transformative social innovation theory

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'Beyond' Transition? Understanding and Achieving Sustainable Consumption through Social Innovation

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Design by Julia Backhaus, Aachen, Germany

Table of contents

Introduction to the workshop 5

SESSION I: INVESTIGATING 'TRANSITION' AND 'TRANSFORMATION'
Introduction to Session I 8
by Audley Genus
Transforming the economy vs. transitioning to a sharing economy 9
by Julia Backhaus, René Kemp & Harro van Lente
Intrapersonal conflicts as starting point for transition governance? 23
by Felix Rauschmayer, Ines Thronicker, Anke Fischer, Karen Hamann, Christine Polzin, Ines Omann, Torsten Masson, Mirijam Mock
Transition or Transformation? 34
by Michael Jonas
Sustainable lifestyles through the lens of time and space 44
by Adina Dumitru, Ricardo García Mira, Alberto Diaz, Irina Macsinga, Vlad Pandur, Wouter Spekkink, Jaco Quist
Discussant Contribution 55
by Philip Vergragt
Discussion Notes 58
by Iain Soutar

SESSION II: CASE STUDIES OF SOCIAL INNOVATION OR SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION
Introduction to Session II 61
by Edina Vadovics
Narratives of change 62
by Julia Wittmayer, Julia Backhaus, Flor Avelino, Bonno Pel, Tim Strasser, Iris Kunze
Doing sustainability in a Viennese Cohousing project 83
by Michaela Leitner, Beate Littig
Hitting a policy wall 92
by Keighley McFarland, Julia Wittmayer
City administrations' adaptation to new governance models 105
by Marcelline Bonneau, François Jégou
Discussant contribution 114
by Karin Dobernig, Edina Vadovics
Discussion Notes 116
by Ágnes Zsóka

SESSION III: ACTIONS, ROLES AND INTERACTIONS OF DIVERSE PARTICIPANTS
Introduction to Session 3 119
by Julia Wittmayer
Framing the Collaborative Economy 120
by Katarzyna Gruszka

Research based sustainable consumption education for social change 133
by Emese Gulyás
Crisis as a gateway to social innovation? 143
by Mária Csutora and Ágnes Zsóka
The role of social capital in energy system transformation 152
by Iain Soutar
Discussant Contribution 164
by Vivien Lunda
Discussion Notes 166
by Mirijam Mock

SESSION IV: FINAL PLENARY DISCUSSION
Notes from the concluding plenary discussion 168
by Marcelline Bonneau

ANNEX
About SCORAI Europe 172
SCORAI Europe supporting community 173
Workshop Programme 174
Participants List 176
Picture of the workshop participants 177

Introduction to the workshop

There is continuing debate about how to theorise and how to act to address current societal challenges including growing social inequalities, aging populations, economic crises, public austerity programmes and climate change. In recent years transition studies have become one of the most pervasive approaches (Grin et al. 2010, Markard et al. 2012). In particular the multi-level perspective (MLP) on socio-technical transitions (Geels 2002, 2011) has grown from a niche idea to a much-cited conceptualisation of technology-driven societal change processes. Along with this growth, also critical and reflexive voices emerged related to shortcomings concerning the treatment of e.g.:

- power and politics;
- user practices;
- networks of innovation;
- sustainability discourses and institutional change

It seems necessary to transcend or broaden notions of transition to find and assess the merits of alternative ideas and approaches with which to analyse and to realise the transformation to sustainability.

In this light the European branch of the Sustainable Consumption Research and Action Initiative (SCORAI Europe) and the Transformative Social Innovation Theory (TRANSIT) project jointly organised the one-day workshop:

'Beyond' Transition? Understanding and Achieving Sustainable Consumption through Social Innovation

This workshop aimed to contribute to theory development on and practical insight in social innovation and societal transformation and invited papers on the following issues:

Similarities and differences between notions of 'transition' and 'transformation' and their relevance to the governance of sustainability, social innovation or sustainable consumption which critically address the different notions of social change, transition and transformation; their performativity in terms of what they accomplish and make possible; their use by different groups of actors for specific goals; the policy-/society-science interfaces related to these different notions; their relations to other forms of change; ways to analyse these etc.

Case studies/examples of social innovation or sustainable consumption and their relevance to transformation which address the content, context and processes of social innovation and change e.g. on:

- governance, social learning, resourcing and monitoring in/of social innovation initiatives
- tracing histories of social innovations
- the conduct of socially innovative research, identifying methodologies necessary/used for researching social innovation/transformative change
- the substance of successful initiatives and how success is to be understood and by whom
- what we understand and learn from failed interventions
- institutional arrangements or organisational and material factors affecting conduct and success.

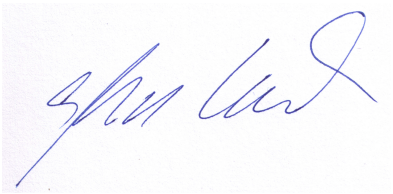
Actions, roles and interactions of diverse participants in potentially transformative social innovation or sustainable consumption initiatives (researchers, policy-makers, entrepreneurs, citizens) which focus on the analysis of cooperation and struggles of and between diverse actors or address the different capacities, discourses and access of various actual and potential participants to the governance of sustainable social innovation.

The workshop was part of a series of events organised by SCORAI Europe which always aim at (1) presenting and discussing innovative research related to understanding and enabling sustainable consumption and production and (2) bringing together researchers and practitioners. The emphasis of SCORAI events is on high quality discussion of the latest research on various themes (see annex for the previous workshops and proceedings). Presentations are therefore kept to a 5 minutes maximum, allowing ample time for plenary discussions kicked off by a discussant contribution. The workshop as well as the proceedings aim to challenge the state of the art, support work in progress and inspire future research. Therefore also the discussions during the workshop are carefully documented and summarized.

This is also how the proceedings are structured. All issues listed above are briefly introduced by the session chairs, followed by the individual papers. After this the discussants point out similarities and differences or contrasting points in the papers as well as other interesting/emerging ideas and motivate the discussion with some questions or thoughts. The resulting exchange is carefully captured by the note-takers documenting main discussion points: comments made questions and contrasting points raised based in the papers, topics and conclusions for future research, etc.

So you might find fruitful thoughts and inspiration for your own work in all chapters of the proceedings. In case you are interested in further work of – or with – SCORAI Europe, the Annex provides further information about previous workshops and their documentation as well as about our mailing list and core people to contact.

We wish you an inspiring reading,



Sylvia Lorek & Julia Backhaus

also on behalf of all other workshop organisers:
Audley Genus, Edina Vadovics & Julia Wittmayer

I

Investigating ‘transition’ & ‘transformation’

Introduction to Session I

Investigating 'transition' and 'transformation'

Audley Genus

Kingston University, United Kingdom

The workshop began with a session in which contributors were invited to consider the similarities and differences between notions of 'transition' and 'transformation', and their relevance to social innovation or sustainable consumption. As highlighted in the original call for papers for the workshop, a point of debate concerns the need to transcend notions of transition and to find and assess the merits of alternative approaches with which to analyse and to realise more sustainable living.

Fundamentally, the question posed by the session concerned the relative effectiveness of rival approaches for analysing and informing social change underpinned by the quest for more sustainable living. Another way of viewing the framing of the session is to contemplate the performativity of notions such as 'transition' and 'transformation' in terms of what they accomplish and make possible. This includes how such ideas and concepts are employed by different groups of actors for specific substantive and process-oriented goals, the policy-/society-science interfaces related to these different notions, and their relation to other forms of change, etc. Some aspects of the session also concerned the specification and elaboration of just what is meant by notions of transition and transformation is particular contexts, who or what is included or excluded in related theories and practice, and what difference all this makes to the designation of possibilities and actions for change.

The session included four, diverse papers (something to which the comments of the discussant, Philip Vergragt, will return). These were contributions rooted in the discipline of psychology (Rauschmayer et al.; Dumitru et al.), the 'praxeological' approach to social transformation (Jonas), as well as in the transition perspective of systems innovation (Backhaus et al.). The papers addressed phenomena at different scales and over time, encompassing intra-individual conflicts as starting points for change, transition to the sharing economy, economic transformation, and the transformation of unsustainable societal practices.

Transforming the economy vs. transitioning to a sharing economy

Theories of change in four bodies of literature

Julia Backhaus, René Kemp, Harro van Lente

Maastricht University, The Netherlands

Abstract

In this paper we compare the ontological views of four influential scholarly traditions concerned with societal change processes: i) Polanyi's *Great Transformation*, ii) theories of institutional change iii) practice-based approaches and iv) socio-technical transitions literature. The analysis interrogates each tradition regarding causes for change (actor-based and structural-durational), key change "agents" (influential individuals or groups), focal change processes (developments that bring about an altered state or situation) and views on closure of change processes.

The insights gained are applied to the example of the sharing economy. From this analysis the following findings surfaced. Striking differences between Polanyi's *Great Transformation*, neo-institutionalism, practice theories and the multi-level perspective of socio-technical change relate to the framing of agency and the narrative description of change processes. Meanwhile, all four traditions consider agency an emergent phenomenon that comes in the form of novel practices, technologies, social relations or cultural framings and that is enacted by a group of people or an actor-network. The theoretical views diverge again regarding the role of intentionality and the question whether transitions or transformative change can be purposive.

Introduction

Social science research knows a plethora of ways to make sense of social change and its drivers or influences. We selected an often-cited classic (Karl Polanyi's "The Great Transformation"), an established and thriving field (neo-institutionalism) and two younger schools of thought that enjoy a growing group of followers (practice theories and the multi-level perspective of socio-technical transitions) to compare influential approaches in the social sciences to theorising social change. Our goal is to tease out differences in ontological views, units of analysis, and identified change mechanisms. A different selection could have been made based on the many approaches to social change in use (Marxism, social movement theory, critical theory, power perspectives, modernisation theory, etc.) but we selected these four as influential literatures that are sufficiently similar and yet succinctly different in their ontological views on the role of structure and agency and goal-oriented societal change.

Based on our findings, we examine how each tradition can enrich our understanding of social change and explore these insights in an application to the budding "sharing economy". This notion, which is inextricably linked to modern ICT, is praised by some as a shift away from consumerism and whilst others caution against premature enthusiasm. We do not wish to resolve this debate but to contribute ideas how the 'hopeful monstrosity'[1] that the sharing

[1] Mokyr (1990) coined this term for new technologies due to the hopeful expectations they raise and their initially disappointing performance. These are characterisations we deem fitting for the current context, although we do not discuss a single technological novelty but rather a system of technological and social innovations that collectively constitute what has become understood as an emerging sharing economy.

economy represents can measure up to some of the hopes it has sparked based on four prominent ways of understanding social change.

In the following, we first revisit the four bodies of literature we would like to consult regarding their conceptualisation of social change. Our ensuing analysis questions each of these systematically in terms of causes for change (actor-based and structural-durational), key change "agents" (influential individuals or groups), focal change processes (developments that bring about an altered state or situation) and views on closure of change processes. This is followed by an application of the different theoretical approaches to the concept of the sharing economy and a conclusion.

Literature review

The following sections outline, one by one, Karl Polanyi's magnum opus "The Great Transformation" (first published in 1944), some key publications in the tradition of neo-institutionalism (as it emerged in the 1970), the family of practice theories (developed from the early 1990s onwards) and the multi-level perspective of socio-technical transitions (as formulated in the early 2000s). The seemingly odd juxtaposition of a single book by one author with diverse writings from numerous authors is in fact very deliberate. Our intention is to trace some developments in social scientific theorising about social change across time.

The Great Transformation *by Karl Polanyi*

In his work *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time*, Karl Polanyi discusses the causes of the collapse of 19th century civilisation and the transformative changes this set in motion. His central line of reasoning rests on three core concepts: the "embedded economy", "fictitious commodities" and the "double movement". His main argument is that a free market society is a "stark utopia" (Polanyi, 1944, p. 3) as economic relations are always bound by state action and cultural norms about rights and responsibilities. Even the most liberal form of a market society is held in place by regulation, often to protect workers. In previous centuries,

> *the procurement of economic commodities … traditionally has been organized under the social principles of reciprocity (mutual exchange between specialized groups), or redistribution (allocation of surpluses by an accepted authority), or householding (direct production for use) (Hildebrand, 1946, pp. 400-401; summarising Polanyi, 1944).*

Economic relations were, thus, embedded in social relations. The advent of capitalism brought about an institutional split of the economic and the social-political realms and led to a dis-embedding of economic activities. Land and labour were transformed into "fictitious commodities"; fictitious because they are not commodities produced for sale and neither can labour be separated from the human, nor can land be produced (although Dubai and the Dutch have proven otherwise). The modern nation-state plays a double role in this context: while granting and regulating the trade of land and labour as commodities, it also strives to protect people and their habitat and thereby, "re-embed the economy in society" (Dale, 2008, p. 499).

Since the "process of extracting surplus from the direct producers involves a complex mix of political, cultural, and economic practices" (Block, 2003, p. 284) there can be no independent market economy. Nevertheless, adherents to the free market utopia assume the market can self-regulate demand and supply, including fictitious commodities. This paradox leads to unavoidable tensions between the realms of economics and politics and the national and international spheres (Dale, 2008), what Polanyi calls the "double movement". This central notion captures a tension between international free trade and national economies, induced by the international gold standard. Upon a period of unprecedented international flow of goods and services at the turn of the centuries, fuelled amongst other by technological developments in the

transport sector, nations were competing fiercely for export shares.[2] At the same time, government intervention decreased national market elasticity to protect the "unity of society" (Polanyi, 1944, p. 206) and to absorb shocks the international market might or did exert on national economies.

The growing tension discharged in the advent of the First World War which put an end to the preceding 100-year-peace and balance-of-power. Polanyi's positive outlook at the end of his book, entitled "Freedom in a complex society", does indeed, as has been criticised (Hamilton, 1944), not offer solutions. In his view, an important task ahead is to reconcile the economy with human nature, because in his point of view,

> *The true criticism of market society is not that it was based on economics—in a sense, every and any society must be based on it—but that its economy was based on self-interest. Such an organization of economic life is entirely unnatural, in the strictly empirical sense of exceptional (Polanyi, 1944, p. 249; emphasis in original).*

How the establishment of an alternative economy is to be achieved in practice, is not elaborated. Only the de-commodification of land, labour and money are discussed as cornerstones of a different world order. Polanyi muses that this would decrease the importance of financial motives for labour, increase collective or public land ownership and larger public deposits.

Neo-institutionalism

Neo-institutionalism moved away from the notion held by 'old institutionalism' of (economic and political) institutions as constructed by rational individuals pursuing particular goals. Instead,

> *[t]he new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supraindividual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individual's attributes or motives (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 8).*

While some in the tradition of old institutionalism argued that institutions become internalised through processes of socialisation and take on the form of personal norms and values, new institutionalism understands institutions as rule-like 'social facts': "Institutions are systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions" (Hodgson, 2006, p. 18). As customary normative injunctions or immanently normative dispositions (Hodgson, 2006), institutions provide prescriptions, cognitive models, schemas or scripts for making sense of the world, identifying options and taking action. In some accounts, habits, custom and culture are thus considered part of people's social environment, "affecting the behaviours and practices and ideas of people and groups … conceived as bounded, purposive and sovereign" – a phenomenon called 'path dependence' (Meyer, 2008, p. 790). In other words, institutions are shared cognitions in the form of taken-for-granted, phenomenological processes the power of which is not to be underestimated yet rarely made explicit (Zucker in DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).[3] Constructivist approaches resolve this residual of 'internalisation processes' – the actor who adopts and reflects in his actions these taken-for-granted standards from the environment – by viewing actorhood and agency as "socially conferred" and institutionally enwrought (Meyer, 2008, p. 792).

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[2] Polanyi also elaborates on the role of imperial and colonial movements at several instances of his book. For the sake of focus, these interesting reflections are ignored in this summary.

[3] The lineage of these influential ideas from Husserl's, Bourdieu's and Giddens' work and their contribution to the shift from old to new institutionalism is obvious.

If, however, institutions are not created or destroyed by (groups of) rational actors, how do they come or cease to exist and how to they change? This question is particularly relevant in relation to organisations, which are hosts for as well as instances of institutions. Organisations thus 'institutionalise', or contribute greatly to the endurance of, various types of institutions.[4] Curiously, there are two radically different views discussed in response to this question – both representing either side of the chasm between structure vs. agency advocates.

'Agency advocates' propose 'institutional entrepreneurs' as creators of new or transformers of existing institutions. Institutional entrepreneurs are able to leverage the required resources to create new meanings and, thereby, institutionalise new cognitive frames. This school conceptualises agency as 'embedded' and distributed among groups of actors within different structures, which

> *"through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (Emirbayer & Mische in Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007, p. 961).*

This conceptual move is viewed as reintroduction of power and interests into institutional analysis and as conceptual bridge to 'old institutionalism'.

'Structuralists' trace the isomorphic resemblance of organisation and organisations across the world and the global accrual, in particular, of institutions and professions concerned with 'the empowerment of actors' to a broad cultural movement linked to 'the new human'. In Meyer's words (2008):

> *The expanded model of empowered and entitled individuals, operating in a tamed and scientized natural and social environment, generates … the expanded modern picture of the human actor; and of the host of social organizations this actor creates (p. 796).*

In this tradition, institutional theory provides a means to study how the idea of the rational and purposive human, endowed with natural rights at birth leads to the construction of organisations and institutions perpetuating precisely this image (Meyer, 2008). Actorhood and agency are then also nothing more than institutions shaped by and changing along with "global wave-like developments" triggered by changing notions of human nature.

Practice theories

Practice-based approaches to understanding our social world emerged from philosophical (Heidegger, Wittgenstein) and sociological thought (Giddens, Bourdieu) and experience a revival since the 1990s, also in the field of sustainable consumption. Although a unified practice theory is lacking, the works of much-cited authors interrelate and some commonly shared understandings can be distilled.

The eponymous notion of practice is generally held to comprise a nexus of "doings and sayings", held together

> *"(1) through understandings of, for example, what to say and do, (2) through explicit rules, principles, precepts, and instructions; and (3) through … "teleoaffective" structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89).*

Other definitions of practices explicitly include objects and the material world as part of that nexus (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove, 2003; Warde, 2005). A distinction is commonly made between practices as spatiotemporal entities and as actual performances (Schatzki, 1996).

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[4] Political science knows the word 'regime' to describe the packages of cultural and organisational elements that make up institutions, such as the current neo-liberal world order.

Practice theorists draw on Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Giddens' theory of structuration to describe how practices require agency and how structure emerges from the routine-like reproduction of practices. There is room for change and variation because practices involve a degree of improvisation according to "local, practical and social conjunctures" (Nicolini, 2013, p. 60). Although a practice-as-entity (Schatzki, 2002) can be questioned and reflected upon, it is "a routinized type of behaviour" when performed (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249).

Critique has been voiced that practice theories focus on the micro-level of isolated, everyday practices and fail to account for large-scale, systemic change (Geels, 2010). Many studies indeed deal with the advent of new practices in particular communities and less with the wise-spread change of existing practices (Shove, 2003; Shove & Pantzar, 2005). More recent efforts tackle the implications of a practice-based view for the study of entire industries (Schatzki, 2011) or climate change policy (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). The focus shifted to how practices form interconnected bundles, what sort of relations tie these bundles together (Schatzki, 2011; Shove, et al., 2012), how change in one or several practices leads to ripple effects throughout the system of interconnected practices (Spurling, McMeeking, Shove, Southerton, & Welch, 2013; Wieser, Backhaus, & Kemp, 2014) and how practices elude targeted change due to the many influences (Hargreaves, 2014).

These efforts notwithstanding, practice-based theories of change struggle with conceptualising who or what may bring about systemic change if any practitioner potentially may. Reckwitz (2002) argues without empirical underpinning that change can come about as "pragmatic innovation" during "crises of routines" when an agent is confronted with "interpretative indeterminacy" and inadequate knowledge in a 'situation' (pp. 255-256). Shove et al. (2012) contend that "[p]ractices change when new elements are introduced or when existing elements are combined in new ways" (p. 120).

The multi-level perspective of socio-technical change

The multi-level perspective of socio-technical change originated from a line of thinking concerned with current, unsustainable trajectories of technical change that are locked-in "organization, technology, infrastructure and the wider social and institutional context" (Kemp, Schot, & Hoogma, 1998; Rip & Kemp, 1998). Drawing on science and technology studies, evolutionary economics and sociology, the multi-level perspective focuses on technologies as its unit of analysis and traces their development from precarious existence in experimental niches to stable configurations at the level of socio-technological regimes. This development stems from enactments by purposeful actors, an increasing degree of structuration and a socio-technical landscape exerting changing "gradients for action" – all of which change along with technological maturity (Geels, 2004, p. 913).

Socio-technical transitions are characterised as long-term (40-50 years), multi-level and multi-actor processes that culminate in a radical shift transforming one socio-technical regime into another (Geels & Schot, 2010). A socio-technical regime has been defined as a configuration of technologies and artefacts, industries, infrastructures, knowledge, rules and regulation, culture and meaning, practices and preferences, finances and insurances that delivers a particular societal function, such as transport, hygiene or food. Regimes may come under pressure in the face of so-called landscape developments, which have been conceptualised as large-scale trends outside the sphere of influence of regime-level actors. Examples given include demographic developments, cultural changes and broad political changes (Geels, 2002). Innovative technologies are developed in spaces protected from regime competition (Kemp, et al., 1998).

Different typologies of change processes have been developed in the tradition of transition thinking, classified by the strength and suddenness of landscape pressures, the response of regime-level actors and the availability and level of maturity of niche innovations. (Geels & Kemp, 2007; Geels & Schot, 2007). In addition, various critiques and refutations, satisfying or not, have been formulated (Avelino, 2011; Geels, 2011; Geels & Schot, 2007; Genus & Coles, 2008; Shove & Walker, 2007; Smith, Stirling, & Berkhout, 2005; Smith, Voß, & Grin, 2010) – a

discussion of which lies outside the scope of this paper. Without doing justice to these debates, the main criticisms raised can be summarised as an unduly emphasis of technology-driven innovation processes, a neglect of agency and power, a premature extrapolation of evolutionary reasoning about past developments to (desired) changes in the future and a questionable layered ontology, particularly with respect to 'exogenous' landscape trends.[5]

In the ensuing analysis, the multi-level perspective of socio-technical change is discussed vis-à-vis change processes as tackled by Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* and as theorised by neo-institutionalism and practice-based approaches.

Analysis and discussion

To study how each of the four traditions outlined above conceptualises and explains social change processes, they are —simply yet systematically— questioned regarding causes for change (actor-based and structural-durational), key change "agents" (influential individuals or groups), focal change processes (developments that bring about an altered state or situation) and views on closure of change processes. The overview is provided in Table 1, wherein neo-institutionalism is split into two sub-categories depending on an emphasis of structure or agency-related change mechanisms. Our aim is to tease out differences regarding assumptions about (social) reality, agency and change mechanisms. We limit our discussion to the following six ontologies: rational choice, evolution, structuralism, constructivism, functionalism, conflict and power struggle and relationalism (Geels, 2010).

Polanyi's Great Transformation as stepping stone from old to new institutionalism

Polanyi's Great Transformation fits the tradition of institutionalism. To some extent, his descriptions of 19th century developments prelude and capture the conceptual turnover from 'old' to 'new' institutional theory. For the larger part, Polanyi's analysis fits Meyer's description of institutional realism (2008). Polanyi, however, does not equate institutions with actors' intentions and does not consider interference with institutions irrational. In fact, his argument oscillates between realist and early constructivist thinking (Block, 2003). Government concedes to demands by business or society and policy measures are tied to (rational) goals. However, any measure is bound to fail; not because – and this is Polanyi's central point – the market should not be interfered with but because the commodification of labour and the reduction of people to productivity is erroneous to begin with.

Notably, institutions thus created take up a life of their own and trigger the double movement between protectionist measures of sovereign nation states and the institutionalised international free trade regime. Eventually, civilisation collapses into war and turmoil. None of this is pre-determined and Polanyi's argument is void of functionalist views. Instead, his narrative reads like a power struggle between ideologies. In that sense, Polanyi develops a structuralist argument. He attests the working class a need to become self-conscious and to counter the mistaken belief system of free market proponents. Instead of providing (rational) recommendations, Polanyi ends by suggesting humbly that the seeds for a different society may have sprouted already amidst the ruins of 19th century civilisation.

Neo-institutionalism, practice theories & the multi-level perspective of socio-technical change: conceptual lineage and re-combined ontologies

In contrast to Polanyi's Great Transformation, which is concerned with historical developments and takes the issuing of particular laws or certain time periods as instances for case study analysis, the other three literatures reviewed contain ontological reflections. As noted by Geels (2010), a theory or scholarly field is not necessarily restricted to a single ontology but may

[5] Defying all opposition, the multi-level perspective enjoys a growing discipleship and attracts research funding continuously (http://www.transitionsnetwork.org/newsletter). It has inspired national policymaking and earned recognition by the European Environment Agency and the OECD.

borrow basic assumptions from different ontologies. He positions the multi-level perspective as middle-range theory and inter-ontological crossover between evolutionary and constructivist thinking, inspired by relationism.

Following this line of thinking, all literatures reviewed represent middle-range theories and comprise some ontological crossovers. As argued based on Polanyi's work, institutionalism moved from a realist to a constructivist view in its shift from 'old' to 'new' but has always been structuralist in its assumption of rules, coercive or otherwise, and shared cognitions as defining moments of human behaviour. Within neo-institutionalism, discussions prevail regarding who or what ascribes actorhood or exhibits agency, and related implications for change mechanisms. Scholarly accounts range from notions of embedded agency by groups of institutional entrepreneurs to strong structuralist accounts of wave-like macro-developments, in which agency is backgrounded and the culturally prevailing assumption of individual agency just another macro-trend.

Table 1 Summary of analytic findings based on literature reviews

Tradition	Causes	"Agents"	Processes	Closure
Polanyi's Great Transformation	• The (illusion) of the "disembedded economy", which lead to the institutionalisation of an artificial divide between the economic and the political spheres. • Tension between the international free trade regime (incl. haute finance) and national regulation. • The false presupposition of self-interest forming the core of human nature, which is the basis of the free market utopia.	• National government: facilitates participation in international free trade (e.g. pins currency to gold standard); shields citizens and businesses from adverse consequences • Business: aims at low (labour) cost and high profits.	• The double movement of increased international trade and national protectionism. • Government is consumed in the balancing act of protecting the social from the economic sphere (yet allowed the economic to take over the social sphere by turning labour into a "fictitious commodity"). • Business: lobbies to protect its domestic market share and welcomes easy export. • 'Society': organises itself to rally behind protection of the workforce or the poor. • Technology: spurs change.	• Something new is to emerge on the rubble of two World Wars. • The largest part of the transition from 19th century civilisation and the greatest suffering has been overcome. • It is unclear what is to come next but a "desired end state" involves the de-commodification of land, labour and money and a realisation that the economy is always embedded in society.
Neo-institutionalism – agency advocates	• Changing historic situations, and social, political, economic, environmental	• Institutional entrepreneurs who engage collectively in interactional, technical or	• Institutional entrepreneurs, united by shared cultural beliefs, collectively engage in the	• New or changed institutions are established in organisational structures or new practices

Tradition	Causes	"Agents"	Processes	Closure
	trends • People are reflective of their environment and themselves, experience conflict with their surrounding structure and seek opportunities for change (Mutch, 2007)	cultural institutionalisation projects (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007)	reform of existing institutions (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007) • Different stages of institutionalization projects require different skills, at some point efforts can be switched from local to broader fields (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007)	(Garud, et al., 2007)
Neo-institutionalism – structure advocates	• The idea of the rational human actor, endowed with human rights is rippling through global society and all its organisations and institutions in wave-like developments.	• People (acting within a suprastructure).	• Globalisation of the idea of "empowered and entitled individuals" and accompanying organisational structures. • Expansion of science. • Expansion of rationalising social science. • Rise of a natural law emphasis on human rights.	• There is no closure. • The notion of the rational individual is already broadly established but further developments are possible.
Practice theories	• Social change comes in the form of changed practices. • Practices "contain the seeds of constant change" (Warde, 2005, p. 141) because practitioners improvise constantly.	• Practitioners may innovate or reproduce a practice anyplace or anytime. • Practices have been framed as agents who take hold of practitioners and require re-enactment.	• Practices change upon the introduction of new or the novel combination of existing elements. • New/changed practices stabilise and spread through "mimetic apprenticeship" in communities and social networks (Lizardo in Shove, et al., 2012, p. 79).	• New or changed practices turn into habits and routines. • Change is constant and there never is closure. • Targeted change is foiled because reverberations through the "total field of practices" (Schatzki, 2001) are impossible to predict.
Multi-level perspective of socio-technical transitions	• Niche formation and maturing • Landscape pressures • Regime de-stabilisation	• Niche-level actors, particularly in technology R&D, but also in funding organisations,	• Landscape trends exert pressure on and de-stabilise regime • Technological innovations emerge and	• One socio-technical regime has replaced another

Tradition	Causes	"Agents"	Processes	Closure
		user groups, or government	mature in niches • Different pathways involve different processes; the regime may re-configure itself and absorb niche innovations or niches bring about regime change as new, dominant configuration	

Practice theorists assume a 'flat' ontology and a relational view of the world. Their conceptualisation of people as carriers of practices, guided by material and cultural elements bespeaks constructivist and structuralist influences.[6] There are close ties with institutionalist thought: practices are understood as contingent on current institutional arrangements (Warde, 2005) and as 'structuring' institutionalized complexes (Reckwitz, 2002). An understanding of 'shared cognitions' as 'shared meaning' reveals practices as, at the same time, structuring as well as being structured by institutions.

Another way of clustering social scientific thought according to underlying assumptions has been proposed by Garud and Gehman (2012) in the form of three meta-theoretical perspectives. Following their framework, the multi-level perspective fits an evolutionary, practice theories and neo-institutionalism belong to a relational and Polanyi's Great Transformation relates to a durational perspective. Garud's and Gehman's revealing elaborations show how relational and durational thinking are based on a 'narrative ontology and epistemology'. In this perspective, agency is framed as distributed and emergent through interactions between nets of actors that all make sense of the past, anticipate a future and act in the present. Narratives provide the means to construct individual identity amidst these processes as well as to share and align strategies and views. "The meanings that emerge, provisional as they may be, serve as the motors driving human agency" (Garud, Kumaraswamy, & Karnøe, 2010, p. 769). A distinction has been made between a temporal dimension of agency ("when to strike") and a relational dimension in which narratives constitute the fabric tying actor-networks together (Garud, et al., 2010).

It has been argued that some theoretical approaches are superior to others in conceptualising socio-technical change (Geels, 2010), that all approaches bear relevant reflections and shed light on particular aspects of social change (Garud & Gehman, 2012; Haxeltine et al., 2015; Riddell, 2015) or that spatial approaches deserve consideration and inclusion (Coenen, Benneworth, & Truffer, 2012). Given our constructivist view and based on our literature review, we concur that every theoretical field considered here has its merits. In the following, we take a pragmatic stance and look for particularly useful contributions by each body of literature in conceptualising changes in our economic system from ownership models to "collaborative consumption" (Botsman & Rogers, 2010) – an idea that is both heralded for enormous potential sustainability gains and critically eyed for possibly harmful side-effects, such as the further

[6] Arguably, some family resemblance between different theoretical fields may have less to do with the careful exegesis and (re-)combination of different ontological assumptions and more with the intellectual experimentation with and integration of ideas by influential thinkers. Giddens and Bourdieu, for example, developed concepts within a set of ontological assumptions which triggered conceptual changes across the social scientific spectrum, despite divergence in basic assumptions about agents and agency.

expansion of market-based activities into people's private lives (Theurl, Haucap, Demary, Priddat, & Paech, 2015).

Transforming the economy vs. transitioning towards a sharing economy

The 'sharing economy' has grown and gained popularity in recent years. Put simply, "sharing" translates to the opening up of privately owned objects or items to a (large) group of users, usually facilitated by ICT services in the form of online platforms or smartphone apps.[7]

Practice theories offer powerful conceptual tools to identify changes in people's everyday lives that a spread of the 'sharing economy' entails. On the one hand, numerous practices would change, some disappear and others emerge, when the use of an object does not require purchase but (online) search, contact with the rightful owner and settlement of practicalities for usage. On the other hand, when ownership ceases to be important, the meaning of using an object is also transformed. Practice theorists do not aim to make predictions but would argue that a shift from ownership-based to collaborative consumption affects the entire field of practices related to the use of durable objects. Most importantly, practice theories hold that the success of a sharing economy equals the success of the new practices involved to enrol an ever-larger number of carriers. This would largely depend on shared meanings (not necessarily tied to sustainability) and an effortless integration into other (then perhaps also changing) practices.

Neo-institutionalism helps discussing the changes in rules and (shared) mental models that a shift to a sharing economy implies. Similar to practice theories, new institutional thinking points to the importance of new frames of reference that apply when ownership is no longer a prerequisite for use. In contrast to practice-based approaches, the focus here does not lie on implications for the nexuses of 'sayings, doings, knowings and wantings' in everyday life, but on repercussions for organisational life. Questions raised concerning changing rules would be which rules might simply turn into customs and conventions and which rules require institutionalisation (and enforcement) by means of formal regulation.

The two schools of thought within neo-institutionalism offer diverging views on how a shift towards a sharing economy might unfold. On the one hand, scholars committed to the notion of "embedded agency" (Garud, et al., 2007) would argue for resourceful institutional entrepreneurs to take the lead. And indeed, a growth of some sharing platforms can currently be observed to an extent that there is talk about (the threat of) global monopolies and "digital capitalism" which involves a further expansion of capitalist motives into people's private homes and lives (Theurl, et al., 2015). On the other hand, scholars proclaiming large-scale, wave-like cultural developments behind social change would hold that, to proliferate, the sharing economy can either surf on the wave of increased individual freedom and personal rights (perhaps even freed of some duties usually concomitant of ownership); or traverse a new 'cultural tide', for example related to collective well-being and communal ownership.

The multi-level perspective offers a compelling narrative of how sharing practices exercised in niches might move into, and thereby destabilise the current regime of using and owning durable objects. A transition would occur when a new regime settles around new (ICT) infrastructures and technologies, changed (financial) industries, different rules and regulation, changed cultural meanings and user practices. The selection criteria for successful social economy innovations relate to windows of opportunity that might open due to landscape pressures or to changing search heuristics of regime-level actors (Geels & Kemp, 2007; Geels & Schot, 2007). Until now, transition scholars have not engaged with the study of economy-wide pervasive changes.[8] Sharing can be usefully conceptualised as a new socio-organisational paradigm, driven by economic benefits as well as normative values. Compared to the other traditions, the evolutionary perspective is more optimistic about possibilities for achieving targeted macro-

[7] Insightful discussions can be found at: (Press, 2015; Schor, Walker, Lee, Parigi, & Cook, 2015; Theurl, et al., 2015).

[8] Pervasive changes have been studied in the tradition of techno-economic paradigms (Freeman & Perez, 1988).

change. The model for effecting change is goal-oriented modulation on niche and regime level (Kemp, Loorbach, & Rotmans, 2007; Kemp, Rip, & Schot, 2001; Rip & Kemp, 1998).

Whether the new regime is more sustainable is questionable, although transition scholars would hold that niche experiments could focus on ensuring sustainability gains and that large-scale trends, such as resource scarcity, might necessitate product sharing. To these musings, theorists holding a relational perspective (Garud & Gehman, 2012) would respond that sustainability itself is contested and that different meanings enrol different actor-networks. However, similar to the multi-level perspective which only highlights selection criteria for successful innovations in hindsight,[9] relational perspectives struggle to pinpoint actor-networks *ex ante* that may emerge as most popular and durable.

In this regard, the oldest and conceptually most ambivalent literature (Adler, 2015; Block, 2003; Dale, 2008) consulted here suggests potential selection criteria for regime-shifting innovations or parameters to sway the "trials of strength" between framings of competing actor-networks. An understanding of societal transformations as the contingent outcome of processes of dis-embedding and re-embedding sees potential for terminating the treatment of natural resources and labour as externalities (Adler, 2015). Karl Polanyi elaborates the need to re-embed the economy in social relations. In his view, the sharing economy – yet only a particular form of it – might deliver on some aspects such a re-embedding needs. If the sharing economy evolves into or turns out to be an extension of capitalist practices by creating profit from "sharing" privately owned objects, it represents another manifestation of a disembedded economy. If, however, the sharing economy brings (back) forms of collective ownership and cooperatives that share land, labour and objects for a variety of reasons (one of them potentially being profit) a step towards an embedded economy is made. Further, if communities engage in social principles of reciprocity, redistribution and householding, economic relations form again one, yet by far not the most important type of social relations.

Conclusions

A review and systematic comparison of four bodies of literature across a part of the social science spectrum provides insight into similarities and divergences in ontological views. The most striking differences between Polanyi's Great Transformation, neo-institutionalism, practice theories and the multi-level perspective of socio-technical change, relate to the ascription of actorhood, the framing of agency and the narrative description of change processes. There is agreement that agency is an emergent phenomenon that comes in the form of novel practices, technologies, social relations or cultural framings and that is enacted by a group of people or an actor-network. At the same time, the different theoretical traditions disagree on the question whether transitions or transformative change can be purposive. While evolutionary thought, represented here by the multi-level perspective, appears to suggest the possibility of goal-oriented societal change, relational and durational perspectives, with neo-institutionalism, practice theories and Polanyi's Great Transformation considered as exemplars, are more sceptical. This is reflected in their reluctance to develop models for effecting change. Furthermore, durational views ontologically 'flatten out' actor relations as well as time, thereby defying linear progress thinking and suggesting lessons from the past as food for thought for all conceptual approaches.

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[9] The sustainability of "sustainability transitions" should be safeguarded through explicit criteria (Kemp & van Lente, 2011).

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Intrapersonal conflicts as starting point for transition governance?[10]

Felix Rauschmayer[1], Ines Thronicke[1], Anke Fischer[2], Karen Hamann[1], Christine Polzin[1], Ines Omann[1], Torsten Masson[1], Mirijam Mock[1]

[1]Helmholtz-Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig, Germany; Dpt. of Environmental Politics

[2]James-Hutton-Institute, Aberdeen, UK; Social, Economic and Geographical Sciences

Abstract

In this paper, we argue that environmental governance approaches and theories (including transition management) give insufficient consideration to the complex psychological dimension of individual behaviour and (intentional) behavioural change. A widespread phenomenon within this dimension that has so far received relatively little attention is intrapersonal sustainability-related conflicts. Such conflicts may arise when people are aware that different actions have different social and environmental effects, but taking a decision for the more sustainable option may not be evident for various reasons. Focussing on these intrapersonal conflicts, we aim to explore new psychology-informed governance approaches that may empower people to cope individually and collectively with such conflicts in ways that foster sustainability-enhancing behaviours. In order to consider which approaches are most suitable in different contexts, we will first provide an overview of well-known and widely applied governance approaches and investigate them from a psychological perspective. We will then consider the blind spots of these governance approaches and identify theoretical and empirical questions to fill these gaps.

Introduction

The standard literature on environmental governance and governance for sustainability transitions pays insufficient attention to the complex psychological processes that may occur at the individual level in sustainability-related contexts. Instead, most of these governance approaches target the niche, or regime (regional, national, international) level (e.g. Voß et al. 2006, Loorbach 2007). While reflexive governance – a key concept within the transition literature – refers to the concept of reflexivity, i.e. self-critical reflection, it does not address individuals but instead describes a governance process that attempts to incorporate the societal feedback loops shaping it (Voß et al. 2006: xv).

This paper starts from the phenomenon of individuals experiencing conflicts about decisions with different impacts on sustainability. Such intrapersonal conflicts (ICs) are presumably a common phenomenon among people who want to live more sustainably but

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at times experience it as highly challenging due to conflicting motivations. They may hinder individuals wanting to live more sustainably from doing so and may even lead to motivational lock-ins (a state in which an IC has been present for a long time and no resolution is in sight).

We take an interdisciplinary approach, combining psychology and political science, in order to investigate whether – and if so, how – specific governance modes or mechanisms can address intrapersonal sustainability conflicts. We explore how models and theories from psychology can enrich governance theories about sustainability transitions by looking at individual coping with sustainability-related conflicts.

The paper starts with a psychological perspective on sustainability-related intrapersonal conflicts, followed by an overview of different governance approaches, including a first attempt at combining the two.

Intrapersonal conflicts related to sustainable behaviour

This chapter focuses on intrapersonal barriers to sustainable behaviour. Contemporary governance approaches to sustainability transitions tend to neglect the complex psychological dimension of individual behaviour and instead focus on the level of niches or regimes. By shedding light on this missing dimension in research on transition-related governance, a psychological perspective is therefore a useful complement to current research. Psychological theories about sustainability have a strong focus on external influences on people's behavioural intention or behaviour. So far, however, little research has taken into account how fundamental needs and values can cause motivational conflicts within individuals.

The phenomenon of intrapersonal conflicts

As a starting point to think about alternative environmental governance approaches, we focus on intrapersonal conflicts related to sustainable behaviour. To explain the idea of IC, we refer to the Motivation-Opportunity-Ability model, introduced by Ölander and Thøgersen (1995) as a synthesis of what is known. The model assumes three main classes of factors to influence pro-environmental behaviour, namely the personal motivation, situational opportunities, and appropriate individual abilities. By intrapersonal conflicts, we understand situations in which different and incompatible motivations compete with each other, i.e., when the pursuit of one motivation interferes with the pursuit of another motivation. In other words: the person wants two mutually exclusive entities.

This incompatibility of motivations may lead to incompatible behavioural strategies, and thus possibly hinder an individual who wants to live more sustainably from doing so. If this motivational conflict has been present for a long time and no resolution is in sight, we call it a motivational lock-in (Table 1). By contrast, we consider a conflict between a certain motivation and the necessary abilities and/or opportunities to convert it into a suitable behaviour an is-ought discrepancy. Here, the person is clear about the ought-state and the respective behavioural strategy. In other words: the person wants to act but is hindered by his or her own abilities or by the situational opportunities. If this implementation conflict has been present for a long time or no resolution is in sight, we call it a physical or socio-economic lock-in. (Table 1).

We depict ICs as a mental cage in which the individual feels trapped because every possible behavioural strategy would violate some of his motivations and satisfy others, thus leading to a motivational lock-in. Taking ICs related to sustainable behaviour as a starting point to think about alternative environmental governance approaches, current policies can be understood as ways to deal with is-ought discrepancies on a societal level.

Policies can target both opportunities to act (e.g. through taxes, laws, economic incentives, technological solutions, and infrastructure), and abilities to act (e.g. through education and information). However, policies aimed at resolving intrapersonal, i.e. motivational conflicts to behave pro-environmentally, are almost non-existent or at least not explicitly designed to do so (Table 1).

