. Secondly, democracy and distribution. The current democracy should advocate more for the less privileged 99% of our society rather than the 1% to whom the majority of the capital flows. In this regard, both Europe and businesses need to work towards achieving a fairer distribution of capital. Thirdly, at the local level, the Frisian political landscape can (i) encourage, drive, stimulate, and raise awareness within Friesland, (ii) determine which companies should receive support and which should not, and (iii) require companies to have plans in place for increasing circularity and/or reducing emissions prior to obtaining permits.

Although there is a majority of participants in favour of a transition to post-growth within Friesland, it is important to note that these participants do not necessarily constitute a majority within the Frisian political landscape. The proponents and opponents are proportionally comparable in terms of the percentage of voters they represent.

Recommendations

Based on the executed research, several recommendations can be made. Firstly, if the post-growth movement wishes to position itself as a realistic alternative to the current (growth) economy, more knowledge needs to be shared, at least within the context of Frisian politics. Currently, there is insufficient understanding to consider the concept realistically, let alone implement it. Secondly, since the provided definitions were unfamiliar within Frisian politics



and have generated new insights, it is advisable for the parties that align with these concepts to engage in dialogue with each other. This could help to build a majority, which is necessary to make a transition feasible.

Limitations

Despite the careful design of this research, there are several limitations to consider. Firstly, only three out of the five post-growth principles of McGreevy et al. (2022) were examined, leaving two principles open for investigation. Additionally, not all planned examples could be addressed in a small number of interviews. The main reason for this were constraints by tight schedules, either from the researcher or participant, resulting in not having sufficient time for the entire interview. Nevertheless, it can be argued that this research provides a good initial indication of the perspectives on post-growth within Frisian politics.

Secondly, the eight participating parties in this research represent a broad spectrum of the political left, central, and right, collectively accounting for a significant majority of the votes. Therefore, one can consider it as a representative sample. The exact percentage of votes garnered by these parties is not specified in the research to protect the anonymity of those who wish to remain undisclosed. Nonetheless, it is recommended to investigate the remaining parties in Friesland. This would provide the opportunity to create a comprehensive understanding of the views held by the Frisian political landscape regarding the concept of post-growth. However, it is advisable to wait for some time until the post-growth concept becomes more widely known within Frisian politics. The reason for this is that certain parties declined participation in this research, either due to a lack of familiarity with the precise meaning of post-growth or because their national party has not yet established an official stance on the matter.



Thirdly, data saturation did not occur. Each interview provided new insights into the Frisian political perceptions of post-growth. Considering the fact that there were seventeen political parties to be voted for (73), each with distinct views and goals, it is also highly questionable whether data saturation would be achievable when all parties had been interviewed.

Future research

Based on this research, there are several paths for future research. Firstly, multiple parties have expressed their willingness to create a favourable business environment for companies aligned with the post-growth vision, as well as to facilitate and support them. Future research could explore (i) what such a business environment would entail, (ii) how it can be established, (iii) what policies the province can implement to assist and support desired entrepreneurs, and (iv) the implications for entrepreneurs fitting within and outside the post-growth framework.

Additionally, it would be interesting to examine whether the residents of Friesland themselves are open to a transition towards a post-growth economy and whether their views align with the positions of the political parties.

Lastly, since the parties agree that the implementation of a post-growth economy should occur at the European level, it would be worthwhile to investigate the European Union's perspective on the post-growth concept and whether they envision its future in Europe.

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Appendix A: Political program analysis

Political Party	Post-growth	Economy or Economic	Promoting regular economics in a growth context
PvdA	0	3	0
CDA	0	26	2
BBB	0	30	10
GroenLinks	0	28	1
VVD	0	17	3
D66	0	7	0
FNP	0	9	0
ChristenUnie	0	14	3
Partij voor de Dieren	0	21	0
PVV	0	16	4
SP	0	0	0

Appendix B: Participants

Party	Political position	Representative	Position within the party
BBB	Right-conservative	Cor Keuning	Number 12
GroenLinks	Left-progressive	Charda Mary Kuipers	Party leader
CDA	Left-progressive	Friso Douwstra	Party leader
ChristenUnie	Central-progressive	Matthijs de Vries	Party leader
Partij voor de Dieren	Left-progressive	Menno Brouwer	Party leader
D66	Left-progressive	Danny van der Weijde	Party leader
Party A	-	Representative A	-
Party B	-	Representative B	-

Appendix C: Interview guide

Voordat ik begin, wil ik u nogmaals bedanken dat u open staat voor dit interview.

