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The New 'Passive Revolution' of the Green Economy and Growth Discourse: Maintaining the 'Sustainable Development' of Neoliberal Capitalism

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strategies. Greening the economy and associated strategies of green growth divert attention from the social and political dimensions of sustainability and issues of social and international justice. In this way, the inexorable march or 'sustainable development' of neoliberal capitalism is maintained. This paper goes on to argue that contesting the claims of green economy/growth discourse through political struggles by civil society against the neoliberalisation of nature is a sign of a slowly emerging counter-hegemonic 'double movement' which challenges capitalist hegemony and the commodification of society-nature relations.

Keywords: green economy green growth sustainable development passive revolution fictitious commodities neoliberalising nature

Notes on contributor

Thomas Wanner is a lecturer in the discipline of Geography, Environment and Population at the University of Adelaide, South Australia. His research and teaching interests concentrate on the political economy of environment and development issues with a particular focus on international environmental governance, gender and development, and education for sustainability.

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2. Achieving the green economy is a process and therefore it would be more helpful to speak about greening the economy than a green economy (which implies an end-state of low-carbon or carbon-free economies).

3. Brand is also critical about the green economy discourse and its role in perpetuating capitalist society-nature relations (Brand [2011](#); Brand and Wissen [2012](#)). The various global crises are seen by him and others as an opportunity to start thinking about a 'post-neoliberalisation of nature' (Brand [2009](#)); whereas I argue that these crises are part of continued neoliberalisation of nature.

4. Green growth and green economy are often used synonymously in policy papers as both are inextricably linked. In this article, I often talk about 'green economy/growth' discourse to highlight this linkage. Otherwise, I clearly separate between green economy when talking about the overall economic system and its goal of moving away from fossil economies to low-carbon (or even carbon-free) economies; and green growth as both the 'motor' of economic development in a green economy and the outcome of green economy (similar to 'green jobs').

5. Gramsci distinguishes between 'common sense' and 'good sense' which refers to what is usually called in contemporary society 'common sense' - the practical and empirical application of the intellect. 'Good sense' is needed to question 'common sense' (i.e. the belief system and norms around the dominant ideology) and to search for new

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8. Castree ([2008](#), [2010](#)), also using a Marxian-Polanyi theoretical framework, provides a detailed analysis of various critical studies and his own series of analysing the 'logics, processes, outcomes, and evaluations' of the neoliberalisation of nature. My paper is a critical analysis of green economy/growth which is, as argued, the new instrument in neoliberalising nature.


9. This has only been countenanced by the inaction in relation to earlier attempts to reconcile growth and environmental concerns with, for example, little progress globally towards the global goal of sustainable development enunciated at the 1992 UNCED (which was followed up by the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, proclaimed beforehand as the 'summit of action' to tackle the massive lack of implementation of sustainable development policy).

10. 'Environmental sustainability', as defined by UNESCAP ([2008](#)), refers to 'the capacity of economic growth processes and social change to ensure that natural resources are not depleted faster than they can be regenerated and that ecological systems remain viable' (14).

11. Similarly, the World Bank ([2012](#)) takes an 'economic approach - using the standard tools of mainstream growth and environmental economics' (3).

12. Schafer ([2011](#)), the Director of Strategy and Operations at the Sustainable

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15. Natural capital is defined by UNESCAP ([2008](#)) as

both the ecosystem goods (raw materials) that enterprises transform into value for humanity every day (for example agricultural products, water and minerals) and the equally and perhaps more important ecosystem services that make Earth habitable by stabilizing the global climate, cleansing water and air, pollinating agricultural crops, storing nutrients in soils, and supporting spiritual values, cultures and recreation. (40)

16. As stated in a recent report, 'the global economy has passed from an era in which human-made capital was the limiting factor in economic development, to an era in which the remaining natural capital may well be the limiting factor' (UN and ADB [2012](#): 41).

17. See MEA ([2005](#)) or the recent report about the state of the global environment by the UNEP's ([2012](#)) Global Environmental Outlook 5.

18. For the distinction between weak and strong sustainability (which includes acceptance and restructuring of society and economy according to ecological limits), see Neumayer ([1999](#)).

19. Daly ([1974](#)) termed the phrase 'growthmania' for this obsession with economic growth without the recognition of ecological limits. See also Altvater ([2001](#)).

20. As we discussed earlier, this is what Daly is concerned about the 'disembedding' of capital from the economy against

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