Table 1. Intrapersonal conflicts, discrepancies and related governance approaches

		Motivation	Opportunity	Ability
Motivation	**Problem**	Intrapersonal conflict	Is-ought discrepancy	Is-ought discrepancy
	Lock-in	Motivational lock-in	Socio-economic or physical lock-in	Socio-economic or physical lock-in
Governance:		⬇ Almost non-existent **innovative approach** (to address this conflict explicitly)	⬇ Often considered (e.g. taxes, laws, economic incentives, technological solutions, infrastructure, information)	⬇ Somewhat considered (e.g. education, information)

Conceptualizing the roots of intrapersonal conflicts – needs and values

Intrapersonal conflicts are understood as a state where incompatible motivations, i.e. motivations whose behavioural consequences interfere with each other, compete. Motivation is the active orientation on a specific outcome with the aim of fulfilling needs, pursuing values, and attaining goals (Heckhausen & Heckhausen, 2005). This definition implies two crucial aspects: Firstly, it mentions possible roots of the active orientation – and thus for the motivational conflict. Secondly, these roots, particularly needs and values, are constructs that are on a deeper or more abstract psychological level than commonly studied psychological factors such as norms, attitudes, or intentions. Indeed, psychological theories and models prefer to portray factors on sustainable behaviour that can be operationalised and, thus, measured. Hence, concerning the more abstract level of needs and values, there is no integrating psychological approach. Therefore, we take the approach from human development researcher Sabina Alkire who worked on the overlap between different concepts of dimensions of human flourishing as most fundamental reasons to act (Alkire 2002).

Needs are intuitively understood as the basic motivation or reason to act. Remarkably enough, psychologists have not yet come up with a revised theoretical approach since Maslow (1943) and McClelland (1961). More prominent approaches are being dealt with in ecological economics that take a specified list of needs, based on Maslow, as a basis for participatory or analytical work (Max-Neef 1991, Camfield et al. 2010, Guillen-Royo 2010, Rauschmayer et al. 2011).[11] A main characteristic of this work is the distinction between abstract, universal needs and concrete, negotiable strategies to realise these needs.

[11] Max-Neef differentiates in his Human Scale Development Approach between the needs of subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, idleness, creation, identity, freedom, and transcendence.

Values are understood by psychologists as general preferences for end states or ways of acting; they serve as goals and guiding principles that apply across different contexts and underlie more specific attitudes, preferences, and behaviours (Clayton 2009; Schwartz 1992: 21). Values are often referred to but hardly ever operationalised. They are more or less considered as the deepest or most abstract level of motivational force a person can consciously refer to. Although they are supposed to be closely connected to needs, there is no psychological theoretical analysis of this potential relationship. Focussing on values, psychologists have suggested different models. For instance, according to the *value-belief-norm theory of environmentalism*, the psychologist Stern (2000) distinguishes between *egoistic, altruistic* and *biospheric values*, i.e. referring to the entity the value is oriented onto. Bilsky and Schwartz (1994) rather refer to the content of values, describing two orthogonal value dimensions with opposing poles (openness to change versus conservatism, self-transcendence versus self-enhancement), hosting nine types of values (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformity/tradition, security).

To give an example for conflicting strategies, we chose two behavioural domains referring to Max-Neef's needs and to Bilky/Schwartz's values, respectively:

- *Work-leisure-balance:* I would like to spend more time with my family (need for affiliation/benevolence value), but I also have to work a lot if I want to earn a living (need for subsistence/security value).
- *Nutrition*: I would like to eat less meat because it is good for my health (need for subsistence/security value), but no one in my peer-group does it and I want to be one of them (need for affiliation/conformity value).

Sabina Alkire (2002) went beyond comparing needs and values from two studies, and compared such most basic reasons to act or fundamental dimensions of human flourishing identified in many cross-cultural studies in different disciplinary settings (e.g. economics, philosophy, sociology, psychology). She found more substantial overlap than differences in the studies' dimensions. What is important to notice, though, is the differentiation between such abstract dimensions and the concrete actions to fare better in these dimensions. Conflicts appear on the level of the actions whose choice depends on culture, age, resources, gender etc. It is through choice and implementation of alternative strategies that a shift to more sustainable lifestyles may take place – linking the strategies, i.e. the means, back to the level of the fundamental dimensions, i.e. the ends, helps to remember that strategies are only tools and no ends in themselves.

These intrapersonal conflicts can be contrasted to is-ought discrepancies in terms of abilities and opportunities. An example for the latter is: "Many of my friends are vegetarian and I would like to be one of them, but I don't know how to cook delicious vegetarian meals", since not knowing how to cook is regarded as a lack of ability. Here, neither a need nor a value is conflicting with another need or value.

It may be reasonable to assume that intrapersonal conflicts, especially motivational lock-ins, are experienced not only cognitively, but also – and probably foremost – emotionally. We suppose that ICs are indicated or mediated by unpleasant emotions (e.g. guilt, anger, anxiety) or by a set of conflicting emotions. Since we are interested in governance approaches that support the resolution of intrapersonal conflicts in the direction of sustainability behaviour, conflict-related emotions may provide a fruitful starting point and possibly some kind of feedback measure. For instance, if ICs are experienced with activating emotions such as anger and frustration, appropriate governance structures may help, firstly, to express this emotion and, secondly, to act to resolve the intrapersonal conflict. If ICs are experienced with paralysing emotions such as anxiety or despair,

appropriate governance structures may help to provide space to express these emotions and support the coping process into the direction of sustainable behaviour.

Coping with intrapersonal conflicts

The importance of intrapersonal conflicts is highlighted by the large body of research on how people cope with ICs. It mostly stems from clinical psychology. According to the transactional stress model (Lazarus et al. 1981), which is the most common coping model (Skinner et al. 2003), two forms of coping with ICs can be distinguished. On the one hand, an individual can use problem-focused coping strategies. In this case, the person confronts the problem and changes the behaviour that causes the problem or looks for information on how to deal with it. On the other hand, a person can use emotion-focused coping strategies, which help dealing with the unpleasant emotions associated with the IC without actually having to change one's own behaviour.

While many emotion-focussed coping strategies have been identified, they have rarely been applied to explain pro-sustainable behaviour. In two articles by Crompton et al. (2009) and Stich & Wagner (2012), emotion-focussed coping strategies have been detected in conflicts about sustainable behaviour, e.g. denial (refusal to admit certain aspects of reality), relativisation, searching for counter-arguments, distortion (reshaping of reality to meet inner needs), denial of responsibility (refusal to admit own responsibility for something), accusation (direct allegation that someone is guilty of something), projection (refusal to accept own weaknesses by comparison with others' weaknesses), limit exposure to negative emotions, staying in the present with ones thoughts, leading attention to positive things, searching pleasure or apathy.

Crompton and Kasser (2009) propose a strategy to effectively cope with ICs about sustainable behaviour that is closely related to therapeutic approaches and that use both, emotion- and problem-focussed ways of coping. In a first phase, emotion-focused coping strategies are detected and associated unpleasant emotions are aroused. Secondly, the person experiencing the IC tries to accept his unpleasant emotions and is strongly supported by an empathetic listener. Finally, the person and his supporter search for new problem-focused coping strategies that lead to less intrapersonal conflicts and more sustainability. This approach carries the assumption that people's non-sustainable behavioural strategies can be exchanged for pro-sustainable strategies that can fulfil their needs and values equally well. A similar method is proposed by Rauschmayer and Omann (2015). This highlights the importance of intrapersonal conflict resolution, even though it is still rarely implemented. Apart from the therapeutic approach and hints to group support and mindfulness training (e.g. Lilley et al. 2014), we are not aware of attempts to connect the resolution of intrapersonal conflicts and sustainable action.

Governance and policy approaches from a psychological perspective

There is a wealth of literature on governance of natural resources and governance processes for sustainability transitions. However, the largest part of this literature takes an economic, political sciences or sociological perspective (see overview in Sandström 2009), and thus tends to ignore insights from psychology that could help to better understand what motivates individual behaviour[12]. Here, we aim to bring in psychological perspectives to the study of governance. In particular, we ask how governance

[12] Exceptions to this are: Gazheli et al. 2015, Rauschmayer et al. 2015, Schäpke & Rauschmayer 2014, Wittmayer & Schäpke 2014.

mechanisms could be designed to help individuals cope with intra-personal conflicts in a sustainable way.

We understand governance as "the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements (…)" (Commission on Global Governance 1995: 4). Governance, in the original sense of the word, refers to the 'steering' of behaviour. In the literature on environmental and natural resource governance, two very broad strands of governance research can be distinguished: (a) approaches that investigate the impact of governance on behaviour, conceptualising governance mechanisms as incentives and (b) approaches that investigate negotiations, contexts and processes of governance (Hall and Taylor 1996; Sandström 2009). The different approaches reflect different disciplinary viewpoints – while (a) is influenced by micro-economic rational choice thinking, (b) emerges from sociological and historic perspectives on the study of institutions and governance.

Psychology-informed governance

Here, our aim is to infuse governance research on sustainability transitions with psychological thinking. Our approach thus builds on both angles described above: We combine (a) a perspective of methodological individualism that asks how and why individuals behave the way they do with (b) a strong focus on the social and cultural environment, looking at processes and contexts more than at isolated choices in response to incentives. We understand behaviour not necessarily as arising from rational choice, but instead consider a wide range of psychological mechanisms, including both emotions and cognitions, that help us to better understand why people behave the way they do.

What actually is 'the sum of the many ways in which individuals and organisations manage their common affairs'? In the following paragraphs, we aim to provide a brief overview of these 'many ways' that might help to conceptualise and categorise different approaches to governance. We distinguish here between governance modes that denote broad categories of 'doing' governance, and governance mechanisms, i.e., very specific types of policies or interventions that reflect a certain mode.

In the literature, there are several classifications of governance modes. Some of these limit themselves to policy instruments, distinguishing, for example, between regulations, economic means and information (Bemelmans-Videc et al. 1998) and thus adopting a rather government-centric point of view. However, there are also approaches to governance that do not necessarily involve the government, such as collective action (Ostrom 1990), and increasingly, research explores and investigates the workings of more complex forms of governance that often involve hybrids of previously described categories, such as adaptive co-governance. Some of these, for example reflexive governance (Voß and Bornemann 2011), have not been (deliberately) implemented in practice yet, but could offer ideas for the governance of sustainability transitions in the future. Table 2 provides an overview of governance modes relevant to the study of sustainability governance.

From an IC perspective, it is important to distinguish two ways in which governance modes influence ICs: On the one hand, many rather classical modes contribute to structure society in a way that reduces individuals' exposure to IC on how to behave. For example, prohibiting the use of certain pesticides (and implementing this prohibition effectively) helps individuals to avoid ICs: Such pesticides become less available and the moral decision on whether or not to use them is clearly facilitated through the prohibition. Taxing undesirable pesticides also changes the characteristic of the opportunity to use

them – at the same time, such negative monetary incentives convey the moral information that it is acceptable to use these substances. Such governance measures do not primarily intend to empower individuals to cope with their intrapersonal conflicts. For example, informing citizens about the dangerous use of this pesticide enhances individuals' opportunity to cope with the IC in a problem-focussed way. But this empowerment is rather limited and mostly linked the idea of individuals making decisions in a rational and deliberative way, or within what Kahneman (2003) calls the system-2 model.

We have the impression that there are many more ways on how to empower individuals to cope with their sustainability-related ICs. For example, the promulgation and enforcement of social norms targets the automatic, system-1 model of decision-making and can empower emotion-focused coping. Nudging also targets automatic systems and can be used to avoid conflicts.

Therefore, the last column of table 2 entails some suggestions on how different governance modes contribute to the empowerment of individuals to cope with ICs and to which model of decision-making they primarily relate.

Table 2. Overview of governance modes relevant to the study of sustainability governance

Mode	Synonyms, definitions, …	Examples (mechanisms)	IC and decision system
Market-based incentives	Economic incentives; "carrots"	Prices, tradable permits (cap and trade)	Avoiding IC; system 2
Command-and-control	Hierarchies; rules & regulations; "sticks"	Laws, property rights, technological mandates	Avoiding ICs; system 2
Information	"Sermons" – (a) descriptive information, (b) normative information (moral suasion)	Certification, information campaigns	Problem-focussed coping; system 2
Social norms	Expectations developed and enforced either explicitly or implicitly in flexible social groups (or dyads).	Mobility/transport norms among friends and colleagues	Emotion-focused coping; system 1
Nudging	Steering choices into directions that will improve people's lives, while maintaining or increasing freedom of choice; libertarian paternalism	Manipulating product accessibility; Information disclosure requirements; offering awards to companies showing particular gains in resource efficiency	Avoiding IC; system 1
Collective action	Joint decision- and rule-making, joint enforcement	Management groups, resource user groups	Problem-focussed coping; system 2
Co-governance	Collaboration between different types of actors (e.g., public and private)	Public-private partnerships	Problem-focused coping; system 2

Reflexive governance	Adaptive; feedback loops; learning by doing	National Sustainable Development Strategies, Civic education, public participation	Problem-focused coping; system 2
Technological interventions	Provision of new technologies that change the choice/opportunity set	Creation of a new bus line	Problem-focused coping; system 2

Sources: Bemelmans-Videc et al. 1998, Ostrom 1990, Thaler and Sunstein 2008, Voß and Bornemann 2011, Fischer et al. 2014

Current work on governance of sustainability transitions focuses on interactions in between niches or between niches and regimes. Individuals have not been in the main focus of transition research or transition management so far (Rauschmayer et al. 2015). But it might be important to consider effects of sustainability transition governance modes on those individuals who constitute the niches or who are meant to adapt their behaviour through the adoption of niche practices by the regime level. Loorbach (2014) differentiates between three different basic transition support mechanisms: bottom-up innovation, top-down guidance, and phase-out support. These mechanisms are to be implemented in a "non-linear government" (ibid.: 56) and mainly contain elements of the last four governance modes of table 2: collective action, co-governance, reflexive governance, and technological interventions. All these modes concentrate on problem-focused coping and system 2 decision-making. We think that a broader consideration, including emotion-focused coping and system 1 decision-making could strengthen transition governance.

Instead of rejecting system 1 decision-making and focusing on rational system 2 models, governance modes might also acknowledge that some ICs are experienced by rather activating emotions such as anger and frustration or by paralysing emotions such as anxiety or despair. Structures that may help individuals, firstly, to express these emotions and, secondly, to act to resolve the intrapersonal conflict. Those structures can be constructed on societal or individual levels, e.g. through trainings with the aim of an increased awareness of such conflicts. Especially structures and processes on societal levels will require a high building of trust in the neutrality of social spaces and, at the same time, a directedness towards an increased sustainability. For the moment, it is open whether this is a paradox or whether both, directedness and neutrality can be reached at the same time.

Furthermore, it is open which combination of governance modes can strengthen the capacity of niche members to deal with their IC pro-sustainably in such a way that this capacity does not get lost, but perhaps even gets strengthened by the niche's mainstreaming. Furthermore, it is open how to design such combinations so that they result in structural and self-reinforcing changes at the regime level.

Conclusion

This paper describes the phenomenon of intrapersonal conflicts related to sustainable behaviour and differentiates it from motivational lock-in, is-ought discrepancy, and socio-economic or physical lock-in. ICs, in our understanding, are situations in which different and incompatible motivations compete with each other; ICs are rooted in competing understandings of how to accomplish different basic notions of human wellbeing.

We distinguish, in accordance with general psychological literature, between problem- and emotion-focussed coping with conflicts, as well as between automatic and deliberative models of decision-making. Reviewing some of the main categories of governance modes with respect to these distinctions, we conclude that most common governance modes favour (a) the avoidance of conflicts, (b) problem-focused coping and (c) deliberative models of decision-making.

We argue that the introduction of governance modes that directly strengthen conflict coping, address emotion-focused coping and automatic models of decision-making could enrich sustainability governance. At the same time, many questions regarding the tension between neutrality and directedness, the interaction between individual and societal levels as well as between niche and regime levels remain open.

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Transition or Transformation?

Michael Jonas

Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria

Introduction

Climate change in particular and the resulting damage and (un)foreseeable risks have led to 'transformation' and 'transition' becoming familiar catchwords in social sciences discourse. They are also terms that are now increasingly penetrating into public and political debate. The positions taken by the *German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU)* clearly illustrate the current relevance of the concepts of transition and transformation. In its flagship report published in 2011 with the title "World in Transition – A Social Contract for Sustainability", the council calls for a departure from the prevailing "model of prosperity based on the unlimited availability of fossil fuels and other resources" (WBGU 2011: 84). "What is needed now", the council continues, "is a new 'storyline' to further develop both human civilisation as well as the terms 'modernisation' and 'development'" (ibid.). This storyline must include a decarbonisation of the world economy as an integral narrative theme. The WBGU report refers in this context to studies carried out by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in which the extent, development corridors and probable consequences of the continued acceleration of climate change as a result of human activities are identified based on a comprehensive comparison of primary scientific findings (IPCC 2007, 2014).

Given climate change and the negative effects it is already having on the present-day conditions of existence and life on our planet – effects which will only intensify in future – the WBGU report calls emphatically on politicians to implement a transformation strategy. According to the WBGU, this strategy should establish a new social contract as the basis for transforming the existing economic order into an environmentally friendly and sustainable alternative. In these calls, the authors of the report assume that the implementation of such a strategy would meet with broad public support because the over-exploitation of resources and damaging consequences of the carbon-based economic model are now being accompanied by a parallel change in values. This can be seen, for instance, in the fact "that the core values of a large part of the world population include the protection of the natural environment" (WBGU 2011: 7). From a global perspective, they conclude that both an improvement in material wealth and the increasingly more apparent social costs of the current economic system are creating space for alternative, postmaterialist core values and lifestyles in which fair trade and sustainable behaviour play central roles. Indeed, they point to empirical studies which suggest "that there is a significant potential for sustainable behaviour in social groups with an ecological affinity, a potential which, moreover, is still a long way from having been fully realised" (ibid.: 78). They also maintain that education and gentle nudges ("i.e. triggers for desired behaviour changes" (ibid.)) that sustainability is a value worth embracing as well as efforts to bring people into contact with so-called "change agents or pioneers of change" (ibid.: 79) should ultimately suffice in the long run to bring about a lasting change in behaviour not just among members of the higher social classes but among all social classes. The report emphasises that the complexity of the called-for "Great Transformation goes well beyond changes which are, at their core, technological, […]. The most difficult changes which must

be brought about in order to achieve the Great Transformation transcend technologies – changing lifestyles, for instance, or revolutionising global cooperation, overcoming policy-related barriers, and dealing responsibly with permanent, cross-generational changes" (ibid.: 82). According to the authors, it is only through such a comprehensive transformation or transition in world society, which would have to be driven first and foremost by political strategies at the national level, that mankind will ultimately succeed in keeping climate change in check and in not destroying the basis of (human) existence.

Based on these observations, my aim in this article is to take up the questions of whether and, if so, how the concepts of transition and transformation can serve as keywords in a praxeological analysis of change processes in society. In doing so, I approach the questions in several steps. First, I explain the core aspects of multi-level research and thereby also clarify the concept of transition. My subsequent critique of transition research then serves to simultaneously outline some of the base assumptions of the praxeological approach, which are then extended to include central elements of a socio-critical transformation concept. However, as I go on to explain in a concluding step, in order to be able to develop the explanatory potential of a socio-critical praxeological analysis to the full, this must then be enhanced by aspects which allow a focus on central elements of transformative social practices and orders. Based on my argumentation, it is transformation not transition which proves to be the better suited of the two terms for a socio-critical, praxeological analysis of current crises.[13]

Transition or Transformation

But what exactly do we mean here when we talk about transition and transformation? A closer look reveals that these concepts are often used in the corresponding debates in an inflationary and hazy manner – usually without further precision. They also overlap and share meanings with other concepts to which they can be compared and from which they can be delineated. These include the term adaptation (Giddens 2011) as well as the concepts of change, innovation and also revolution, which served above all in the last century as the antithesis of change (in the reformation sense).

Some initial clarity can be gained by delineating transformation from transition, not least – and even because – both terms are frequently used interchangeably. Transition refers (literally) to a state of movement, passage or change from one position, state or stage to another and while it can, albeit not always, also include the notion of the short-term or brevity, it usually does include the transient moment. A definitive role is accorded in current discourse to multi-level research, which sees transition as "a change from one societal configuration to another, involving substitution of technology, as well as changes in other elements" (Geels 2002: 1258). Multi-level research assumes that sociality takes place on three different system levels, namely local, unstable niches, more stable socio-technological regimes and exogenous socio-technological landscapes (Geels 2010). Niches serve as so-called incubators of more radical innovations, which are shut off from the market selection mechanisms of the superordinate levels of the regime. They provide space for the learning-by (doing, using, learning, etc.) practices which are popular in an innovation economy and act as rapid breeding grounds for innovation (Geels/Schot 2007: 400). They are often driven by outsiders and move in instable networks where, with the help of local projects (Schot/Geels 2008: 543), they are particularly useful in generating new manufacturer-user relationships and value chains. The socio-technological regimes on the meso-level provide spaces in which existing technological trajectories can be

[13] I would like to thank Angela Dickinson for the translation of this paper. An extended version will be published in Jonas et al. (2016).

stabilised. As such, they relate to the activities and relations of very different groups of actors (from science, politics, markets, end-users, etc.) as well as regulations and standards, lifestyle changes, and technological systems, machines and infrastructures in the broader sense. In contrast, technological landscapes function as external and relatively rigid interaction structures or contexts in which the actors are involved, but which tend to be closed to change. As (macro level) spaces, they are made up of so-called deep structures, i.e. existing material contexts in society like urban infrastructures (e.g. factories, road or energy networks). Transitions here are connected primarily to technological innovations, which are triggered by disruptions and lead to a new system structure on the meso level and then also on the macro level.

In conceptual terms, the WBGU's use of the term transformation is identical to the transition concept described above (WBGU 2011: 83ff.). The same also applies to the political strategy based thereon. The WBGU views five aspects as distinguishing features of great transformations. According to the WBGU, great transformations (1) occur in a co-evolutionary manner and require a multitude of changes in different subsystems; (2) include the development and selection of niche innovations, which are subsequently established on a broad scale via markets, regulations, infrastructures and new social models and principles; (3) "are influenced by a large number of political, scientific, economic and civil social actors and consumers" (ibid.: 84); (4) are radical processes in terms of their impact and reach; and (5) are characterised by a mix of self-regulated processes and the influence of specific constellations of actors "with sufficient power, resources and creativity" who are "prepared to welcome innovations and reforms in order to overcome established barriers" (ibid.: 84). This also explains why so-called pioneers of change are so important: they kindle social innovations in the respective niches quasi from the bottom up, lift them (in a here undetermined manner) to the regime level, and inspire a sense of optimism and spirit of social change among the population (ibid.: 243). In the WBGU sense, these pioneers are predominantly experts and specialists in social innovation and production cycles, although they can also serve in the latter as "enlightened consumers" (ibid.). They have a special role and function, which merits particular emphasis.

Praxeological Critique of Transition Research

The bias on techno-economic innovations in multi-level research (and thus also in the WBGU approach) cannot, of course, go unnoticed and leads from a praxeological perspective to the admonition that it somewhat constricts the issue. It excludes, for instance, the use of other approaches in which transformation processes take centre stage (Shove/Walker 2007: 768). Furthermore, multi-level research offers neither convincing arguments as to why the aspects that distinguish the niches (e.g. incubators for radical innovations, learning-by practices, actors, instable networks, local projects, new manufacturer-user relationships and value creation chains) cannot also represent aspects of the regime meso level (different groups of actors, factories, technology infrastructure, etc.) or indeed of the macro level, nor does it account for the presence of level-specific development tempi (Schatzki 2015). In contrast to transition research, which builds on the notion that sociality takes place on different levels, a praxeological view assumes that the world is flat (Marston et al. 2005; Jonas 2014). The quasi-natural niches, regimes and landscapes proposed by transition research (Lawhon/Murphy 2011) do not represent different levels but can instead be understood as pure "differences in spatial extension" (Schatzki 2015: 13) on the one hand and as networks of practices/rule bundles with different levels of stability on the other. Instead of searching for social mechanisms, pioneers of change or sustainable lifestyles which can be used to account for change,

transformation or adaptation independent of human perceptions, a praxeological perspective seeks to comprehend a change or continuation in social practices and socio-material orders with recourse to the perception activities of the actors involved. Only then does it make sense to ascertain the relevance of the above-mentioned values or sustainable lifestyles.

Furthermore – and contrary to the assertions of the WBGU (see above) – corresponding studies carried out, for example, in Europe (Barr et al. 2011; Birzle-Harder et al. 2013; Gregson et al. 2009) suggest that there is no such thing as a consistently sustainable lifestyle (i.e. a sustainable way of living). Instead, non-sustainable aspects (e.g. climate-damaging flights) co-exist alongside sustainable aspects (e.g. eco-vacations in faraway destinations) in the lifestyles studied and can be seen as the result of lifestyle-segment-specific bundles of practices (in this case, mobility and vacation). These studies show that the performance of everyday practices like driving, walking, eating, showering or using a laptop is primarily shaped by habits, routines and day-to-day rules (Warde/Southerton 2012) which do not as a rule coincide with value systems in which "the protection of the natural environment" (WBGU 2011: 7) assumes central importance. The rational deliberations and 'freedom of choice' that are so popular in mainstream sustainability policies are the exception rather than the rule. Such studies also underline the key role of different perceptory senses in carrying out practices. Similarly, affects and emotions also lead people to engage in some practices and exclude others. In addition to corresponding practice-specific competences, tacit and explicit rules, teleoaffective leitmotifs and their sense regimes also reproduce dominant practices, e.g. motorised personal transport. At the same time, they suppress the development and spread of alternative so-called low-CO_2 practices like walking, cycling (or using public transport). In the United States, but also in many European countries, the practices of walking or cycling, which are far more energy efficient than driving a car, have been "marginalized by autocentric planning, engineering, politics, and legal regimes that manifest as laws and infrastructure incompatible with active modes" (Nixon 2012: 1664). Accordingly, initiatives to promote environmentally friendly mobility will remain of little success until such regimes are adapted to the needs of walking or cycling practices. To bring about the desired changes in behaviour, the corresponding infrastructure changes not only have to be factored in to the equation, they have to be accorded the central role (Jonas/Littig 2015). It is thus more than doubtful whether the gentle nudges to members of so-called postmaterial milieus mentioned earlier even actually afford the possibility of making a noteworthy contribution to curbing climate change or augmenting fairtrade, because adopting this approach (i.e. nudging) implicitly assumes that no further radical transformation of the corresponding infrastructures is required. In fact, this and other comparable so-called climate and sustainability policy measures based on responsible consumerism or political consumption reduce the political aspect to the individual voting act. They also ignore the point that a policy commensurate with the problems would not primarily address the climate issue, but would instead look to transform both the existing production, distribution and consumption practices and rules as well as the political practices and constellations of actors (Brand 2014: 247), above all in the highly industrialised nations (e.g. in Europe).

Yet a praxeological research approach which seeks to critically explain the prevailing and dominant practices and socio-material orders in society also requires further contouring and can, for instance, adopt the aspects it needs from current transformation research.

Further Aspects of a Socio-critical Praxeological Transformation Research

The use of the term transformation in such a context is not quite as new as it might at first glance appear. From a historical perspective, there were two phases in which this term was accorded central attention, above all in Europe. The start of the first phase dates back to 1944 and the publication of Karl Polanyi's The Great Transformation, a book which remains of influence to this day and in which he analyses both the social upheavals that resulted in the 19th century from the rise of the market economy in Great Britain as well as their subsequent institutional containment. The second phase was triggered by the collapse of the GDR and the Soviet Union and led to what could be described as an initial variant of transformation research (Reißig 1994). In its reflections on transformation processes in society, the current debate, which refers primarily to Polanyi's book, has the potential to usher in yet another phase in transformation research (Brown et al. 2013).

In doing so, transformation research first focuses not only on a technology and innovation induced transition from social to other formations but also on the effects, reshapings and transformations of all affected structural moments, practices and orders (Hackmann/St. Clair 2012: 16). It thus addresses a radical and irreversible transformation of hegemonial configurations of order and practices. In this respect, a transformation represents a particular type of social change, i.e. it is a finite process that is open to development and in no way corresponds to the term transition or bears any relation to the concept of adaptation. These clarifications then receive a second level of virulence when combined with the proposal put forward by Brand (2014), who understands transition to be an intentional political means of control, i.e. a structured, national, political intervention in development paths and logics in order to steer dominant developments in another direction. A critical interpretation of the term transformation focusses, in contrast, on comprehensive socio-economic, political and socio-cultural change processes. These can be based in part on steering and innovation technology strategies, as emphasised in transition research, but they cannot be reduced to them. Accordingly, Brand advocates the use of the term transformation in a specific analytical sense, i.e. to focus directly on the existing and prevailing social and thus also capitalistic production relationships (ibid.: 258). Such a perspective then no longer centres on systems and problems but on the configuration of the social relations, that means the practice/order complexes that are seen as the cause of the diagnosed crisis.

This thus ties the concept of transformation not only in purely rhetorical terms but also in substance to the work of Polanyi, who himself failed to clarify the term precisely, but did emphasise that the analysis of transformation processes has to do fundamentally with social forces, interests and relations of power and that the state and politics do not resolve (world) social problems per se; by their very structure, they enforce and safeguard the capitalistic relations of production. Polanyi's analysis convincingly demonstrated how the construction and establishment of the market society led to upheaval processes that were countered not first and foremost by politics but by spontaneous, unplanned counter-movements whose origins lay in very different spheres and areas of society (Brook 1994).

It has not gone unnoticed here in the relevant discourse that the change demanded by Polanyi's protagonists does not conform or have to conform with reality. Following Brand's argumentation, the majority of contributions in the relevant debate nonetheless falsely assume that the state or politics have an interest in working on collective problems and serving the common good and are inclined to want to implement selected aspects of, for instance, the WBGU strategy. Moreover, what actually constitutes the social substance of the problems or crises is rarely defined in more detail, even if or because (as the case

may be) the overuse of natural resources in the ground, the oceans and the air is only mentioned descriptively. Instead, concepts like climate change, pioneers of change, green economy, fairtrade and sustainability policy obscure the view that is really needed on the effective unbridled marketization practices/arrangement complexes, because such concepts bear no direct relation to a universally egalitarian development of society (Swyngedouw 2010: 224). They are based on a transition perspective, whose systematic limits lie therein that it does not adequately reflect the structurally induced possibilities and boundaries of the far-reaching (re-)steerability of society and its metabolism with nature through political institutions (Brand 2014). In contrast, the starting point for critical transformation research is the notion that the central inner connection between many of today's problems is seen to lie in the inconsistencies of industrial, fossilised and capitalistic production and consumption modes.

To illustrate what this means, I would like to draw here on the discussion both in Germany or in other countries in Europe on those current developments which are viewed in transformation research as examples of reform capitalist change with a preference for a green capitalist development variant. Policies which follow such an approach seek primarily to change the political framework for the actors (especially companies) and processes in society and are frequently discussed under the titles green economy and green new deal. The actors who are in the foreground here stand paradigmatically for the 'green hope' for innovative technologies to address the environmental crisis, whereby the elevated green (growth) sectors are assigned an important role with regard to the 'green argument' that environmental protection is compatible with economic growth. Political measures focus here on green tax reforms, promoting so-called sustainable consumption, propagating fairtrade, public infrastructure investments (keyword: energy turnaround) or the promotion of biofuels, etc. Yet because these are not aimed per se at addressing the actual problem but at (as in the previous case) serving the interests, for instance, of the automobile industry, the energy companies and the conservative agricultural clientele in industrial nations, their failure is deemed in the relevant debate to be almost unavoidable. The political practices associated with this type of change stand by no means for transformation but for a transition in which the reproduction of society's relationships with nature continues to be defined as the subsumption of nature under society's historically institutionalised needs, which in turn improve competitiveness (Krüger 2013: 441) and are viewed in terms of growth.

The Significance of Utopian Concepts

If we now turn to the questions of alternatives, it makes sense in my opinion to look for central aspects of utopian concepts which really do stand for a radical remodelling of existing social practices and orders. We can draw here on a wealth of social sciences research sketching both the contours and the conditions of possibility of emancipative and socio-ecological social practices and orders. This includes, for example, both social theory approaches like the work by Axel Honneth in recognition theory as well as political research focussing on aspects of democratisation. Likewise, feminism (Butler 2005; Littig 2001) and ecological approaches are also of core relevance here. This applies in particular when such research addresses the conditions and contours of another life beyond the prevailing economic order – an aspect that is useful in the selection of further cultural sociology or other approaches. Central criteria can be obtained from these and other approaches and used in corresponding activities, projects and policies in their efforts to formulate utopias and implement corresponding transformative practices. These would include, above all, the departure from the domination of nature, recognition and justice, democratisation, redistribution and a cosmopolitan viewpoint. Interesting here is the

paradox that in modern societies, individualisation, i.e. the liberation of individuals from pre-modern community ties, goes hand in hand with a densifying of mutual dependencies (Jaeggi 2014: 344). This leads among other things to a situation in which more and more areas of society become the subject of public interest, yet – to use a post-Marxist formulation – no in itself homogeneous subject of the transformation can be formed. This is one clear explanation why transformation is only possible through sphere-specific and cross-spherical practices in which social and political actors from the employment, business, science and politics spheres as well as from law, private life choices and consumption engage both in cooperation and also confrontation and endeavour to synchronise and realise ecological, social, democratic, economic and cultural aspects in a variety of pilot and transformation projects.

Of central relevance here are debates and think tanks on visionary development ideas, which fundamentally question the hegemonial exploitation of nature by mankind (as a species) as the purported natural ruler of the planet. Based on the assumption that an end must be put to our domination of nature (Horkheimer/Adorno 1982), as alluded to in the public debate by catchwords like 'extensive land use", 'animal factories' or 'deforestation of the rain forest', we need to fathom out what form social practices and orders would need to take if, for example, all creatures which constitute a self were to be accorded comparable personal or individual rights (Donaldson/Kymlicka 2013) to those which apply or should apply at least to citizens of EU Member States. It is only then that we would namely have the necessary but also adequate starting point to do away with extensive damaging land use and mass animal husbandry – two of the points criticised in the WBGU report – and to confront the increasing consumption of meat products around the globe. Just how much the organisational aspects of corresponding practices deviate from current dominant food production, distribution and consumption practices is evident not only in the disdainful practices towards living creatures that prevail in the agricultural and food production spheres but also in the (at times gender specific) nutrition practices which have in a certain sense infiltrated just about all social classes and milieus in the highly industrialised EU nations (Jonas 2015b).

Recognition theory provides us with the insight that the organisational elements of manufacturing and marketing practices and their related socio-material arrangements would need to be transformed in a way that would enable all actors to recognize themselves as members of a cooperative community before they were able to set about giving each other the right to maximise their individual market benefits (Honneth 2011: 349). The extent of such individual benefit maximisation should be limited to the level at which it remains reconcilable with the requirements of this prior recognition (ibid.). Following Brand, we need to address the criteria by which the existing social forms (e.g. values, monetary and goods) would need to be transformed in order to satisfy the recognition criterion. We also need to discuss how practices which correspond to these forms could be established and how they will differ in their organisational aspects from the practices that have dominated so far. Leitmotifs and rules for such practices would then no longer focus primarily on domination of nature, growth, profit maximisation, global business or the intensification of individual consumption but on aspects of nature conservation, balance fair world trade, local business and shared use.

In the same way that prevailing marketization practices would by this criterion need to be overcome, a new push towards the democratisation of established co-determination practices oriented on the good life (cf. Beck 2010) leitmotifs would be required. This would have to be aimed above all at expanding the existing participation practices of the actors involved in politics, at putting lifestyle-segment-specific bundles of practices to the test and at triggering the democratisation of further fields and institutions in society, like

the economy, now a rarely encountered possibility in the public debate. This would require, for example, testing the effects of different contextual bundles of practices which extend direct and indirect co-determination in enterprises or which are tantamount to a reorientation of purely economic objectives to other more far-reaching goals, as demanded, for instance, by public good economics or the transition town movement.

We would also need to design and implement appropriate practices that would look at the current redistribution of wealth and income in favour of the wealthy and were aimed at permitting a reversal of this process. Current analyses of the situation for instance in Germany (Wehler 2013) show that over the last 10 to 15 years, the country's economic elite has succeeded in establishing a redistribution of wealth in their own favour. With regard to the distribution of income, analyses also show that inequality is growing above all as a result of part-time work and so-called mini-jobs (which in Germany allow people to earn up to 450 euros a month without paying tax) (ibid.: 53), but also that the earnings gap among full-time workers is widening, and that there can therefore be no talk of unforced reciprocity in the satisfaction of economic interests (Honneth 2011: 547). Only when this is at least rudimentarily achieved across the board will the barriers to equal use of equally distributed civil rights be removed – not just in the economic but also in the political sphere (ibid.).

As Ulrich Beck (2010) however notes, exploratory movements of this kind can only have a far-reaching and promising impact if the practices used are fifth characterised by a cosmopolitan focus. Only with such a focus can we appreciate the reach of global risks and attempt to deal with them in an adequate manner. It allows us in particular to consider the connections beyond national and even continental boundaries, connections in which near increasingly mixes with far and local with foreign, "not as a consequence of migration, but rather as a consequence of 'interconnectedness'" (ibid. 259). It then also becomes clear that the term society with its mostly national connotations, can now only be meaningful in a global society sense. We would then be able to sense the benefits of a global project that provided prosperity for all – one that differed fundamentally from the currently prevailing practices and orders in which the valorisation and marketization of more and more resources and areas of life increases the extent of global poverty at the cost of an ever more extensive exploitation of nature.

A Short Conclusion

On the basis of the argumentation presented in this paper it should now have become clear that a praxeological analysis of social practices and orders is well advised to distance itself from transition research if it seeks to focus on social change. Instead of drawing on the term transition, it is far more appropriate to tie in with current post-Marxist transformation research and to incorporate elements of social sciences approaches which allow us to sketch the contours of social utopias and central aspects of transformative practices.

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Sustainable lifestyles through the lens of time and space

Preliminary research results and implications for economic transformations

Adina Dumitru[1], Ricardo García Mira[1], Alberto Diaz[1], Irina Macsinga[2], Vlad Pandur[2], Wouter Spekkink[3], Jaco Quist[3]

[1]University of A Coruña, Spain; People-Environment Research Group

[2]West University of Timisoara, Romania, Department of Psychology

[3]Technological University of Delft, The Netherlands

Abstract

This paper proposes a new conceptualization of lifestyles that shifts the focus of current thinking and research toward what is needed to achieve significant transformations in our patterns of consumption, economic structures and prevailing social practices around work and leisure. It suggests a need to move away from the existing additive conceptions of lifestyles (with a consequent focus on changing specific behaviours) and from sustainable consumption as a proxy for sustainable lifestyles. Instead, it proposes a definition of lifestyles as patterns of activities structured around the domains of work, home production and leisure, undertaken for a variety of goals and stemming from a wide range of motivations, which have associated consumption patterns. It applies this framework to a comparison of both mainstream and sustainable lifestyles promoted by different types of initiatives dealing with environmentally-relevant domains in seven European regions. The results of an initial phase of qualitative exploration of this research will be presented, with illustrations from three case studies (from Spain, Romania and the Netherlands). We will conclude with brief conclusions about the implications of this framework for transitions to alternative economies.

Introduction

During the last decades accumulating scientific evidence has shown that our patterns of intensive resource use together with our greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are leading to increasing resource scarcity, loss of biodiversity and climate change with its numerous and disastrous effects. Existing unsustainable patterns of consumption and production in the affluent world are responsible for these complex and connected problems, and finding the appropriate ways for steering change in the right direction has become a priority for European citizens and policy-makers in the last years.

Lifestyles characterized by patterns of intensive consumption are a key challenge for sustainability objectives. However, lifestyles cannot be equated to patterns of consumption, as they are in the first place patterns of activities and behaviours that fulfil needs and hold complex functions of group identification, identity formation and status signalling, the pursuit of happiness and wellbeing, and social communication (Scott 2009, Jackson 2009). As any human activity possesses both a temporal and a spatial dimension,

and most natural systems exist within defined spatial and temporal boundaries (Mee et al. 2015), lifestyles need to be considered as patterns of time-use, that take place in given locations, and have associated consumption patterns. Consumption is thus a set of temporal activities, in which consumers utilize or engage with products of industrial systems and through which resource flows pass (Jalas 2005). As affluence increases, time continues to be a limited resource and understanding patterns of time allocation and their relationship to consumption is a key aspect in identifying alternative lifestyle patterns and policy mixes that would contribute to societal transitions to sustainability.

A time-use approach to lifestyles and consumption

The concept of lifestyles originated in the domain of health research. The focus of this research was on changing specific features and behaviors that might pose a threat to physical or mental health, so as to promote change from specific unhealthy lifestyles to healthier ones (Schwarzer 2011, cf. Carrus et al. 2014). The assumption here was that each change in an unhealthy behavior would lead to healthier overall outcomes for the person, and this approach has been supported by numerous studies since the '70s, when this research started. In conceptual terms, this "additive" perspective on lifestyles, if applied to the concept of sustainable lifestyles, would imply that in each area of life or domain of behavior, the more a person acts sustainably, the more sustainable his/her lifestyle would become. In terms of research methodology, this conceptualization leads to a scientific method by which specific sustainable behaviors are identified, their specific determinants are analyzed, and specific interventions are designed that target those determinants.

Although studies exploring the effectiveness of these types of interventions have shown a certain amount of success in the domain of environmental behavior as well (e.g.: Abrahamse et al. 2007), the general conclusion in the literature is that effects tend to be limited in time, they are more successful in the case of low-impact behaviors than high-impact ones (Steg et al. 2014) and the required transformation at wider societal levels has not yet been produced. An additive perspective on lifestyles, although providing interesting insights into the determinants of specific behaviors and lifestyle choices, has not proven to be successful in highlighting the conditions for a sufficiently fast-paced transition to sustainable lifestyles in contemporary affluent societies.

Environmental impact calculations consider how lifestyles diminish the existing natural resources beyond recovery capacity and the greenhouse gas emissions our activities produce, which contribute to global climate change. Inevitably, these calculations have indicated that an important part of these emissions come from our direct and indirect energy consumption, and the diminishing of natural resources from our patterns of expanding and fast-paced consumption of products and services. The logical conclusion is to focus on consumption patterns and identify what drives them and how they can be changed. Furthermore, conceptualizations of wellbeing and economic prosperity have been equated to consumption in our societies, so much so that extensive consumption has become almost a synonym to lifestyle and wellbeing. However, as Willis and Schor (2012) have put it, it is not clear that a society can "consume its way into social justice and environmental sustainability".

We start from the recognition that a certain level of consumption is a constant in human life, and a medium for reaching certain goals and performing any sort of activities. However, we endorse an approach to the relationship between lifestyles and material (includes resources, materials and energy) consumption in which consumption is considered the "infrastructure" through which certain activities are performed, in order to reach certain goals. We thus propose an alternative understanding of lifestyles as a result

of patterns of time-use that have associated consumption, which are bundled together in an observable structure of everyday life, which in turn possesses individual and social symbolic connotations (thus it is used, at the same time, to satisfy individual needs; indicate, establish and negotiate our position in a social group; and organize our social life in culturally meaningful ways).

In this perspective, consumption is viewed as a set of temporal activities, in which consumers utilize or engage with products of industrial systems and through which resource flows pass (Jalas 2005). The study of time use has expanded considerably in the last few decades, led by sociologists such as Gershuny (1987), who considered that in order to understand structural changes within the economy, one needs to consider evidence about patterns of time-use in everyday life.