Om te beginnen ga ik een korte introductie geven van het onderzoek.

Zoals u weet is dit interview onderdeel van mijn afstudeeronderzoek voor de Master duurzaam ondernemen. Hierbij onderzoek ik hoe verschillende Friese politieke partijen tegen het concept post-groei aankijken, of het toegepast kan worden in Friesland en zo ja, hoe. De opnames van de interviews ga ik uittypen, waarna ik de opnames weer zal verwijderen.

Tot zo ver het proces, nu ga ik in op de inhoud.

Op dit moment is er sprake van een toenemend biodiversiteitsverlies, groeiende uitstoot wat resulteert in klimaatverandering, het alsmear groeiende verschil tussen arm en rijk en dit wordt verdedigd met het argument dat het goed gaat met de gemeenschap zolang er economische groei is. Zo wordt er geproduceerd met het streven van zoveel mogelijk winst voor een select groepje, zonder na te denken of de producten überhaupt nodig zijn en wat voor schadelijke gevolgen het met zich mee kan brengen. Daarnaast wordt er geconsumeerd op een tempo die de wereld niet kan bijhouden in termen van het regenereren van grondstoffen en het afbreken van gebruikte materialen.

Deze omstandigheden hebben er toe geleid dat er stemmen opgaan om een transitie te maken naar een post-groei economie. Wat mij op de eerste vraag brengt:

1. Kunt u in uw eigen woorden beschrijven wat een post-groei economie volgens u betekent?

Bedankt voor uw beschrijving (zijn er overeenkomsten). Om de interviews vergelijkbaar te maken wil ik u graag een beschrijving laten lezen die is gebaseerd op wetenschappelijke artikelen, hier zal het interview verder op gebaseerd worden.

Beschrijving van post-groei:

Post-groei kan worden omschreven als een vooraf geplande stabilisatie (en gerichte inkrimping) van de economie, waarbij de eindeloze ambitie van economische groei wordt weerlegd naar sociale en ecologische gezondheid. De post-groei economie doet dit door de beperkte beschikbaarheid van hulpbronnen en ecologische grenzen te erkennen en na te leven. Dit interview richt zich op drie principes van post-groei: economische, sociaalecologische en allocatieve (toewijzende) principes.

- Benoemen als bepaalde onderwerpen van de participant en mij overeenkomen.

Economisch principe (toereikendheid boven efficiëntie)

In een kapitalistische economie willen bedrijven zo efficiënt mogelijk zijn door zoveel mogelijk te produceren en te verkopen, zonder zich (veel) zorgen te maken over mogelijke negatieve effecten. Het doel van een post-groei economie is om aan de vraag te voldoen en tegelijkertijd zorg te bieden voor de mensen die het maken en het milieu om hen heen. Dit betekent aandacht besteden aan de grenzen van de (lokale) gemeenschap en het milieu, binnen deze grenzen blijven, en ervoor zorgen dat zowel de (lokale) gemeenschap als het milieu gezond en gelukkig blijven.

1. Wat vindt -partij- van het economische principe toereikendheid? (En waarom?)
2. Zou -partij- pleiten voor een transitie naar een economie die gebaseerd is op toereikendheid in plaats van efficiëntie?
 - a. Zo ja: waarom?
 - i. En op welke manier? (Heeft u praktische voorbeelden?)



- b. Zo niet: waarom niet?

Voorbeeld: De relatie die bedrijven hebben met winst. Hoewel de ene structuur meer druk uitoefent op het creëren van particuliere winsten dan de andere, hebben alle bedrijven met winst oogmerk het potentieel om problemen aan te moedigen, zoals ongelijkheid, milieu vervuiling, overconsumptie en marktconcentratie. Enig gegeven alternatief: bedrijven die hebben vastgelegd geen winst te mogen maken.