A shift in the conceptualization of lifestyles to include a temporal and spatial dimension has a few different implications for research. First, it implies a move away from discrete consumption behaviors or even specific environmentally-relevant behaviors, and towards the division of time-use in everyday life. Choices regarding time-use and the reasons behind them become the focus of inquiry. Only by undertaking a broader inquiry into why people do what they do, for what goals and with what motives, we can understand why things have come to be as they are, and why change seems so complicated (e.g.: why we have started to define ourselves and our lifestyles as consumerist and why evidence on human-induced environmental damage does not steer us away from certain practices). Also, focusing on people´s choices of activities and time use gives us the possibility to look at their motivations, the level of lock-in related to participating in accepted social practices and better understand the motives which drive action in certain unsustainable directions. Separating material consumption from those choices allows us to look at potentials for different patterns of resource use and material consumption while pursuing the same goals for the same motives – thus a space for societal reflection on lifestyle choices and wellbeing.

Secondly, it shifts attention from specific motivation for action to people´s subjective experience of time, which can be either a driver or a barrier to sustainable lifestyles. Time-use is not only an objective category; it is also a subjective experience. People organize their activities and tasks in different ways; experience acceleration, time squeezing and time pressure, or, on the contrary, time affluence, and these experiences lead them to feelings of stress and unhappiness/lack of wellbeing, which in turn lead to specific adjustments and behavioral trade-offs (e.g.: eating out because one does not have time to cook at home; taking the car for short trips in order to drop kids to school and stop at the supermarket on the way back from work etc.) as well as to potentially experience consumption as more than a way to fulfill needs or ensure a good life, but rather as an end in itself (the reasons behind this and the different psychological functions of consumption need further exploration). Both subjective assessments of wellbeing as well as behavioral adjustments have important consequences for material consumption levels and environmental impact.

Thirdly, objective and subjective experiences of time-use will have influence on the ways in which activities are chosen- whether they are taken in reflective/deliberate ways or habitual/automatic, a fact which has implications on efforts to change unsustainable patterns of behavior. Beyond normal cognitive limitations, we know from previous research that under time pressure people would fall back on automatic decision-making which makes changing behavior more problematic (Verplanken and Wood 2006). Also, any effort to change either specific behaviors or an entire lifestyle requires time to reflect and evaluate options and get informed about alternatives. Research is currently underway that explores the effects of time scarcity/abundance on environmentally-relevant

behavior, everyday decisions of time use and related material consumption, the trade-offs between environmental objectives (when they exist) and other treasured or necessary life purposes etc. If the assertion that environmentally-friendly behavior would require a slower life pace and this would contribute to slower and different forms of consumption, thus also requiring lower levels (or even 0) of economic growth, would prove to be valid, policy designed to support sustainability transitions would need to go in a very different direction than the ones adopted so far, as well as touch on areas of policy not traditionally associated to environmental sustainability (such as working hours regulations, corporate policy regarding worker rights etc.).

Methodology

The research presented here is part of a large scale FP7 project on Green Lifestyles, Alternative Models and Upscaling Regional Sustainability (GLAMURS), which aims at exploring the complex interactions and links among economic, social, cultural, political and technological factors influencing sustainable lifestyles and transformations to a green economy across societal levels (from individual to social, and from micro- to macro-economic levels), in order to develop and evaluate comprehensive models of lifestyle change at a European level in key sustainability domains and provide assessments of these models in terms of economic and environmental effects, with a view to providing recommendations on the best governance designs and policy mixes for achieving a sufficiently-fast paced transition in Europe.

First empirical explorations had as objectives to apply the conceptualization of lifestyles presented above and investigate the relationship between patterns of time-use, wellbeing and consumption in six different environmentally-relevant domains (work-leisure balance, status and use of homes, energy use in homes, mobility, food consumption and consumption of manufactured products).

Three focus groups were carried out in seven different European regions, two regional ones and one with members of sustainable initiatives studied in each of the regions, to allow for comparisons. This paper will present preliminary results from 3 of the regions: Galicia (Spain), Rotterdam-Delft-the Hague (The Netherlands) and Banat-Timis (Romania); and on the initiatives studied in each of the three regions, which included sustainable food consumption cooperatives and sustainable clothing production in Spain, initiatives to prolong the life of household objects by providing repairing services in the Netherlands, and an ecovillage in Romania.

Zocamiñoca is a responsible consumption cooperative established in the city of A Coruña, in the Nortwest of Spain, which aims at promoting sustainable consumption through a direct relationship between (rural) producers and (mostly urban) consumers. It has over 300 members, and it is the lead initiative in the region, being taken as a model by many others. In recognition of its leader role, the initiative was recently awarded the Galician Prize for Cooperative Values, an important regional distinction.

Repair Cafés are freely accessible meetings where people gather to fix broken objects and share knowledge and experience on repairing with each other, with support from specialists such as electricians, seamstresses, carpenters, and bicycle mechanics. Objects that are repaired include clothes, electrical appliances, bicycles, furniture, toys, and etcetera. This study focuses on three Repair Cafés in the Netherlands: Repair Café Delft, Repair Café Schiedam, and Repair Café Den Haag.

Stanciova is a Romanian ecovillage situated in the Banat region. It is an intentional community founded by ex-urbanites who desired to have a more sustainable lifestyle. The

ecovillage coexists with inhabitants of a regular rural community, and has about 11 families at the moment. It is part of the Global Ecovillage Network.

Focus groups are an appropriate method for exploring new research areas and are especially suited for the collection of a concentrated set of observations in a short time span (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). The focus groups had the following common objectives: to explore the relationship between patterns of time-use, wellbeing and environmentally-relevant choices; to explore drivers and barriers to sustainable lifestyle choices in the six domains of interest for GLAMURS; and to investigate desired lifestyle changes, in order to identify windows of opportunity for the wider societal diffusion of sustainable lifestyle change. In addition, the focus groups with members of sustainable initiatives investigated the motivations and effects of joining an initiative.

A guide of questions and topics to be covered was developed for the focus groups, which was used by the facilitators to ensure all objectives were covered and to ensure comparability among the different regions. The guide for the regional focus groups is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Guide for regional focus groups

Engagement questions:

- What are the things you most like about your everyday life?
- If you could change things in your way of life, what would you change? What are the obstacles to changing those things you mentioned in your life?

Exploration questions:

- Sometimes, people feel like they have all the time to relax, work, enjoy life, etc. Other times, people feel they do not have enough time to live the life they want. How do you feel about this in your life? Can you give a few examples about how this plays out in your life?
- In an ideal world, what would you do more and what would you do less? What are those things that most satisfy you in your everyday life? What are those that don´t?
- (Working less might mean also earning less. Do you think that is a worthy trade-off in your life? How if yes, how if not? What would be the gains and losses?)
- If there are times you feel you are rushed and do not get to do all those things you would like to do what do you think is driving it? What are those things that lead to you not having time? What hinders you from living the kind of life you want? (Alternatively: what obstacles do you see in living the kind of life you want?).
- Let´s think about preparing and eating food for example: how does having or not having time affect your habits in this area?
- Now let´s turn to traveling between work and home and also all the other places you go to – how does having or not having time influence your choices in this area?
- Let´s think for a moment about things (or say “other things” if some things already appeared – refer to them first) one might do in favor of the environment, what do you think stops you/people from doing them? What do you think is the role of having or not having time in deciding to do them?
- Think about how the way you spend money relates to how much time you have. When you have more time, do you spend different amounts of money than you would normally? What about when you have less time? Can you give some personal examples?
- What about making decisions on what you need to buy? Are there situations, where you had more or less time, where you decided to buy things you would not be buying

otherwise or which you might think afterwards you do not need? Are there situations where you perhaps bought less than you needed or would usually buy? Can you please share some examples of both?

Exit question:

- Is there anything else you might think it is important to add about having or not having time and how it influences your lifestyle? Anything else about how time influences your actions that affect the environment?
- From everything we have covered, what seemed to be particularly important to you? Was there anything you felt you discovered or that came as an insight?

Each focus group had between 6 and 10 participants, selected to reflect diversity on socio-demographic variables such as age, educational background, gender, and income, and lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. All the focus groups were audio and/or video recorded and analyzed using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, such as Atlas.ti and NVivo. A system of categories for analysis was developed collaboratively between the responsible researchers of each case study region, using a grounded theory approach, which are presented in Table 2. The six lifestyle domains of interest were considered transversally in the analysis.

Table 2: Categories of analysis for focus group data

Research objective	**Categories of analysis**
Lifestyle choices, time-use and wellbeing	Lifestyle satisfaction
	Desired lifestyle changes
	Beliefs about and experiences of time
	Time-use and wellbeing
Drivers of and barriers to sustainable lifestyle changes (including subjective experiences of time, time affluence/scarcity, time-pressure)	Individual drivers to sustainable lifestyle choices
	Contextual drivers to sustainable lifestyle choices
	Individual barriers to sustainable lifestyle choices
	Contextual barriers to sustainable lifestyle choices
Joining initiatives: effects on time-use, wellbeing and sustainable lifestyle choices	Motivations for joining a sustainability initiative
	Effects of joining a sustainability initiative

Main results

Lifestyle choices, time-use and wellbeing

There are a series of commonalities between the three regions in terms of the relationship between lifestyle choices, time-use and wellbeing. In general, urban residents in all regions tend to associate time pressure with work (having lots of tasks at work) and also to the difficulty of achieving a good work-family balance due to the multiple roles one has

to juggle in everyday life. Participants oscillate between a belief that one makes one´s own time and organizes it according to one´s personal objectives, and a sense of being overwhelmed by a generalized feeling of time scarcity and a general sense of being in a hurry. While for urban residents this is mostly related to work-leisure balance, for rural residents it seems to be mostly related to a difficulty to separate between work time and leisure or free time (as time at work and time at home are interweaved).

Achieving a proper work-life balance is perceived as one of the most important sources of wellbeing. In all three regions, participants describe a scarcity of non-work time, and a sense of dissatisfaction with not spending more time with family, friends, relaxing or being engaged in non-work related meaningful personal activities. In terms of the lifestyle domains analyzed, participants in all regions mention the importance of food preparation and meals as an important activity for family cohesion and social connection, more generally. Having more time to be able to purchase healthy food and prepare it together with family members is expressed by all participants. In some cases, participants express a desire to spend time buying organic food and being able to go shopping with their children to teach them about healthy food options. In all regions, a feeling of time scarcity and the pressures of work are associated to a desire to increase time spent engaging in food preparation. In the domain of mobility, most participants express dissatisfaction with time spent while commuting or traveling for personal reasons, when traveling by car. Interestingly, in the Netherlands, for example, commuting time was perceived as enjoyable, because participantsfelt it gave them some time for themselves before and after work, but this was manifested only by those participants that commuted by bicycle or public transport, and not by those whose main commuting mode of transportation was the car.

Another important commonality in the three regions is to be found in the great emphasis placed on the importance of improving the quality of both work and leisure time as a source of wellbeing and a means to reduce time pressure. At work, participants mention the need to experience more flexibility and feel intrinsicaly motivated as a means to achieve a greater sense of satisfaction, and reduce the feeling of time scarcity. At home and in leisure activities, they mention that being able to engage in meaningful activities and interactions, thus experiencing a sense of purpose, competence and connection are ways of increasing wellbeing. Interestingly, a lot of the activities participants mention refer to volunteering activities in one´s community, or have the potential to be highly sustainable activities (e.g. spending more time in nature, around meals with family, walk every day etc.).

Initiative members across all case studies, on contrast report a high level of lifestyle satisfaction and state that their main source of lifestyle satisfaction is intimately associated with membership of their initiatives. However, even in the case of sustainable initiatives members, a significant theme emerges linking the experience of time pressure with work issues, which in turn is perceived to lead to a decreased level of wellbeing. The only exception to this is the Romanian ecovillage initiative whose members consider time pressure inexistent and express great satisfaction with the way they spend their time. Ecovillagers view work as highly non-constraining and place a strong emphasis on personal autonomy and determination when managing time, which leads to a feeling of satisfaction. This difference can easily be explained by the fact that most of the initiatives are issue-based ones and they do not entail the type of radical lifestyle change that joining an ecovillage does.

Drivers and barriers to sustainable lifestyle choices

When referring to both drivers and barriers, participants focused and used examples from the domains of food and mobility for the most part. In all focus groups, participants tend to mention more barriers than drivers for sustainable lifestyle choices, but a significant difference refers to the fact that participants in the regional focus groups emphasize more contextual barriers, while sustainable initiative members tend to emphasize more personal barriers. This could be due to the fact that members of initiatives have already taken significant steps in the direction of acting more sustainably and have thus their sense of personal efficacy/competence in overcoming both personal and contextual obstacles is greater, leading to an emphasis on personal autonomy and self-determination as main drivers of sustainable choices. A lack of intrinsic motivation is among the most common personal barriers mentioned in all cases.

However, we also found that both participants in the regional focus groups as well as those coming from the initiatives mentioned time scarcity, difficulties in achieving an optimal work-life balance and a lack of proper flexibility in time management as main barriers for sustainable lifestyle choices, with specific references to the domains of food, mobility and shopping decisions. It thus seems that both the quantity of available time, as well as the lack of an optimal balance between work, home production and leisure, have effects on both regular lifestyle choices, as well as more far-reaching decisions to become involved in initiatives or open a space and time to allow for changes in habitual patterns of time-use that might be unsustainable.

Desired lifestyle changes: windows of opportunity for sustainable lifestyle change

One objective of the focus groups exploration was to inquire into the potential for sustainable lifestyle change by going beyond the factors that are normally considered to indicate potential for change in environmental behavioral research, such as concern for the environment or holding favourable environmental attitudes; and explore the actual desired lifestyle changes of both people in the region that represent more “mainstream” lifestyles and those that have opted for a more sustainable lifestyle, by becoming members of an initiative.

A lot of commonalities can be found in the desired lifestyle changes of regional participants in the three countries. A common desired change is to invest more time in meaningful social interaction within their communities, for purposes such as volunteering and providing help to others, fostering social change or promoting alternative lifestyles. Participants also commonly refer to desired changes in terms of work-life balance, mostly in the direction of reducing time spent at work and spending more time with family and friends. A partial exception is the Romanian regional case, in which participants manifest a desire to spend less time at work but are concerned that this would affect their financial security. Other mentioned lifestyle changes refer to having more time to oneself, a slower pace of life, being able to get “off the wheel” more often, get engaged into more meaningful activities and have time to reflect and reprioritize those things that are important. When talking about concrete lifestyle domains, as already mentioned, food and mobility are frequently mentioned as areas in which changes are desired and they tend to be in a sustainable direction. None of the spontaneous elicitations of desired lifestyle changes refered to activities that could be considered unsustainable or as staples of an unsustainable lifestyle. This is not to say that these do not exist, but rather that they might be motivated by other factors such as societal norms and status associated to certain lifestyle characteristics, and not by a self-determined desire to pursue them.

Rather, desired lifestyle changes tend to go into the direction of the tenets of self-determination theory (Ryan and Deci, 2000), which provides evidence that individuals

hold three basic psychological needs: for autonomy, competence and relatedess, and will achieve an optimal level of wellbeing when being in environments or involved in activities that provide satisfaction for these needs. Further proof of this is provided by sustainable initiatives´members responses to questions regarding their motivations to join: experiencing a higher degree of autonomy and control over one´s time and decisions; connecting to others in meaningful ways, or achieving a sense of competency and personal efficacy appear as the most important ones.

In terms of sustainable initiatives´members responses regarding desired lifestyle changes, we find a wider variation which is connected to the different nature of the initiatives and the different social contexts in which they are embedded. The Romanian ecovillage participants manifest desires for securing a stable job within the initiative and having a reliable source of income, which would allow them to be self-sufficient. The members of the Repair Cafés in the Netherlands express a desire to be less strongly affected by societal pressure, and be able to engage in a lifestyle that is removed from the conventional "system", thus being autonomous. For the Spanish sustainable food initiative, there is a strong desire to make more space for shared community life, public activities, and community development, as well as to spend more time in natural spaces, living closer to nature.

Taken together, these results indicate a few important windows of opportunity for wider societal transitions to sustainable lifestyles. Increasing possibilities for achieving better work-home-leisure balance through flexible working policies and implementing mechanisms to make work meaningful (e.g. through possibilities of autonomy and creativity) would potentially increase wellbeing and provide spaces to engage in other activities that are considered meaningful and tend to be sustainable. However, it is likely that being busy and displaying a lifestyle that involves long work hours has become a symbol of status (Pearson, 2015), which creates powerful pressures to engage in what Juliet Schor has called "work and spend" cycles (Schor, 1992). They also suggest the type of support that might be most effective for sustainable lifestyle initiatives to thrive. A recurring desire of lifestyles initiatives members in all cases is to change their financial situation, by becoming independent or obtaining a reliable source of income. Economic models that would allow for such possibilities would thus support the continuity of sustainable lifestyle options.

Conclusions

This paper presents a conceptualization of lifestyles that considers them to be patterns of time-use that have associated consumption, which are bundled together in an observable structure of everyday life. We have argued that understanding current patterns of time-use, their relationship with wellbeing, and their environmental impact would shed light on the main obstacles and opportunities for adopting sustainable lifestyles, beyond what has been achieved through the use of a piecemeal approach to lifestyle change (i.e: behavior by behavior or domain by domain).

The preliminary results presented here show that achieving societal transitions to sustainable lifestyles require deep changes in the relationship between work-home production and leisure, and that these changes are associated to higher levels of wellbeing and higher levels of social and environmental sustainability. Previous research has shown that higher levels of time affluence are related to both wellbeing and more engagement in ecological behaviors (Brown and Kasser, 2005). Understanding what drives our experiences of time scarcity or time pressure can thus help us understand the barriers to achieving societal transitions to sustainable lifestyles. But such changes are not possible

without a reconfiguration of our economic models, towards higher flexibility in work policies, possibilities for diverse small scale income generation, and opportunities for better balancing of at-work and out-of-work time.

Finally, results show that sustainable lifestyle initiatives have a positive impact in terms of satisfaction of basic psychological needs and thus supporting the achievement of higher levels of wellbeing, beyond the effects they have in achieving lower environmental impacts (a different part of the project evaluates these impacts). Engaging in sustainable initiatives also has an effect on the subjective experience of time, by increasing feelings of time affluence and personal control over choices of activities, which in turn influences wellbeing.

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Discussant Contribution

Investigating 'transition' and 'transformation'

Philip Vergragt

Tellus Institute, US

Four papers address the question: Beyond transitions? Backhaus et al. take four social science theories and apply them to the sharing economy (as an example of a potential transition). Rauschmayer et al. combine a psychological with a governance perspective and ask how internal conflicts could be a point of access for governance; Jonas criticizes socio-technical transitions from a praxeological perspective, and Dumitru et al take a time perspective on sustainable lifestyles.

These papers have very little in common; I will first summarize each of them; with some questions and/or criticisms; and then try to extract some common points for discussion.

Julia Backhaus and colleagues analyze the sharing economy from four theoretical perspectives. From the practice theoretical perspective, sharing represents new practices which potentially could be integrated in existing practices. Success would constitute this integration and enrolment of larger amounts of "carriers" of those practices. From a neo-institutionalist perspective success of the sharing economy would be reflected in new rules, either informal or formal. They distinguishe between "embedded agency", meaning institutional entrepreneurs; and more structural "surfing" on the cultural waves of f.i. personal freedom and rights or wellbeing and communality.

From the multi-level perspective the sharing economy could become a new regime. From the perspective of Polanyi and his followers there could be a competition between the strength of different framings and actor-networks; leading to disembedding and re-embedding.

This is an interesting paper that however needs to be strengthened along various dimensions. As to the theories of change, I think that theories of social movement and theories of power are missing here and should be added. As to the case study: the sharing economy itself is a phenomenon that ranges from capitalist enterprises like Uber and Airbnb to truly non-economic sharing initiatives on the neighborhood level; which makes it very hard to analyze as a coherent case study.

Felix Rauschmayer et al. bring together psychological theories and governance theories; and ask the question if and how governance could find entry points through intra-personal conflicts and motivations. These stem from competing values and needs, and manifest themselves as emotional troubles and sometimes as "motivational lock-in". Governance has rather successfully addressed is-ought discrepancies of motivation and opportunity; and of motivation and ability; but not so much motivational lock-in. The paper argues that governance should be orientated towards people's empowerment; and that influencing social norms involved in "automatic decision making" would be a viable way of influencing people's behavior.

This is a very interesting paper and contains a real theory of change; it would be nice if we could see an example here of successful policy intervention in motivational lock-ins; without such an example the paper is remains too theoretical.

Michael Jonas presents a praxeological critique of transition management. Not everyone knows what this tradition entails. Praxeology rests on the fundamental axiom that individual human beings act, that is, on the primordial fact that individuals engage in conscious actions toward chosen goals (Von Mises). However, far from a critique from the perspective of individual actors Jonas takes a structural and even systemic perspective. He criticizes transition management and a German report on transformation as too limited; because of not questioning the dominant capitalist system and the economic growth paradigm (my paraphrasing). What needs to be transformed is not only production and consumption but also political structures and power relationships. He builds on Polanyi and on the great transition beyond communism in E. Europe. He pleads for a "radical and irreversible transformation of hegemonial configurations of order and practices". I like this; and also that he talks about counter-movements. He takes the green economy concept as an example of such an incomplete potential transition; and I totally agree with him. He pleads for utopian concepts; just like my Tellus Institutes has been pleading for a "great transition".

I am not against utopias; and I have been a consistent proponent of visioning and backcasting. A visionary plea for a utopian society is great; but the real question is how to get there? Unfortunately this paper gives little clue; it is useful to criticize socio-technical transitions; but the question of agency, intervention, addressing power relationships, strategy, timing, framing, does not come up.

Dumitru et al. present a very interesting paper on the time-perspective on sustainable lifestyles. They study 3 sustainability initiatives through 6 focus groups: a Spanish cooperative, a Dutch set of repair cafes; and a Romanian ecovillage. The time lens brings a focus on work-life balance, with special emphasis on food preparation and meals; and the quality of work and leisure. The main outcomes of this research are that people's wellbeing depends on meaningful social interactions; reducing work time; and a slower pace of life; with some regional differences. This seems to be consistent with self-determination theory, which claims that basic psychological needs are autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

The premise of this research is that greater wellbeing could somehow lead to more sustainable consumption; which is not at all obvious or proven. It has a somewhat individualistic lens which somewhat blurs the perspective on systemic transformations; although it does formulate policy perspectives. The case studies are atypical which draws the question why this research is not also focusing in mainstream consumers; especially when studying barriers to sustainable lifestyles.

So I would like to raise the following discussion points:

1. Are there boundaries to the social change we strive for? Are we (conceptually) just speaking about consumption and consumerism; or do we also include the economic system, the political system, the hegemonic economic growth paradigm, the prevalent culture of individualism and hedonism? Can we agree on boundaries?
2. What is the role of utopias and visions? How influential are they or could they be? Can they shape policies and change processes? How could they become more effective?
3. What do we know about intervention points in systems to implement systemic change? Thde multi-level perspective came up with the powerful niche concept; but it does not address politics and power; or even culture. Olin Wright talks about "interstitial processes"; finding the cracks and contradictions in the system and exploiting them. Others call for new social movements to subvert the present system.

4. None of the papers addresses equity issues; and implicitly each paper take a rather eco-oriented and elitist viewpoint, not taking into account realities of unemployment, job security, social inequities, discrimination, corruption; right-wing anti-establishment sentiments, etc. How to include these aspects?
5. What is the role of socio-technical experiments and social innovations? Do they provide us with alternatives for the dominant culture, economics, and time-use? Are they also locked in by dominant infrastructures; or do they carry the seeds for transformation? If so, what could be viable processes of upscaling, mainstreaming? Or should they act as seeds for a transformation and revolution, aiming not at mainstreaming but at subversion of existing structures and cultures?

Discussion Notes

Investigating 'transition' and 'transformation'

Iain Soutar

University of Exter, United Kingdom

The main points emerging from the session discussion are summarised here, with particular reference to key conclusions, contestations and future research opportunities.

What kind of transformation?

Much of the discussion following the presentations focused on developing our understanding of what constitutes 'transformative' change. While the term is distinct from transition in more explicitly directed towards social change, the speed, form and depth of that social change is very much open to interpretation. For example, is a socio-ecological perspective more useful than an economic perspective? What about equity and democracy? Indeed, given the subjectivities around the needs and desires of society, a question was raised around the role of researchers of transformation in placing boundaries around what constitutes transformation.

It is highlighted that society is presently undergoing transformative change, not least in terms of the global reordering of population, wealth and power. Indeed, most scenarios under Business As Usual indicate social/ecological collapse (i.e. unsustainable transformative change), meaning that significant effort is required to move to a more sustainable future. This emphasises the continually changing context from which transformational change must be understood, and highlights the need to be clear and consistent about what constitutes sustainable transformational change.

The institutionalisation of transformation discourse

The concept of 'transformation' is relatively immature, and institutionalisation of the term is still weak. However, the prospects offered by 'transformative' change are clearly attractive to a range of stakeholders, including both policymakers and grassroots practitioners. Since different actors drive institutionalisation of transformational change (perhaps towards divergent interests), co-option of the field risks closing it down to a relatively narrow understanding of what constitutes transformational change. This can be particularly problematic when considering the interests of incumbent actors versus those of practitioners, whose interests in transformation are often more radical and challenging of mainstream discourses. Understandings of what constitutes transformational change may of course also diverge within similar stakeholder groups, i.e. between social innovation practitioners, or indeed researchers. Even within the research community, there are multiple opportunities to engage with transformational change, either in actively helping to design/shape transformational change, or more passively capturing the interests of others.

Complementarity of scales of innovation

The session focused variously on actors and agency, covering the intrapersonal, the interpersonal, and societal dimensions of human behaviour. This highlighted the importance of plurality of scale in understanding sustainable consumption as well as the value of interdisciplinarity, i.e. combining psychological and sociological approaches. It did however raise questions around the dynamics between scales and across disciplinary boundaries. For example, what is the relative importance of the individual - versus the community in shaping both social innovations and sustainable consumption? How can these strands of research better compliment one another?

Bottom-up versus top-down

The focus on actors at different scales was also explored in relation to a discussion around the relative importance of bottom-up versus top-down activities/interventions in shaping transformative change. While the role of top-down governance/policy was briefly touched upon, there was a clear emphasis throughout the workshop on the role of social innovation practitioners (i.e. those doing innovations) rather than incumbents (i.e. as those constraining/enabling change), a stance perhaps qualified by several models' treatment of change as defying control (see contribution by Backhaus et al).

While the importance of grassroots actors is considered important, it was highlighted that in the global West, this is usually limited to those occupying the middle class of society, and within that group, to those who 'care'. It was however also pointed out that those with the least-sustainable lifestyles often come from the most-wealthy strata, suggesting that there is a moral imperative in the West to manage future transformations more sustainably. Of course, this raises questions around how inclusivity or democratic transformational change is, and should be.

For some, actors occupying a middle level (i.e. between civil society and central government), such as municipalities/local authorities/cities are potentially valuable transformation agents, particularly because key resources (e.g. financial, organisational) can be deployed towards social innovation efforts. Such actors can also act as lynchpins between bottom and top levels of governance.

A call for more focus on Sustainability

A final point related to the absence of a focus on sustainability issues per se, given the title of the workshop. It was suggested that while transformation might implicitly encompass sustainability (as a societal goal), a more explicit focus on sustainability might be useful as it would direct case selection and analysis towards those social innovations most likely to deliver upon sustainable consumption goals.

II Case studies

Introduction to Session II

Case studies of social innovation or sustainable consumption

Edina Vadovics

GreenDependent, Hungary

In the second session of the workshop we move from theories to concrete examples of social innovation or sustainable consumption, also connecting theory to practice. It could be argued that depending on the specific 'lens' or perspective through which we are looking at the case studies in this session, they can be examples of both social innovation AND sustainable consumption. The focus and emphasis are not the same: in some of the papers the socially innovative aspect is emphasized, and in others the sustainable consumption, still, they are all innovative as well as provide examples for how to lead more sustainable lifestyles through changed consumption patterns.

First, we look at and compare the narratives of change constructed by long and well-established networks of social innovation initiatives, namely of eco villages, social entrepreneurs and the solidarity economy, all of them connecting initiatives in very different countries. Then, we turn to 'younger' initiatives as well as move into niches and zoom in on two specific cases. First, a cohousing project in Vienna, and then an alternative food network, a community pick-up point scheme initiative in Berlin. Using different methodologies, both papers make an attempt to show how and to what extent the cases they describe are innovative and sustainable. Finally, the last paper in this session shows how social innovation can become institutionalized, and as a result, scaled up. Through the examples of two very different cities - Amersfoort in the Netherlands and Gdansk in Poland - we are given some insight into how municipal governments can support as well as build on social innovation to enhance public participation and services in their cities.

Narratives of change

How Social Innovation Initiatives engage with their transformative ambitions

Julia M. Wittmayer[1], Julia Backhaus[2], Flor Avelino[1], Bonno Pel[3], Tim Strasser[2], Iris Kunze[4]*

**corresponding author: wittmayer@drift.eur.nl*

[1] DRIFT, Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

[2] ICIS, Maastricht University, The Netherlands

[3] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

[4] BOKU, University of Vienna, Austria

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Abstract

Numerous initiatives worldwide aspire to contribute to social change towards more sustainable, resilient and inclusive societies. In this paper, we approach their underlying theories about transformative change as 'narratives of change', broadly defined as sets of ideas, concepts, metaphors, discourses or story-lines about change and innovation. Such narratives of change reveal, amongst other, why the world has to change, who has the power to do so and how this can be done. A literature review supports this notion and helps assembling a method to reconstruct and analyse narratives of change concerning context, actors, plot, the production of narratives and their perceived role in social change processes. Following this method, and using interviews, participant observation and relevant documents as input, the narratives of change of three social innovation initiatives are constructed, namely Ashoka, the Global Ecovillage Network and RIPESS.

Having been selected for their transformative ambitions, these three narratives acknowledge that social change is necessary. Their comparison led to three main insights, namely the great variety that exists in terms of the framing of the world, the driving actors and the actual change process. It also revealed the great importance that social innovation initiatives accord to narratives and stories and the different ways they engage in shaping societal discourses. Lastly, narratives of change are not just 'stories out there', rather they recount the theories of change which are practiced and acted upon by the very social innovation initiatives which propagate them.

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Introduction

Social innovation is *en vogue*. Both public and scientific discourses herald its effectiveness in dealing with current societal challenges and flatter its ability to bring about desired changes. Former EU president Barroso, for example, stated that "*if encouraged and valued, social innovation can bring immediate solutions to the pressing social issues citizens are confronted with*" (Hubert 2012:vi) and the Bureau of European Policy Advisors (BEPA) argues that social innovations provides an effective way to 'empower people' and 'drive societal change': "*at a time of major budgetary constraints, social innovation is an effective way of responding to social challenges, by mobilising people's creativity to develop solutions and make better use of scarce resources*" (BEPA 2010: 7).

Social innovation initiatives come in innumerable forms and sizes, usually tailored to a particular context or fit for a certain issue. Like the grand policy narrative outlined above, these initiatives have their own theories about what is at stake and how change can be brought about. While some, for example, hold the idea that it is through reconnecting with communities and localities that our world will become a better place, others focus more on the necessity of institutional change. Further, the explicit reflection on such theories of change may be more or less central to an initiative's activities.

In this paper, we approach these ideas about transformative change as 'narratives of change', broadly defined as sets of ideas, concepts, metaphors, discourses or story-lines about change and innovation. Such narratives of change shared by social innovation initiatives reveal, amongst others, ideas about why the world has to change, who has the power to do so and how this can be done. Such storylines about change may be formal or informal, uniform or inconsistent across participants. More often than not, social innovation initiatives play on the ability of words to convince individuals, unite groups, frame reality and evoke imagination: stories do not simply recount experiences but open up novel ways of looking at things and new possibilities for action. They reflect and at the same time create reality (Davies, 2002) and are "*drawn from social, cultural and, perhaps, unconscious imperatives, which [they] at the same time reveal*" (Andrews et al. 2003: 8). For these reasons, stories play an instrumental role for many social innovation initiatives in challenging and confronting dominant norms, values and beliefs and in devising alternative futures. By using a narrative approach to study theories of change, we aim to gain insight into the theories of change around which social innovation initiatives organise. As such our main research question is: What are the ideas and stories about how the world changes ("narratives of change") of social innovation initiatives, how are these narratives conceived, and what is their (perceived) role within societal change processes?

Narratives of change can be considered part and parcel of social innovations, defined as "*change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing*" (Haxeltine et al. 2015: 16; cf. Moulaert et al. 2013, Howaldt and Knopp 2012) in at least two ways. First, narratives of change convey alternative ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing, and they promote social relations supporting these. Second, they not only convey but also constitute alternative ways of framing the world. We argue that 'narratives of change', as (shared) ideas on how change can be brought about, make for a relevant and interesting object of enquiry en route to a better understanding of transformative change. Many initiatives aspire to contribute to transformative change, and these aspirations inspire actual projects and activities. Gaining insight into how such aspirations are created and shared contributes to our understanding of how social change is driven. As such, unravelling the narratives of change of social innovation initiatives draws us into their understanding of the world and helps questioning and elaborating our own scientific theories of change and innovation.

Methods

Based on a review of relevant literature on narratives and narrative analysis we outline a method that allows to capture ideas about transformative change in narrative terms. Empirically, we draw on interim outcomes of the EU-funded research project entitled

"TRANsformative Social Innovation Theory" (TRANSIT; 2014-2017). This project aims to build a theory of transformative social innovation studying the ways in which social innovation initiatives interact with other forms of (transformative) change (Haxeltine et al. 2013, 2015, Avelino et al. 2014, Pel and Bauler 2014). TRANSIT includes the study of social innovation initiatives, namely social innovation networks and their local initiatives which (1) represent transnational networks operating across Europe and Latin-America, (2) work on social innovations, and (3) have transformative ambitions and potentials, hence allowing for a cross-national and cross-regional empirical analysis of social innovation in relation to transformative change.

Textbox 1. Introducing three social innovation initiatives

Innovators for the Public (Ashoka) is a global organisation with operations in 37 countries worldwide. Since 1980, Ashoka is carefully identifying and selecting high-profile social entrepreneurs who become Ashoka fellows and thereby gain access to funding and the Ashoka network. By now there are around 3000 Ashoka fellows in 70 countries. Through continuous innovation in its organization, programs and the playing field, Ashoka currently aims at catalyzing societal change by equipping people with system-changing potential with the required changemaker skills, resources & networks.

The **Global Ecovillage Network (GEN)** is a global grassroots network of more than 500 ecovillages grown out of the eco-movement and increasingly includes traditional villages. Besides the global network, it includes five regional networks (Europe, Africa, Asia/Oceania, North America and Latin America) and several national networks. GEN promotes social, economic and spiritual aspects of sustainable living and encourages local community empowerment for regenerating social and natural environments. Its members meet at annual conferences, interactive internet platforms and educational events.

Founded in 1997, **RIPESS (Réseau Intercontinental de Promotion de l'économie Sociale Solidaire)** is an intercontinental network set to promote the 'social solidarity economy'. Aiming for alternative forms of economic relations, the network seeks to empower civil society actors, aims to alter the prevailing relations between governance actors and 'institutional logics', and to better meet social needs than is done by present social constellations. It does so through promoting and slightly reinventing alternative yet well-known institutional models (cooperatives, associations, networks). Next to and often complementary to these longer-existing models, there are also new practices and models developed and promoted (e.g. alternative forms of finance or employment such as sheltered workspaces, various co-financing schemes, and forms of sharing economy). RIPESS aims for structural and worldwide change in the existing economical or developmental system, and starts from the diagnosis that there are systemic imbalances to address (Poirier 2013).

In this paper, we focus on three of these networks, namely (1) Ashoka - a global network of social entrepreneurs; (2) the Global Ecovillage Network - a network of ecological intentional communities, and (3) RIPESS - a network of networks and political movement for the promotion of solidarity economy across the globe (see Textbox 1 for an overall introduction of the cases). Our assumption is that these cases show a maximum variation (cf. Flyvberg 2006) in terms of their narratives of change. For these cases, we distinguish between different kinds of narratives of change, namely 1) local narratives of change (narratives of change on the level of the local initiative), 2) network narratives of change (narratives of change on the level of the network) and 3) societal narratives of change (narratives of change on the level of society, e.g. social economy). We thus acknowledge that each local initiative has its own narrative and that even within one initiative or network narratives might diverge. The main focus in this paper is on the master-narratives at the level of networks. For the reconstruction of the narratives of change of these three networks, we relied on data that was gathered through interviews, participant observation and document review as part of the TRANSIT focus on transformative social innovation.

Structure of the paper

The following section discusses relevant literature on narratives and narrative analysis and forms the basis of a method for reconstructing and analysing narratives of change. In section 3, we reconstruct and analyse the narratives of Ashoka, the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) and the Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (RIPESS). Our analysis focuses on the content of their narratives of change, including the context (why is change considered necessary?), actors (who is or should be driving change?) and plot (how is change occurring?). We then move on to dissect the ways in which narratives of change are produced and discuss how and to what extent narratives are seen to play a role in transforming the world before we conclude the paper (section 4).

Narratives of change – a literature review

Narrative research is a broad interdisciplinary field with a number of schools based on different ontological and epistemological assumptions. For the task at hand, we take a constructivist approach to narrative analysis because it allows tracing the social production and exploring the role of narratives in societal change processes beyond the straightforward analysis of narrative content. The aim of this review section is twofold: first, we review existing literature and second, we establish a method for reconstructing and analysingnarratives of change. We cluster the review along the three parts of our research question: 1) narrative content, 2) social production of narratives and 3) their role in social change processes.

Our working definition of narratives of change as 'sets of ideas, concepts, metaphors, discourses or story-lines about change and innovation' subsumes different linguistic devices. Like this, we purposively stay open to other understandings of discourses and narratives. As put by Davies (2002: 11): "*the boundary between narrative and other forms of discourse is simply not sharply marked off. Features characteristic of narrative, such as temporal sequencing, change and closure may be found in other discursive forms (a sonnet, for instance, or an essay) and stories may be found that lack key narrative features"*. While Davies refers to narratives as a form of discourse, Hajer (1995: 56) posits that discourses are "*a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena. The key function of story-lines is that they suggest unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of a problem*". He defines a discourse as "*a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities*" (ibid: 44). Building on these somewhat contradictory definitions, we consider narratives of change to be a particular discursive form which positions actors in a context and orders events or activities in (temporal) sequence towards a goal or future.

The content of narratives of change: context, actors, plot

We use the concept of narratives of change to get a sense of how social innovation initiatives perceive (changes of) the world and their own role therein. As such, we are interested in the content of their stories about change. Researchers have distinguished different elements of narratives to be considered in a content analysis. By way of example, Fischer (2003, building on Burke 1945) suggests to distinguish agents, act, scene, agency and purpose. Studying these allows us to answer the following questions: Who does what, when and where? How was it done? And why? Altering this for our purposes of analysing narratives of change, we suggest that important elements are: 1) how is the status-quo and a desired goal/future to-be described (context), 2) who is considered to be involved in changes (actors) and 3) how is change occurring (plot).

Context in narratives

As suggested above and elsewhere (cf. Benford & Snow 2000), narratives have a role to play in sense making and the construction of meaning. Frames have been presented as 'simple

narratives' which outline problems, diagnose causes and suggest solutions (Roe 1994). Narratives of change can be considered to contain such simpler narratives, or narratives within narratives, describing undesirable developments in the past, problematic present situations as well as attractive future scenarios. In other words, narratives describe past, current as well as future states and position them in space (where) and time (when). Thereby, the scene it set and justification is delivered for the activities carried out by various actors, including the social innovation initiatives.

Actors in narratives

We take actors to be agents that perform acts – these can be human or non-human. Analysing actors in narratives allows an understanding of who engages in activities furthering or hindering desired societal change. In narrative analysis, we can distinguish between actors, the roles that are ascribed to them and how they are represented. An analysis of power relations in societal change processes by Avelino and Wittmayer (forthcoming) is based on the following actor categorisation: firstly, actors are clustered according to the following sectors: government, market, community or Third Sector and secondly, actors are considered at different levels of aggregation: sectors (as outlined), individual (e.g. social entrepreneur, citizen) or organizational actors (e.g. firm, municipality). This distinction proved useful and informs the analysis of actor types occurring in the narratives discussed here.

While actors are referred to in different roles, such as citizen, they also play a particular part in the actual narrative, e.g. protagonist, supporter, antagonist, beneficiary, powerholder (cf. Greimas narratological model in Basten 2012). Actor roles can also be described in terms of cultural archetypes, such as hero, anti-hero, and underdog. In terms of representation, Basten (2012) suggests to distinguish between round and flat characters, where round characters are represented as complex, with nuances and capable of learning, while flat characters are simple, stereotypical and strictly defined. In addition to actor types, the particular parts they play in the plot is considered in our analysis.

Plot in narratives

With plot, we refer to the actual storyline: how do events and activities lead from the current to a future situation, i.e. the desired end-goal of actors' efforts described as a changed context. The plot is thus creating an element of sequencing – one of the main criteria of narratives. Generally speaking, *"narrative is taken to mean a sequence of events in time"* (Berger 1997, quoted in Andrews et al. 2003: 3) and contingency is a "*fundamental criterion of narrative*" as "*stories demand the consequential linking of events or ideas*" (Salmon and Riessman 2008: 78). Narratives provide important devices for ordering temporal sequences, which has been argued to be an important source of agency and reflexivity, i.e. the capacity of "*breaking with the dominance of the past over the future*"[14] (Lissandrello & Grin 2011, citing Beck et al. 2003:12). The plot, in other words, describes how current givens are or can be challenged and transformed including a different set of social relations involving new understandings, practices and institutions. This sequencing of events and activities occurs against the contextual setting (when and where) and explains how this setting is (to be) changed.

The social production of narratives

A constructivist approach to narratives implies understanding them as socially produced. It requires paying attention to the socio-cultural context and structural conditions, as well as the actual interaction through which a narrative is produced. In the 'social interaction approach' to narrative analysis, narrative accounts are contingent on time, space, interlocutors, previous talk and action. As such they are momentous co-constructions of narrators and audience. Narratives

[14] The notion of breaking with the dominance of the past over the future does not imply that some (or many) initiatives do not aim to preserve current or even reinstate past social relations. It does, however, capture the practical relevance and performativity of narratives of change in imagining a different, more desirable future (see also section 2.3 The role of narratives in social change processes).

are considered relatively stable and habitual and, at the same time, emergent and situational responses in a given setting. Thus, narratives cannot be abstracted from their context (neither from the immediate social nor from the wider societal) and are always attached to broader discourse activity (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a).

The epistemological challenge, then, is that all narrative data is situational and interactional. Ideally, narrative analysis shifts reflexively between the local micro-context and the 'master narrative' recurring across a variety of contexts (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b). Following this view, our focus on 'theories of change' shared by collaborating social innovation actors requires examining the 'master narrative' that we find articulated in various forms (oral, written, or in (moving) images) and at different instances. Although different narrators, settings, media and audiences impact on the content, delivery and reception of stories, overarching storylines emerge that are sufficiently coherent for analysis.

The role of narratives in social change processes

Narratives can be understood as stories about and productions of social life (Davies 2002). They draw upon and contribute to a variety of social macro-processes, such as the legitimisation of knowledge or action, "*the inclusion or exclusion of social groups, the enactment of institutional routines, the perpetration of social roles, etc*." (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a: 382). Broadly speaking, literature distinguishes between three different (albeit related) roles that narratives can play in social change processes: narratives 1) trigger imagination, 2) are expressions of (counter) cultures and 3) are resources for empowerment.

Telling narratives about the past, means tapping into as well as transforming cultural and individual memory. Most work on narratives focuses on the past (biographical) or present (experience, meaning), with an emerging focus on the future. Such narratives about the future evoke imagination, invite us to think 'from what is to what if' (cf. Sools 2012) or 'what next might happen' (Shotter and Katz 2004 in Sools 2012) – as such they help to open the black box of what we think is possible. Narratives have the capability to extend a given culture, its norms and restrictions and as such are crucial for creative potential and "*the most powerful device to subjunctivize the world*" (Brockmeier 2009: 228). Practicing agency through narrative imagination means probing one's "*action possibilities*" (Holzkamp in ibid: 227) and to open up to the "*hypothetical, the possible, and the actua*l" (ibid: 228). Narrative imagination is then a fundamentally social enterprise. Drawing on Iser, Brockmeier (2009: 228) asserts: "*The point of narrative fiction in this context is that it articulates the human capability to permanently undermine cultural norms and restrictions. It demonstrates that the mind interprets meanings as possibilities of action that reach beyond its own limits*".

Connecting narratives to the broader context and societal change, Wilce jr. (2007: 123) argues that "*culture shapes the narratives in which the self emerges. Yet culture is process. Cultures have always been in motion, and narrative facilitates this movement*". Thus the narratives created by social innovation actors about the world that they live in as well as the ways in which these are constructed are deeply informed by the cultural values and assumptions that they at the same time reveal. However, this quote also points to the role that narratives can play in social change processes. Changes in stories at a specific level have consequences for stories at another level. As argued by Rappaport (1995: 796) "*the narrative approach spans levels of analysis. It explicitly recognizes that communities, organizations and individual people have stories, and that there is a mutual influence process between these community, organizational, and personal stories*". By developing and sharing their narratives, social innovation actors connect their work to the broader context and engage in (co-)creating societal narratives. In this vein, Davies (2002: 25) talks about 'counter-narratives' as instrument through which social movements "*struggle against pre-existing cultural and institutional narratives and the structures of meaning and power they convey*". Counter-narratives in this understanding "*modify existing beliefs and symbols and their resonance comes from their appeal to values and expectations that people already hold*" (idem) – as such they also appeal to human imagination.

This imagination can be understood as a "*form and practice of human agency*" (Brockmeier 2009: 227). Especially, researchers focusing on personal experience and sense making see narratives as "*ways of expressing and building personal identity and agency*" (Squire et al. 2008). According to Hall (1982), movement actors – to which social innovators can be counted – are deeply involved in "*the politics of signification*", i.e. the production and maintenance of meaning. Following this, narratives can be viewed as resources and as tools for individual and collective empowerment. As put by Rappaport (1995: 796): "*we are led to help people to discover their own stories, create new ones, and develop settings that make such activities possible – all activities consistent with the goals of empowerment*". Empowerment is enhanced when personal life stories are sustained by the collective narrative and vice versa (cf. Davies 2002; Riessman 2008, Rappaport 1995).

A method for reconstructing and analyzing narratives

Our assumption is that through narratives of change of social innovation initiatives we gain insights into their ideas about why the world has to change, who has the power to do so and how this can be done. As such, our main interest lays in particular elements of narrative content, namely context described (lending purpose to actors' activities), actors involved and the plot (how activities unfold). Being aware of the power and performativity of storytelling, we also enquire into the narrative practices, i.e. the production of narratives, in the different initiatives and into the role social innovation actors themselves accredit to stories they share.

Based on the literature review, we suggest a method for reconstructing and analysing narratives of change of social innovation actors including their production and their alleged role in change processes. Not every narrative of change might display all the elements of the method; there is the possibility that only fragments exist. For each element of the method we suggest a number of empirical questions as outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Method for reconstructing and analysing narratives of change

(1) Content of narratives	
Context *Why?* *(When?)* *(Where?)*	How is the context constructed in the NoC under study? - What past and current problems and societal challenges are framed in the NoC? - What desired future or goal is described, lending purpose to proposed actions?
Actors *Who?*	How are actors constructed in the NoC under study? - Who are the individual, organisational and sector-level actors driving and/or hindering change?
Plot *How?*	How is the social change process said to unfold in the NoC under study? - What events, experiences or activities lead to the desired future and in what sequence? - Which activities by the initiative and other actors are driving and/or hindering change?
(2) Role of narratives	
How is the role of narratives in general and specifically in social change processes perceived? - What role do social innovation actors ascribe to the narrative they share and narratives of others?	
(3) Production of narratives	
How were/are the NoC's under study produced? - What kind of ideas, concepts, metaphors or discourses are included or alluded to in the narrative? (Is the concept of "social innovation" used explicitly?) - What visual aids are used to support ideas, concepts or metaphors used? - What kind of narrative practices does the initiative engage in? - How central are narrative practices to the activities of the SI-initiative?	

On the basis of the suggested method, we reconstructed the 'master narratives' (cf. De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b) of the narratives of change of Ashoka, GEN and RIPESS on the network level (see Appendix 1-3). We thus focus on the most commonly found narratives across the network and compare these along the main elements of the method.

The Narratives of Change of Ashoka, Global Ecovillage Network and RIPESS

Using the method, we can analyse the narratives of change of Ashoka, GEN and RIPESS (see Appendix 1-3 for the full narratives) in terms of their content, the role narratives play for the SI-initiative and their production.

Content of narratives of change: context, actor and plot

The narratives of change by RIPESS, Ashoka and GEN show a very different understanding of how the world changes. **RIPESS'** narrative describes the world as struggle for dominance, where the underdogs (in this case various concepts of a social solidarity economy) have to unite to challenge and overcome the adversary (the neo-liberal economy and world order). This is a political framing, showing a strong favour for collectivism and collective action. The state and governmental actors are seen as powerful actors who can be an ally. **Ashoka**, on the other hand, perceives the world as constantly changing with increasing speed. Therefore, it sees the need to equip people with skills to deal with this constant change (which is considered neither good nor bad). In this process, solutions are said to emerge for some problems that are well-known and for others that are only beginning to be understood. In their understanding, an individual – empowered through the right skills, network and (financial) support – can make the world a better place. The market is seen as an ally for the social entrepreneur, while needed systemic changes are part of the realm of the state. For **GEN**, the change starts with personal change by the individual within a supporting community. There is a strong focus on 'being the change you want to see in the world', starting with oneself and one's community, including daily lifestyle and spiritual growth. The underlying philosophy is an explicitly holistic one, where body and mind, society and planet, are seen as inextricably intertwined, thus making it inherently impossible to 'heal' one without 'healing' the other as well. As such, the approach to change is one of building new communities from scratch, based on a holistic life philosophy. It is also generally believed that such holistic communities can give rise to alternative markets (based on e.g. 'gift economy') and alternative government structures (based on e.g. 'sociocracy') which could and should alter existing markets and governments.

Defining contextual problems vs. pointing out activity areas

RIPESS' narrative has a quite distinct framing of the current context regarding the detrimental consequences of economic globalization and the neoliberal world order. The narrative by GEN also describes developments that are considered problematic, namely human alienation from nature and overly anonymous, technocratic and system-dominated societies. Ashoka however, refrains from a specific problem framing and focuses on supporting changemaker activities in general domains that are considered to require attention, such as education or health. Overall, it appears that Ashoka focuses more on solutions than on problems and offers a more optimistic perspective on current state of affairs.

In any case, contexts described or activity areas defined, both justify and lend purpose to the networks' activities. RIPESS aims levering out the alleged 'natural laws' of the current economic system by experimenting with and showcasing liveable alternatives. GEN does not believe in waiting for governmental action and instead promotes the design and implementation of pathways to a sustainable future by empowered individuals and communities. The narrative of change that the GEN is referring to is at the same time their action strategy: to build a network of resilient communities that is not easily affected or hit by negative developments of the

macrosystems. They prefer to rely on 'human-scale' systems, because they can overlook, design and influence them. Ashoka focuses on individual changemakers that find bold and ingenious solutions to problems that may only be on the verge of shaping up and not clearly defined yet. Although the network establishes problem areas that need addressing, it trusts the intuition and capacity of the individual to find a way to see problems that lead to "out of the box" solutions.

Primacy of specific actors: the individual vs. the collective

Ashoka focuses on individuals as social entrepreneurs and changemakers. In this narrative, other actors (whether individual ones such as experts or advisors or organisations such as universities or foundations) serve as support for the social entrepreneur in finding solutions. The focus is on the achievement of the individual: even after Ashoka changed their narrative to focus on 'everyone a changemaker' (as opposed to the one-in-a-million individual), this 'everyone' is still *every individual*. The GEN narrative zooms in on the individual and its personal needs and desires that ought to be met sustainably. The narrative pays equal attention to the community that requires commitment and contributions by every individual but also exists to support the individual on its path to inner transformation. RIPESS on the other hand, focuses mainly on (regional, continental, international) networks as uniting different forms and actors of a worldwide social solidarity economy. It also includes collective actors such as groups of citizens, Third sector organizations and socially responsible government (by exception social entrepreneurs or ethical banking) who practice the solidarity economy. As such, RIPESS is focused much more on collective and institutional actors.

Plotting the change: getting from "here" to "there"

The strategies for change that feature in the different narratives follow from the contexts defined and the actors identified. In that sense, the three narratives of change are coherent and outline approaches that involve proving established systems wrong (RIPESS), practicing alternative habits (GEN) and implementing tailor-made solutions (Ashoka). Therefore, Ashoka's narrative revolves around building an enabling environment for the social entrepreneur. RIPESS argues for experimenting with a variety of alternative forms of social solidarity economy who unite vis-à-vis the established market order. GEN advocates inner, individual healing and strong communities who collectively and everyday practice sustainable living on the ground.

These diverging change strategies plotted in the three narratives translate to varying dissemination activities which shows how narrative assumptions impact on actual activities: while RIPESS carries its ambition to foster broad political debate into the media and lobbies with international governance institutions, Ashoka aims to showcase and celebrate the successful entrepreneurial changemaker by delivering public speeches. GEN stresses that ecovillages cannot be 'islands' but need to facilitate change in the social and regional context, mostly by hosting meetings and educational events that enable citizens from across the world to experience ecovillage life and to witness first-hand that an alternative community life is possible.

In terms of time frames across which changes are said to unfold, all three narratives focus on the necessity to act now for a desired future. Time and ongoing change processes feature quite differently in the three narratives, however. While Ashoka considers the world to be in constant flux and holds the belief that times of unprecedented change are yet to come, GEN and RIPESS consider current systems to be static, yet leading to undesired environmental changes. For Ashoka the only way to impact on the change that is upon us is training everyone to be a changemaker and to engage in ongoing innovation because social systems are currently too slow to adapt to our changing environment. GEN emphasises the need to start building alternative pathways in the present that, amongst other, incorporate and reinvent past sustainable practices (e.g. handicraft skills), so as to enable a sustainable and radically different future. Intergenerational learning is an important aspect for doing so.

A commonality of all three narratives is the central role of networking in achieving change. This observation has a methodological reason because all three cases include social innovation initiatives that consist of global networks and local manifestations. It is, however, striking how much emphasis is paid to the importance and power of networking. For GEN empowered

individuals in intentional communities profit from global exchange that goes beyond the place-bound practices. Ashoka views networked support for the individual social entrepreneur as crucial for success and RIPESS organises congresses for representatives of its various member networks to discuss shared values, principles and assumptions without streamlining these into a singular, shared vision.

The Production of Narratives of Change

Looking into the production of narratives, rather than only at their content, allows us to scrutinize how and to what extent the SI-initiatives reproduce and/or challenge the social context which they criticise as part of their narrative of change. Resonating with the literature that emphasizes the context-dependency of narrative practices, the practices around the production of theories of change in the three SI-initiatives follows the recipe of success suggested by the narrative itself. Thereby, the narratives draw from and at the same time create the context matching their activities.

RIPESS, who critiques individualistic and competition- and market-based economic principles on a number of issues, seeks to replace the hegemonic neoliberal paradigm with a variety of solidarity-based economic forms or variations. In line with this notion, RIPESS welcomes broad experimentation and attempts to involve everyone in the construction of central story lines. This process is particularly challenging because the networks involved in this umbrella network are rather diverse. To date, RIPESS lacks a centrally co-ordinated story and hosts a variety of views or 'theories of change'. It does, however, try to align or join forces between diverse and divided narratives by working collaboratively towards a shared perspective on alternative economies (cf. RIPESS 2015). The production of such a shared perspective is a joint activity. RIPESS is inclined towards direct democracy and truly shared declarations – taking into account that they are to represent a very broad set of networks and organisations, and should not reproduce the exclusive tendencies they criticise.

GEN typically makes use of community-led participatory methods and deliberation for shaping the narratives of the network, involving not only all regional networks, but also each ecovillage and each individual who is present at the network event at that time. Besides formalized general assembly meetings, network gatherings are typically characterised by a great deal of small-group discussions, one-on-one conversation, singing, meditation and dancing. These rituals are not only seen as necessary 'relaxation', but as intricate part of creating a shared vision and strategy. Core imagery of the GEN vision includes green environments, community life and the planet. The butterfly recurs in GEN's logos (See Figure 1), accompanied by the slogan "*if nothing ever changed, there would be no butterflies*" (GEN website 2015). The transmuted caterpillar captures the notion that change is possible, already occurs and requires collaboration just like the cells of the caterpillar need to cooperate to re-cluster and form the beautiful butterfly.

Ashoka focuses on individual social entrepreneurs with world-changing ideas and its central narrative is also predominantly lead-authored by a single individual, Bill Drayton, the CEO and founder of Ashoka. He developed key elements of the Ashoka narrative of change (such as the social entrepreneur as system changer carried by a network of fellow combatants supporting him in spirit or kind) which are then adopted by country offices worldwide. These central notions even outlived a significant reorientation of Ashoka's narrative and approach from the 'one-in-a-million social entrepreneur' to an 'everyone a changemaker' vision. For communicating their vision they also use images such as Figure 2. Other elements such as the notion of an "ecosystem for social innovation" that originated and has become particularly prevalent in Germany are constructed more locally.

In short, the networks' practices around the production of narrative elements such as concepts, storylines or images are inspired by or even in line with their ideas about how change is to come about: individually orchestrated or collectively performed. Which other actors are considered important for change to occur can be teased out by tracing the engagement strategies and communication outlets the different networks choose to spread and further their ideas.

Figure 1. Logos of GEN and its regional networks, with a recurring images of the butterfly

The **Ashoka** network produces a wealth of communication materials (e.g. reports, presentations, brochures, concept papers and articles), organises conferences and delivers public speeches. All of these efforts are focused on the discursive construction of the need for as well as the identity and role of social entrepreneurs and aim at the mobilisation of actors around this discourse. As outlined in the Ashoka Magazine: "*We work on creating more understanding and support for social entrepreneurs in Germany [...]. We do this in the following way: Through the newsletter, presentations and at conferences we propagate the idea of social entrepreneurship and of self-determined engagement.*" (Ashoka Germany Magazine 2013). Despite initial reactions of disbelief and ridicule, universities were also mobilised as key allies in the legitimization of the emerging social entrepreneurship discourse (Interviewee 2).

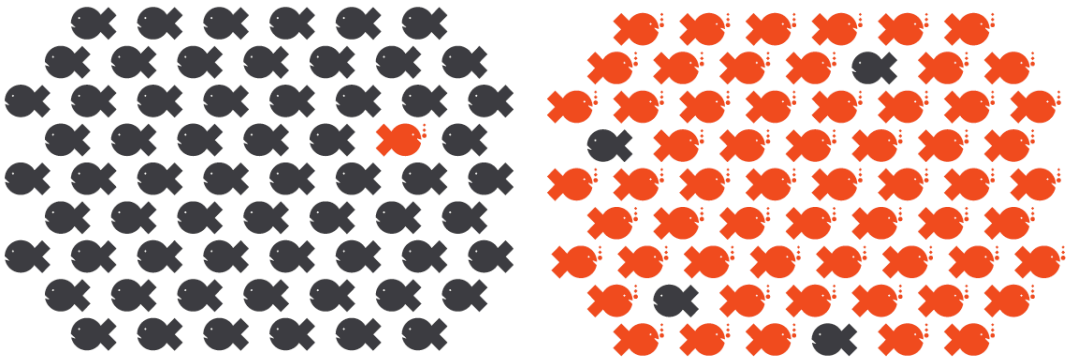

Figure 2. How do you know you have changed a system? (Source: Ashoka 2013)

The **GEN** also provides numerous communication materials (e.g. website, videos, books, brochures) and organises or attends meetings to explain its mission and approach. In line with the network's notion that change needs to be lived and experienced, conferences, summits, festivals, tours and courses are offered. During the latter, much attention is paid to the practice of storytelling, which is often explicitly used as a facilitation method.

RIPESS publishes regular newsletters and charters at four-yearly conferences aimed at facilitating exchange between different, otherwise fragmented, social movements and strengthening the awareness of their members for being part of a broader movement of a social solidarity economy. The political voice directed at the outside world is shaped through their website, contributions to political debates in the media, and scientific publications on the social solidarity-based economy (Hiez & Lavilluniere 2013, Higelé & Lhuillier 2014, Kawano 2013). These publications provide political philosophy, ideological framing, evidence base and argumentations for the various activities implicitly or explicitly undertaken as solidarity-based or social economy.

The narrative practices of the different networks echo their theories of change. Ashoka celebrates the ingenious individual, determined to make a difference. Communication efforts aim to convince others of this notion and at the construction of a benevolent surrounding for social entrepreneurs or 'changemakers'. The GEN focuses on 'sharing the experience and best practices', a goal that nicely aligns with the organisation of gatherings and courses or workshops for the curious.

The Roles of Narratives of Change

For all three SI-initiatives, narratives play a considerable role in their efforts to influence social change processes. For RIPESS it is a central element of their existence: they provide a narrative on social solidarity economy to align fragmented social movements. Ashoka promotes the narrative on 'social entrepreneurs' and Ashoka Germany, which is very involved on the European level, came to understand 'framework change', i.e. altering how people perceive the world as their main activity. Finally, for GEN, the creation of 'a new story' for alternative community living is at the heart of its core mission.

The three SI-initiatives do however differ in the functions that they ascribe to their narratives. For RIPESS, their narrative is a counter-narrative (cf. Davies 2002) directed to break the hegemony of neoliberal ideology, which is considered the key problem. The lack of solidarity economy, in other words, is attributed partly to discursive structures and dominant beliefs – to which political voice and alternative discourses are necessary remedies. As illustrated in their Global Vision: "*It is very common for the social economy to be conflated with the solidarity economy. They are not the same thing and the implications of equating them are rather profound. The social economy is commonly understood as part of a "third sector" of the economy, complementing the "first sector" (private/profit-oriented) and the "second sector" (public/planned). (…) The solidarity economy seeks to change the whole social/economic system and puts forth a different paradigm of development that upholds solidarity economy principles*." (RIPESS 2013). It is also the framing in terms of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses that makes political parties like Podemos (Spain) and Syriza (Greece) and various "New Left" political movements interesting allies to RIPESS – more than many actors operating under the social innovation banner, which is considered to be at risk of reproducing prevalent entrepreneurial-productivist views on alternative social practices.

For GEN, on the other hand, narratives trigger imagination and open up a new possible future. An illustration of this is the New Story Summit (organised October 2014), focused on creating a new story, as communicated on the website of this event: *"As we change our story, we change our world. We humans find our way by story. Our stories shape us, hold us and give meaning to our lives. Every so often it becomes clear that a prevailing story is no longer serving. Now is such a time. If we do not create a positive, realistic picture of the future, we will not live into it. […] This visibly accelerating disintegration of the story lived since the industrial revolution can feel overwhelming. Caught in this apparent helplessness, contemporary narratives of the future oscillate between blind denial and apocalyptic devastation. Neither will help us live the transformational Great Turning that is still - though maybe only just - within our grasp" (Findhorn website).* Next to an internal role, the narratives also serve to role of motivating the "*people on the ground in the single ecovillage who might often forget that they are part of a larger movement*" (Interviewee 4) and

vice versa, the single narratives by different ecovillages are needed to promote solid stories of change, according to GEN president Kosha Joubert at the international GEN conference in 2015.

Finally, for Ashoka narratives are resources for empowerment in that they engage in producing and maintaining certain meanings (cf. Hall 1982). Ashoka claims to directly influence what stories people tell, or assumptions they hold, about how the world works and what the role and power of individuals is in changing it. Very specifically, they empowered the 'social entrepreneur' as a changemaker. The construction and invention of the latter identity is key to Ashoka: "*Social entrepreneurs have existed throughout history, but the identity is constructed. The historical achievement of Ashoka over thirty years is to have created an identity and a term for something that was happening in our societies, for something that has always been in our societies. You can look back over 100 years to Maria Montessori, for example; but then it happened accidentally*" (Interviewee 1).

The considerable role that the three SI-initiatives attach to narratives and discourses shows in their strategy for system change. All three SI-initiatives relate to broader societal narratives with regard to economic alternatives. They are involved in coining and developing the narratives on social entrepreneurship and the social economy (Ashoka), individual and community transformation and the construction of shadow systems (GEN) and the solidarity economy and economic globalisation (RIPESS). Especially RIPESS and GEN, but also Ashoka refer to general or global developments to provide justification and problem framing: neoliberalism, individualism or capitalism. Contextual macro-processes that narratives of change pick up on include social, cultural, environmental and economic developments. In doing so, justification and meaning is given to proposed change strategies and, at the same time, these grand societal discourses are strengthened. For example, RIPESS addresses relentlessly market failures and ethical implications of the current economic system, thereby challenging another prominent societal narrative, namely the "there is no alternative" story.

Conclusion

In this paper, we reconstructed and compared the narratives of change of three different SI-initiatives in terms of content, the processes through which narratives are formed or negotiated and their perceived role in social change processes. This analysis led to a number of insights into the theories of change of social innovation initiatives. In the following we highlight three of these insights as well as additional questions and challenges that emerged.

Firstly, the analysis shed light on the wide variety of narratives of change of social innovation networks. This obviously has methodological reasons, as we opted for a maximum variation in our case selection. However, it is also indicative of the highly diverse nature of the field of social innovation and in the ways that context (past developments, current situation and desired future), actors and plot (strategy and activities to arrive at the desired future) are framed. In fact, three ideal-type narratives emerged ranging from "Entrepreneurs will save the world" and "Dominant institutions need to be challenged" to "Communities rely on themselves". Further empirical analysis could feed these master-narratives back to the social innovation networks and see how they resonate with individuals that are part of the network as well as with other or differently nuanced narratives that are prominent at the local, regional or global level of the network. Other analyses bearing interesting insight could focus on clusters of social innovation narratives. The narrative perspective helped in teasing out details that are easily overlooked when studying initiatives' mission statements or action plans. For example, their understanding of the world as a "playground for entrepreneurs", "a power imbalance between dominant and alternative economies" and "a beautiful setting for spiritual and sustainable communities" is revealed by studying how the context is depicted in their stories. In other words, structure and agency manifest themselves in the stories and each narrative recounts a different set of interactions that leads to transformation.

Secondly, a striking commonality has become apparent across the social innovation initiatives, namely the importance they accord to stories. Many of the initiatives are profoundly aware of

the power of discourse and make 'discourse shaping' and the propagation of counter-narratives or future imaginaries strategically part of their activities. Additional research could tease out how narratives of different social innovation initiatives relate or interact, how notions travel between different scale levels (local, regional global) and how the networks' alternative narratives of change challenge dominant societal narratives. A central insight of this paper is that narratives of change disclose the assumptions social innovation initiatives hold about challenges societies are faced with, how the world needs to change and what their role in these transformations can be. A reflection on and systematic comparison with prominent scientific narratives of change, e.g. transition theories or social innovation concepts, could enrich our theoretical understanding of societal change with insights from people practicing change.

As a last insight, we would like to highlight that narratives of change are not just 'stories out there', rather they recount the theories of change which are practiced and acted upon by the very social innovation initiatives which propagate them. That Ashoka is focusing on the social entrepreneur, GEN on communal living and RIPESS on institutional change is part of their theory of change and part of their actual practices. The theories of change are guiding their actions and these actions are informing the theories of change. In that sense, (narrative) practices that help spreading alternative views, ideas and practices are used by the networks to increase their transformative potential – also strategically vis-á-vis dominant and institutionalised notions and practices.

In closing this paper, which involved the reconstruction and deconstruction of three narratives of change, the question emerges what the action strategy for research and practice of societal transformation can be. A suggestion is to view this paper as inspiration for "narrative experimentation". Related approaches exist in the form of vision building, scenario development and backcasting. Story writing and the explicit development of narratives of change may form a creative approach to the imagination of alternative futures and new social relations as well as a reflexive tool to rethink implicit and explicit ideas and practices of societal change.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Narrative of Change of Ashoka

Ashoka refrains from defining specific societal challenges and trusts in the capacity of social entrepreneurs to adequately sense and respond to the social problems they see as relevant. As put by the Ashoka Europe Leader: "*If you want to find interesting new responses to social problems you have to shed the view through the problem lens. We're open to any solutions wherever they come from even to problems we may not have defined yet. One of the most interesting contributions of the network is to be a predictive network for changes that are about to happen*" (Interviewee 1). However, theme clusters of different social issues are distinguished, such as Civic Participation, Economic Development, Education, Environment, Health, Human Rights (Drayton, 1997 in Matolay et al. 2015).

Bill Drayton, CEO and founder of Ashoka outlines that in the future, a "*generation hence, probably 20 to 30 percent of the world's people, and later 50 to 70 percent, not just today's few percent, will be changemakers and entrepreneurs. That world will be fundamentally different and a far safer, happier, more equal, and more successful place. To get there, we must end the infantalization of young people. They and the rest of us must enable all young people to be fully creative, initiatory, and powerful changemakers. We must also build the wisest possible financial and other institutions so that, as these young people become adults, the new citizen sector will draw them fully into an 'everyone a changemaker' world*." (Drayton 2006: pp). Ashoka holds that a world of exponential time is coming, as the speed of change, interaction and information flows is considered unprecedented. We therefore need to adapt quickly by creating the supportive institutional structures for social innovations and fostering the individual capabilities of social entrepreneurs and changemakers.

Ashoka clearly focuses on specific individuals as change agents in society: "*We can no longer expect all the solutions to come to us but we have to empower people to be active problem solvers. If you want to do that where else would you start but with the most powerful citizen problem solvers, social entrepreneurs*." (Interviewee 1). Social entrepreneurs are considered as a specific kind of people: "*Social entrepreneurs are not content just to give a fish or teach how to fish. They will not rest until they have revolutionized the fishing industry*." (Ashoka, 2015 in Matolay et al. 2015)

Certain criteria (pattern-changing new ideas, creativity, entrepreneurial quality, ethical fibre, social impact) must be met by these key entrepreneurial individuals in order to be selected as Ashoka Fellows[15]. These criteria are standardized across the world and have remained the same throughout Ashoka's existence. However, they are often misunderstood: "*People sometimes say Ashoka looks for the best social entrepreneurs. That's not true. We look for a particular kind… those crazy innovators who are willing to bet their lives on something that can eventually be huge. That's a tiny section of the total social entrepreneurial field but, hopefully, a powerful one"* (Interviewee 1)**.** While Ashoka first focused more on these high-profile social entrepreneurs, it more recently expanded its understanding of changemakers to potentially everyone, because a single person with a good idea and the right strategy, support and networks is believed to have an unprecedented impact on a global level. This is related to the assumption that people today are "*healthier, better educated, better networked, with more time available to them (this is not just us, but all over the planet)*" (Interviewee 1).

Regarding support, Ashoka seeks collaboration with diverse actors, mainly individual experts or supporters in business or law, but also partner organizations like firms and foundations to create ecosystems for innovation. "*From the experiences of over fifty Ashoka Fellows in Germany we know that: 'It takes a village to raise a child.' It requires a village, a neighbourhood of expert professionals, in order to bring social innovations to a breakthrough. We call this village the Machbarschaft. It ensures that social innovators and their organizations of any stage of maturity and scale have access to the relevant experts: strategy developers and impact monitors, funders and ambassadors, co-entrepreneurs and opportunity portals, coaches and legal professionals, experts on politics and the welfare state*" (germany.ashoka.org, 2014).

Ashoka Germany started to engage with the government only in 2008. Since then it also engages in cross-sector collaborations, not just between civil society and business worlds, but also on multiple levels of the public sector: "*If you look at the fact that more than half of the German Ashoka Fellows have government - on any level - as their major funder, there is absolutely no way you can afford not to work with government if you want to make social entrepreneurship successful*" (Interviewee 1).

Ashoka outlines three main activities, namely the support of social entrepreneurs, the promotion of group entrepreneurship and the building of infrastructures for the citizen sector (or ecosystems for innovation) (Ashoka Online 2015[16]). Ashoka defines their impact as: "the system changes that result from the fellows, ideas, and networks we support" (Ashoka, 2013). For the desired change to take place, Ashoka believes that first of all changes need to take place on an individual level: people's assumptions about themselves and the world, and their motivations and capacities to effect social change. Building on this follows the step of connecting social entrepreneurs in enabling support networks, as well as connecting actors across business, social, and (more recently) governmental sectors to build a supportive "ecosystem" for social innovation. This involves institutional changes in funding and legislation, as well as cultural changes in shared beliefs, values and norms.

Besides this focus on the individual, systemic change is also a key target, since only those social entrepreneurs are selected as Ashoka Fellows who can demonstrate that their idea is not just new but also has the potential to change a system, "*It has to have relevance to solve a social problem at scale*" (Interviewee 1). As such the three outlined activities are based on "5 Pathways to social systems change ('revolutionizing a field')" (Ashoka Fellow Changing Systems 2009 in Matolay et al. 2015):

- Market dynamics and value chains: redefining interconnections in market systems;
- Public policy and industry norms: changing the rules that govern our societies;
- Business-social congruence: transforming the meaning of private versus citizen sector;

[15] Ashoka Fellows are specifically selected social entrepreneurs, who receive funding, access to networks and trainings by Ashoka.

[16] https://www.ashoka.org/approach

- Full inclusion and empathy: integrating marginalized populations;
- Culture of changemaking: increasing the number and capabilities of people who are social problem-solvers (culture of changemaking and social entrepreneurship).

Related to the fifth point, an additional element was suggested by an interviewee, namely "framework change": "We've come to understand that what we did all along through electing Fellows and creating these networks and platforms, […] was help people shift how they saw the world […] we have become more conscious that that is our function, that probably the single most powerful thing we can do […] is change how people see their role in society where everyone has a potential role. […] We've become more explicit about this function. We think now about framework change as what Ashoka is about, whereas we used to think of Ashoka as about finding, electing, and supporting changemakers and making them successful." (Interviewee 1).

Appendix 2: Narrative of Change of GEN

For GEN, the problems of the world are grounded in a fundamental alienation and disconnectedness from nature, from others and from ourselves. Ecovillage activists perceive modern society as too anonymous, technology-dominated and ruled by non-transparent systems. 'GEN international' has a strong focus on reconciliation between the global North and South and indigenous cultures are highly appreciated as existing alternatives to the Western culture of 'disconnection'. Collaboration in communities is seen as the main principles to 'heal' this disconnectedness, reconcile different cultures and support a more holistic worldview. In local ecovillage life, members intend to give space for 'natural' collaborative developments to reconnect and harmoniously integrate individual needs, community requirements, and ecological responsibility.

GEN places a strong emphasis on communities as drivers of change by encouraging citizens and communities to design and implement their own pathways to a sustainable future instead of leaving this up to the established governments. According to GEN's philosophy, the world can be changed by a sustainable, resilient, supportive, equal and free community culture. Each ecovillage member is seen as an important creator of this community culture; be it as leader, account manager, garbage men, cook, mother, or child. GEN intends to raise the awareness that everyone has the choice to act egoistically or collaboratively to make a difference. Everyone invests free time to engage for the ecovillage and beyond for a sustainable world. While there is a great variety of different approaches, ecovillages generally invest a high amount of time in intensive communication methods to solve conflicts and to consciously work out infrastructures, governance and community rules to form these resilient communities of change. Personality work is experienced as supportive to realize this community culture (e.g.non-violent communication).

The individual as a social active being is seen as the main actor and ecovillages want to be more empowering places than traditional villages and cities. They have created governance structures which instead of blindly following rules, put 'people first'. Members can negotiate individually, for instance in terms of duties, financial contributions, and living space and there are hardly any non-negotiable rules. Several ecovillages run own schools which mostly apply individually-oriented education methods. Ecovillages teach their members to fully take responsibility for their actions and requests. Every individual is seen as his/her own master of change: If we change our ways of thinking, we can change our emotional experience of the world and we are able to act differently and this can have a powerful impact (compare Interviewee 5). In one of their sayings they emphasize the importance of the individual level: "*Changing the world one heart at a time*" (Interviewee 4).

A GEN member living in Findhorn ecovillage tells: "*We do a lot of sharing: Being heard and sitting in a circle; Some people and guests say it is the first time they ever feel really heard; it is a very open- hearted atmosphere; a lot of people go away completely transformed*." (Interviewee 4)

GEN believes that social change has to start from within each individual: Ecovillage members start in their daily personal lives to act more consciously, trying to realize sustainable ways of

living and supporting communities. With a holistic perspective on social life, economy, and ecology, ecovillages have generally started with a common ground and common property that aims at just and collaborative forms of governance as well as responsible land use, restoration and agriculture. The narrative of change that the ecovillage movement is referring to is at the same time their action strategy: to build a network of resilient communities that is not easily affected or hit by negative developments of the macrosystems. They prefer to rely on 'human-scale' systems, because they can overlook, design and influence them.

Ecovillages believe that profound change needs time. Their strategy does not directly relate to any societal developments but rather follows a long-term approach of cultural change by starting with small-scale transformation experiments (Kunze 2012) as holistic, vivid and solid examples. Related to individual life, change occurs in ecovillages from early childhood on in the form of 'forest kindergartens', the ability to move freely in the village and see their friends. Some ecovillages run a free village school. The majority of ecovillages in Western countries are found by adults between forty and fifty who purchase a piece of land to move there and fundamentally change their lives. Ecovillage living is increasingly popular for elderly people. For instance, two third of the joining requests to the popular ecovillage of Schloss Tempelhof are peopled aged 60+. They observe that young families do not have the time to found an ecovillage, while elders have the experiences and the necessary money to start such a project. Schloss Tempelhof members turn the tables by educating elders how to found such an ecovillage themselves. Also young families discover the advantages of ecovillage living while young adults in the twenties are rather rare or merely temporary guests in ecovillages.

Concerning space and place, ecovillages are probably one of the strongest place-based and place-focused initiatives. Their spot of change is the real physical place and the natural environment as 'stage' for human activities. GEN aims to relate in its ecovillage design courses to each participant's specific cultural, social and ecological environments. The crucial entry point to start an ecovillage is the purchase of the land or at least the right to use the land according to their values. The ecovillage flagship projects are based on a legal form of ownership which safeguards the 'spot of change'. This legal form is often a foundation and shall insure a sustainable land use, affordable housing, collective ownership and the prevention from speculation. Nevertheless, GEN president Kosha Joubert observes a shift in the ecovillage approach from ecovillages as newly founded communities to ecovillages as traditional villages which entered a process of transformation by retrofitting of existing structures (Interviewee 3). She further explains, "*GEN started off as 'islands' of a new culture and experiments of the future. Today we live in a different world. Awareness has risen dramatically. Many of the concepts that GEN was using 10 years ago are currently mainstreamed and used by politicians and in the corporate world. Today GEN aims not to create islands but to transition society to resilience. And we are searching for the role that GEN can play WITHIN that. […] – seeing ourselves as part of a society wide dialogue*." (Interviewee 3)

Appendix 3: Narrative of Change of RIPESS

RIPESS considers the trend of economic globalization and the associated structural imbalances such as exploitation, gender inequality, social exclusion, North-South inequality and poverty as highly problematic issues. Indeed, this network of networks was established as a direct response to these developments, in 1997. Its transformative aim was laid down in a foundational declaration: "*We are taking into account that we are under the hegemony of a development model which shows, both in the North and the South, its limits while destroying the planet and generating poverty, exclusion, and ignores the set of human activities which are of paramount importance for the communities, representing thus a threat for the future of mankind; And in an attempt to react to this situation, that we are committed to a process of building a solidarity-based development that questions the concept which reduces and determines the satisfaction of human needs to cut-throat competition on the market and the so-called "natural laws*". (RIPESS 1997:1) Against economic globalization and closely interrelated societal narratives such as There is No Alternative (TINA) and the proclaimed 'End of History' after the collapse of the Iron Curtain,

RIPESS seeks to demonstrate that other economic practices are possible, and already exist – in which people and the planet are central, instead of capital. RIPESS has not developed a specific future vision, desired end state or preferred economic model – however it is in the process of developing a global vision on the social solidarity economy, an economic model in which the bottom line is broadened to include values of equality, sustainability and solidarity (RIPESS 2015). According to its website, "*RIPESS' mission is to build and promote the social solidarity economy (SSE), which takes into account the social and ethical dimension in all its economic activities. […] It aims at satisfying the needs of individuals and communities rather than seeking to maximize profit or financial gains. Solidarity-based economic units rest upon a model of democratic decision-making and a participatory and transparent management system, which aims at ensuring collective ownership and responsibility for the outcomes of economic activities, as well as ongoing mobilisation and contributions to ensure their success.*" (RIPESS Online 2015[17]).

RIPESS considers itself as "*a network of continental networks that connects social solidarity economy networks throughout the world. The continental networks in turn bring together national and sectoral networks*" (RIPESS Online 2015)[18]. As a bottom-up created political alliance, RIPESS consists not of national RIPESS affiliations, but rather of regional networks of alternative economies, associations, foundations, cooperatives clusters and NGOs. All of them promote different kinds of alternative economies. RIPESS considers itself as a political alliance of dispersed alternative movements, together confronting and developing alternatives to dominant, not solidarity-based and social economic structures. As a political movement and thinking in terms of (very encompassing) hegemonic systems, the RIPESS narrative of change operates with a general frame of (hegemonic) political allies and (counter-hegemonic) adversaries, mainstream and alternative discourses. The overall narrative of change provides an umbrella for otherwise quite divergent ideas on the key agents and driving forces in the desired transformations. Apart from the generally agreed upon importance of empowered groups of citizens, Third sector organizations and socially responsible governments, there is greater divergence within RIPESS on the more market-oriented transformation narratives, such as social entrepreneurship, cooperative economy and ethical banking.

RIPESS does not accompany its vision on a new economic model with specific institutional arrangements through which the values of solidarity-based and social economic practice are to be safeguarded. Rather than a linear development in a particular direction, RIPESS seems to envision a constant struggle waged between a dominant global model (the hegemonic neoliberal order, see earlier) and various dispersed local alternative economies. The network was established to organize the solidarity-based alternatives on a similarly global level (as a counterweight) as the problem (economic globalization) manifests. As a network-of-networks, RIPESS is primarily driving change by constructing a clear, well-articulated and recognizable political voice for a great variety of socially innovative, transformation-oriented local networks and organizations. RIPESS seeks to overcome fragmentation of alternative social forces, considering the unionist dictum that 'united we stand, divided we will fall'. The aforementioned political voice is currently mainly heard by global organisations on development such as UNRISD (Cf. Utting et al. 2014), and less so, or hardly even, on the levels of the European Union or of nation states. The political voice is supposed to empower the activities of the various RIPESS members. Apart from the political-discursive strategy to establish the existence and feasibility of solidarity-based economic practices, as examples to follow or to facilitate, the RIPESS members are engaged in various concrete projects on the local or regional level: Social enterprises, insertion companies, cooperatives, ethical banks, micro-credit networks, alternative currency schemes, consumer-producer networks, etc. These activities are considered valuable on the local scale – yet according to RIPESS, actual transformation would require more than this 'concrete action', namely alignment between dispersed alternative economies, and a broadly ie. globally carried counter-narrative vis-a-vis the hegemonic neoliberal order.

[17] http://www.ripess.org/about-us/?lang=en (accessed August 27th, 2015)

[18] http://www.ripess.org/about-us/?lang=en#intro (accessed August 27th, 2015)

Doing sustainability in a Viennese Cohousing project

A praxeological case study

Michaela Leitner[1], Beate Littig[2]

[1]Austrian Institute for Sustainable Development,

[2]Institute for Advanced Studies

Introduction: Cohousing as a transformative niche

Niches of socio-ecological transformation have gained attention in both scientific and public debates (WBGO 2011, Hargreaves et al. 2013). Innovative social experiments are perceived as lighthouses or pioneers of change, which could foster learning processes and might disseminate into the wider society (Haxeltine et al. 2013). Based on a case study we want to scrutinize the innovative and transformative potential and limits of such a pioneering social experiment, namely a new cohousing project in Vienna.

Sustainable cohousing projects are experiments, which endeavour to bring about lasting changes in behaviour by intentionally shaping the way people live, i.e. by creating a new material infrastructure and promoting community-based forms of work and consumption. A housing project of this nature ordinarily consists of private, single-household residences in an apartment building or a housing estate and a variety of community facilities like shared kitchens, play areas, open spaces and leisure facilities. The intentional community plans, administers and owns the building or the houses and performs practices like cooking, eating together, childcare, gardening, etc. at least partly on a communal basis. The principles of cohousing are innovative and experimental in several aspects (McCamant & Durrett 1994, 38ff.; www.cohousing.org). They include extensive participatory processes in the project planning and use phases based on a non-hierarchical structure and on an architecture and infrastructure which promote community life. There is generally no common economy in a shared income generation sense; residents usually earn their income outside the community.

Consciously designed living settings like cohousing projects can facilitate and/or promote new forms of work (e.g. home office or living and working under one roof), new forms of organising everyday life (e.g. collective organisation of housework tasks previously handled individually) and civic involvement. Such a reorganisation of work can also have gender-specific implications, since it means that the informal or unpaid work frequently done by women can then potentially be organised and distributed differently.[19] Furthermore, the social setting makes the adoption of environmentally friendlier practices easier than individual forms of living (e.g. through the availability of readily accessible community facilities).

The case of "Wohnprojekt Wien"

In Vienna, various cohousing projects have been established over the last two decades, deploying different concepts of participation of the future residents in the planning and use of their dwellings (Tordy 2011). The founders of the relatively new "Wohnprojekt Wien" (Vienna

[19] The historical role models for such projects are the so-called "single-kitchen houses" established at the start of the 20th century by the social democracy movements in Europe, which were intended to explicitly ease the burden on women (cf. Littig 2001).