Sociaalecologisch principe (regeneratie boven extractie)

Op dit moment is het doel om zoveel mogelijk uit de samenleving en het milieu te halen, oftewel, zo productief mogelijk zijn. In een post-groei economie is het doel om datgene wat gebruikt wordt te laten regenereren en/of te laten herstellen. Dit betekent produceren in een tempo dat werkt voor zowel de natuur als de mensen, zowel nu als in de toekomst.

1. Wat vindt -partij- van het sociaalecologische principe regeneratie? (En waarom?)
2. Zou -partij- pleiten voor een transitie waar regeneratie boven extractie wordt gesteld?
 - a. Zo ja: waarom?
 - i. En op welke manier? (Heeft u praktische voorbeelden?)
 - b. Zo niet: waarom niet?

Bijvoorbeeld: Gereduceerd aantal uren in een werkweek aan de sociale kant en biologisch boeren aan de ecologische kant.

Allocatieve principe (distributie boven accumulatie)

De manier waarop middelen op dit moment voornamelijk worden gedeeld en verdeeld, is door private bedrijven middelen te laten verzamelen en te beheren. Resultaat hiervan is dat middelen bij een steeds kleinere groep worden gecentraliseerd. In een post-groei economie worden middelen gedecentraliseerd en eerlijk (gelijker) verdeeld. Dit betekent onder andere lokale productie aanmoedigen in plaats van te vertrouwen op wereldwijde bronnen.

1. Wat vindt -partij- van het allocatieve principe distributie? (En waarom?)
2. Zou -partij- pleiten voor een transitie waar distributie boven accumulatie wordt gesteld?
 - a. Zo ja: waarom?
 - i. En op welke manier? (Heeft u praktische voorbeelden?)
 - b. Zo niet: waarom niet?

Bijvoorbeeld: inkomens- en vermogensplafonds -> verdiend geld kan gebruikt worden om minimum inkomens of een gereduceerd aantal uren in een werkweek te financieren.

Einde

Dan was dit de laatste vraag van het interview. Is er nog iets waarvan je denkt dat nog belangrijk is om te delen wat betreft post-groei in Friesland?

Heb je verder nog vragen?

Dan wil ik je nogmaals heel erg bedanken voor je tijd en bijdrage.



Appendix D: Transcripts

Considering the size of the transcript documents, it was decided to store the transcripts externally, separate from the main document. The transcripts can be accessed through the following links:

Party A:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wcljuwtaFM91btcDTJ7Qhb8g1OC0eSQ1/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

Party B:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1VL6rnmOYJJKa6IOPNo0tMNqPGdzJvuHM/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

Partij voor de Dieren:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/18xiJxekClBqVmQBjFjoNbzfZuBQkWC8L/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

GroenLinks:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1j065RcK6h6AotrpQ5noiQVAgeWRo4Uqp/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

D66:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1oFwCu9xM0lpouXHbksa9oICquog7Li71/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

ChristenUnie:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/13r9jloIBz5qNgQ6QSOiaYUlltVftjrv/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

CDA:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1RNqBtDVJL9W3qaftvfBmPMW0tIIF7p22/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>

BBB:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/12WQIUD6oaB8x3zIn0uuxFxCOkTHbo9ba/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115877057702875756046&rtpof=true&sd=true>



Appendix E: Coding tree

* Due to the large amount of first order codes, only four are shown as examples.

First order codes	Second order themes	Theoretical dimensions
Minder groei, meer optimalisatie tussen ecologie en economie en tussen arm en rijk, dus eigenlijk minder en meer balans.	Personal definition	Personal post-growth definitions
Een idealistisch en ideologisch concept met beperkte toepassing.		
Post groei is terug naar de ouwe zuinigheid, de degelijkheid. Dus niet produceren voor consumptie maar produceren voor noodzakelijkheid.		
De aarde in fysieke, maar ook volgens mij in psychische zin zo goed mogelijk door geven.		
	Sufficiency	Economic principle
	Transition towards sufficiency	
	Circular economy	
	Broad prosperity	
	Creating awareness	
	Relationship to profit	
	Sharing economy	
	World population	
	Regeneration	Social-ecological principle
	Transition towards regeneration	
	Re-using and repairing	
	Reduced workweeks	
	Agricultural transition	
	Smaller production cycles	
	Distribution	Allocative principle
	Transition towards distribution	
	Income and wealth caps	
	Cooperatives	