Cohousing Project) in the city's 2nd district met for the first time in autumn 2009. In March 2010, they won the contest run by the City of Vienna for construction proposals for the development of the former Vienna North railway station site. The moving-in date was set for December 2013. At present, this cohousing project consists of 38 households (66 adults and 30 children). The building has 700 m^2 of shared space: a community kitchen, event rooms, guest apartments, a sauna, a library, a children's playroom and a meditation room.

The residents of "Wohnprojekt Wien" explicitly strive to achieve environmental sustainability in everyday practices and to adopt a new collectively-based approach to the organisation of care tasks ordinarily handled on an individual basis. The visions for this cohousing project include the "promotion and implementation of sustainable living and housing in an intercultural and intergenerational community".[20] Environmental considerations feature both in the construction of the building and in its use by residents: the building was constructed to low-energy specifications and has a photovoltaic system. There is a waste separation system directly in front of the building, a mobility sharing system, a large storage room for bicycles, a bicycle workshop, a food-coop, a community laundry and shared freezers.

Many practices, of which some are usually performed individually, are conducted collectively: cooking, shopping and childcare (to some extent). Furthermore, mutual neighbourly help, community outings and many organised get-togethers take place. There is an internal solidarity concept and a stated desire to have an impact on the "outside world", e.g. in the surrounding area and with regard to various problems in society (e.g. through corresponding events, projects with asylum seekers, café on the ground level, etc.).

In order to achieve all this, the residents agreed that each member would have to contribute a total of 11 hours of unpaid work per month to the community during the planning phase and beyond. This work is performed in work groups, each of which focuses on a particular field, e.g. public relations activities, sustainability, community, solidarity, legal affairs and finance. Important decisions are always taken using the sociocracy[21] method (Buck & Endenburg 1984).

Research questions and methods

The case study[22] looks at the sustainability aspirations of a cohousing project as well as the possibilities and limits of their realisation. It examines the practices of sustainable living and working in the skechted cohousing project and in doing so adopts a comparative, practice oriented analysis approach (Jonas/Littig 2015). It seeks thereby to provide answers to the questions of whether and how practices can be lastingly changed in a consciously designed and well-considered setting.

The study examines environmental and social sustainability aspects of practices of unpaid care and community work in a cohousing project using a multi-method design. It does so by investigating the CO_2 emissions generated by such work and by analysing the significance and gender-specific distribution of unpaid work in the home and the reconcilability of unpaid work with paid employment. In doing so, it seeks in particular to study whether the intended reorganisation of reproductive work by the residents of this cohousing development had any positive environmental effects (cf. Littig 2001; HBS 2001), a goal which required a comparison of the performance of sustainability-relevant practices by the residents of "Wohnprojekt Wien" before and after they had moved in.

The data were collected at two points in time: the first approximately one year before residents moved into the cohousing project (from February 2013) and the second approximately one year

[20] Citations taken from the cohousing project homepage http://www.wohnprojekt-wien.at/ (accessed 28. 9. 2015; translated by the authors).

[21] Sociocracy is used to govern and take decisions in groups of equal individuals. Its core principles foresee that a decision can only be taken when none of the members of the group has any justified, strong objections and when all members have been involved in the decision-making process.

[22] Supported by funds of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank (Anniversary Fund, project number: 15031)

after the move-in (from January 2015). The mixed methods design included in both instances an online questionnaire for all (future) inhabitants, 12 personal interviews with autophotography, 12 spoken diaries, participatory observation, group discussions and an analysis of the database of community hours contributed to the cohousing project by its members.

Sustainability-related practices by (future) residents of "Wohnprojekt Wien" were studied in the following areas: food consumption (cooking, eating behaviour, consumption and procurement); childcare; waste separation; laundry; community-related work for the cohousing project; mobility; energy saving/energy use; activities with and support for neighbours. To determine if these practices are performed in the cohousing project in a (more) environmentally sustainable manner, the CO_2 emissions generated by the residents before and after they had moved in through their energy consumption, mobility and eating practices were calculated and compared. This calculation was carried out in line with IPCC guidelines (2006 and 2007) and took the form of a Life Cycle Assessment (LCA).[23]

The changes in the area of social sustainability are described by data from a quantitative time use study of selected performances of practices and by qualitative data. The analysis focused on following aspects: gender-specific work distribution; support for and revaluation of unpaid work; coordination with other practices (e.g. paid employment); strengthening of community solidarity structures (e.g. involvement of residents in the performance of the practices studied).

Presentation and discussion of main results

Social innovation as part of a transformative social change can be considered as a new combination of practices or elements of these practices. By describing the stability and alteration of these elements, processes of the development of the practices and therefore of social transformation can be identified. Transformative social change is a reaction, namely reflective learning, with regard to practices that can be considered as obsolete (Shove et al. 2012, Burtzin et al. 2014, Jaeggi 2013).

The socially innovative aspect of cohousing projects is the redesign of certain elements of sustainability-related practices in areas such as nutrition, mobility, cooking, making laundry and energy consumption resp. the change of the routines connected with the performances of these practices. The change processes of those elements in the context of the "Wohnprojekt Wien" have two target directions: on the one hand a collectivisation of formerly individual practices and on the other hand a more sustainable design of practices (these aspects are partially interrelated). The alteration of elements or social settings of specific practices create new relationships between actors and elements of practices. The "Wohnprojekt Wien" can be seen as a niche, where new performances of practices are created and tested. The modified elements within the "Wohnprojekt" include socio-material conditions, that normally can only be changed with considerable individual effort and which often encourage and reproduce non-sustainable performances of practices (Whitford 2002). Therefore the collective effort by the residents of the cohousing project to consciously change these conditions constitutes an (also) scientifically interesting experiment. Concretely, in the cohousing project were modified: a) aspects of the social settings, within which everyday practices are performed, b) the handling with and c) the type of material as well as d) know-how- and meaning-related elements of different practices.

Despite the partially profound modifications of elements, the quantitative data – in respect to the time that has been spent on and the CO2-emissions created by sustainability related practices before and after moving into the „Wohnprojekt" – only showed significant differences in some aspects of the data. The thesis that a collectivisation of practices leads to a saving of time or a more equal distribution of that time between the sexes could not be confirmed by the

[23] For this purpose, one of the project partners, the Austrian Research Institute of Organic Agriculture (FiBL), developed an environment assessment model, which is closely based on international environmental accounting guidelines: www.fibl.org.

quantitative data. It actually seems like more time than before is needed, for instance for neighbourly contacts. This doesn't mean that no qualitative changes in those practices took place.

Reasons for continuities

The only few statistically significant results regarding ecological sustainability can be explained by various factors. On the one hand, the behaviour of the respondents was already more sustainable compared to the average Austrian population before the move-in (e.g. with respect to car ownership or meat consumption). The comparison of CO_2-rates before and after the move-in therefore can only say something about the change of emissions produced by the already sensitised members of the project. Furthermore, CO_2-emissions are only one specific aspect of ecological sustainability. Savings concerning resource consumption were not part of the study, but are likely due to the collective usage of facilities and objects. Moreover, it should be noted that the quantitative and qualitative data represent only a snapshot of an ongoing process. In this regard, one point mentioned in some interviews was that many possibilities provided by the "Wohnprojekt Wien" were not yet adopted into everyday routines (e.g. taking part in common lunch or dinner, in the food-coop, mobility sharing or accepting help from neighbours for child care).

Another explanation for the little changes of everyday practices can be found in the fact, that not all residents can take the **effort of integrating these new, collective practices in their everyday life** in the same way. The cohousing project, partly in reaction to the general difficulty to organise individual practices more sustainably, **consciously creates social and material structures that facilitate the everyday integration** and the organisation of sustainable practices. This includes the creation of a material and collectively useable infrastructure, allowing the (easier) performance of alternative practices, e.g. by enabling a shortage of time spent on mobility regarding waste disposal or buying food. Furthermore, the potentially resource conserving exchange and collective usage of things is made easier. The collectivity of the "Wohnprojekt Wien" also allows the utilization of discounts (e.g. considering the choice for green electricity). Thanks to the collective organisation and attainment of knowledge, the organisational effort needed by individual households can be reduced (as mentioned by a respondent, sustainability based knowledge can now easily be shared with others).

Despite the facilitation of the everyday organisation of sustainable practices, their integration in the everyday lives of the members of the "Wohnprojekt" could only partly succeed. This might have various reasons:

Firstly, the sustainability-related practices need to be **coordinated with** emotionally and temporally **dominant practices**, such as gainful employment and childcare. They often require specific time structures and whereabouts which may not always conform with those required by the new practices. Difficulties to arrange them with collectively organized practices like food procurement, cooking, eating, laundry, car sharing, neighbourly contact and communal work were mentioned. Already before the move-in the effort of individually arranging different practices prevented the recruitment of respondents by alternative and potentially more sustainable, but also more time-consuming and less flexible, routines; e.g. those necessary for the participation in food-coops, the pickup of one's share of harvest or car sharing. Depending on the individual employment, living conditions, priorities and the willingness to change routines, the extent of the integration of new, "alternative" performances of practices into the everyday lives of the "Wohnprojekt" members before as well as after the move-in varied and still varies. The fact that some respondents in the project have flexible working hours is also described as a relief for the integration of different practices in the interviews.

Secondly, the new practices in the „Wohnprojekt" necessitate the **acquisition of new routines**, which requires time, motivation and additional effort from its members. The still necessary adjustment to new practices and the learning processes involved were frequently mentioned in the interviews.

Thirdly, most of the sustainability-related practices are based on a collective use of different facilities, which requires commonly shared schedules and places as well as the acceptance of lower flexibility. While many practices in the old living arrangements (like driving a car, shopping for food or cooking) were spatially and temporally flexible, this is only partly the case with collectivised practices associated with car-sharing, the food-coop or communal cooking in the new setting of the "Wohnprojekt". The **alignment of individual with collective rhythms** is – due to the individualisation, the differentiation of lifestyles, the flexibilisation of employment and the resulting absence of collective life rhythms of large population groups – a challenge that needs to be faced individually (Southerton 2003). The union for a cohousing project happens on a voluntary basis, so there is no social coercion from "outside" to coordinate the different rhythms – yet many inhabitants try to structure their everyday lives according to the collective rhythms of the "Wohnprojekt". Also the increasing mobility and relevance of a variety of places in the everyday lives of many people play a role here, although a re-localisation can be observed within the framework of the "Wohnprojekt".

Fourthly, a collective usage also brings up the need for „**usage rules**" that have to be integrated into the users' individual routines (e.g. rules for using the kitchen, laundry, car-sharing and the garbage room). When performing practices individually, rules can be more widely interpreted or can remain implicit, whereas when performing them collectively, the rules are binding for all users, and therefore must be explicitly defined and formulated. One example is the replacement of kitchen utensils at the intended places in the communal kitchen, to enable other users to find them, which is not necessary regarding individual cooking. Even if the integration of the rules into the individual routines succeed, they must, be compatible with other practices in daily life and interpreted in similar ways. This is always the case, which sometimes leads to conflicts or discussions, e.g. in respect to the usage of the laundry room, the kitchen and the garbage room. A challenge in this context is that there is no official authority (such as a property management) to sanction a violation of the rules. Perceived problems regarding the collective usage are discussed in working groups and the compliance with these rules is indicated to the inhabitants. Also some members of the project do sometimes draw attention to rules that have not been complied with. Explicit and internalised social control is also essential for the compliance with rules due to the intensive relationships of neighbours and the variety of possibilities of interaction and is therefore more comprehensive than social control in conventional neighbourhoods.

The need for temporal coordination of individual and collective practices and binding rules of usage gets especially evident regarding the **collective usage of material** like cars or washing machines. Compared to the individual use of cars or washing machines, the availability of the material is not ensured at all times and usually has to be planned in advance (e.g. to register in the list of the laundry, to borrow the car). These difficulties were indicated as obstacles to participate in the collective usage, since the lower flexibility associated with it leads to problems regarding the individual arrangement with other practices (like those of child care). Interestingly, the effort of collective usage and the limited availability of material are more criticized by non-users than by actual users. This might be explained by the anticipated effort that is necessary for a change of routines (which the users already made), fears regarding the too limited availability of collective goods and its consequences for the organisation of everyday life, but also by an attempt of a reduction of cognitive dissonance on the part of the users.

Indications of requirements for changing practices

Whereas the factors described above are an explanation for the lack of many significant quantitative results, the significant ones give indications regarding factors or combinations of **factors that presumably contribute to changes** of practices.

This includes on the one hand the physical infrastructure which has, for instance, changed due to the establishment of the laundry room. Without this material change, a collective performance of laundering would not have been possible. Compared to before, approximately one third more of

the households uses the laundry room (55% as a whole do so) and 70% of them use it 1-3 times a month or more often. The interplay of material factors and different motives of using the laundry (see below) led to an acceptance of this collective facility by a significant amount of inhabitants.

The food-coop is, despite its short running time at the time of the second survey, used by half of the respondents (even though its usage didn't lead to a significant savings in time or CO_2 emissions). In addition to creating the physical infrastructure, shorter ways for food supply and a lower effort of participating (compared to other food-coops) were factors that did play a role.

Another significant change – also regarding the CO_2-emissions of the consumed electricity – is a rise in consumption of green electricity from 33% to 90% of the responding households. This major change can be explained by the reduction of effort and know-how necessary to switch the supplier and the possibility of a discount of the energy supplier that was made possible by the collective organisation, as well as the favourable time for the transition to a new supplier due to the move-in.

A further significant result is the increased energy efficiency of combined refrigerator-freezers in the households (this change occurred also regarding dish washers, ovens and stoves, but not significantly). Here, a combination of several factors is likely: the move to a non-furnished apartment, which necessitated the new acquisition of many devices, the dissemination of knowledge about energy-efficient appliances in the project and the fact that many new devices on the market have a higher energy efficiency than older ones.

Regarding the neighbourhood, the qualitative and quantitative data show the most significant changes of the current living situation in comparison to the earlier one. To interact several times a week with the neighbours has become usual, while it was an exception before: 12% of all respondents had contact with the neighbours several times a week or daily before the move-in, after the move-in all respondents. The average time spent in the last seven days with the neighbours also rose from 0.6 hours to 4.3 hours. The social setting of the neighbourhood has changed radically in comparison to the old neighbourhoods due to changes in many elements (similarities with and a high level of information about the neighbours as well as material and social structures like common facilities and regular meetings) that promote neighbourly activities.

Despite several changes that partly resulted in more sustainable performances of practices, the data also indicate **rebound-effects**, for example in the areas of flying or heating. The pre- and post-analysis shows a significant rise in private short distance flights (while the number of long distance flights stayed approx. the same): 27% of the respondents used an airplane for short distance flights in 2012 compared to 64% in 2014, the average number of flights has risen from 0.5 per year to 2. Accordingly, the CO_2-emissions caused by the flights have risen significantly. There may be various explanations for this development: the work-intensive time before the move-in and financial burdens due to the move-in might have led to renounce longer trips by plane. But also the possibility of a a rebound-effect cannot be excluded: the many efforts to enable a more sustainable life of the "Wohnprojekt" members could have led to a reduction of ecological concerns and implicitly promoted individual flying. Another rebound-effect that is (also) produced by the new material infrastructure is the low air humidity common in low energy houses that is seen as negatively affecting well-being and health by many inhabitants. It has led to the purchase of air humidifiers that partly run the whole day in the flats. Motives of subjective well-being and health are, not surprisingly, a priority compared to motives of environmental protection.

The described significant changes indicate an interplay of different elements, contexts and relations of practices, in a material, social, financial or everyday organisational kind, or concerning a change related to the social setting or the individual living situation (e.g. the move-in). They also show the existence of different types of **alliances of motives** (cf. Littig 1995). Motives regarding environmental protection exist only beside many other, sometimes individually far more important, motives when it comes to the choice of more sustainable or the

rejection of less sustainable performances of practices. In the qualitative interviews many examples of such alliances of motives were mentioned, e.g. the following:

Concerning mobility, the choice of more sustainable or the rejection of less sustainable means of transport is not primarily made because of environmental motives: also, convenience, flexibility, healthiness, speed, savings in effort and money, and the experience, competence and affinity associated with the different modes of travel are stated as reasons.

Alternative modes of food supply, like buying food on markets, in small organic shops or in food-coops are also not primarily chosen because of sustainability-related reasons: for the respondents also a general criticism of urban anonymity and the societal organisation of consumption, represented by anonymous supermarkets, the wish for an "alternative" shopping experience, "healthy" and "tasteful" food and presumably also the milieu- and value-specific similarities of the consumers of "alternative" shopping locations were important reasons.

Communal cooking and dining are valued because of the time savings and the communality that can be experienced at communal dinners. But also regarding individual cooking, taste and health are often more important than sustainability. The laundry is used because of savings in costs and space in the flat and the consumption of heat is primarily held low because of health- and cost-related reasons.

Alliances of motives are also present regarding the fundamental decision to move in the cohousing project: all respondents indicated the wish for a more communal life as one of the primary motives to participate in the project. The possibility to live life more sustainably in the framework of the project is varyingly important for the respondents and not always decisive for the choice to participate.

Conclusions

Life in the "Wohnprojekt" is an attempt of a transformation under non-revolutionary conditions. The described difficulties to individually integrate collective practices into other practices of everyday life indicate a contradiction that necessarily underlies all cohousing projects: the collectivisation of individualised lifestyles.

In the framework of the "Wohnprojekt", a collectivity of persons is created whose everyday lives are influenced by individualisation and flexibilisation regarding their employment, but also their values and lifestyles. In order for the "Wohnprojekt" to succeed, participants with similar values, levels of reflexivity regarding their way of life, specific competencies (e.g. dealing with computers and abstract planning) and a willingness to invest a lot of time in the communal work as well as in the change of individual routines are essential. Also, the collectivity requires homogeneity of its members in respect to the compliance with rules and norms of collective practices. Therefore, the members of the "Wohnprojekt" are also a community of attitudes ("Gesinnungsgemeinschaft") based on similar values, e.g. regarding sustainability and communal living, and milieus. This homogeneity renders feelings of communality, security, inclusion, acceptance and mutual trust possible, which are a prerequisite to organise formally individual performances of practices collectively. Furthermore, the communal life influences the everyday lives of the inhabitants in various ways: regarding neighbourly activities and communal work, but also other everyday practices (depending on the degree the inhabitants accept the collective forms of the practices). So, even if heterogeneity of the members of the "Wohnprojekt" regarding life phases or professional backgrounds is valued by the respondents, in some aspects a high level of homogeneity of the inhabitants is necessary, which is achieved by the selection process of the members of the "Wohnprojekt".

At the same time, this willingness of the members of the "Wohnprojekt" to organise their own life in a collective context partially new seems to be contradictory to a self-concept of many inhabitants that is shaped by individualistic norms: "orthodoxies" are rejected, "diversity" is valued and there is a notion that the inhabitants should act more sustainably based on their own "insights" or on role-models and not due to an outer constraint. Self-actualisation is a value

many members of the project aim for, which is connected to their milieu affiliation, and is also evident in the willingness to learn in many areas. That self-actualisation can never be fully achieved in a collective framework, is noticed and reflected by some respondents. One interviewee thinks that the members of the "Wohnprojekt" have to "learn that not everyone will be able to self-actualise oneself. If everyone does this, then we are single, atomised individuals that are not joining forces".

By participating in the "Wohnprojekt", the inhabitants consciously accept the influence of a new collectivity on their formerly individual practices. Regarding the area of knowledge transfer, this influence is explicitly desired (e.g. regarding the collective provision of knowledge that can be the basis of individual sustainability-related decisions). This acceptance could be explained by the burden of individual organisation of everyday life, especially, if one wants to design it more sustainably. The necessity of shaping ("Gestaltungszwang") one's own life that came along with modernist individualisation processes, and the wish to be unburdened by collective organisation could be an implicit motive to participate in the "Wohnprojekt". Therefore, the members of the "Wohnprojekt" strive for a kind of "de-individualisation" of their lives (this is also evident regarding the rejection of urban anonymity by many members).

Due to this tension, many ambivalences on the collective and individual level between individualistic values and the wish for respecting the necessities arising from collectivity can be observed in the narratives of the inhabitants. In these confrontations the difficulty of realising individualistic values in a partly de-individualised and collective context becomes visible.

Niches are always exposed to societal dynamics "outside" of them – complete separation from these dynamics is impossible. Hence, the members of the project have to deal with different dynamics they cannot influence and that impair their efforts regarding a more sustainable organisation of everyday life. This dilemma can therefore not be solved on the level of the niche, it demands principal changes on the level of regimes (e.g. regarding the societal organisation of paid and unpaid work). When stressing the importance of niches for societal transformation, this has to be taken into account.

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Hitting a policy wall

The transformative potential and limitations of Community Pick-Up Point Schemes

Keighley McFarland; Julia Wittmayer

Ecologic Institute, Berlin; Dutch Research Institute for Transitions (DRIFT), Erasmus University Rotterdam

Introduction

This paper introduces a novel type of Alternative Food Network (AFN), the Community Pick-Up Point Scheme (CPPS), and investigates their transformative potential.

The modern food system has brought many benefits for consumers but has also created significant sustainability problems, ranging from environmental degradation and health problems from over- and underconsumption to food safety scares and imbalances of power and justice in the supply chain (Pretty et al. 2001; Wekerle 2004; Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a). These problems can be considered as 'persistent' or 'wicked' problems which are embedded in societal structures, are valued differently, and involve a multitude of actors (Grin, Rotmans, and Schot 2010; Schuitmaker 2012). Every attempt to solve these problems will transform them and carries different side effects. As such, scholars argue that to address these problems, transitions are needed: "radical transformation[s] towards a sustainable society" (Grin, Rotmans, and Schot 2010, 1).

Increasingly, new initiatives aim to address these problems through a diversity of approaches. These include organic farming, the Slow Food movement, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), and a variety of other Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) (Tregear 2011; Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012b). This paper introduces a novel type of AFN: the Community Pick-Up Point Scheme (CPPS). To address some of the above mentioned challenges, CPPSs combine internet ordering platforms and community-based pick-up points to bring local products from small-scale producers directly to consumers primarily in urban areas, thereby creating viable and fair value chains for local, high-quality, sustainable food products

However, the question that remains is whether these CPPSs are able to contribute to transformative change or whether they remain a marginal phenomenon. Taking a 'transformative social innovation' perspective, we investigate **the transformative potential of CPPS initiatives in regard to the dominant food system.** To achieve this, we utilize a new framework for understanding transformative social innovation (Haxeltine et al. 2015). In this conceptualisation, social innovation is understood as new ways of doing, organizing, knowing, and framing (Haxeltine et al. 2015; Moulaert et al. 2013; Howaldt and Kopp 2012). Transformative social innovation refers to the process by which social innovation contributes to transformative societal change, for example toward system-level changes in food systems (Haxeltine et al. 2013; Avelino et al. 2014).

Due to the relative newness of CPPSs they have not yet had the time required to achieve major transformative impact, and their 'contribution' as such cannot yet be assessed. It was therefore decided to investigate their transformative *potential*. Transformative potential is defined as "when an object, idea, activity or initiative displays inherent and/or intended qualities to challenge, alter and/or replace dominant institutions in a specific social context" (Haxeltine et al. 2015, 28). Given this definition, our research question in this paper is: What is the

transformative potential of CPPS, i.e. to what extent do CPPS display inherent and/or intended qualities to challenge, alter and/or replace dominant institutions in a specific social context?

In the following, we first detail the methodology of our investigation. We then briefly outline the food system as the main social context in which CPPSs operate before we introduce a specific CPPS (the Food Assembly) more in detail. We then contrast dominant food system institutions with innovative institutions of CPPSs and explore how the institutions which govern CPPSs contribute to or limit transformative potential. Due to length restrictions, we focus on four dominant institutions to give an illustration of all four instances: a dominant institution being challenged, altered, and replaced and one which remains unaltered. In our discussion, we explore the implications of CPPSs' transformative potential for food system transitions and conclude with the implications for policy.

Methodology

We answer the research question through an empirical exploration of a CPPS initiative as a case study. We focus on CPPSs because they offer a consumer-based approach to solving food system problems, and in public debates, influencing food system outcomes is commonly framed as a matter of consumption choices (Klintman and Boström 2012, see also Annex). In studying CPPSs, we focus on a single case, the Food Assembly Berlin, as this allows us to generate an in-depth, nuanced and contextualised understanding of a novel phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2006).

The choice for Food Assembly Berlin as an exemplary CPPS was made for several reasons. Food Assembly is the German arm of the longest-standing CPPS, the French La Ruche Qui Dit Oui. We focus on the city level as being the most relevant for the initiative's activities and development: Food Assembly was launched in Berlin and was the only CPPS in Berlin at the time of research. As such it is the location where the initiative has had the most time to develop and establish itself. Also practical considerations played a role in the selection: existing relationships between the research team and actors within the initiative meant that an initial basis of trust existed, which allowed for the quick establishment of an intensive, cooperative research relationship and access to a significant amount of information and events.

The case study is based on 7 semi-structured interviews and 14 hours of participant observation over two months in February and March 2015. Additionally, we have reviewed primary and secondary literature with regard to the initiative, as well as relevant scientific articles. We analysed this material by 1) defining dominant institutions and the social context of the food system in which the CPPS operates, 2) examining the ways in which the initiative differs from these institutions (i.e. what is innovative about it), and 3) identifying activities through which the CPPS displays characteristics which challenge, alter or replace these (i.e. its transformative potential). In order to do so, we further operationalized these concepts as follows.

By adopting the definition of social innovation as changes in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organizing, knowing and framing, we reasoned that these are considered innovative as compared to current and dominant ways of doing, organising, framing and knowing. As such, we operationalize dominant institutions in this context as dominant ways of doing, organising, framing, and knowing, and innovative institutions refer to new ways of doing, organising, framing, and knowing. This concept builds on a transformative social innovation perspective and its basis in institutional theory, in which institutions are understood as formal and informal norms, rules, conventions, and values (Cajaiba-Santana 2014 in Haxeltine et al. 2015). Using the four abovementioned categories shifts the focus onto more concretely observable activities.

Having established an operationalisation of the status quo and the innovation, we turn to the third main concept, the transformative potential. This paper focuses on the empirical identification of the transformative potential of CPPSs, which can be determined by analysing whether and to what extent their innovative institutions display qualities which can perform the following activities: challenging, altering and replacing dominant institutions by innovative institutions (cf. Haxeltine et al. 2015). For the analysis of empirical data, we suggest a further operationalisation of these concepts as follows:

- To 'challenge' refers to objects, ideas or activities that an initiative is performing questioning the legitimacy or existence of dominant institutions (i.e. ways of doing, framing….)
- To 'alter' refers to objects, ideas or activities that an initiative is performing changing (parts of) dominant institutions
- To 'replace' refers to objects, ideas or activities that an initiative is performing taking the place of (a) dominant institution(s).

We argue that conclusions drawn from research about Food Assembly can be applied to a large extent to CPPSs across Europe because of a) their shared basic structure and b) the shared European food system context defined largely by EU policy (see Section 2 and Annex). The following sections apply these concepts to understand dominant institutions of the food system and innovative institutions of CPPSs.

How do CPPSs challenge, alter, or replace dominant institutions of the food system?

In order to understand the transformative potential of CPPSs, it is crucial to first recognize that they are embedded in a specific social context, referred to as the food system (see e.g. Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000; Hinrichs 2003; Ericksen 2008). A food system is a "chain of activities connecting food production, processing, distribution, consumption, and waste management, as well as all the associated regulatory institutions and activities" (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000, 113). The concept can be used to refer to one single global food system, or to specific spatial or temporal subsystems within the global system. In this paper, the focus is on the food system in Germany, which is embedded in the European food system. There are a number of dominant institutions that characterise the food system in Germany. These include e.g. spatio-temporal disconnect from natural systems, difficulty identifying consumer preferences, and quantity-focused agriculture policy. For a more detailed list of these institutions, please see the Annex. In this paper, in order to illustrate a range of institutions' contributions to (or hindrance of) transformative potential, we concentrate on four of them: retail sector market dominance, externalisation of environmental impact, internationalisation and standardisation, and unclarity about responsibilities for food issues.

The food system

Retail sector market dominance

The retail sector wields the most power in organization and orchestration of food value chains, agricultural producers have very little power, and consumers hold some power (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012b, 2; Brunori, Rossi, and Guidi 2012). In Germany, discounters and supermarkets are the dominant market force and source of food purchases (USDA Foreign Agricultural Service 2012).

Externalisation of environmental impact

Manifold negative environmental impacts are the result of modern food systems. These include significant greenhouse gas emissions, soil and water resource degradation, emissions of toxic substances and antibiotic resistant microbes, air pollution, and habitat degradation (Pretty et al. 2001). Despite their significant impact, these externalities persist because environmental costs and benefits are not integrated into market costs and benefits (UN FAO 2006; Seyfang 2008; Teufel et al. 2014). The current policy framework does not internalise external environmental costs of food production and consumption.

Internationalisation and standardisation

The expansion of global markets has increased the volume of international agricultural trade, supported by policy frameworks (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a). Though consumers in Germany express interest in buying local products (USDA Foreign Agricultural

Service 2012), local value chains represent a niche market as they are across the developed world (Born and Purcell 2006; Tregear 2011; Diamond and Barham 2012; Rossi and Brunori 2010; van Gameren, Ruwet, and Bauler 2014).

Unclarity about which actors are responsible for food system issues

Food-related concerns are seen primarily as a matter of individual choice falling under the realm of the private market (Lockie 2009; Klintman and Boström 2012). Planning officials tend not to see food choices as something that public policy and planning should or can influence (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000). Yet consumers' ability to enact change in the food system is limited to their ability to choose between existing consumption options; consumers' desire for change (e.g. new products or supply chains) can only be exercised if an upstream actor brings an appropriate option to market (Lockie 2009).

CPPS : The Food Assembly

A CPPS is a novel food value chain model which allows consumers to freely choose products directly from producers through an online platform, with a pick-up directly from a community pick-up point at a specific, limited time. Food Assembly is the first CPPS in Germany. Food Assembly was founded in Berlin in 2013 and is a daughter initiative of La Ruche Qui Dit Oui, a CPPS initiative which began in France in 2011.

This CPPS functions as follows: As a first step, the initiative's central office advertises the general opportunity for setting up a pick-up point. An individual approaches the initiative central office and expresses desire to set up a pick-up point as a community coordinator. New pick-up points are established when a community coordinator is able to prove to the central office that they have the ability to successfully organise one, including organising the location and enough customers (PO). Once established, orders are placed individually by customers to a pick-up point without minimum order or subscription requirements via an online platform, and are picked up weekly at a designated location and time. Producers receive the orders a few days before the pick-up point and bring the products directly to the pick-up point. Orders are picked up from each producer by the individual customers. Producers receive the lion's share of the sales, and about 8% each goes to the community coordinator and the central office. Payment occurs online, so no money is exchanged at the pick-up point.

CPPSs share characteristics with other AFNs, most notably Food Teams/Solidarity Purchasing Groups, food co-ops, and CSAs. However CPPSs distinguish themselves from all of these in they do not involve volunteer labour, risk sharing, or long-term commitments for either consumers or producers.

The Food Assembly's main goal is to create an efficient and fair local food distribution service. Products are required to be sourced and processed within 150 km of a pick-up point, with some exceptions (e.g. directly traded products from further away which are not available in the region, such as olive oil, can be sold once a month). Sustainability of production is also communicated as an important goal, but the initiative does not have specific sustainability criteria. In a participatorily developed "Values and Goals" document (2015), Food Assembly states that its producers produce "artisanally, seasonally, and sustainably, thereby respecting people, animals, and the environment".[24]

[24] Translated from German original.

Figure 1 Food Assembly online ordering platform (left) & community pick-up point in Berlin-Neukölln (right)

Does Food Assembly exhibit transformative potential?

In this section, we concentrate on the four above outlined dominant institutions of the food system regime and then examine how the Food Assembly displays inherent or intended qualities to challenge, alter, or replace it.

Challenging the market dominance of the retail sector

Food Assembly empowers producers and consumers. In Food Assembly, producers have significantly more power than in traditional supply chains. They are able to freely set their own prices, choose their product palate, and decide which pick-up points to join and whether their weekly orders are sufficient to make delivery worthwhile. The CPPS gives consumers who are dissatisfied with conventional retailers the ability to use their spending power to support an alternative type of product, producer, and value chain. Returning power to producers and consumers is a central stated goal of Food Assembly and is framed as an issue of fairness or justice.

The existence and legitimacy of market dominance by retailers is called into question through the innovative reorganisation of relationships and power in the supply chain (a way of organising). This is motivated by recurring to values such as fairness and empowering disenfranchised stakeholders. Efforts to shift the balance of power in the supply chain are framed as a political action in Food Assembly documents and in respondents' comments. For example, one staff member described Food Assembly as a "tool to give back power to the people who create value," and a community coordinator claimed that through Food Assembly, consumers "get some of the ability to choose back. They can say … 'I am freeing myself from supermarket structures and am doing my own thing."* This way of organising is predicated on the idea that conventional systems are, in contrast to CPPS, not fair and action is required to remedy the injustice.

Altering the externalisation of environmental impact

Food Assembly accounts indirectly for environmental impact. Products are required to adhere to a loose set of sustainability criteria. Many producers produce in a way which has a lower impact on the environment or support ecosystem services more holistically than conventional farming. These methods include certified organic and integrated farming, combining farming with nature conservation, and production of rare plant varieties and livestock breeds. This type of production incurs costs that are not sufficiently offset by subsidies, which are oriented towards global markets and commodity production. Although there is no mechanism that explicitly

internalises negative externalities of production and consumption (e.g. offsetting), some of the higher direct production costs are passed on to the consumer in higher prices.

This way of establishing prices and distributing costs alters the externalisation of environmental impact by enabling value creation based on environmental qualities of a product, but prices are still set based primarily on private costs. Producers set their own prices, but still use market prices and their private costs and benefits to orient their decisions. The decisions of customers as well are driven by private costs (i.e. price) as well as environmental values. The price structure is not radically different enough to truly reflect external costs and benefits of the value chain. CPPSs innovate a partial solution to the problem of environmental externalities of food production, but do not include aspects of innovation to change the framework conditions set by markets, policy and the social context.

Replacing internationalisation and standardisation

Food Assembly features short and direct local value chains. In Food Assembly, producers bring products directly to consumers. Only local or directly traded products can be sold through CPPSs, both by rule (i.e. geographic boundaries limiting the intake region for products) and by the higher costs of more complicated logistics associated with the small orders and intensive communication which deter producers who cannot offer products with valuable intangible qualities. This is both a mechanism to ensure producers adhere to standards, and also may pose limits to growth as the amount of producers willing to produce in this way is small compared to those who produce for conventional supply chains. The added benefits of selling through CPPSs is not enough to convince most producers to incur the costs associated with changing production, sales, and logistics systems. Such a switch is also not adequately supported by the current agricultural subsidy regime.

The new value chains established by Food Assembly replace conventional value chains for the products bought and sold through the CPPS. The initiative creates an innovative infrastructure for viable supply chains for products which would otherwise have difficulty being successful in conventional supply chains. The CPPS purchases replaced rather than augmented the food purchases through conventional outlets of most respondents, or for producers they replaced the need to sell at least a portion of their products through other outlets. The CPPS did not completely replace all use of conventional value chains; consumers who buy through Food Assembly usually do not obtain all of their food purchases through the CPPS, and most producers involved in Berlin also have other outlets for their products. The initiative therefore displays qualities which replace (parts of) dominant institutions (though replacement has not occurred on a large scale).

Remaining unclarity about responsibilities for food system issues

Evidence in the interviews, participant observation, and document review indicated that changing the food system was a goal of Food Assembly. However, respondents had difficulty connecting specific, concrete activities of the CPPS to systemic changes. No clear vision seemed to exist of the responsibility or power of the initiative to affect change beyond the individual consumer level. Several respondents mentioned that policy was a central determinant of how the food system works and also a major constraint to their ability to achieve change. Yet the focus of the initiative remains running a business and not exerting political influence. Due to the small size and niche reach of the initiative, respondents did not feel empowered as individuals or as a collective to affect policy-level change.

A sense of empowerment or responsibility to achieve systemic change is missing from Food Assembly. CPPS offer consumers an alternative choice which takes steps to solve some problems created by dominant food system institutions. However, the initiative leaves the basic market structure of supply chains intact, while simply reorganising the relationships within it to create fairer and more sustainable outcomes. CPPSs do not seek to affect change through channels other than through consumption behaviour. Thereby, political, social, or other solutions to food system problems are left untouched. The political and social framework is a key determining

factor of the food system; solely consumption-based solutions do not reframe the established responsibilities of individuals and organisations for food system change, but act within them. This issue remains unsolved by CPPSs.

Discussion and conclusion

In comparing Food Assembly to the dominant institutions of the food system in Germany, it is clear that CPPSs exhibit transformative potential. They show indications of challenging, altering, or replacing a variety of these dominant institutions. CPPSs create viable local supply chains for sustainable, high-quality products which the dominant institutions of conventional supply chains systemically disadvantage. CPPS change relationships and (infra)structures within the food system and enable changes in ways of doing, knowing, framing, and organising.

However, two caveats stand out in the results. The first is that the transformative intent of CPPSs is predicated on the assumption that political consumerism can bring about societal change. Political consumerism is the notion that consumers use their purchasing behaviour to targetedly support types of products, systems, or behaviours, with the goal of affecting change (Lockie 2009; Klintman and Boström 2012) – often phrased in lay terms as "voting with your wallet". However, the Janus face of this approach is that it allows state actors and upstream actors in the value chain to shift responsibility for instigating sustainable change onto consumers when framing the debate about food system problems (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a; DuPuis and Goodman 2005). Behaviourist criticisms of neo-liberal economic theory and approaches point out that the reliance on the consumer to follow a socially optimal consumption pattern is unrealistic in practice, as limitations such as bounded rationality, incomplete or overwhelming information, and biases play a major role in economic behaviour (Pike 2008; van Bavel et al. 2013). Many of the problems of the food system are a result of the dominant food system institutions, including policy and markets. Food Assembly specifically and in in line with it, CPPSs, do not challenge, alter, or replace those dominant institutions which perpetuate the reliance on political consumerism, but instead offer a novel channel through which to follow this approach. This demonstrates that the current conceptualisation of transformative social innovation should take the broader philosophy of innovative initiatives into account.

Food-related policies – especially agriculture policy, but also trade, health, food safety, city and regional planning, and innovation policies – set the framework conditions for activities in the food system, thus also for innovative initiatives like CPPSs. The policy framework is designed to support large-scale, export-oriented commodity agriculture. As a consequence the type of producers and products that CPPSs target are structurally disadvantaged by the policy framework. Since the CPPS approach focuses on creating markets and does not actively target policy changes, dominant policy-related institutions remain unchallenged and unchanged. This significantly limits CPPSs' transformative potential. Without changes to the policy framework, there cannot be changes in the markets that drive the development of food systems. This suggests that there may be different types of dominant institutions, some of which are more necessary to challenge, replace, or alter in order to achieve transformative change. It may therefore be useful to explore the inclusion of a hierarchy of institutions in the future development of social innovation theory.

A wide variety of actors share the consensus that the current food system is unsustainable. CPPSs can be part of the solution, but they are not a panacea. Consumption is only part of the problem, so it is unrealistic to assume that consuming better can be the entire solution. When policy plays such a major role in shaping the food system, transformative change cannot occur without a policy transformation. If policy can be redesigned to better support environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable food chains, such as those that CPPSs strive to establish, CPPSs and other innovative initiatives will be able to translate transformative potential into transformative impact and help solve persistent systemic problems.

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Annex: full list of markers for dominant & innovative institutions

Ways of...	Dominant institutions	Innovative institutions of CPPSs
Doing	**Spatio-temporal disconnect from natural systems:** Limitations of time and space have been largely eliminated. Variety and choice for consumers are high, especially for processed foods, and major distances are involved in globalized food value chains (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a, 2)	**Reconnection of food consumption cycles to production cycles and natural systems:** since products in CPPSs can not be imported (with a few exceptions), the availability and quality of products is dependent on the local natural systems and production cycles. Producers mostly produce under or in ways near to organic production, so there is no use of e.g. greenhouses allowing year-round production of vegetables. Instead, the product offering is limited to seasonal food products.
	Internationalisation and standardisation: the expansion of global markets has increased the volume of international agricultural trade (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a). Though consumers in Germany express interest in buying local products (USDA Foreign Agricultural Service 2012), local value chains represent a niche market (Born and Purcell 2006; Tregear 2011; Diamond and Barham 2012; Rossi and Brunori 2010; van Gameren, Ruwet, and Bauler 2014).	**Short and direct value chains:** in CPPSs, producers bring products directly to consumers. Only local or directly traded products can be sold through CPPSs, both by rule (i.e. geographic boundaries limiting the intake region for products) and by the higher costs of more complicated logistics associated with the small orders and intensive communication which deter producers who can not offer products with valuable intangible qualities.

Ways of...	Dominant institutions	Innovative institutions of CPPSs
	Lack of action despite increasing public interest in non-nutritional qualities: Non-nutritional qualities like environmental and climate impact, animal welfare, and taste have gained importance in the public. Yet major changes in food practices have not resulted (Mount 2012, 111; Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a; Marsden and Sonnino 2012). For example, despite environmental impact of food and agriculture being a frequent topic in public and policy discourses, only about 6% of agricultural area in the EU is used for organic production and in Germany and the Netherlands organic food makes up only 3.7% and 2.4% of total food retail sales respectively.[25]	**Creating value for non-nutritional and intangible qualities:** the storytelling, direct exchange, and highly visual communication style of CPPSs give producers and consumers the opportunity to communicate and understand product qualities which go beyond quantity and nutritional information. This enables consumers and producers who are interested in these qualities to act effectively on their interest, by changing production and consumption habits.
	Trend towards upscaling and industrialising, specialising, or exiting: Producers, processors, and retailers are under constant pressure to scale up, specialise, or exit the market; for farmers this means instable incomes and in many cases reliance on off-farm income (Diamond and Barham 2012; Mount 2012; Jarosz 2008).	**High variability of products:** CPPSs enable consumer acceptance of high product variability. The reconnection to natural systems built into the model imply a high variability of the type and qualities of products, and the communication style makes it possible to build trust and understanding in consumers so that they accept (or even learn to value) this variability. CPPSs also cater to cultural subgroups which value uniqueness and/or exclusivity, as consumption patterns function as a cultural identifier.
	Externalisation of environmental impact: manifold negative environmental impacts are the result of modern food systems. These include significant greenhouse gas emissions, soil and water resource degradation, emissions of toxic substances and antibiotic resistant microbes, air pollution, and habitat degradation (Pretty et al. 2001). Despite their significant impact, these externalities persist because environmental costs and benefits are not integrated into market costs and benefits (UN FAO 2006; Seyfang 2008; Teufel et al. 2014). The current policy framework does not internalise external environmental costs of food production and consumption.	**Accounting for environmental impact**: costs of environmental impact are not explicitly internalised in CPPS, but products are required to adhere to a loose set of sustainability criteria. Many producers produce in a way which has a lower impact on the environment or support ecosystem services more holistically than conventional farming. These methods include certified organic and integrated farming, combining farming with nature conservation, and production of rare plant varieties and livestock breeds. This type of production incurs costs which are not sufficiently offset by subsidies, which are oriented towards global markets and commodity production. Some of the higher direct production costs are passed on to the consumer in higher prices.
Knowing	**Difficulty identifying consumers' preferences:** Producers, retailers, and policymakers have difficulty finding and connecting with an array of diffuse actors, identifying consumer desires, and integrating often contradictory sets of food-related concerns into their decisionmaking. This presents major a hurdle to addressing food system challenges (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000; Lockie 2009)	**Direct exchange and social learning:** social learning, especially through face-to-face exchange, is an essential component of CPPSs. These direct exchanges allow CPPS neighbourhood coordinators, staff, producers, and consumers to learn about products (e.g. product qualities, histories, recipes, etc.), the natural systems which dictate production, and how the CPPS functions or could be improved.

[25] https://www.fibl.org/fileadmin/documents/shop/1663-organic-world-2015.pdf

Ways of...	Dominant institutions	Innovative institutions of CPPSs
	Elaborate but ineffective food safety regulation: Elaborate regulatory regimes for food safety exist, yet risks and scares stemming from the intensified nature of food production persist (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012b, 2)	**New methods of transparency for consumer trust**: transparency in CPPS is established through direct and often personal contact. Storytelling and visual communication with pictures plays an important role. Rather than relying on complex technical systems, transparency is based on short and direct supply chains.
		Reliance on traditional food knowledge: large-scale industrial processing is not accepted in CPPSs. Traditional processing and preserving methods are used to extend the usable life of products and prevent losses at times of harvest abundance. This includes traditional but little known types of sausage, fermented products such as sauerkraut, and jams and syrups.
Framing	**Quantity-focused agriculture policy:** Global food and agriculture policies focus primarily on the production of quantity. Issues such as access, nutrition, or health concerns are rarely reflected in policy (Marsden and Sonnino 2012).	**Agriculture policy in conflict with CPPSs' goals:** agriculture policy is perceived to focus on goals which are in conflict with the vision of CPPSs. Because their goals are incongruous with policies, policy limits the development of CPPSs. Respondents felt that policies to support the type of production which they desired were missing.
	Overconsumption as central health problem: Concerns over health problems related to under-consumption (e.g. hunger) have been largely replaced by concerns over health problems related to over-consumption (e.g. obesity) (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012a, 2)	**Food safety, synthetic ingredients, and intransparent supply chains as central health problems**: respondents from Food Assembly expressed concern about product contamination and the health risks of synthetic products from conventional supply chains. The radical transparency of Food Assembly, based on personal interaction, visual information, and emotional appeals, offers consumers and producers an alternative to conventional food safety systems. Other health issues, such as over- or underconsumption, did not seem to play a major role, and health issues in general seemed to be less important than economic fairness and sustainability.
	Food used as a cultural indicator: The cultural dimension of food has gained social importance, with groups using food practices in different ways to articulate status and taste (Lockie 2009; Kjaernes and Torjusen 2012; Rossi and Brunori 2010; Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012b)	**Eschewing of elite image, but no concrete action to counteract it**: several respondents expressed worries that the initiative could develop into an elite or exclusive phenomenon. No concrete action was taken, however, to counteract this development (e.g. most pick-up points were located in well-off areas or in spaces frequented by a well-educated audience, such as coworking spaces). In this way, no specific effort was made by the initiative to try to work against the use of food consumption choices as a cultural indicator.
	The "alternative paradox": socially innovative initiatives such as AFNs develop a variety of innovations to solve food system problems. However, by understanding themselves as "alternative" food networks, they inherently distinguish themselves from mainstream actors and qualities. As	**The "alternative paradox**": the initiative has yet to demonstrate the ability to reach beyond a niche market. The relatively high prices of many products and time investment required of consumers in adjusting to and using the pick-up system may keep CPPSs exclusive to consumers

Ways of...	Dominant institutions	Innovative institutions of CPPSs
	innovative institutions begin to challenge, alter, or replace dominant institutions and become themselves mainstream, they necessarily lose some of their "alternativeness". This "alternative paradox" implies an inescapable exclusivity among innovative institutions (Hinrichs 2000; Smith 2007; Tregear 2011; Kato 2013; Anguelovski 2014).	with available resources to invest. Several respondents expressed the belief that a systemic, political solution was required to change the framework conditions in agriculture and urban food systems in order for CPPSs to grow beyond a niche.
	Unclarity about which actors are responsible for food system issues: Food-related concerns are seen primarily as a matter of individual choice falling under the realm of the private market (Lockie 2009; Klintman and Boström 2012). Planning officials tend not to see food choices as something that public policy and planning should or can influence (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000). Yet consumers' ability to enact change in the food system is limited to their ability to choose between existing consumption options; consumers' desire for change (e.g. new products or supply chains) can only be exercised if an upstream actor brings an appropriate option to market (Lockie 2009).	**This institution's effect in CPPSs**: Evidence in the interviews, participant observation, and document review indicated that changing the food system was a goal of Food Assembly. However, respondents had difficulty connecting specific, concrete activities of the CPPS to systemic changes. No clear vision seemed to exist of the responsibility or power of the initiative to affect change beyond the individual level. Food Assembly creates opportunities for consumers to support alternative food systems with their purchasing power. At the same time, this limits the ability to exert change to those who are able and willing to make this consumption choice. No consensus or vision existed on if/how e.g. low-income consumers should be involved. Several respondents mentioned that policy was a central determinant of the food system and also a major constraint to their ability to achieve change. Policy was perceived to set the framework conditions under which the initiative operates, and due to the small size and niche reach of the initiative, respondents did not feel empowered as individuals or a collective to affect policy-level change.
Organising	**Retail sector market dominance**: The retail sector has the most power in organization and orchestration of food value chains, agricultural producers have very little power, and consumers have some power (Spaargaren, Oosterveer, and Loeber 2012b, 2; Brunori, Rossi, and Guidi 2012). In Germany, discounters and supermarkets are the dominant market force and source of food purchases (USDA Foreign Agricultural Service 2012).	**Empowering producers and consumers**: In Food Assembly, producers have significantly more power than in traditional supply chains. They are able to freely set their own prices, choose their product palate, and decide which pick-up points to join and whether their weekly orders are sufficient to make delivery worthwhile. The CPPS gives consumers who are dissatisfied with conventional retailers the ability to use their spending power to support an alternative type of product, producer, and value chain. Returning power to producers and consumers is a central stated goal of Food Assembly and is framed as an issue of fairness or justice.

City administrations' adaptation to new governance models

Lessons from the URBACT Capitalisation work on "Social innovation in cities"

Marcelline Bonneau, François Jégou

Strategic Design Scenarios

Abstract

Cities are increasingly facing wicked issues. At the same time, in light of financial constraints citizens are taking a lead role in engaging in new forms of governance. These have a strong potential to support cities not only for problem solving but also towards greater city resilience. Some cities have initiated a paradigmatic change and are starting to co-create a new city with and for the citizens. In light of these, city administrations are confronted to a new challenge: they have to rethink their mandate, their skills and their relationship with citizens. This contribution analyses the process emerged for this paradigmatic change, with the use and promotion of social innovation. Based on a capitalization work carried out within the URBACT programme on "Social innovation in cities", it presents two case studies: Amersfoort in the Netherlands, advanced in designing a collaborative city administration and Gdańsk in Poland, taking initial steps for responsibility sharing. It then discusses 10 steps that some city administrations have used to change their governance paradigm.

The rise of new and more collaborative governance approaches

Cities' need for a change in governance

Cities are increasingly facing wicked issues. Demographic decline, threats to economic development and competitiveness, growing social polarisation, climate change and the depletion of natural resources are amongst the most striking. At the same time, their finances have also been affected by the crisis, often cited as a Perfect Storm of rising needs and declining resources.

At grassroots level, citizens are empowering and developing new creative communities which are playing an increasingly active role in public and social life (Meroni, 2007). They have contributed to the invention of new solutions to fulfil some of their needs. These solutions have been turned into new models to create value. These have a strong potential to support cities not only for problem solving but also towards greater city resilience.

As such, some cities have found that, they cannot address these issues by doing what they have done in the past through traditional models of governance. The focus around single organisational or agency remits, relying on the deployment of resources over which leaders and managers have direct authority, and the rigidity of this top-down governance models have had their limits exposed. Consequently, a growing number of cities are developing new approaches to both identify the issues and find solutions. This new governance paradigm is strongly embedded in and using social innovation.

Social innovation and cities

One of the broadest and most widely used definition of social innovation amongst public policy actors is that of the Bureau of Policy Advisors "*Innovations that are social in both their ends and their means. Specifically, we define social innovations as new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relationships or collaborations. In other words, they are innovations that are not only good for society but also enhance society's capacity to act*" (BEPA 2011, p.33). The strength of this definition is to cover a range of activities and initiatives without being too prescriptive. In the case of cities, it enables the identification of initiatives, varying widely in terms of actors involved, infrastructures used, funding procedures, processes developed, or platforms experimented. In other words it covers initiatives happening within the administration as well as outside, and interconnexion between the different levels of governance. For the purpose of our work, we used it as a way of understanding social innovation as an innovation that is social in the way it is happening and organized and not necessarily in its goal.

Some city administrations have indeed started to create new partnerships. On the one hand citizens and civil society are increasingly involved and taking the lead in some grassroots initiatives: they have the knowledge and are given the mandate to implement some local public policies. On the other hand, some city administrations have fostered the creation of new ecosystems of actors letting "outsiders" enter city governance. These can be experts, stakeholders from the private sectors or associations, civil society, academics as well as officials or civil servants from other fields or constituency. Through consultations, partnerships, or other forms of participatory approaches they are involved in problem-solving or in the implementation of solutions for the city.

Developing new governance paradigm goes also hand in hand with the creation of new opportunities for experimentation. Implementing real life cases, testing out solutions, brainstorming and building on new opportunities is being available, often with the support of experts outside the administration. Municipalities and local authorities also facilitate the creation of public innovation labs within their own administration to change the way public services and public policies are made, focussing on bottom-up, usage-based, community-centred approaches, renewing and dynamiting public participation and contributive policy design (Jégou, Bonneau 2014).

In light of these examples, city administrations are facing a new challenge: they have to rethink their mandate, their skills and their relationship with citizens. Some have initiated a paradigmatic change and are starting to co-create a new city with and for citizens. *How do city administrations proceed to change their governance paradigm? What are the elements and steps fostering such a change? How can the examples of two very different European cities shed light on those questions?*

URBACT Capitalisation work and methodology

The data for this contribution derives from a work carried out for the European programme for sustainable integrated urban development, URBACT. The approach was that of capitalising from existing experiences amongst European cities in order to present insightful and inspiring examples for other cities seeking to develop their path towards the use and promotion of social innovation. The work was carried out between May 2014 and May 2015.

The data was collected through a mix of tools: an online consultation and five online chat sessions with 30 urban practitioners and experts throughout Europe providing insights into "light case studies" (initiative snapshots), three physical and online meetings with the core

group members of the project as well as invited experts and urban practitioners, two case study visits, inputs from events during which results where shared[26].

Two examples of cities adopting new governance models

This contribution focuses on the results of the two case studies. Amersfoort (in the Netherlands) and Gdańsk (in Poland) were chosen as contrasting examples: the former well advanced in terms of administration collaborating with citizens, the latter one taking initial steps towards responsibility sharing.

Amersfoort, Netherlands: designing a collaborative city administration

In Amersfoort, city of 160 000 inhabitants, city leaders took social innovation as an opportunity to initiate a complete process of experimentation and change of their administration's practices in order to build more collaboration with citizens and deliver better-designed and more cost-efficient public services. This happened in reaction to budget shortages, to the transfer of some administrative competences from the national to the city level, and for greater involvement of citizens in city governance, who were already increasingly engaging in grassroots initiatives.

The transformation of the city governance started circa in 2012 through three types of initiatives: collaborative experiments, ad hoc initiatives implemented by citizens, and the institutionalisation of a new governance paradigm.

The complexity and overlap of initiatives undertaken since 2012 is presented in Figure 1.

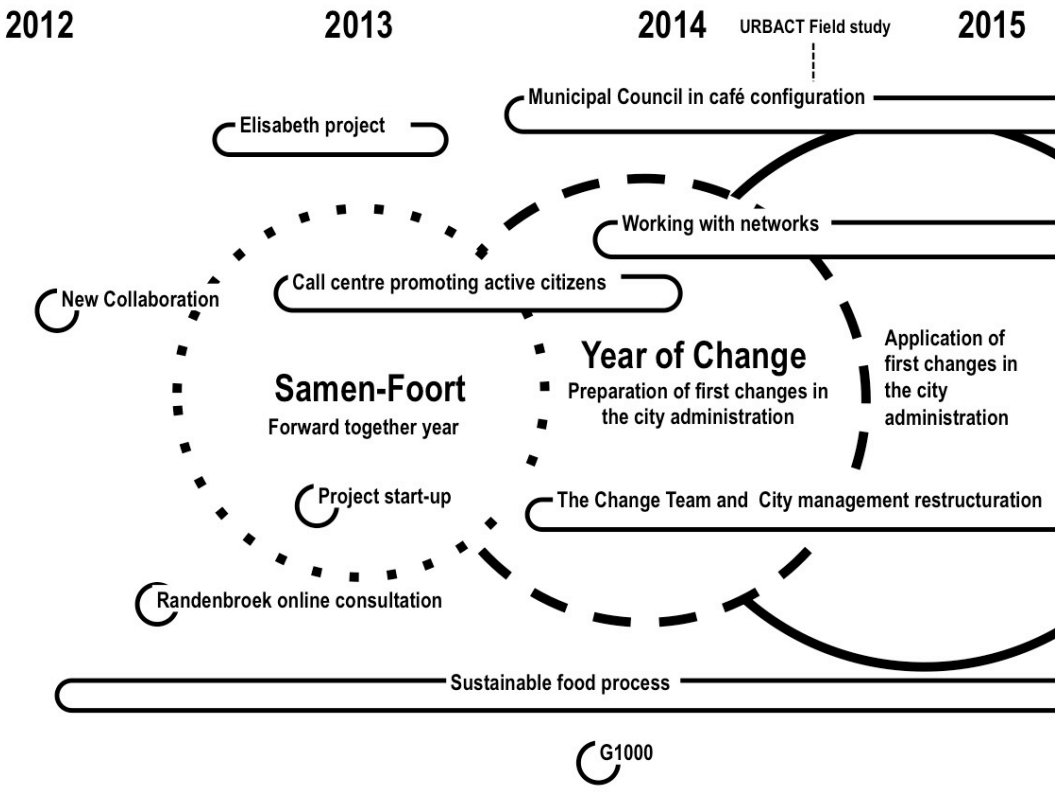

Figure 1: Towards a more collaborative city administration in Amersfoort: key experiments, projects, and practices (Jégou, Bonneau 2015)

[26] Further insights on the methodology and outputs can be found on the project's website: http://www.sustainable-everyday-project.net/urbact-socialinnovationincities

The originality of this change process is that it was not planned nor articulated. On the contrary, it has been more distributed and systemic: it should be compared to a process of acupuncture where a series of new practices are emerging progressively in the city and in the administration. These new practices interact together and improve and they progressively produce a systemic change in the city (Jégou 2010).

The *New Collaboration*, which took place in 2013 is the example of a collaborative experiment which brought together citizens, council members and civil servants, in a large public conference, to discuss the democratic system and explore how to organise these new modes of collaboration between citizens and the city administration. The G1000, organised in 2014, was another experimentation based on the Brussels' first experience, were citizens as well as civil servants and elected representatives (in their function of citizens) discussed perspectives for the city and to 10 project plans out of more than 100 ideas. Innovative in this process was the face that the participants were randomly invited and that a number of 650 eventually turned out.

One of the initiating initiatives which were implemented by citizens was that of creating a green area in place of a former hospital, soon to be demolished. Because of the citizens' interest and energy involved in expressing their thoughts on the design of the new park, the administration gave a group of them the mandate to redesign it. This *Elisabeth project* was then submitted to the administrative council, who approved it. Following this success, the administration started a reflexion process with citizens as to the way they wanted their city to be governed. In 2013 they promoted *Samen-Foort*, ('Forward Together'), a year of reflexion with multiple experiments in participation and bottom-up pilot projects including collective innovation forums, exchange initiatives between citizens and the city administration and new participative processes. The success of all these initiatives and the growing recognition of the interest that all stakeholders in the city showed in them pushed Amersfoort's city leaders to declare 2014 as the Year of Change. The Year of Change was a year of collective rethinking and preparation of the reorganisation of the city administration's practices and management structure, which has being implemented progressively from 2015 onwards in order to facilitate this new model of collaboration between the city's population and its administration. The administration also developed the role of *free range civil servants*, who spend time meeting and interacting with citizens in their daily settings before bringing back their insights and sharing them with their colleagues from the administration.

Gdańsk : initial steps towards responsibility sharing

Gdańsk is a city of 462,000 inhabitants in the Baltic region of Poland. Through its geographical and historical position, it played an important role through Poland's economical and political history. More recently, in 1980, it was the cradle of the country's first free trade-union movement led by Solidarność.

As in many other European cities, the administration of the city has been traditionally perceived as being closed and isolated from its citizens. Citizens did not have faith in the city council's decision nor did they have faith in the channels they could use to communicate with the administration. The administration itself was not necessarily familiar with the issues faced by citizens and was facing increasing issues that could not be tackled through traditional command and control approach. As such, an incremental and unstrategised process started to take place in 2007.

The starting point was the work on a so-called "internal think tank", the *Club of Gdańsk*: administrators gathered with the support of an external moderator in order to reflect on their city's present and desired future. After a series of meetings, some key values were defined, which were meant to provide the conceptual basis for strategic work of the city. These were amongst other: trust, participation, honesty, responsibility, being closer to the citizen, individual and institutional openness, harmonisation, social cohesion and long-term perspectives. Although this work was not translated into any strategic document, it was the baseline for the *Gdańsk, My City*, a programme on citizenship and social policy. More importantly, it nurtured the vision of the participatory process which was carried out in order to design the strategy of the city for

2030. Through a mix of an online consultation, drawing contest and workshops, citizens were given a *carte blanche* to express their needs and wishes. The administration could assess the expectations of the citizens and combined them to form the city strategy. The administration is now operationalising each points of the citizens-made strategy.

A key element of such participatory activities has been the creation of new skills and integration of external actors: the administration learnt to be open and curious, to set down from a management to a coordination role. It also hired an external, and neutral, moderator to facilitate the events.

In parallel, the city mayor realised the need to change the approach to the way the city was being governed. He appointed high level officials from backgrounds others than the traditional administrative background: these were former psychologists, journalists, NGOs activists. Through these appointments and the creation of a unit dealing with cooperation with NGOs, the administration started to work outside its traditional silos: departments started to interact, expertise from the ground was being integrated, responsibility started to being shared with street-level actors.

This cross-fertilisation among departments also shed the need to gain in efficiency and effectiveness of problem-solving: the administration merged the department of social development and education.

In addition, the city administration created the Institute of City Culture: the purpose was to use culture as a vector for citizens' empowerment and creation of community feeling. The institute was also responsible for the set-up of projects together with citizens, such as the improvement of the centrally located Coal Square, which then provided a concrete example of what can emerge when forces are brought together.

Figure 2: The participatory process of the Gdańsk 2030 Plus Strategy ©Żaneta Kucharska&Jacek Zabłotny, UMG

Discussion: Mapping commonalities and differences

The two cases represent two different cultures of governance, which have grown up amid different historical backgrounds and citizenship cultures: a more bottom-up and participative one in Western Europe (the Netherlands) contrasting with a more top-down command-and-control one in Eastern Europe (Poland).

At first glance the experimentation of social innovation in the two cities is very different. Amersfoort offers an example of a progressive design process of a collaborative city administration. This design process is based on a distributed approach of innovative practices and experimentations taking place at all levels of the municipal administration.

However, starting to reposition a city administration and taking action to initiate collaboration with citizens requires a progressive process with a starting point, first steps, accessible initiatives, and less risky experiments to bring home the first results and raise trust among stakeholders. Gdańsk shows these initial steps towards responsibility sharing.

However, we observed that not only do the city administrations have followed paths which find echo for each of them in other European cities, but also that key elements are found in the two cities.

These elements are found in the two cities at different scales. In the figure below, we present them from those the least to the most advanced in terms of promoting and engaging in social innovation. The elements relate to the details of the case studies: the closer they are indicated to a city, the stronger the element was in the given city.

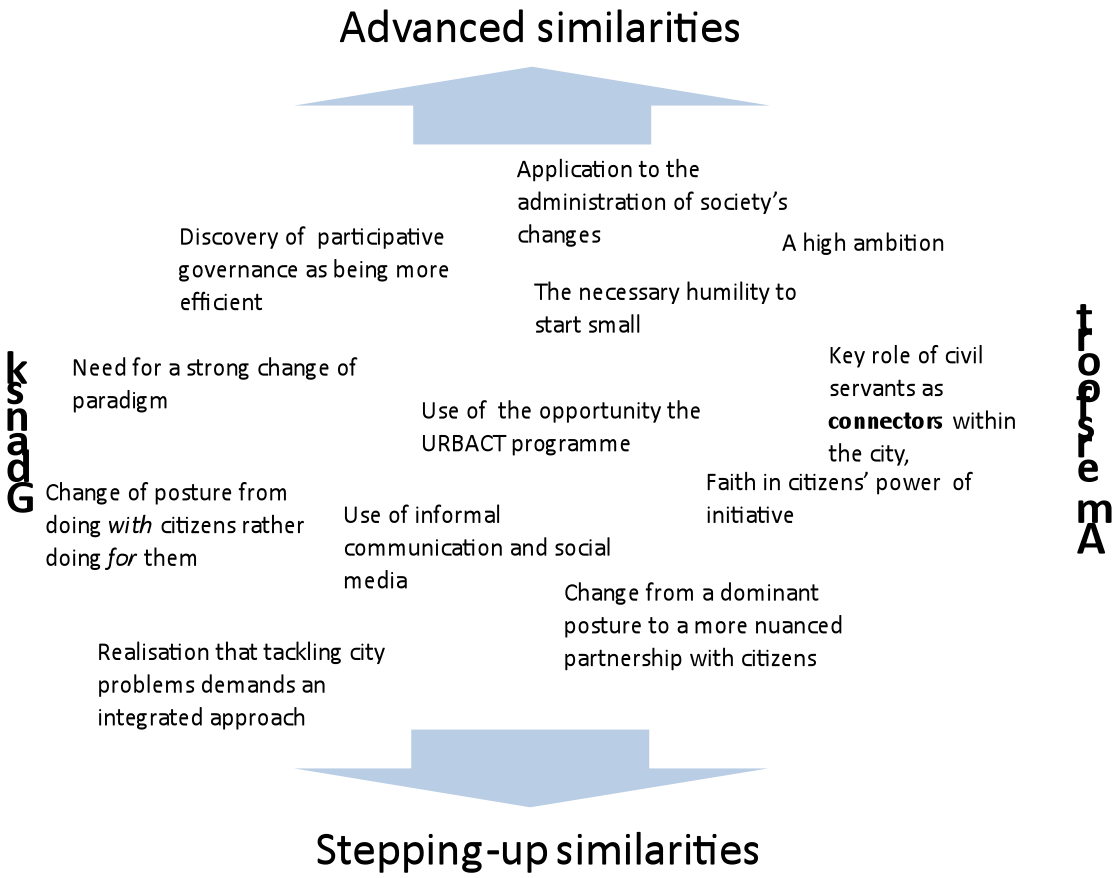

Figure 3: Key similarities in the two cases under study (Jégou, Bonneau 2015)

In the two cities, the administrations realised that the issues they were facing were dire. These were calling for an integrated approach, both horizontally and vertically. This meant applying to the administration of the changes the city would like to see in society as whole: co-working, cross-silos cooperation, increased trust and communication.

They have been conscious of the need for a strong change of paradigm, which may elicit strong opposition and which needs to be fought for. Administrations have changed their posture doing *with* citizens rather doing *for* them. They took on the humility to start small, at points where there are citizens with the energy and opportunity to achieve quick positive results, which can then be built on. They also played the role of connectors within the city, who demonstrate empathy and the capacity to understand all the other stakeholders.

They have also strongly impulsed a change from a dominant posture to a more nuanced partnership with citizens and to share responsibility. As such, they trust the poser of citizens to be initiators and let them be an integral part of the implementation of city policies. This has also

happened in the light that city administration can no longer afford the command and control attitude, that worked in the past. Taking difficult contexts and budget austerity into account, without surrender. they have discovered that participative governance is more efficient.

The administrations have communicated beyond the official communication mechanisms of the municipality. They have widely used informal communication and social media, creating direct interaction with citizens. This has enabled them to be closer to their citizens and create immediate and personal interaction, presenting civil servants as being "citizens like others".

Finally, they, Gdansk in particular, have used the opportunity the URBACT programme presents to exchange with other cities as a lever to convince people that if change is possible elsewhere, it is also possible here.

Steps towards social innovation in cities

The two case studies provided detailed insights into the processes required to change the governance paradigm for a city. Moving beyond the commonalities observed above, and relying on other data gathered during the URBACT capitalisation research, we have identified 10 actions or steps that have supported cities' change of governance model.

Changing governance paradigm requires ….

1. **a strong leadership.** Changes happening in the city administrations have emerged from various levels of hierarchy: city mayors, other city leaders, manager/strategist and front-line civil servants have also initiated innovative disruption. Such leadership can be the carrier of the vision or the coordinator of activities, but in any case is embedding and supporting a strategic vision.
2. **energy of all.** The observed initiatives have been supported by enthusiastic people from the administration and beyond, including stakeholders and citizens. They were personally touched by them and were trusted and empowered to play a role in the city governance.
3. **small steps.** Experimentation was first initiated on subjects without too much political or other tensions, were quick results could be achieved. They ensured visibility and more accessible evaluation of the outcomes, both internally to the administration and to the general public.
4. **co-production beyond bottom-up or top-down.** City administrations sought to find areas where citizens are involved in the collaborative design of public services, and where there is ongoing communication and exchange.
5. **internal disruption.** Some initiatives were launched at civil servant levels in the form of micro initiatives such as exchanges and communication, investigating needs and interests. Some were started without having the commitment of all managers, city leaders, etc. These were stepping stones to gaining trust and persuading hierarchy to get involved in new experiments addressing more difficult problems and trying more risky solutions.
6. **conversation.** Successes have shown that a key factor is the creation of specific spaces for people to exchange: these can be both physical (conference rooms or cafes) or online (dedicated platforms). Through *pecha kucha* evenings, city cafés or other innovative meetings they stimulated people to discuss the idea of a new city governance.
7. **a multi-stakeholder approach.** Mapping and connecting existing actors and initiatives, coming from different backgrounds and with different interests, were key to start an experiment. These may have included elected members, active citizens, entrepreneurs, civil servants, large and small organisations, commercial firms, NGOs, etc, all treated equally.

8. **a broker.** Stepping down from their management role, some cities have become coordinator and matchmaker, ensuring that all parties are brought together. They learnt to 'let go' but also to monitor closely without being involved.
9. **capacity-building.** New skills and competences of civil servant were developed. They were trained in advisory, process guiding and networking competences. Networks were installed for work across sectors and departments.
10. **new forms of funding**. In light of increasing budget constraints, cities have consulted citizens in the best use of public budgets, for example through participatory budgets. They have developed calls for projects and ad hoc funding for innovative solution to city problems. They outsourced some city governance activities through innovative forms of procurement which enable creativity and thinking out of the box (competitions, prizes etc.). They have also promoted social participation in the funding of projects via crowdfunding, loans and venture philanthropy by social investment funds.

Figure 4: In Amersfoort, civil servants are encouraged to work more on the field and get in contact with the citizens, as free-range civil servants © City of Amersfoort (left), Cor Holtackers (right)

Conclusions

Amersfoort and Gdańsk strongly embed a vision of changing governance for the better well-being of their citizens. They were not officially following nor did they refer to Transition Management. However, the results of this project found echo in the experience of other cities operating such a transition which were participating in the 4th Informed cities Forum organized by ICLEI on 26 and 27 March 2015 in Rotterdam. Many of those cities were being cooperating with DRIFT in order to ground their approach in scientific frameworks. This was not the case in our URBACT project. It would be therefore interesting, as a next step, to create more linkages between studies which analyse social innovation as *process* carried out by city administrations, and transition management ones. Such an approach could contribute to the improvement of the Transition Management model, at the same time as to the wealth of empirical evidence.

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Discussant contribution

Case studies of social innovation or sustainable consumption

Karin Dobernig[1], Edina Vadovics[2]

[1]University of Applied Sciences Wiener Neustadt, Austria;

[2]GreenDependent Institute, Hungary

The four papers presented in this session addressed divergent cases of sustainable consumption and social innovations from various theoretical lenses and levels of analysis. Thus, they are reflective of the richness that the fields of social innovation and social consumption provide, both with regards to the conceptualization of what cases of sustainable consumption and social innovations entail as well as the research methodologies employed to foster our understanding about them.

The first paper *Narratives of change: How Social Innovation Initiatives engage with their transformative ambitions* presents a very structured, innovative analysis of the narratives existing in social innovation networks and thereby appreciates the power of stories in social change processes. As all of the cases presented are examples of well-established social innovation networks, it would be interesting to explore the dynamics of the narratives i.e. if and how the narrative has evolved and changed over the course of time.

The second paper *Doing sustainability in a Viennese Cohousing project: A praxeological case study* conceptualizes social innovations as social experiments and niches of socio-ecological transformation. The paper presents an in-depth case study of a co-housing project and builds on rich qualitative and quantitative data, thus addressing the need for measurement of social and environmental impacts of social innovations. The study also points to the interesting concept of *alliances of motives*.

The paper *Hitting a policy wall. The transformative potential and limitations of Community Pick-Up Point Schemes* regards social innovations as new ways of doing, organizing, knowing and framing. It positions community pick-up points schemes (CPPS) in the realm of alternative food networks and social innovations, and aims to assess its transformative potential through an institutional analysis. It would be interesting to learn more about the socio-demographic profile of the interview sample as well as to deepen the conceptual links between social innovations and notions such as political consumerism.

The last paper *City administrations adaption to new governance models* differs from the other three in that it introduces a top-down aspect of social innovations. The authors conceptualize social innovations as a "new form of governance" and present two case studies of cities embracing and working with the concept of social innovations. It would be interesting to have more details about the specific initiatives in the respective cities, as well as about the data used in the analysis.

The broad variety in conceptual, methodological and sectoral foci presented in the four papers lends itself to the – much discussed albeit still crucial – question **when is something a case of social innovation of social innovation or sustainable consumption** and, thus, of how to delimit the concept of social innovations with respect to other concepts such as niches, social experiments, and so forth.

As there is much talk about how to spread and scale-up social innovations, it becomes relevant to look at **lifecycle of social innovations** and explore various questions emerging in different stages of the life of a social innovation, such as whether a social innovation is still a social innovation once it has become institutionalized.

While there is a general, implicit assumption that social innovations exhibit a certain degree of transformative potential and are in sync with social and environmental sustainability agendas, it is important to reflect on the linkages between social innovations and sustainable consumption and to focus research efforts on **social innovations *for* sustainable consumption.**

If we classify social innovations according to impacts, and not only intentions, it becomes paramount to **measure social and environmental consequences** of social innovations as well as to relate the attributed transformative potential to concrete, measurable outcomes.

Discussion Notes

Case studies of social innovation or sustainable consumption

Ágnes Zsóka

Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary

Emerging general topics

General discussion focused on three main issues: (a) evolution of the concept of social innovation; (b) the question of intentions behind social innovation initiatives; and (c) impacts of social innovation initiatives.

Regarding the evolution of the concept of social innovation, the main discussion point was what social innovation really means. Defining social innovation in broader terms, it includes all kinds of innovative ideas and processes of a community which lead to radical change and are able to solve social challenges or problems, by utilising the creativity of citizens. Using this approach, it seems necessary to find relationship between social innovation and sustainability/sustainable consumption. Today it is unclear whether social innovation per se should or should not contribute to sustainable consumption. The construct seems to be broader than the framework and the expectations of sustainability. Social innovation does not necessarily contribute to sustainable consumption per definion.

When talking about the intentions of social innovation, the question was raised whether it is important at all to find clear intentions behind initiatives which we call social innovation or it is enough if the initiative demonstrates the patterns and the outcome of social innovation. The phenomenon of rebound effects helped answer this dilemma: in order to avoid rebound effects, rising awareness is crucial, ideally already at the beginning, but latest during the process. Rising awareness leads to expressed intentions of social innovation, instead of unaware actions which provide some forms of social as result, but with rebound effects.

As in case of every model or process, measuring the impacts of social innovation will be important to assess the social innovation initiative, to compare one initiative with another, and to analyse its contribution to sustainability. Those social innovation processes are most welcome which do challenge economic growth and mainstream economic system because these contribute to radical change of the current economic logic and provide alternatives to current solutions. Indicators and a measurement system have to be elaborated to differentiate between types of social innovation, in terms of their contribution to sustainability.

As conclusion, the most important tasks for future research are: clarifying the concept of social innovation, identifying the intentions behind social innovation initiatives – at the beginning and during the process, and last but not least, measuring the outcome, the impact of social innovation process in terms of its contribution to sustainability.

Main discussion points on the paper by Wittmayer et al.

In the discussion it was emphasised how important narratives are to bring about change and to make activities in the social innovation process visible, understandable and conscious. The three examples described and compared in the paper have very different background, goals, narratives, scope and impact, which makes comparison and assessment difficult. On the other hand, they are relevant and perfect examples of sustainable social innovation initiatives. The

ability of well formulated narratives in extending the culture of this or that specific social innovation is crucial.

Main discussion points on the paper by Leitner and Littig

The Viennese Cohousing project evoked a lively discussion. Several questions were raised regarding the exact design of the project, the process of engaging participants to live in this community, the realisation of the project and experiences after the first period. When assessing the results of the Viennese Cohousing project, it turned out that social benefits are much more obvious than environmental benefits. The case study provides a very good basis for further research to analyse to what extent the project fosters sustainability, which are the main drivers and obstacles of the social innovation process in this specific case and in similar situations. Phenomena like pursuing previous habitual individual behaviour under changed circumstances, free riding ('cooperation problems') related to the use of common goods (e.g. facilities), or gender-specific work distribution issues draw attention to limitations and challenges to manage, in order to achieve real lifestyle change and contribute to sustainability.

Main discussion points on the paper by McFarland and Wittmayer

The paper and the presentation were already quite critical about the transformative potential of Community Pick-up Point Scheme initiatives in relation to the dominant food systems. The description of this potential and limitations evoke a debate on whether social innovation initiatives should grow and reach a wider scale or expansion will hurt the main concept and ruin some results of social innovation. A further important conceptual point was in the discussion, whether small scale social innovation initiatives may/should have a transformative potential for the whole system or rather they are meant to change the logic and practices for the small community which started with the initiative and a broader systemic change will happen somehow through a wide range of smaller social innovation activities.

Main discussion points on the paper by Bonneau and Jégou

Experiences from the URBACT program related to social innovation in cities resulted in a discussion on collaborative governance approaches. The most disputed issue was whether fostering a better relationship between the city administration and the inhabitants can be called social innovation, or this is a smart idea of the major to appeal citizens and win the next elections. Beside municipality actions, initiatives of citizens are also crucial and clarify the process of institutionalising collaboration. There were several questions raised to the specific patterns of the two programs, because the two cities in the case study have totally different cultural background, initiatives, and they are in a different phase of the development process of collaboration.

III Actions, Roles & Inter-actions

Introduction to Session 3

Actions, roles and interactions of diverse participants

Julia Wittmayer

DRIFT, Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

In social innovation and sustainable consumption initiatives a whole range of actors are involved. This third workshop session focuses on their actions, roles and interactions.

In terms of actors, one can think of individual (such as researcher or activist) or organizational actors (such as community energy groups or NGO's). We can also distinguish between actors relating to different institutional logics, such as state, market, Third Sector or community. The four papers mainly introduce actors which can be considered as Third Sector actors, for example the community energy networks or co-creators of the collaborative economy concept in Vienna. In terms of the latter, these are framed in different roles by the contributing paper as true believers, market optimists, dedicated critics or healthy sceptics (see paper by Katarzyna Gruszka).

Actors can engage in a number of different actions and strategies in realizing their transformative ambitions such as providing alternatives to current systems, creating critical mass or supportive networks, influencing societal discourses or individual value change (Jørgensen et al. 2015). The contributing papers show, that these actions can be more intrinsically motivated such as the setting up and development of a community energy group (see paper by Iain Soutar) or more coercively induced such as reductions in consumption patterns (see paper by Mária Csutora and Ágnes Zsóka.

The interaction of actors can be described in different ways, such as for example cooperation, collaboration and struggle as outlined in the call for papers. It can focus on internal dynamics within a collective actor, such as the processes of collaboration and issues of leadership in community energy groups (see paper by Iain Soutar), but can also focus on the dynamics between actors. One of the contributing papers for example outlines the struggle of competing framings of the concept of the collaborative economy (see paper by Katarzyna Gruszka). Another contribution outlines the interaction between actors in their roles as researchers and activities and how these two roles are feeding each other in terms of actions, i.e. how research results are put into action and research needs are identified (see paper by Emese Gulyás).

Fundamentally this theme has the potential to draw attention to the politics of transformation and the relevance of mundane activities to what are typically presented as grander societal challenges.

Framing the Collaborative Economy

Katarzyna Gruszka

Vienna University of Economics and Business

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Introduction

The magnitude of interconnected ecological, economic and social issues has become referred to as multiple crises (Haberl et al., 2011; Brandt et al. 2013; Scoones et al. 2015). In a multiple crises reality, challenges such as poverty, growing inequality, biodiversity loss, to name just a few, need to be addressed, with consumption-focused lifestyles among the key areas (see e.g. Raworth, 2012). To use Stirling's words: "the crucial challenge is not whether to achieve the necessary radical technological, political, economic and cultural changes, but how" (2015:62).

Regarding the how, attention is increasingly focused on the systemic nature of the issues in question, emphasizing the need for overhaul system transformation rather than its tweaking (Naidoo, 2014; Stirling 2014, 2015). Stirling (2011, 2014, 2015) explores this realm through drawing a heuristic distinction between transition and transformation as two ways of thinking about radical social change. The former is characterized by management and control of the incumbents, tightly disciplined knowledges, reaching a particular known end, often hooked on a technological-fix. The latter brings diversity, unruly alignments challenging the mainstream, plurality of knowledges reaching contested or even unknown ends, with a stronger focus on social innovation.

Within the context of multiple crises and change, a range of practices discussed under the umbrella term of collaborative (or sharing) economy have been gaining considerable attention. Supporters build an idealistic vision of collaborative societies (see e.g. OuiShare, 2015; Shareable, 2015a). Critics have been stripping the concept of its visionary potential, referring to capitalism in new clothing, and portraying it more as a pipe dream (see e.g. Morozov, 2014; Eckhardt and Bardi, 2015; Cohen, in press). The terminology itself is a first step into the issues, since collaborative consumption, sharing economy and CE are often used interchangeably. In the paper, collaborative economy (CE) is mostly adhered to as intuitively most flexible of the terms, seemingly gaining followers in Europe (see e.g. Nesta 2014; OuiShare, 2015).

In the whirl of definitional issues, and the voices of enthusiasts and critics, I look into the debates surrounding CE with the aim of uncovering common framings among the co-creators of the concept in Austria's capital, Vienna. Towards this aim a Q study is conducted, i.e. a mixed method enabling analyses of subjective perceptions on socially contested topics (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Q entails a set of statements representing the discourse in question. The statements are sorted by the group of interest (here: members of organizations, companies, communities, etc. involved in CE in Vienna) on a relative ranking scale. Through factor-rendering, Q enables a better understanding of the concept on a local level, elucidating both areas of consent and contention in the underlying views.

In Section 2, I bring some voices present in the debates to the fore to outline the heterogeneity inherent to CE. Section 3 guides the reader through the essentials of Q methodology, and presents the identified factors in a narrative format. I close the paper with a brief discussion

setting the factors in relation to the debates, and conclude with remarks on further research directions.

Collaborative economy – a concept in trouble

In an attempt to capture the diversity of voices in sharing and collaboration related debates, Juliet Schor (2014) defines sharing or collaborative economy as a range of digital platforms and offline activities centered on the highly contested concept of sharing. The word "broadly" is of key importance, since relevant activities span from financially successful companies like Airbnb, carsharing platforms on both peer-to-peer level and provided by companies well-established in the car industry, to smaller initiatives such as repair collectives, makerspaces, or tool libraries, to take just a few of examples. This diversity and fuzzy boundaries drawn by both participants and initiatives render "coming up with a solid definition of the sharing economy that reflects common usage nearly impossible" (ibid:2). Schor (2014) suggests four categories present within CE: 1) recirculation of goods (with eBay and Craigslist at its origin); 2) increased utilization of durable assets (functioning well among the better-off possessing e.g. space or means of transport to be used more intensively via car- or lodging-sharing platforms, as well as bringing non-monetized initiatives usually on neighborhood level to the fore); 3) exchange of services (originating from time banks, yet both monetary and non-monetary in character); and 4) sharing of productive assets (e.g. hackerspaces, makerspaces, co-working spaces, open and peer-to-peer educational platforms). In Schor's framing, collaborative initiatives are both for- and non-profit regarding market orientation, and P2P or B2P in terms of market structure, each of these being critical in determining the visions and goals e.g. regarding organizational growth.

Those fond of the topic often embark on their journey with Botsman and Rogers (2010) who adhere to the term collaborative consumption. They define it as sharing, bartering, swapping, lending, trading, renting, and gifting, redefined through technology and peer communities, changing both what and how we consume (Botsman and Rogers, 2010)[27]. Ageyman et al. (2013) criticize this approach for focusing on goods and services relevant predominantly for affluent middle-class lifestyles. They emphasize that the "cutting edge" of sharing and collaborative practices is often not only of commercial value, but relates to shared use of infrastructure, public services, or even informal behavior like unpaid care and support. The question of drivers behind the increased propensity to share and collaborate is less contested, spanning from a renewed belief in the importance of community, peer-to-peer social networks and real time technologies, growing environmental awareness, and the realities of the global recession (see e.g. Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Ageyman et al., 2013; Botsman 2013; Parsons, 2014; Nesta 2014). Schor (2014) adds the trendiness of collaborative platforms, along with a deeper commitment to social transformation.