Appendix F: Consent form

Toestemmingsformulier

Politieke percepties van een post-groei economie in Friesland

Dit interview is onderdeel van het Sustainable Entrepreneurship Project (afstudeerproject) voor de Master Sustainable Entrepreneurship, aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Het doel van dit onderzoek is vaststellen hoe de huidige Friese politiek kijkt naar het concept post-groei, of het toepasbaar is in Friesland en zo ja, hoe. Om een zo breed mogelijk beeld te krijgen zullen alle politieke partijen in Friesland, die daar voor openstaan, geïnterviewd worden.

De informatie die wordt verzameld door middel van interviews moet de onderzoeker in staat brengen om de volgende onderzoeksvraag te beantwoorden: "Hoe beïnvloedt de Friese politieke perceptie van drie post-groei principes de politieke intenties naar een post-groei economie?". Door deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek heeft u als deelnemer geen direct voordeel.

Het interview zal maximaal een uur duren. We verwachten niet dat er risico's verbonden zijn aan uw deelname, maar u heeft het recht om op elk moment het interview stop te zetten of u terug te trekken uit het onderzoek, zonder verantwoording en zonder enige negatieve gevolgen. U heeft ook het recht om het beantwoorden van vragen te weigeren.

Het interview wordt opgenomen met een telefoon waarna het wordt getranscribeerd. Het transcript van het interview zal worden geanalyseerd en uitsluitend worden gebruikt voor het genoemde onderzoek door Alex Tillema als onderzoeker. Toegang tot het transcript van het interview is beperkt tot de onderzoeker en begeleider Emma Folmer.

Directe citaten kunnen in het onderzoeksrapport worden gebruikt om conclusies te versterken of te verduidelijken.

Alle interviewdata kan worden geanonimiseerd om te voorkomen dat de geïnterviewde wordt geïdentificeerd. Er zal worden gezorgd dat andere informatie in het interview die u zou kunnen identificeren, niet wordt onthuld. Indien gewenst, gelieve hieronder aan te duiden.

	Ik wil, samen met mijn politieke partij, geanonimiseerd worden door de namen te vervangen met een nummer.
--	---

Door dit formulier te ondertekenen verklaar ik dat ik vrijwillig mee doe aan dit onderzoek.

Naam van participant:

Handtekening:

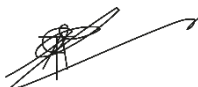
Datum:

Naam van onderzoeker:

Handtekening:

Datum:

Alex Tillema





Voor aanvullende vragen kunt u contact opnemen met onderstaande student-onderzoeker of begeleider.

Student-onderzoeker

Name: Alex Tillema

E-mailadres: a.a.tillema@student.rug.nl

Begeleider

Name: Emma Folmer

E-mailadres: e.c.folmer@rug.nl



Appendix G: Signed consent forms

Six out of eight interviewees have signed the consent form. The others did not sign due to formal rules or the fact that the interview was held via E-mail. Via E-mail was agreed to anonymise the interview.

Party A:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hKrgtgj1-pBy0XI2h-IK7WXHjQorzBVN/view?usp=sharing>

GroenLinks:

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1grR9Sm9JH_QBzpLX4vM1J5LnERvgSqt/view?usp=sharing

Partij voor de Dieren:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1irP1FGwufAeJCe2NlppXhncbZPXHOiQc/view?usp=sharing>

D66:

https://drive.google.com/file/d/12cqAJ9NSy7fyX8x-PduqmhXNlICE_cU3/view?usp=sharing

ChristenUnie:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1j8kNwqVIV6yxSQjx06RcfjxamR5H8IV/view?usp=sharing>

BBB:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HuiDYWZu0cof3TgzdwahXRGg945LrmNT/view?usp=sharing>