These discussions are also anchored in issues surrounding sharing itself. A strong position is held here by Belk who starts from looking specifically at what constitutes sharing (2007, 2010) to later embed his approach in the context of sharing economy and collaborative consumption (2014a, 2014b). Belk (2010) contrasts sharing with gift giving and commodity exchange as the three ways of resource distribution and acquisition. He sets sharing as a necessarily altruistic, non-reciprocal behavior, opposing it to materialism and possessive individualism, and emphasizing the cultural-learning behind these (Belk, 2007, 2010). Belk (2014a) investigates commonalities between sharing and collaborative consumption, focusing particularly on what

[27] The authors categorize these behaviors as **Redistribution markets,** i.e. redistribution of used or pre-owned goods from where they are no longer needed to where such need exists. **Collaborative lifestyles**, i.e. grouping of people aimed at sharing and exchanging less tangible assets such as skills, space, time, etc. (e.g. local exchange trading systems, co-working spaces). **Product-service systems,** i.e. systems whereby consumers pay for what a product does for them, rather than for the outright ownership of this product, thinking more in line with a "usage-mindset".

he would consider genuine sharing. In defining collaborative consumption, "bartering[28], trading, and swapping, which involve giving and receiving non-monetary compensation[29]" (ibid:1597) are included, yet activities where compensation is absent are excluded. Collaborative consumption is, then, placed somewhere in-between sharing and marketplace exchange (Belk, 2014a). Belk (2014b) introduces the term 'pseudo-sharing' to depict recently popularized practices that 'masquerade' as sharing. As long as the users have a utilitarian rather than communitarian and altruistic reasons, there is no sharing involved (ibid). Real sharing is embodied in e.g. online-facilitated offline sharing such as listing free goods on Craigslist and the like.

John (2012, 2013) explores the increasing diversity in popular understandings of sharing, shaped and transformed through increased adoption of social media and sharing economy. He discusses sharing as "a concept that incorporates a wide range of distributive and communicative practices [which carries] a set of positive connotations to do with our relations with others and more just allocation of resources" (2012: 176). He looks into three spheres (John, 2013): Web 2.0, sharing economies of production and consumption, and interpersonal relationships – each interrelated by the metaphor of sharing. Sharing economies i.e. "those in which money, or more specifically, the ability to make it, is not a relevant factor in motivating participation" (ibid: 118), can be either of consumption or production[30]. Similarly to Web 2.0, the concept of sharing is not bringing new modes of human behavior to the table, "but rather these new forms are defined and discussed in terms of sharing" instead of e.g. gift giving. In consumption, the author focuses on Botsman and Rogers' (2010) work, and points out that sharing is presented here in its naïve understanding of sharing what we own, and shared access to commonly owned goods (John, 2013).

As Schor (2014) explains, the initial feel-good story of sharing economy is having trouble to stand the test of time with the involvement of for-profit giants and venture capital backed start-ups. The proponents of the concept build their vision on the promise of wide-spread empowerment and participation of people, social connectedness, resource efficiency, and money saving (see e.g. Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Botsman, 2013; Nesta 2014; Wagner and Kuhndt, 2015; OuiShare 2015; Shareable 2015a). Access over ownership, sharing, collaboration, co-creation, decentralization, peer-to-peer are some more key words, positioned as a vision that, if broadly implemented, will foster our search for answers to today's reality overridden with multiple crises and "create value beyond economic aspects" (Wagner and Kuhndt, 2015:6). Voices of opposition keep growing, and once contrasted with the visionary tale of (often uncritical) supporters and the practices of giants quoted as the flagships of CE, they do strike a chord. Regulatory issues bring both the consumer and worker rights into question (Baker, 2014; Kalamar 2013), since instead of transforming the social fabric some of the platforms are exploratory and based on the mantra of self-interest (Morozov, 2014; Parsons, 2014; Roose, 2014; Slee 2014; Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2015). Cases of CE reproducing class, gender and racial biases can also be found (e.g. Hardin and Luca, 2014). Using sharing economy as "another vehicle for tax and regulatory arbitrage" (Baker, 2015) is also of concern. The commonly quoted environmental benefits still lack comprehensive studies and often function as a truism among sharers that does not pass the test of system-scale impacts (Schor 2014: Cohen, in press), particularly once the ripple effects are taken into consideration. Criticism, however, frequently hits only a limited part of the sector, what Ageyman and McLaren (2015) refer to as commercial extremes. As Cohen (in press) explains, in his work he bashes "Big Sharing" with arguments that

[28] Curiously enough, contradictions are also present here, since in 2014b Belk discusses online-facilitated barter economies as a case of pseudo-sharing, "of either goods and services or of monies and virtual currencies, it is only pseudo-sharing, even if it is at a neighborhood level with face-to-face transactions." (Belk 2014b: 14).

[29] To quote the author, "money profanes the sharing transaction and transforms it into a commodity exchange" (2014b: 20).

[30] Wikipedia is given as an example of sharing economies of production. In production, sharing is used in reference to commons (shared by all), or in a way implicating an agent sharing e.g. time or knowledge with others (2013: 118-9)

might lose validity outside of the US context. Such context-sensitivity, however, is often missing or indicated only as a side note.

Concluding the heated debates, following Schor (2014) one might say that CE is at a critical juncture – a juncture where the potential of this concept in terms of economic, ecological, and social values it can bring could be realized along the lines drawn by the proponents, or end up wasted by a short-lived hyped concept. In the study, those active in diversifying the collaborative and sharing landscape in Vienna are placed on that juncture and asked for their visions and understandings.

Framing the collaborative economy with the use of Q methodology

Against such background, a Q study with co-creators of the collaborative scene in Vienna was conducted. The following sections introduce Q methodology in greater detail, closing with narrative interpretation of the identified factors.

Q methodology

Applied most often in its original discipline, social psychology, Q is a mixed method enriching the varieties of discourse analysis (Stephenson, 1953; Barry and Props, 1999). Its use in various areas has been increasing to include e.g. political sciences (Brown, 1980), human geography (Eden et al., 2005), environmental policy issues (Addams and Proops, 2000; Cairns and Stirling, 2014), ecological economics (Barry and Proops, 1999; Swedeen, 2006; Davies and Hodge, 2012).

Q is a qualitative, yet statistical approach, with its 'mixed' nature reflected in its ability to reveal key viewpoints of individuals and build a holistic understanding thereof (Watts and Stenner, 2012). It is particularly suitable for topics around which there is social contestation. Q applies purposive sampling typically including 20-40 participants, therefore being a "small n' methodology" (Cairns and Stirling, 2014:27). Q roughly includes three stages:

1) a selection of statements reflecting the diversity of opinions about the subject of interest is collected (the concourse), and a sub-set of these are selected (the Q sample/Q set) in order to be fitted by the participants into a typically forced-choice distribution
2) participants (or the P-set) are selected to carry out the Q sorting process;
3) results are statistically analysed (in search for patterns, or frames, in understanding a given topic), and the resulting patterns are interpreted with the aid of comments made by participants

Source: Cairns and Stirling, 2014:27

The final result, thus, is a set of factors that represent similarly performed sorts. These factors and the discourses they bring are interpretive units (Swedeen, 2006). The proceeding sections look into the conducted Q study in greater detail.

From concourse to Q set

The concourse statements, i.e. "a population of statements from which a final Q set is sampled" (Watts and Stenner, 2012:34) were identified via reading of a range of sources: academic literature on the topic, non-academic sources (here mainly articles from the three key supporting networks: OuiShare, Shareable, and Collaborative Consumption[31]), and informal communication with individuals involved with the topic. The concourse reached 'saturation point' (Eden et al., 2005) at a total number of 328 statements. The statements were scrutinized in search for reoccurring themes, including e.g. pillars and activities, novelty, change, impact, criticism, drivers. These were reflected in a final Q set of 48 statements (see Table 1), the quality of which in terms of comprehensiveness, readability, and balanced content was tested in three pilot sorts.

[31] Ouishare http://ouishare.net/en, Shareable http://shareable.net/, Collaborative Consumption http://www.collaborativeconsumption.com/

Table 1: Statements in the final Q set, and the idealized sorting pattern (from -5 to +5) for each factor.

Statement	Idealized sort pattern			
	1	2	3	4
1. Collaborative economy refers to sharing, swapping, bartering, trading, and renting.	2	4	2	3
2. In collaborative economy, social, economic and environmental values are equally important	0	-4	-3	3
3. Collaborative economy is a resurgence of traditional methods of consumption, production and service delivery revitalized by technological developments.	-2	1	-2	4
4. Collaborative economy is as much about sharing, as it is about competition.	-4	-4	-2	-4
5. Collaborative economy activities include both monetary and non-monetary compensation.	0	2	3	0
6. Collaborative economy is a bottom-up movement built on distributed networks of connected individuals as opposed to centralized institutions.	0	3	2	-1
7. Collaborative economy redefines business models and the buyer-seller relationship.	2	0	0	2
8. Collaborative economy increases resource efficiency.	1	5	1	2
9. Collaborative economy makes it possible for virtually anything, including specialized skills or knowledge and used goods, to become currency.	0	2	-1	3
10. Collaborative economy is quickly becoming an unspecified catch-all term.	-2	1	3	2
11. Collaborative economy is media hype with little actual impact on consumer behavior.	-3	-5	-4	1
12. The discourse of novelty of collaborative economy is overrated.	-1	-3	1	5
13. There is a need for democratizing ownership and governance in collaborative economy.	3	-2	5	-5
14. Some collaborative economy initiatives are capitalism in new clothes.	2	0	5	1
15. Collaborative economy is a new term for renting.	-5	-2	0	-2
16. For-profit collaborative economy platforms have taken over what began as a progressive, socially transformative idea.	-1	-1	0	2
17. Collaborative economy aims to create fairer, more sustainable, and more socially connected societies.	5	2	-1	4
18. Collaborative economy promises stronger social connections and increased social inclusion.	4	-1	0	4
19. Collaborative economy occupies a middle ground between sharing and marketplace exchange.	-2	1	-1	0
20. Collaborative economy is embodied in recirculation or redistribution of unwanted or underused goods.	1	-1	-4	-2
21. Collaborative economy is embodied in increased utilization of assets that one owns.	-1	3	-2	2
22. Collaborative economy is embodied in exchange of services.	-1	0	-4	1
23. Collaborative economy is about sharing assets or space in order to enable production, rather than consumption.	-1	0	-2	-3
24. There are four pillars of collaborative economy: production, consumption, finance, and education.	-3	-1	-3	-1
25. Collaborative economy facilitates consumption and production on a local level.	0	1	-1	-1
26. Collaborative economy is based on both for-profit organizations and non-profit organizations.	1	3	3	0
27. Collaborative economy strengthens social inequality and addresses predominantly the better-off.	-4	-4	1	-4
28. The presumed environmental benefits of collaborative economy are based on the assumption of a reduction in demand for new goods and facilities.	-1	3	4	5
29. Collaborative economy has become a trendy concept.	1	4	1	3
30. Collaborative economy is a shift taking us towards new economy where self-interest and common good align.	1	0	1	-1
31. Collaborative economy values are at odds with the current predominant economic paradigm.	4	-1	0	-2
32. There is a need for measuring the environmental impact of collaborative economy.	3	0	2	-3
33. There is a need for measuring the social impact of collaborative economy.	3	0	2	-4
34. There is a need for assessing the economic impact of collaborative economy.	2	-2	0	-3
35. Collaborative economy can lead to less dependence on employers and more diversification in access to income, goods and services.	2	1	0	-2

36.Collaborative economy has been practiced within working classes and poorer communities, and is new to the better-off.	-3	0	-3	0
37.Collaborative economy has done little so far to change the politics, structures and institutions that underpin and promote unsustainable lifestyles.	0	-3	4	1
38.Social enterprises and community-owned enterprises are facilitated by collaborative economy.	0	-1	-1	-2
39.Cooperatives and participatory initiatives are at the core of collaborative economy.	4	1	4	0
40.The growth of collaborative economy reflects the increasing environmental awareness and commitment to changing our consumption and production patterns.	3	2	-3	-1
41.Collaborative economy helps in understanding that accumulating possessions is not going to guarantee wellbeing.	5	2	1	-1
42.Collaborative economy activities create new jobs and new market possibilities.	-2	5	0	0
43.Critics of collaborative economy are too cynical.	-2	-2	-2	-3
44.Collaborative economy mainly consists of venture capital backed startups.	-5	-2	-5	-5
45.Collaborative economy enables people to save money and tap into diverse sources of income.	1	-3	2	1
46.Many companies practice 'sharewashing': adopting sharing and collaboration as a buzzword for their products, regardless of whether these involve any actual sharing.	-4	-5	-1	1
47.Collaborative economy models cannot deliver the utopian outcomes its supporters suggest.	-3	-3	-5	0
48.We are consuming the same resources, whether we do it collaboratively or not.	0	4	3	0

Participants and procedure

The study included 24 individuals, coming from a variety of backgrounds. With 52 initiatives/organizations/individuals initially reached out to, the final number of participants stood for an almost 50% response rate. The participants were assured anonymity, hence only limited information on their gender (14 male and 10 female participants), age, and type of affiliation is revealed. The age of the participants ranges from 23 to 50, with the majority being born in the 1980s. Affiliation with a non-profit initiative dominates (17 participants), with 4 researchers, 3 for-profit initiatives and one other. Lack of interest from the commercial initiatives contacted was very common, adding an interesting point to the debates surrounding CE.

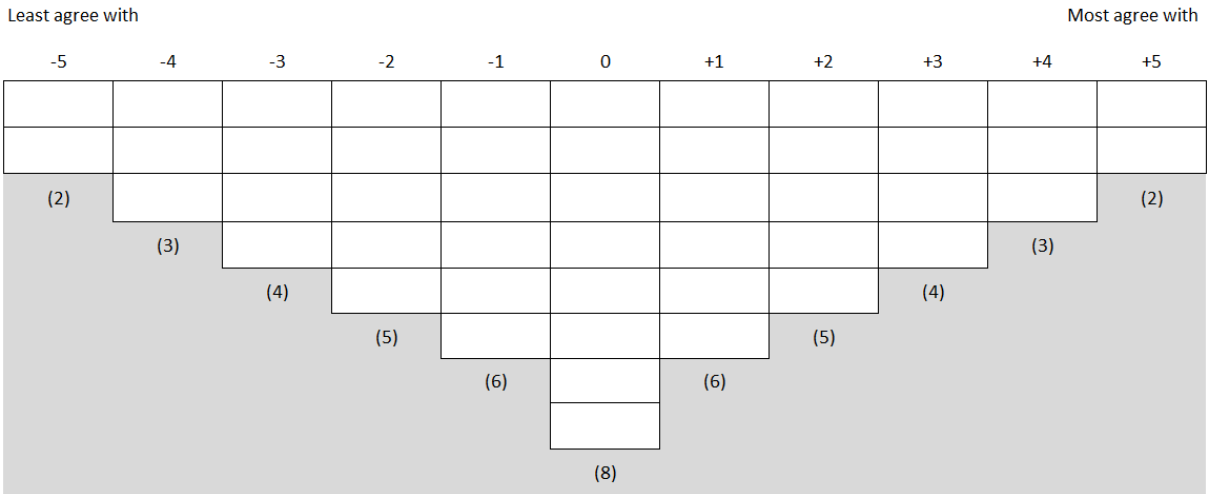

Figure 1: The distribution shape for sorting the Q set.

A pyramid-shaped or quasi-normal 11-point distribution was used (Figure 1), forcing the participants to sort 48 statements into a grid scaled from +5 (what one most agrees with) to -5 (what one least agrees with). The study was held mainly in a face-to-face setting, with three participants choosing the self-sorting package prepared in dedicated FlashQ software (http://www.hackert.biz/flashq/demo/). The data was enriched with post-sort interviews,

focused on reasoning behind the most salient statements placed on the extreme ends of the distribution, as well as the sort in general.

Statistical analysis

The Q sorts were analysed in PQMethod (www.lrz-muenchen.de/~schmolck/qmethod/). Starting from a correlation matrix quantifying the level of similarity between any two Q sorts, the key step is factor extraction that groups Q sorts according to proximity in allocating individual statements in the grid. Initially, 7 factors were extracted with the QCENT option, i.e. centroid factor analysis. These underwent varimax rotation, recommended as suitable for inductive Qs keen on exploring the majority of viewpoints in the studied group (Watts and Stenner, 2012), and aiming at "finding the simplest structure in the data that can explain the greatest amount of variability" (Swedeen, 2006:196). Factors with minimum two significantly loading Q sorts were kept for interpretation (Brown, 1980), where a loading at the $p < 0.01$ level was considered significant at ±0.37 (calculated accordingly: $2.58/\sqrt{n}$, n=number of items in the Q set; consequently $2.58/\sqrt{48}=0.3723$). This criterion narrowed the factors to 4[32]. The final four factors explain 40% of study variance. Importantly, a sort of an individual participant can be associated significantly with more than one factor, thereby showing the perspectives identified "are by no means mutually exclusive types" (Davies and Hodge, 2012:52). In a procedure of weighted averaging of significantly loading Q sorts, estimates of the viewpoint of each factor are extracted, and factor arrays with 'ideal' versions of a sorting per each factor are prepared (see Table 1). These constitute the cornerstone of the interpretative process, which was conducted with the help of the crib sheet device outlined by Watts and Stenner (2012).

Four framings of collaborative economy

The following narratives constitute an attempt of interpreting the perceptions on the concept of CE brought by each factor. The proposed readings stand for a possible take on the factors, with no claim of them being carved in stone or finite. They point to possible directions in the discursive landscape investigated. The interlinkages between the factors need to be emphasized, despite of their treatment here as discrete units. Each of the factors was assigned a name. The numbers in brackets correspond to the relevant statements from the sorted Q set (see Table 1).

Factor 1: "True Believers"[33]

The predominant goal of CE is to create fairer, more sustainable, and more connected societies (17). As such, CE fosters change through helping people understand that accumulating possessions does not guarantee wellbeing (41). CE, therefore, stands for certain values, and these values are at odds with what is currently dominant in the economic sphere of our lives (31). The growth of CE is a reflection of increasing environmental concerns, as well as the will to change the approach to consumption and production (40). Equating CE to redefined renting (15) and accusing it of being an unspecified catch-all term (10) is criticized. Commercial involvement of venture capital backed start-ups have been there from the start, but such activities have not managed to co-opt the transformative idea brought by CE (16, 44), the core of CE rests on participation and cooperatives (39), and strengthening social ties (18). This vision can be better realized with introducing more participation and democracy in governance in CE as currently practiced (13). Also, for further progress of the concept, measurements of primarily its environmental, but also social and economic impact are inevitable (32, 33, 34). In relation to the market, the value of CE lies in bringing stronger diversification and redefining how we see certain relationships, e.g. buyer-seller (7, 35, 42). In terms of scope, CE is embodied in a broad range of activities, from sharing, swapping, bartering, to trading and renting (1), with recirculation of goods as a particularly important aspect (20).

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[32] Statistical significance of the final factors meeting the 'two sorts' criterion was also confirmed by corresponding eigenvalues greater than 1 (Watts and Stenner, 2012)

[33] Five participants' sorts loaded significantly on this factor, all associated with non-commercial initiatives. Factor 1 explains 15% of the study variance and has an EV of 3.6.

Factor 2: "Market Optimists"[34]

CE encompasses sharing, swapping, bartering, trading and renting (1). The key benefits brought by these activities are twofold: a) the creation of new jobs and new market possibilities (42); and b) more efficient resource use (8), particularly in reducing the demand for new goods and facilities (28) and acting against the idle capacity of what one owns (21). The main driver lies in growing environmental awareness (40). As currently practiced, CE does not put social, economic and environmental values on a par (2), and its ability to strengthen social connections and increase social inclusion might be an empty promise (18). Originating as a bottom-up movement (6), CE is seen as a novel concept (12) that is already having an impact on consumer behavior (11), as well as on broader structures related to our current lifestyles (37). The concept has firmly entered the market and is trendy (29), and it's more than just media hype (11). VC-backed start-ups are not the main pillar of CE (44), and speaking of scaling-up practices of 'sharewashing' is unfounded (46). There is no strong need for reforming organizational structures of involved initiatives (13).

Factor 3: "Dedicated Critics"[35]

As currently practiced, CE is at risk of losing its meaning and becoming an unspecified catch-all term (10). The organizational structures of CE need to be urgently democratized and participatory elements need to be boosted (13), since some of the initiatives are capitalism in new clothes (14). This must be done, as CE brings a vision of building cooperation and participation into our socio-economic backbone (39), and without structural changes this promise cannot be delivered (47). CE is valued for enabling people to save money and tap into diverse sources of income (45), but its current potential to bring broader institutional change (37) is strongly exaggerated, and the potential to create fairer, more sustainable, and more connected societies (17) is questioned. In some areas of activity, CE might actually be adding up to social inequality and addressing predominantly the better-off (27), rather than employing its capacity to work towards stronger social inclusion (36) and its "sharing over competition" logic (4). Categorizing and labeling the concept is difficult and perhaps not essential (20, 22, 3, 21), since the structural reflection of the vision is most relevant.

Factor 4: "Healthy skeptics"[36]

The discourse of novelty of CE is overrated (12): CE is a resurgence of traditional models of consumption, production and service provision, redefined by technological developments (3). Ideally, those redefined activities aim at strengthening social inclusion and social connections (18), with a limited (but still present) possibility to change buyer-seller relationship and business models (7). The governance structures of CE are fine (13), there is no need for stronger democratization. What is needed, however, is more emphasis on the bottom up activities (6). Even though VC startups do not constitute the core of CE (44), for-profit platforms might be taking over what stands for a transformative idea (16), and are practicing sharewashing (46). Sharing is not a new term for renting (15), but saying that it is at odds with the current economic paradigm (31), or claiming that it helps people understand that accumulation of possessions increases well-being (41) is farfetched. The impact of CE on consumer behavior is questionable at the moment (11). CE does, however, have the potential to ease our harmful influence on the environment through reducing the demand for new goods and facilities (28). This presumed potential is enough – actual measuring of not only environmental, but also social and economic impact of CE is not of utmost importance (32, 33, 34).

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[34] Three participants are significantly correlated with this factor, two coming from commercial organizations, and one from research. Factor 2 explains 9% of study variance and has an EV of 2.16.

[35] Four Q sorts load significantly on this factor, with two of their authors coming from a non-profit background, one from research, and one other. The factor explains 9% of study variance and has an EV of 2.16.

[36] This factor is associated with sorting solutions of 3 participants, two coming from a non-profit background and one from research. Factor 4 explains 7% of study variance and has an EV of 1.68.

The following closing section discusses these factors in greater detail, setting them in a broader context of change.

Discussion and conclusion

In this take on the interpretative task, factors 1 and 2 bring the most content understandings of the concept of CE, yet the reasons for this contentment differ. To the contrary, Factors 3 and 4 are both openly critical, with the former still keeping faith in a vision brought by CE, and the latter being somewhat leery.

The "True Believers" seem to be genuinely convinced by the concept. The visionary narrative of CE is here: changing the way we think about and do consumption, and how we approach the economic sphere of our lives, changing society towards more collaboration and sharing. In other words, the narrative of the "popular" proponents of the concept is captured in this factor. The often detrimental role of commercial extremes is recognized yet not really criticized, with participatory and cooperative initiatives still being the core in Factor 1. Measurements and impact indicators are called for and seen as inevitable to strengthen the concept, and the belief in its potential appears to exclude doubts about the outcomes of those measurements at the level of the economy as a whole as pointed out by Schor (2014) and Cohen (in press). Factor 2 takes up on these points, but here the idea of utility maximization dominates, and the emphasis is placed on the creation of new jobs and market possibilities, and resource efficiency (with no need of actual measurement) as the key "selling" points of CE. It is only in "Market Optimists" reading where trendiness of CE is seen in positive terms. CE needs up-scaling for whatever reason – the role of visionary ideas and values backing the concept are downplayed. Finally, the debates on big VC players and some of the for-profits unfittingly co-opting a transformative concept are largely exaggerated in this understanding. This point is challenged in Factor 3, where the dissatisfaction with the status quo of CE dominates, particularly regarding organizational structures. The "Dedicated Critics" are the only ones to openly admit that there are areas in which CE might be deepening rather than easing social inequalities. The vision of CE based on sharing, collaboration and democratization is common with the "True Believers", yet delivering this vision is seen as impossible without a re-direction towards more cooperatives and participatory initiatives. The underlying structures of a given initiative are placed among the decisive 'who is in, who is out' criteria. The skeptical tone continues in Factor 4, additionally characterized by disillusionment with the novelty of CE. With a moderate less-excited approach to the supposed vision of CE, there is a stronger focus on bottom-up activities aimed at change in consumption and production. The key message of the "Healthy Skeptics" seems to be that change and transformation can come under many names, and as long as the process and the overall dedication to it continue, the specific nomenclature is of least importance.

This brief outline of the factors reflects some of the points present in the debates, while pushing others to the backdrop. The question of the scope of CE loses in significance, and the broad approach capturing it as sharing, swapping, bartering, trading, and renting posited by Botsman and Rogers (2010) seems satisfactory. Activities with both monetary and non-monetary compensation are accepted, undermining the stricter takings on defining sharing as necessarily altruistic, pro-social, and non-reciprocal (see e.g. Belk 2014b). With this remark, especially for Factor 3, the point seems to be not to draw a strong affiliation to gift economies or solidarity economies, since activities involving both monetary and non-monetary compensation are accepted. Rather, the point lies in the already mentioned insufficiency of participatory elements. Especially for the more critical factors the for- or non-profit nature of involved organizations is of little importance. What counts, though, is the message they bring and internal structures reflecting it. These calls for the underlying structures and power shift as elements to gain more attention in the agenda have been voiced by Schor (2014) and Orsi (2013) particularly in terms of ownership and labor regulations. Such voices also often recognize that without democratizing ownership and governance of sharing initiatives, removing the badly acting for-profits out of the limelight, and placing more peer-to-peer economic activities in it is an onerous task. Against

such background, a focus on more community-level and bottom-up processes as emphasized in Factor 4 strengthening collaborative and sharing practices is needed in order to avoid further corporatization of the concept, making the sector socially just (Schor, 2014) what Ageyman and McLaren (2014) would refer to as community-based and socio-cultural sharing.

This all brings us back to Stirling's (2011, 2014, 2015) heuristic distinction to transition and transformation. One might say that the critical juncture that CE finds itself at is reminiscent of this distinction. The ease that this concept brings in connecting individuals, fostering exchange and cooperation does hold transformative potential (Schor, 2014). Still, the debates surrounding the status quo of CE are fully legitimate. The power within CE particularly as presented by the media and reinforced by some engaged voices rests within the hands of certain key players, pointing to a more transition-based logic. These debates are reflected even among the non-profit dominated participants of the study speaking voices of uncertainty and plurality, showing that there are seeds of transformation buried in this contested ground. Seen in a positive light, the ambiguity inherent to the concept might be a trigger for adding certain topics to the agenda. Harnessing the potential of the concept in "building social solidarity, democracy, and sustainability" (Schor, 2014) is at stake on that juncture..

In the study, I see contestation as a fertile research ground. However, the range of issues related to grasping the essence of CE may lead one to think that building a globally-applicable definition of this particular concept is not necessarily the path to follow. Instead, with such a 'hands-on' phenomenon, narrowing the focus down to a more local level seems promising, even more so with the notions of ownership and attachment to possessions being culturally-dependent (Belk, 2010). With a local-based Q study, this work stands for an exploratory look into the framings of conceptualizing collaborative economy as practiced in one's immediate surroundings, anchored in the developments in the narratives on the concept. The limitations of Q in yielding statistically generalizable results must be recognized, similarly to its key benefit in elucidating the dominant typologies and perspectives on a given concept in a given context (Steelman and Maguire, 1999), providing food for thought for future steps. As visible in the study, these steps on a smaller local scale enable an appropriation of a concept that is at risk of being stripped of its meaning, as if giving the local community of co-creators the possibility of grabbing it and shaping it according to their values, visions, and practical goals. A local yet more holistic approach might be brought by concepts such as Sharing Cities (see e.g. Shareable 2015b), where multiple stakeholders including legislators, civil society, and CE initiatives are brought to one table (Wagner and Kuhndt, 2015). Finally, in terms of lessons learned and recommendations for future research, we are in need for more context-sensitive and exploratory approaches to what is perceived as sharing, as in the case of John (2012, 2013) who sees it as an evolving concept in the making.

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Research-based sustainable consumption education for social change

Emese Gulyás

Association of Conscious Consumers

Introduction

The Association of Conscious Consumers (ACC) is one of the leading actors for sustainable consumption in Hungary. Since 2001 it has been running various activities to achieve more sustainable society. Own primary and secondary researches always served as foundations of organizational activities and strategies. In this paper I would like to present 3 qualitative case studies related to our activities: (1) a research about the motivations and visions of direct local food purchasing community members, (2) EcoTeams community based adult education program for greening households and communities and a (3) Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) training program offered to formulating CSAs and for CSA practitioners.

In this study I introduce how the ACC used sociological research and practice for social change. Through the case studies I will introduce the research results of ACC and show how these have been used for project design and follow-up. The focus of the paper is on the commonalities of the 3 cases. One overarching result of our research and practice, that we would like to discuss on the workshop, is that shared vision of a better and more sustainable world is the main driving principle of sustainability actors. Both our research and practice confirmed that leading sustainability actors are active in many other forms of public participation (e.g. political participation, community projects) therefore they can effectively diffuse innovative knowledge and practice between various communities.

The context of founding a consumer organisation working for sustainability

Association of Conscious Consumers (ACC) was established in 2001 in Hungary by 10 young individuals and was registered in 2002. While there had been environmental organisations whose activity partly dealt the environmental impacts of household consumption, the ACC was the first civil society organisation, which explicitly focused its activity on sustainable and ethical consumption. Although its name suggests being a consumer organisation it is rooted in the environmentalist movement and builds on their heritage.

Its foundation brought a new quality to the life of the civil society movement for at least 4 reasons. First, up to 2001 none of the consumer organisations had dealt with environmental or sustainability questions, they had mainly advocated best price value choices. Second, although some environmental organisations had programs about energy, waste, chemicals or other particular segments of lifestyle, at that time there was no civil society organisation whose activity embraced the environmental, the social and economic aspects of consumption patterns. The term and the approach most widely used then was “environmentally conscious consumption” for the concept we mainly use “sustainable consumption” now. Third, in 2001 environmental organisations had not targeted the public as consumers. They had not identified their target group as consumers, and this had been apparent from the verbal and visual

language, the argumentation and the communication channels these organisations used. Environmental groups rather identified themselves and their followers as "anti-consumer" organisations, they wanted to differentiate themselves from mainstream consumerism, but had not offer alternative identities. Finally, at the beginning of this century the communication of most environmental organisations in Hungary had been critical and had been discussing the negative consequences and the threats of the consumer society and put less emphasis on introducing the opportunities and desirable visions of sustainable or environmentally conscious lifestyles (see Figure 1-3). Intentionally or not, but the environmental movement build demotivation for consumer society, but rarely built motivation for an attractive but low impact lifestyle.

Figure 1: Turn of the century communication about consumption: Kukabúvár (DumpsterDiver), the quarterly of the Humusz Waste Prevention Alliance environmental organisation in 2000. Headline identity: Advertisement → Consumption → Waste

Figure 2: Turn of the century communication about consumption: consumer glossy magazine in 2001. Headline identity: sex, party, celebrities, psychology and lifestyle

Figure 3: Turn of the century communication about consumption: pages from the first publication of the Association of Conscious Consumers, mainly introducing its credo

How research supports organisational and program development

At present there are 6 employees at the ACC in full-time or part-time jobs with the contributions from free-lance subcontractors and 43 volunteers. The ACC's online consumer magazine attracts 1.2-1.4 million individual users annually, and about 200-400 people participate in their education programs a year.

Structural and strategic secondary analysis of data and researches, own primary researches always served as the foundation of organisational development for the ACC. Since 2005 in each year the ACC delivered at least one own primary research about particular fields of sustainable consumption, for example about ethical or sustainable consumer attitudes in 2005 and in 2010, about the sustainability of retail chains in 2009-2011, about the social aspects of global and local food supply chains (both in 2012).[37] Many times these researches are the collaborative results of partnerships with established and reputed European or Hungarian research groups, think thank organisations or universities. Besides own researches in each year, in preparation for annual planning, the staff reviews latest research and trend reports about sustainable consumption. These activities helped the formulation of organisational focus areas[38], which in 2015 are sustainable food consumption, local and global supply chains, ethics of advertisement, psychology of consumption, household economy and healthy food.

How changing social environment influenced organisational mission

In 2001 public awareness towards environmental issues was moderate, thus the founders of the ACC articulated the organisational mission as raising awareness in order to achieve value and behaviour change and to influence the market.

> *"The aim of the Association is to promote and support conscious consumer behaviour. […] By influencing consumer behaviour the Association wishes to contribute to positive changes in*

[37] More information about the ACC researches in Hungarian: http://tudatosvasarlo.hu/tve/kutatasaink

[38] Focus areas are themes that are in the focus of organisational activities for mid or longer strategic terms.

> *corporate behaviour and in consumer values benefiting the environment and the society. We are convinced that conscious consumer decisions help to form a liveable world and ecologically sustainable economy, where companies do not compete to achieve cost efficiency by cutting environmental protection or work safety costs […], but they compete to provide good quality, healthy goods meeting real needs, and they compete in corporate responsibility and excellence. […] Broadly speaking, the aim of the Association is to create new consumer values, lifestyle and identity." (quotation from the deed of the Association of Conscious Consumers, 2002)*
>
> *"The Association wishes to fulfil its goals by awareness raising, collecting data and information about companies and products and their publication among others on the Internet, by publishing articles, studies and books, organising conferences and campaign events […]." (quotation from the deed of the Association of Conscious Consumers, 2002)*

In 2010 the ACC recognized that there had been a considerable attitude change towards sustainability (see table 1). Thus the ACC revised its organisational goals and put more emphasis on community building:

> *"A further objective of the ACC is to raise awareness of people's personal responsibility in making consumption sustainable. To this end, the ACC, with progressive programmes, informs consumers of the nature of conscious and sustainable consumption, its practical forms of implementation, and it empowers them to create and realise individual or community initiatives that drive sustainable consumption. Besides informing consumers, ACC carries out research to establish a base for its programmes. It also pursues advocacy and community building activities in order to reach its objectives." (quotation from the mission statement of the Association of Conscious Consumers, 2010).*

Table 1: Changing attitudes towards consumption; Percentage of respondents who are worried about their consumption habits as one of the main environmental issues[39]

	2004	**2007**	**2011**	**2014**
EU average	13	11	19	24
Hungarian data	8	6	12	19

Source: Eurobarometer 217, 295, 365, 416,

Flagship researches and research based sustainable consumption education programs

In the following part I will introduce a research and two research based flagship programs of the ACC, both aim to the facilitation of actual behaviour change and to the support community initiatives for sustainable consumption. The EcoTeams program was an innovative and new project in the Hungarian context, the CSA trainings are new developments on the European level as well.

Case study1: local buying groups research

In 2009 and 2010 I made qualitative research interviews with consumers who belonged to so called direct food purchasing groups (Gulyás 2013). These had been grassroots consumer groups organized by voluntary work, whose members had bought natural (bio, biodynamic or organic) vegetables directly from farmers in their neighbourhood. Local and organic food consumption was an example of more sustainable consumer choices. Regular delivery had taken place once a week, occasionally the groups had bought eggs, meet or fruits from various sources that they had trust. At the time of the research there were about a dozen of similar direct food purchasing groups in Hungary. Since then some of groups became more professionalized and not solely based on volunteer work, also similar profile alternative businesses, like webshops, started to operate.

[39] The question in four Eurobaromaters: "From the following list, please pick the five main environmental issues that you are worried about? (MAX. 5 ANSWERS)." Respondents choose from a 15-16 items list.

The research was part of my doctoral studies, but the conclusions were relevant to the strategy of the ACC and indeed were fed back to organisational development processes. As part of the research I conducted 27 individual interviews in 2009 and 2010 with members of six Hungarian consumer groups. Two of them were located in the capital, the other four ones in various cities or small towns. The interviews among others inquired about the motives for participating in the group and for other consumption patterns that had been classified in the literature as ethical consumption (e.g. Cooper-Martin and Hoolbrook 1993).

The results revealed that among the motives of ethical consumption, besides primary need satisfaction (like getting food), public participation was a chief factor: consumers referred to issues concerning their wider environment when they had been asked about the reasons for their ethical consumer choices. Among these, supporting the local community, protection of the environment, systemic critique of, and cultural resistance against globalization had been the ones that had appeared to be the most dominant. The interviewed consumers had considered their purchase choices as a kind of behaviour that alleviates the negative consequences of globalization, and also as something which constitutes an alternative to globalization put into practice. Future-oriented, visionary thinking had been characteristic to the interviewed consumers. They wanted to contribute to the creation of an environmentally more sustainable and fairer society through their consumer choices. The below quotes from group members illustrate this visionary attitude:

> *„[…] the world is definitely waiting for good people now, good willing people, who have a vision and see opportunities in the future. If they join forces, they can, if they have power, they can go forward. Against the official will, which I, say, disagree with."*

> *„Very important from the environmental aspect, I cannot predict now, if it is one year or decades, but I can see that this is what is sustainable. […] The transportation of goods will soon collapse because of fuel prices and environmental pollution, and then these [similar farms that supply the group] will be the spots, the food sources, that remain and that are sustainable."*

The consumers had been also motivated by their distrust in international trading regimes, contrasted with their trust in local trading and their intention to support local economy. The consumers consciously had followed social and environmental values in their choices, and by doing so they had sought to achieve changes that they deem important for specific issues. The results also revealed that ethical consumers had been politically active and among the means of civil and movement politics they had found direct democratic methods the most efficient. They had trusted CSOs and political protest organizations more, and large corporations less, than the general public.

These results contributed to the notion, that the ACC should put more emphasis on promoting and supporting initiatives, where participants co-create visions about sustainable life and actually realize more sustainable models. The results also suggested that targeting and the involvement of socially more embedded and networked people would bring more results in the diffusion of sustainable consumption patterns. These new directions of course necessitated new organisational skills and new program developments.

Case study 2 – EcoTeams

The EcoTeams is an adult learning and community building program developed by Global Action Plan International. The EcoTeams intend to facilitate behaviour change on the household and on the community level. By facilitating the improvements of various consumption activities, for example energy or water use, transport, waste, eating, the EcoTeams help to decrease the environmental impact of households.

In its original form, the EcoTeams are groups of 8-10 people who get together several times for a cca. 6 month period to make their lifestyles more sustainable by peer learning and mutual empowerment. On the meetings members discuss experiences and provide help with potential obstacles. The focus of the EcoTeams is on turning existing knowledge into action; there is support from supplementary materials. During the group discussions participants discuss one issue (water for example), map and pledge for actions to reduce their ecological footprint on the

respective areas. Peers support and empower each other by exchanging experience for making changes in their behaviour. EcoTeams are led by a volunteer coach or host organisations' staff members, who can run parallel or consecutive teams. The volunteer coaches are trained by trainers with team leadership skills. Measuring behaviour change and environmental impact at the beginning and at the end of the EcoTeams is essential part of the program, as well as the joint celebration of achievements.

In the original format 6-8 sustainability issues are elaborated in workbook format, summarizing the major data, new behaviour options and providing methods of measurement. These issues are adapted to the local context and therefore vary from country to country. The workbook is used for learning at home and at the group meetings. Recently both the original methods (personal meetings) and support (workbook) are being adapted to new surfaces in order to take advantage of the learning potential of the internet and social media.

The first EcoTeams started in the USA, Netherlands, Canada, Sweden and the UK in 1989-1990. The EcoTeam program has been run by various environmental and community groups in more than a dozen of countries. Being developed by an international network organisation, Global Action Plan, one of the key principles of the program is that the method should be adapted to the learning context (Source: GAP website).

The Association of Conscious Consumers started to adapt the EcoTeams to Hungary in 2009. Until 2015 137 volunteer coaches have been trained and about 700 household representatives participated in the program in Hungary. We estimate that the EcoTeams in Hungary reached at least 2500 people indirectly via the participating household members. Households that participated in the program estimated to reduce their food waste by 24%, their household waste to landfill by 23%, their electricity use by 15%, their water consumption by 13%, and reduced their household chemical product items by 10%.

How research is involved in the EcoTeams program development

Internationally there were at least 2 structured researches that supported the development of the EcoTeam program. In 1995 Staats and Harland at the Leiden University published their results on the behaviour change effectiveness of the EcoTeams programs in the Netherlands (1995). In 2008 the Global Action Plan UK together with the University of East Anglia published an evaluation report about the EcoTeams in the UK between 2000 and 2008 (GAP UK, 2008 and M. Burgess, 2008). These reports confirmed that the EcoTeam method brings effective pro-environmental behaviour change on the short and on the longer term. While Staats and Harland designed a model to understand the participants' motivation, GAP UK investigated individual motivations.

Research activities are only indirectly involved in the EcoTeams program development in Hungary. Most of the time it is rather the structured collection of data and feedback and their strategic use. At the first phase of the program development there were two strategic inputs from the research field. The first came from the secondary analysis of various consumption figures and sustainable consumption attitudes data in Hungary. From this data the ACC concluded that the number of already aware people reached a critical mass by 2009-2010. In line with the strategic decisions explained above, the ACC decided to elaborate the EcoTeams for this group of environmentally aware people to empower and help them in actual behaviour change. The EcoTeams research evidence from the UK also suggested that the program brings more results when recruiting from aware target group (GAP UK, 2008). The UK results also influenced the project design, when the ACC decided to recruit and train volunteer coaches (facilitators) instead of offering facilitation for the EcoTeams by staff members. The recruitment of voluntary coaches implies wider social outreach, as the UK study concluded "the volunteer facilitators who are more likely to have prior green intentions, and the peer recruited participants to be from a broader level of environmental commitment." (ibid p. 32). This insight and the results of the 1st case study here that people committed to ethical consumption are more likely to be involved in several social networks, once again supported program design in 2014, when the ACC changed its recruitment schemes after a serious drop-off of the volunteer

coaches. One of the reasons for the drop-off was that the recruited people had been motivated to do something for the environment, but had not been active in their communities and were not able involve other people. The analysis led to the decision to target the EcoTeam coach training explicitly towards active community members and/or community leaders, who actually look for means and guidance to do good together with their small communities.

The structured collection of data is also an essential foundation of the EcoTeams program. There is qualitative and quantitative measurement of behaviour change in the Hungarian EcoTeam. Other host organisations do not necessarily have both type. The qualitative measurement reflects behaviour change, for example frequency of having short shower instead of bath before and after the program, while the quantitative measurement is about the outcome of behaviour change, for example the monthly water consumption of the household. Measurement data is collected by the ACC (or the host organisation), evaluated and ideally fed back to the participants of the EcoTeams. The purpose of the feedback is to acknowledge and reward the efforts of the participants and thus enhancing their commitment. The aggregated data is also used for the promotion of the EcoTeams program. Nevertheless we have to admit, that at least EcoTeams members in Hungary are not too much motivated to do measurements, we assume that for them either the "feeling good" is enough to reward their efforts or the Hungarian method is too complicated. This needs further investigation.

The ACC also regularly collects and evaluates feedback about the coach trainings and about the EcoTeams process. One of the most typical opinion of the participants is that they feel that they can do something for a better world and they can meet other likeminded people.

> *"It was good to hear, that there are other people, who think the same way, who pursue simplicity and recycling. I learned and experienced a lot, and I realized that I am not alone with my views and principles".*
>
> *"I experienced, that many of us want to protect the environment and our health, for not becoming the "slave" of media and retailers. We try to protect our children, our health both mentally and physically. One can learn a lot from peers if you are open and pay attention."*

This insight is used for building training design, promotion plans and for the recruitment of participants.

Figure 4: Example for the promotion of the EcoTeams:

community, greening and feel good is emphasized

Case study 3: Community Supported Agriculture program development

Many participants of the EcoTeams program joined or initiated local food buying groups or Community Supported Agriculture. Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is an economic and

agricultural model based on partnership and participation between farmers and consumers, where farmers produce goods for consumers and both parties are committed to the long term maintenance and support of the farm. The cooperation between a farmer or multiple farmers and a group of consumers is often reinforced through bilateral contracts. The mutual share of risks, intensive communication and interactions are essential features of CSAs as well as pricing. In CSAs consumers directly pay their share of the costs of production, which should ensure acceptable livelihood for producers, rather than paying for fluctuations in market prices. (ACC 2013).

CSAs offer fair and more sustainable consumer behaviour alternative, hence the promotion of CSA fits the organisational mission of the ACC. The ACC wishes to contribute to the accelerated spread of CSA in Hungary, thus contributing to more sustainable and just society. The Association started to promote and support CSAs and the CSA movement around 2008, when it started to organize events to introduce the model and invited French AMAP (equivalent to CSA, Associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne) to talk about their experience to farmers and consumers. This activity catalysed the foundation or the development of several of the 16 CSAs that operate today.

In the second phase the ACC started to organise trainings for farmers and consumers mixed groups about how to start CSA. On the trainings ACC staff introduced the various CSA models and with a participation of a practicing CSA farmer facilitated exercises to get consumers and future farmers motivated and acquainted with the special features of the CSA model. Between 2008 and 2015 about 750 people participated on CSA related events and trainings. After a series of successful trainings the ACC wanted to develop its training. Research played an important role in setting priorities and designing the program.

How research is involved in the CSA program development

In 2012-2013 the ACC commissioned a research among operating CSAs by the Environmental Social Science Research Group (ESSRG). It aimed at mapping the organisational development needs of CSAs and investigated the issues of production facilities, logistics, investment and earning, consumer or membership management, contracting, seasonality, community building and other conditions of success. The research used semi-structured in-depth interviews with 5 farmers, 13 representative consumers of 5 CSAs and 6 other stakeholders involved in the Hungarian CSA movement.

One of the most important conclusion was that being a CSA consumer is subcultural identity. The self-identification of the consumers emphasised resistance to the dominant consumer culture. Joining a CSA had been considered a relatively small effort for the consumers to achieve beneficial effects towards sustainable food systems. The language use of farmers also reflected this position. They tried to avoid the expression “consumer” and preferred to use “member” or “membership”, which reflects that CSAs are not solely sources of food, but a community offering various experience. Subcultural resistance is also present in farmers’ narratives, as two of them explained:

> *“You can feel that you create value and you live in a real world. At the workplace you never feel, that you really do something useful, but here on the farm you do feel.”*
>
> *“I invest in this community a lot, and this investment must return. Not in money, but in things that might be turned into money. To take back that holiness, that I give and get, and to see the deeper values and complexity in this. I would not do it [farming], if I did not believe in this.”*

Farmers also regard themselves as something more than producers selling food. It is important for them to feed their consumers and to provide as many healthy food to the community as they can, while they can also earn money for decent life. The research revealed that CSA members, both consumers and farmers, share a normative vision, which underpins the practice of CSAs. This vision and discourse about “good” food helps to build interpersonal relations, which are important foundations of the community. The direct consequence of this finding was the

inclusion of visioning sessions into the level one trainings offered to CSAs, as well as putting more emphasis on the discussion of the shared values of the various CSA models.

The research pointed to several development needs in CSAs. The insights were an input for the ACC's organisational planning: the outlined needs had been evaluated against the organisational capacities and helped further program design. Responding to some of the needs were beyond the competence and organisational capacities of the ACC. For example the ACC does not have the necessary background to offer business planning or farming methods trainings.

However based on the research insights since 2014 the ACC has been developing its training into a modular training series, which will offer organisational development modules for operating CSAs. The two new modules will be about organisational development including community building, volunteer management, recruitment and management of members, and about communication including external and internal communication.

The strategic collection and analysis of data once again contributed to program development. In 2014 the ACC made an online survey among CSA members about their attitudes towards the above outlined training proposal and about their preferable learning methods. The results were consulted during the elaboration of the new training modules.

The ACC is very proud to the development of its CSA training program as we are not aware of similar educational initiative in Europe.

Overall conclusions

In most European countries environmental or sustainability awareness has been rising in the past decades and the population of informed citizens, who are ready to act for sustainability reached a critical mass. In this regard we can witness the slow change of values towards sustainability which was advocated by civil society organisations as well as scholars for decades. This changing social environment influences the priorities of civil society organisations and invites them to elaborate programs that build on existing awareness and to turn this into action. Increased environmental sensitivity and knowledge also means that there are a broad segment of people who speak the language of sustainability. Finally, good willing civil society activists and citizens can speak the same language, which may accelerate the spread of sustainable consumption patterns, because it can foster the attraction and retention of committed citizens to sustainability action. These people can be the agents of change, especially if they are invited in the co-creation of positive visions about a sustainable world.

In the Association of Conscious Consumers research influenced organisational strategy and program development from many aspects and research has been a fundamental activity area of the organisation. The above discussed research results and insights provided valuable contributions to organisational planning (see Table 2) and brought some general conclusions. The most important recognition and one overarching result of the ACC'S research and practice, is that shared vision of a better and more sustainable world is an important driving principle of sustainability actors.

Table 2: How research and data influenced program design

The data and/insights ...	**Direct buying groups research**	**EcoTeam data**	**CSAs research**
Influenced organisational strategy	X		X
Helped measuring program success		X	X
Used for program development	X	X	X
Used to empower program participants		X	
Used for attracting funding		X	X
Used for promotion		X	

Once the shared vision is created and continuously reinforced by peer community members, it can drive behaviour change towards sustainability. However existing organisational structures need to respond to this new situation. Civil society organisations have to adapt their organisational resources and capacities, for example learn how to facilitate vision building, how help people to keep their communities together, how to attract already aware people and engage them for long lasting actions.

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Crisis as a gateway to social innovation?

Individual strategies for restoring subjective wellbeing when consumption got constrained

Mária Csutora and Ágnes Zsóka

Corvinus University of Budapest

Abstract

The challenge of sustainable consumption lies in the most probable necessity of consumption reduction which is still an unpopular idea today. Situations of coercive consumption reduction indicate various individual reactions and severe impacts on subjective wellbeing.

Key issue of the paper is how individuals create resilient adaptation strategies in order to keep or even enhance the current level of their subjective wellbeing, when facing the challenge of coercive consumption reduction. The authors use the qualitative methodology of causal loop diagrams, a modified form of participatory system mapping (PSM) to map the consequences of the '08 economic crisis on consumption patterns and subjective wellbeing. Focus group participants have been asked to map the direct effects of the economic crisis of 2008 on their family or themselves, as well as their adaptive changes in their consumption patterns on those effects. Then we identified direct impact of the crisis on their subjective wellbeing and finally, how their adaptive consumption strategies could restore their formal level of subjective wellbeing. Sourcing creative and resilient wellbeing-restoring strategies may contribute to designing policy when changes in consumption patterns are inevitable and open the gate for social innovation.

Introduction

Sustainable consumption is already a challenge in itself for humankind for the sake of the survival of the Earth. Some forms of sustainable consumption are easier to make accepted by the public – e.g. efficiency-based measures where consumption level should not be necessarily reduced, only modified to some extent, convenient, widely available behaviour forms etc. –, while other forms like reduction of consumption or changing behaviour radically are much more complicated to push through.

Economic downturn enforced certain groups of consumers for reducing their level of consumption. This coercive reduction catalysed behavioural changes, some of which might be persistent. The question arises whether such coercive consumption reduction opened a gateway to new consumption habits and social innovation. Does it bear and nurture consumption patterns that are more compatible with sustainable consumption?

We tested the answer on the Hungarian situation. The economic crisis severely hit the Hungarian society. Between 2008 and 2010 there have been 11.7 percent reduction in incomes and some 8.25 percent reduction in household consumption (KSH, 2014). After the initial shock, people started to develop strategies to adapt to the new situation. This article aims at scrutinizing how much of these adaptation strategies can be regarded as forerunners of innovative sustainable consumption strategies, and how much they were able to restore the formal level of subjective wellbeing at a lower level of consumption. The paper uses modified

participatory system mapping (PSM) for sourcing resilient strategies responding to coercive changes in consumption patterns.

Literature review

Challenges of reducing consumption

The whole concept of sustainable consumption needs the ability and willingness of people to change their current behaviour which predicts a longer process whenever we talk about voluntary or forced behaviour change. Consumer policy certainly strives to avoid forced actions if possible, while some events like an economic crisis evoke coercive changes in consumption habits.

The impacts of economic crises are usually widely discussed and analysed, but primarily from the point of view of material wealth and the revitalization of the economy in order to recover from the crisis and provide better quality of life again for the society. To the knowledge of the authors, the impacts of the economic crisis of 2008 have not been analysed from the point of view of sustainable consumption and subjective wellbeing.

The Easterlin paradox (Easterlin, 2001) suggests that increasing average national incomes is associated with stagnating levels of happiness, as observed in the United States. Provided the paradox holds for increasing income, can we assume that it also holds for decreasing income? Are we able to accommodate to deceasing level for income and consumption, while conserving our previous level of happiness? The existence of this reversed Easterling paradox would nurture hope for radical sustainable consumption strategies, as consumption reduction could be carried out without compromising our wellbeing in longer run.

Veenhoven (2004) suggests that a shift to sustainable consumption involves a minor reduction in happiness, at least temporarily, but we can live quite happily with less luxury. However, positive correlation between material wealth and happiness at lower income levels makes the realisation of wellbeing-restoring strategies more difficult. Probability of negative, destructive reactions is high and this may be also true at higher income levels if people do not recognise and admit the ambiguity of the wealth-happiness relationship.

Hampson and McGoldrick (2013) provide a typology for changing shopping behaviour during the economic crisis of 2008. Their analysis found a more knowledgeable shopper. They found general increases in purchase planning, price consciousness, more containment of impulsive behaviours, less purchasing of ethical alternatives, and increased buying of cheaper brands in groceries and clothing. Although the decrease in ethical purchasing might be disappointing for the advocates of sustainable consumption, the more conscious, planned and less impulsive buying behaviour may offset these impacts producing positive overall impact. Ethical and green behaviour may not always be associated with reduced ecological impact, especially when consumption level is high (Csutora, 2012). Structure and amount of consumption should be analysed in a combined way.

Restoring or enhancing the level of subjective wellbeing

Shocking events like economic crisis and coercive consumption reduction endanger the preservation of current subjective wellbeing. Several approaches of the wellbeing-related literature can be used to illustrate how individuals are affected by those events and which are the sources of our reactions.

Resilience of a system can be described by the variables which feature the framework within which disturbed equilibrium can be restored. Resilience also means the ability of a system to return to its earlier equilibrium position after an external shocking effect (Holling 1973). This shock can be so significant that the system loses its resilience, and goes through a critical transition period into another equilibrium position which also can be featured by certain resilience (Biggs 2011, Kuslits 2015). In the case of subjective wellbeing, we use the concept of

resilience for the ability of individuals to restore their earlier level of subjective wellbeing, after the shocking event of economic crisis and the resulting coercive consumption reduction. On one hand, wellbeing-neutral adaptation strategies definitely belong to this ability and hence, to the resilience of the system. Wellbeing enhancing strategies, on the other hand, make the critical transition to a higher level of subjective wellbeing as new equilibrium possible.

According to the aspiration theory, individual strive to make efficient choices to maximize their satisfaction and minimize dissatisfaction (Lewin 1951, Starbuck 1963). The strength (motivational stimulus) of aspirations depends on the value attached to the potential goal and the perceived likelihood of achieving it. Perception of opportunities and constraints is of special importance in personal decision making. Individual goals and personal patterns determine which factors cause satisfaction or dissatisfaction; hence they will have a high influence on individual adaptation strategies when circumstances are drastically changing. If the former level of subjective wellbeing is not possible to be preserved by maximising satisfaction and minimising dissatisfaction in the usual way, adaptation of aspiration levels is also possible (Gigerenzer and Selten, 2002).

Kasser (2002), Kasser and Ryan (1996), and Ryan et al. (1999) emphasize the importance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations in perceived level of wellbeing. Individuals featured by intrinsic goals and motivation are able to reach higher levels of wellbeing than those whose behaviour is shaped by extrinsic drivers (see also Rijavec et al., 2006). This phenomenon also has an impact on the adaptation process when wellbeing-related conditions are changing.

The concept of positive psychology (Seligman and Csíkszentmihályi 2000, Seligman 2002) focuses on positive subjective experience, positive individual characteristics and positive institutions as the requisite elements for improving the quality of life and enhancing happiness. With the help of this approach individuals can react positively on negative changes and create innovative adaptation strategies to keep the same level of subjective wellbeing.

Peterson et al. (2005) made a differentiation between full life and empty life, where full life was found to be highly orientated towards happiness, while a generally low level of all those three orientation categories resulted in an empty life. People who try to live a full life have higher chances to adapt more easily and positive to crisis situations.

Regarding the influence of current environmental awareness on future behaviour, Zsóka (2011) found in a representative survey that a higher level of environmental consciousness reflects in higher willingness of pursuing sustainable lifestyles in the future. This result predicts that creating sustainable adaptation strategies to coercive consumption reduction may be easier and more evident for those who are already used to changing their behaviour for the sake of sustainability.

Adaptation strategies may also be sources of social innovation. Social innovation is an outcome-oriented, collaborative process which is able to deliver effective and relevant solutions by responding pressing challenges and being a mechanism for achieving systemic change (European Commission 2014). The household-related ways of supporting social innovation, summarized in “The open book of social innovation” by Murray et al. (2010) can give a hint for possible adaptation strategies to coercive consumption reduction. These strategies can be called social innovation when individuals are able to drastically change their earlier habits, overcome the crisis situation and foster systemic change by managing the impacts of the crisis, in order to be better off (or at least not worse off), as regard to their subjective wellbeing.

Empirical analysis

Methodology

The paper uses the methodology of participatory systems mapping (PSM) in a modified way. „PSM can be best described as preparation and execution of a facilitated group process of development and analysis of casual loop diagrams to provide insights into a particular

problematic issue and enable knowledge exchange" (Sedlacko et al., 2014, p. 35). The main use of the method lies in the systemic understanding of issues, as well as coping with complexity when formulating policies. PSM has been applied in relation to sustainable consumption by Sedlacko et al. 2014, Király et al. 2014).

In our qualitative research we used the methodology of causal loops in 8 focus groups of 6-10 participants each, to reveal their instant and delayed adaptation strategies during the crisis. We used adjusted elements of participatory systems mapping for our research: variables are factors in the background, the change of which we can determine (increase/decrease, positive/negative), while arrows show the feature of the relationship whether changes show into the same direction or opposite direction.We have collected adaptation strategies restoring the previous level of wellbeing. Those new consumption patterns are represented by new loops in the causal loop diagrams. Figure 1 illustrates an example of mapping the impacts and the wellbeing restoring strategies.

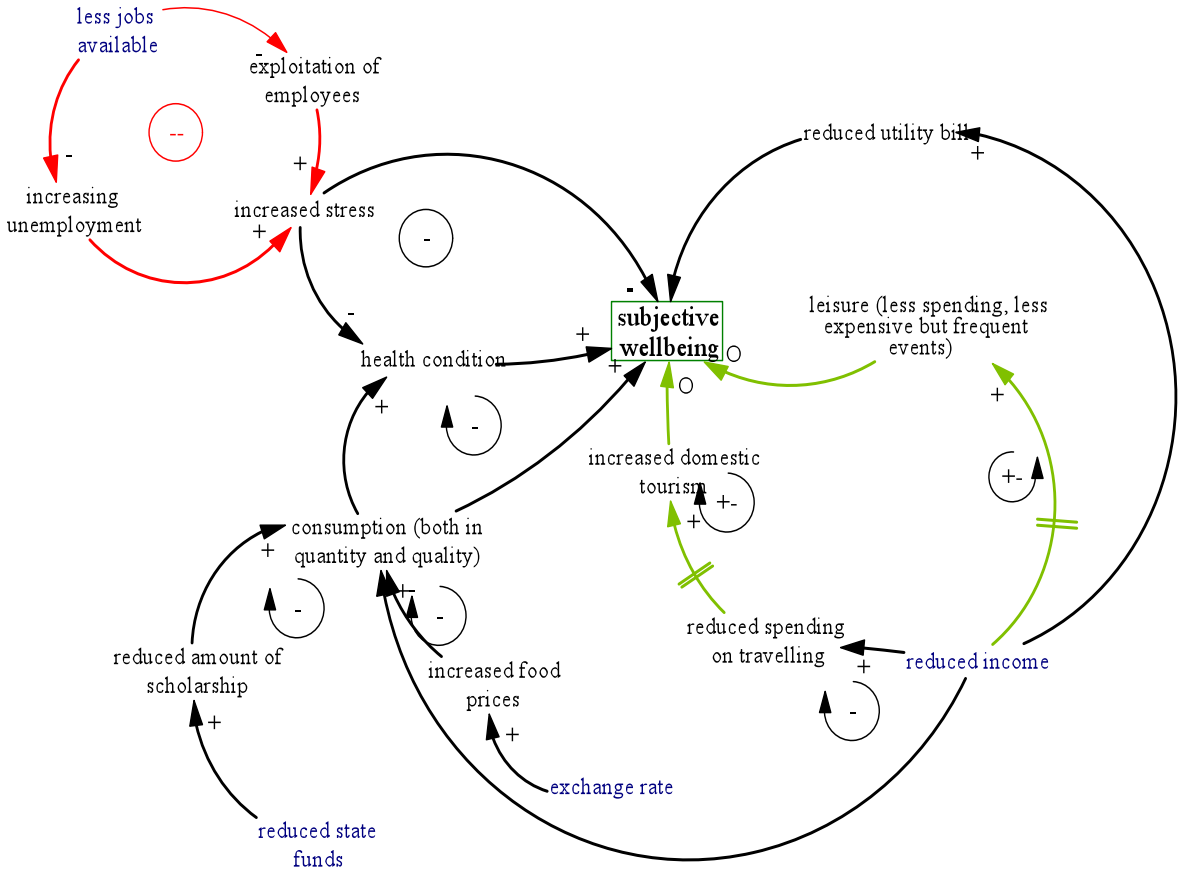

Figure 1: Casual loop diagram for adaptation strategies of a selected focus group

Major direct impacts of the economic crisis were unemployment, limited job opportunities, worse working conditions, reduction in income and increased uncertainty. Casual loop diagrams prepared in the 8 focus groups shed light on negative, wellbeing-comprising adaptation strategies which were unable to restore the previous level of subjective wellbeing, as well as adaptation strategies which could maintain or even enhance it. In some cases, adaptation strategies get into a self-reinforcing cycle. If the reinforcing mechanism results in reduced wellbeing, we talk about destructive loops, if it is able to restore or even enhance wellbeing, we call them constructive loops.

Destructive and constructive loops

Typical destructive loops can be observed regarding the effects and reactions to uncertainty or unemployment (see Figure 2), which lead to lifestyle changes and cannot be reversed when a new job is gained. Increasing certainty or the employment rate does not automatically stop destructive processes, people may get into vicious cycles.

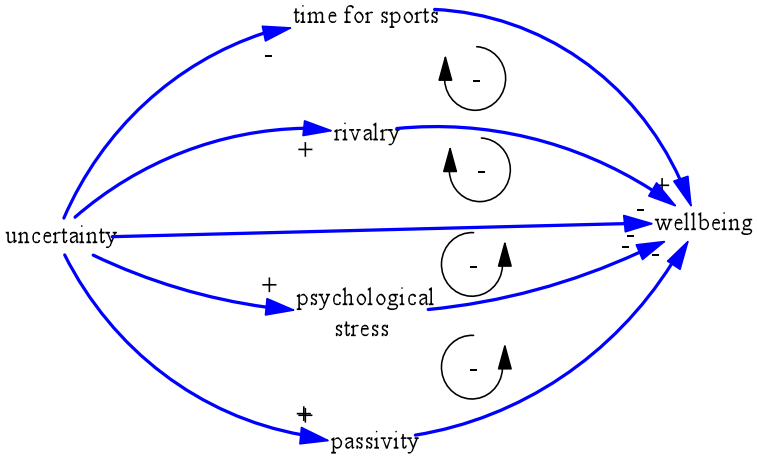

Figure 2: Destructive loops in case of uncertainty

In case of income reduction, we have witnessed both destructive and constructive loops (see Figure 3).

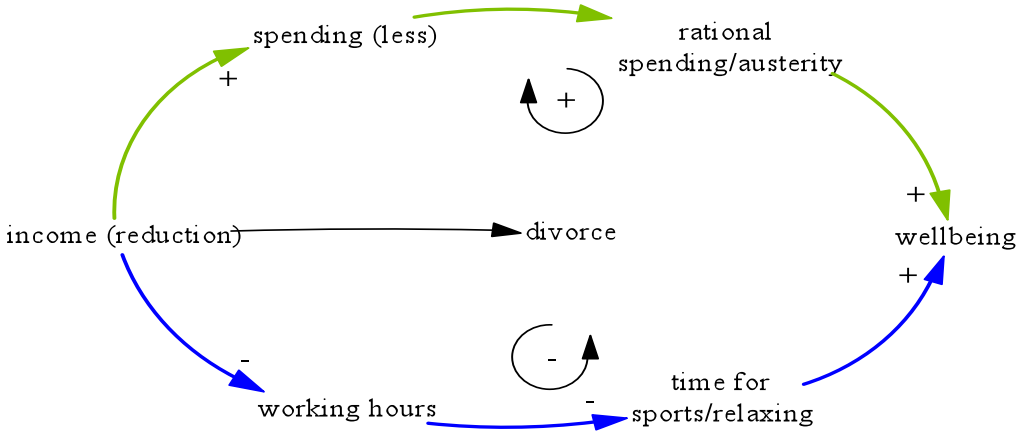

Figure 3: Constructive and destructive loops in case of income reduction

Individuals who insisted on their earlier income level without compromise, started to work even more which led them into a destructive loop of losing their time for leisure, the family, friends or for other personal goals. They perceived a significant decrease in their subjective wellbeing. On the contrary, individuals who were able to adapt to income reduction in a resilient way and find alternative ways to satisfy their needs could keep the level of their subjective wellbeing or even increase this level as a result of a constructive loop.

Resilient strategies to coercive consumption reduction

Adaptation strategies related to the economic crisis may be called resilient if they are either wellbeing-neutral or wellbeing-enhancing. In case of wellbeing-neutral adaptation strategies (Table 1), individuals have the power or ability to return to the original level of subjective wellbeing, although the sources of their subjective wellbeing have been changed.

Table 1: Wellbeing-neutral adaptation strategies related to the economic crisis

Variable	Adaptation strategy	Impact on wellbeing
Reduction of income	Spending holiday in the home country instead of abroad	Regarded mostly as wellbeing-neutral
Reduction of income	Changing transport habits from using own car to cycling or walking	Regarded mainly as wellbeing-neutral, but sometimes as wellbeing-enhancing (see: „addiction" to car use)
Reduction of income	Choosing cheaper forms of (tele-) communication with relatives	Depending on the quality of communication regarded as wellbeing-neutral or comprising
Reduction of income	Garage sales, helping each other (barter business)	Often regarded as wellbeing-neutral
Limited job opportunities	Working abroad	Often regarded as wellbeing-neutral or even wellbeing-enhancing

In the case of wellbeing-enhancing adaptation strategies (Table 2), the equilibrium position of subjective wellbeing stabilizes at an even higher level, as a result of positive reactions to coercive processes. Wellbeing-neutral strategies are resilient in a way that they are able to lead back the person to the same equilibrium where the individual was before the crisis. Wellbeing-enhancing strategies, however, represent the situation when the individual goes through the critical transition period into a new equilibrium position which means a higher level of wellbeing.

Table 2: Wellbeing-enhancing adaptation strategies related to the economic crisis

Variable	**Adaptation strategy**	**Impact on wellbeing**
Reduction of income	More rational management of the family budget	Positive (through higher cohesion and awareness within the family) or neutral impact
Reduction of income	Changing transport habits for healthier modes	Indirectly positive impact (This needs non-materialistic criteria in individual assessment: health, new opportunities, new lifestyle)
Reduction of income	Less consumption, based on needs	Positive impact on wellbeing through new values

Worsening infrastructure in education	Increased involvement of the families into school life (organising programs, charity for the school foundation etc.)	Positive impact on community feeling, engagement-related wellbeing
Foreseen impacts of the crisis	Preparation on the reduction of income	Positive impact on wellbeing, if regarded as voluntary reduction of consumption

Opportunities of social innovation

One of the focus groups consisted of hard-working, conscious, mainly young adults who seemed to be very creative in providing positive, wellbeing-enhancing answers on the direct impacts of the economic crisis. Some of their adaptation strategies can be regarded as sources of social innovation. Their openness for change reflected a high flexibility which is precondition for social innovation. The ability to drastically change savings habits opens gates for totally different lifestyles. The willingness to move from the city to the countryside or the opposite way, from the countryside to a city, and live a totally different life may lead to systemic change. Changing holiday habits significantly which was realized together with friends reflects the collaborative feature of the social innovation process.

Conclusion, policy implications

Our study served methodological as well as policy insights for future research. We found that people were quite innovative when they had to adapt to income reduction, while they easily got involved in destructive loops when they were subject to uncertainty and unemployment. Resilient individual strategies were identified mainly in the field of spending holiday and relaxation time, mobility and eating habits.

We found that people could restore their previous level of happiness whenever:

- They accepted the fact that their income got reduced. Income reduction has a strong negative impact in short run, but may not have any impact on longer run which is a reverse Easterlin paradox.
- They adapted new consumption habits that matched the new situation. Thus accepting the necessity of change and changing lifestyle as consequent behaviour were key elements of sustaining subjective wellbeing.
- Changing habits was easier when the neighbourhood, friends, relatives have gone through similar impacts. Changing holiday habits together with friends proved to be easier than acting alone.
- People increased their willingness to change. Change was more important than the direction of change. Some people moved from the countryside to the city seeking better job opportunities while others moved from the city to the countryside hoping for less stressful life. Some people increased their level of savings as they lost their trust in the social caring system. Some people acted in the opposite way and increased spending as they wanted to enjoy life before an economic apocalypse would occur. Acting as change agent proved to be a wellbeing enhancer at its own right. This peculiarity of the crisis may open a gate to social innovation.

There are factors that reduced the chances of restoring previous level of subjective wellbeing.

- While people could accommodate to a moderate level of reduction in income, they could not accommodate to the increased level of stress and uncertainty. Those who faced an increased level of uncertainty often get into the muddle of destructive loops.

- Some people responded to the reduced level of income by working longer hours. They experienced a reduced level of subjective wellbeing both in shorter and middle run.

Changing lifestyle and accommodating to reduced income seemed to be a more successful wellbeing restoring strategy than working longer hours. Also, acting as change agents rather than waiting for circumstances worked better from happiness perspective.

In our qualitative study we used a modified version of PSM that was able to tackle some of the deficiencies of the methodology. We assumed that although PSM may explain the dynamics of the problem, it is often insufficient to show inspired alternatives on how the problems can be solved. "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them" (Albert Einstein). Thus, we were seeking resilient new loops created by participants as reaction to coercive changes in their consumption patterns. For example, reduction in mobility budget forced some participants to use their car less, which reduced their subjective wellbeing in the beginning. Some participants, however, reported the invention of how fitness activity can be combined with mobility by switching to walking more or biking more. Those respondents reported no compromise in their subjective wellbeing in a longer run.

Regarding the methodology, we found that some destructive loops – which reinforce themselves, resulting in a negative outcome – can be "sticky". Some negative processes may become irreversible so fast that the efforts to reverse the process by eliminating its cause cannot solve the problem – the causal loop does not operate in the opposite way. As a consequence, adding new loops to the system or exerting external intervention may be necessary. PSM can be used for co-creation of such system and gaining experience on adaptation strategies.

Constructive loops, as well as measures which break destructive loops can be regarded as social innovation. Consumer policy focusing on social innovation can make use of the existing, identifiable adaptation strategies.

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The role of social capital in energy system transformation

Insights from community energy

Iain Soutar

Energy Policy Group, University of Exeter

Abstract

Energy systems in the UK and beyond are currently undergoing fundamental change, driven by both rapid technological, as well as social innovation. These drivers are simultaneously deepening the penetration of new energy technologies whilst broadening the participation by individuals and communities in the energy system as both stakeholders and shareholders. While work on the capital requirements of innovation typically focus on finance and physical infrastructure, social infrastructures, value sets and priorities are often undervalued, particularly given the central role of social innovation. Understanding the role of social capital, as the "features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam 2000) is thus central to understanding the ongoing energy system transformation.

This paper reports on recent research into the role of human and social capital in community energy, and by extension, broader notions of transformation. Both are found to be fundamental requirements to the developmental processes of community energy as a sociotechnical innovation, affecting initial group formation, and the subsequent development of groups and of the sector. Furthermore, the importance of vision, determination and technical capabilities suggest that social and human capital resources within community energy leadership are of paramount importance, both for the development of groups and of the sector more broadly. These findings raises questions around the role of policy in nurturing and investing in social capital to better manage energy system transformation.

Introduction

The energy system in the UK is undergoing a process of transformation, with three principle drivers. First, rapid technological innovation is driving deepening penetration and integration of renewables into the energy system. Second, shifts in societal values and objectives are behind the drive for a new set of system outcomes and processes. And lastly, social innovation is creating new social structures through which such values and objectives can be expressed. These forces are coevolutionary: Emerging technological and social innovations are both influencing and influenced by shifting societal values as well as one another (Mitchell, 2013, Mitchell et al., 2015).

Despite the strong role of society in energy system transformation, contemporary discussions around energy systems continue to be centred on the technical and economic aspects of these issues, whereas social dimensions have been somewhat neglected. Within academia, energy studies are heavily biased towards science, engineering and economics over other social sciences (Sovacool, 2014). Within policymaking, problem framings focus attention overwhelmingly on technical, supply-led solutions (Parkhill et al., 2013).

In both arenas, physical and financial capital are understood as the primary resources of consequence for energy systems and energy system change and form the basis of ongoing debates around scales of investment and forms of technology. Within the context of a liberalised market economy, the role of energy policy, for example, focuses on designing mechanisms to incentivise private investment into energy infrastructures (Mitchell, 2008, Kuzemko, 2013). Common academic and media discourses around energy policy issues therefore focus on which technologies are being supported, the cost of doing so, and the implications for householders in terms of domestic energy bills.

The development and integration of distributed energy into our energy system however has significant implications for the role of individuals and communities in the energy system, and calls for a greater understanding of the role of social capital in meeting our energy objectives. Of particular relevance is the development of community energy (CE)[40], which is emerging as an important element of energy system transformation, and whose value lies in the development of well-functioning social networks. However, although CE is widely lauded as an important element (DECC, 2014), there remains little understanding of the role of social capital in the movement and what the implications are for energy policy. It is in addressing these questions that this paper is concerned.

20 semi-structured interviews were carried out between June 2014 and March 2015 with representatives from the CE movement across the UK. The sample comprised a mix of CE practitioners, businesses, NGOs, and representatives from local and central government. CE practitioners were selected to represent a range of geographical contexts, scales and group maturities. Interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded to align with key stages in the innovation process.

The shift to a more engaging energy system

Ongoing social and technological innovation is bringing about fundamental changes around the extent to which society is engaged with the energy system in the UK. Such innovations can be considered to have coevolved alongside shifts in societal demand (Mitchell, 2013). As such, the established energy system has been shaped by the historic abundance of inexpensive fossil fuels, the transportability and storability of which enabled economies of scale to be harnessed in large-scale centralised thermal generation plant. Climate science ignorance meant that such a structure, owned and managed in turn by industry and government, worked well in terms of delivering increasing amounts of affordable energy to society, whose sole point of engagement with the system was as passive consumers (Kuzemko, 2013).

Advances in science and technology, and shifts in global power relations have drawn attention to a new set of societal challenges relating to energy. The emergent global challenges of climate change and energy security, combined with the need to update domestic energy infrastructure, means that UK energy policy is at something of a crossroads. In particularly it has become starkly clear that the energy system as it is currently established is ill suited to addressing contemporary challenges (WWF, 2006, HM Government, 2009, Wicks, 2009, Mitchell, 2014).

In broad terms, an alternative to the established energy system can be represented by a smaller scale distributed, non-fossil fuel system. The nature, scale, and geography of such technologies offer a new set of prospects around how the energy system is able to deal with contemporary energy challenges, including that of overcoming system inertia (Mitchell et al., 2014, Ray et al., 2010). Relative to traditional technologies, their affordability to a greater diversity of owners is democratising energy supply assets and changing the role of individuals and communities in the energy system (DECC, 2015, Martiskainen et al., 2009, Watson, 2004).

[40] Defined by the Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC) as "any UK energy project…that [is] led by a community group for the benefit of their community" (DECC 2014)

In terms of networks, while the established distribution system used radial, passive distribution networks to meet demand, the expansion of distributed energy is providing opportunities to better balance supply with demand, increasing system efficiency (Jansen, 2015). If the previous energy system could be explained by economies of scale giving value to centralised assets, the new energy system is more about network economies, where value is increasingly both geographically and socially distributed (Table 1).

Table 1: Dominant characteristics of alternative energy systems

Dominant characteristics	**Old system**	**New system**
Guiding principles	Meet demand with supply; economies of scale	Optimise demand and supply within constraints; network economies
Technologies & infrastructure	Large scale, centralised fossil fuel-based production; radial distribution networks;	Small scale, distributed RE; smart appliances and infrastructure; ICT
Stakeholders/Industry	Big 6; vertical integration	Independent & local suppliers, distributed generators
Wealth mechanism	Economies of scale	Network economies
Culture	Passive consumerism; convenience	Environmentalism; participation
Policy and regulation	Inertia; Maintenance of large-scale; depoliticised decision making	Dynamic & responsive; engaging society through participative democracy
Knowledge	Civil engineering, neoclassical economics	Electrical engineering; ICT; behavioural economics

In addition, social innovations are providing new ways for individuals, communities and businesses to engage with the energy system, greatly increasing the number of stakeholders as well as shareholders with interests in the system's future. The sum effect of ongoing technological and social innovations is that the new energy system is expected to be fundamentally more engaging of society as the current energy system. These structural changes are presenting considerable opportunities for subaltern interests as well as significant challenges for incumbents, but while academic and political debates around both incumbency and transition emphasise physical and financial capital, this paper suggests that in light of emergent transformative change, human and social capital is at least as salient.

Social and human capital

The concepts of both human and social capital are well established. Human capital is defined by the OECD as "the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic wellbeing" (OECD, 2001: 18). Although usually taken to represent the stock of knowledge or skills of an individual acquired through education or experience, other personal characteristics such as norms, beliefs and values can be included in the definition, and indeed this broader representation of human capital is of particular relevance in this context.

Social capital describes the resources in terms of social networks and norms, and the trust and reciprocity enabled by such networks that enable things to happen. The formal or informal links between individuals in social networks are thus structured around 'normal' expectations around thinking and doing (Putnam, 2000). Shared norms enable trust, as they encourage people to be vulnerable around others, and reciprocity captures the expectation that such trust in

collaborations will have repercussions in terms of mutual support within one's social network (Kay, 2003, Putnam, 2000).

Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam were instrumental in developing and popularising the key ideas behind social capital in the 1980s and 1990s. Earlier work by Bourdieu and Coleman discussed the relationship between social capital and other forms of capital, with implications for its value in different contexts. For example, for Bourdieu, while social capital and human capital are related, although social capital is neither reducible to, nor independent of economic or cultural capital, but is a multiplier for both. In addition to this, social capital, like other capitals, is only fungible with respect to certain activities, meaning that it is useful only for facilitating specific actions, and indeed harmful to others (Coleman, 1994).

The key point of the concept though is that that through these dynamics, social capital is like other forms of capital in that it can improve the efficiency of society (Putnam 2000) in achieving something. As with other forms of capital, social capital can be of use either when it is deployed or is simply available. The value of capital thus often depends on the ways through which it can be used, often in conjunction with other forms of capital.

The contested nature of the social capital concept calls for rigour in defining definitional and analytical boundaries (Rydin et al., 2004, Aldridge et al., 2002). The typology of social capital adopted here thus follows Rydin and Holman's (2004) proposal of bonding, bridging and bracing (termed elsewhere as 'linking' capital) social capital to describe the key roles of social capital in CE.

A capitals approach

Contemporary discussions around the need to better consider the social and environmental impacts of our actions have stimulated a considerable amount of work developing the concept of wellbeing (Harper et al., 2011). In seeking a more systematic understanding of the social impacts of policy options, the Defra Social Impacts Taskforce set forward a capitals approach. This highlights the relationship between stocks of different forms of capital in the production of flows of different types of goods and services, whose consumption in turn contribute to wellbeing (Figure 1).

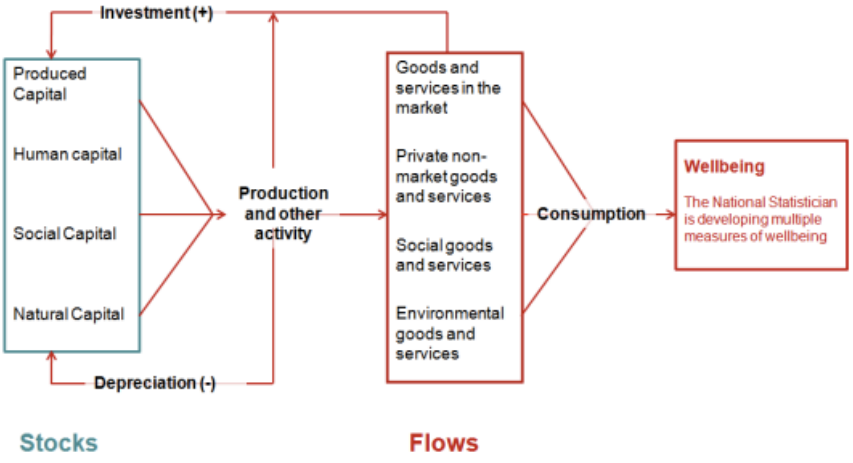

Figure 1: Stocks and flows framework for capitals, goods and services, and wellbeing
Source: Harper, 2011

In analysing the energy system, such a framework is of value for a number of reasons:

- It makes explicit the relationship between wellbeing and the consumption of a range of goods and services, which includes energy services, but also social and technological innovation, democracy, equality and environmental amenities such as a well-functioning climate. It thus broadens policy attention out from simply delivery of affordable energy supply;
- The use of 'capital' as an established economic concept is recognisable by policymakers, and thus aligns with established norms in policymaking (REF). Framing human, social and natural resources as 'capital' speaks the language of policy and highlights their existence as a legitimate resource alongside produced capital (REF);
- It highlights the potential for activities to result in investment or depreciation of capital value. Depletion of different forms of capital increases the risk that we will be no longer able to produce certain goods and services, which potentially affects our wellbeing.

Fundamentally, the framework helps to communicate that securing an efficient flow of societal benefits depends on the ways in which combinations of different capital stocks are employed. Encouraging the most efficient combination is thus central to policy appraisal and evaluation (Aldridge et al., 2002).

Innovation processes for social capital

This paper draws on and contributes to two key perspectives of grassroots innovation theory. The first, Strategic Niche Management (SNM) seeks to explain how the social networking between local niche experiments results in the standardisation and institutionalisation of local lessons and expectations (Kemp et al., 1998). SNM thus understands the CE movement as resulting from progressively coherent networks of learning, developing from successful experimentation in local contexts, and coordinated by intermediaries through which resources, including knowledge and guidance are transferred (Kemp et al., 1998, Seyfang et al., 2014).

While the SNM perspectives proven value in explaining grassroots innovations, their analytical power may be limited by the normative assumption made about the desirability of innovations and the ignorance of structural power (Smith et al., 2015), in effect limiting grassroots innovations to transitional, rather than transformational change. In acknowledgement of these limitations, this paper adopts the 'critical niche' perspective described by Smith et al (2015), around which prevailing discourses around grassroots innovations can be challenged. Such a perspective permits a critical analysis of the social aspects of CE (Smith et al., 2015), which, it is argued here, is central to understanding and facilitating the transformational potential of the movement

Literature on the SNM describes several themes on which the development of CE can be analysed with respect to social capital stocks and flows. These are a) niche formation, i.e. the development of niches and b) niche development, i.e. the increasing scale and acceptance of niches as valuable solutions. A third theme; that of leadership in CE, is of relevance for the first two themes as well as for social innovation as a whole. The following sections explore each theme in turn.

Niche formation

CE projects are fundamentally social networks. The potential for the CE to 'scale up' is dependent not only on the expansion of current projects, but also on the creation of new projects (Capener, 2013). This is expected to be influenced by government policy, particularly through support for RE and the broader sector (Ibid), but is also dependent on the increase in the number and quality of social networks able to capitalise on such support. This section discusses the role of social capital in the formation of CE experiments with respect to three key processes: bonding within groups, developing common goals, and harnessing latent capacity.

Bonding within groups

Although CE groups vary greatly in size, they typically have at their core a small number of enthusiastic and committed individuals (Seyfang et al., 2013). These are often made up of one or two founding members, supported by a small group of active members, as well as a larger membership of less engaged supporters from the wider community (Ibid). While the addition of disengaged supporters lends a degree of legitimacy by way of providing a local mandate, having a strong and effective core of active members is central to developing projects.

The processes involved in the creation of these cores within CE groups can be related to bonding social capital, as characterised by being relatively dense in nature, limited in size, and close in proximity. Community energy is usually (but not always) place-oriented and necessitates commonality of interests and objectives, meaning that bonding between core members often takes place very early on in a group's development. Putnam (2000) notes that such processes are self-reinforcing; that is, simply working together in close proximity towards a common goal serves to bind the core group further, and helps participants experience the benefits of social capital first hand.

Bonding social capital is in large part developed through the sharing of resources, and of the trust and reciprocity implicit in doing so (Putnam, 2000, Aldridge et al., 2002). Such resources includes time and expertise, which is typically offered voluntarily, meaning that core members are trusted to 'pull their weight' to remain involved (Interviewee 2). Most groups (at least in early stages) also depend on financial capital sourced from members to help buy essential resources and ensure projects get to a point where they are self sustaining. Again trust and reciprocity within core groups are central in ensuring that these initial investments are not at risk.

Harnessing latent capacity

A large proportion (34%in 2011) of CE groups have formed out of existing social networks (Seyfang et al., 2013). These include both formal and informal networks, and those focusing on broad energy and climate related issues as well as otherwise, such as tenants associations. For many in those groups, the existence of elements of social networks and trust was seen as valuable, particularly since requisite bonding had already taken place. Indeed, for one organisation, identifying pre-existing social networks with whom to roll out CE projects formed a key part of their business plan:

"We identify existing networks, be it the Transition Network or any other kind of community groups, …there are always a group of active citizens working in the local area…people who are really committed to their local areas and have vision for their local area" (Interviewee 6)

For this participant, this approach was seen as especially valuable when seeking to engage the wider community, as such engagement could be carried out by members of the community themselves, rather than CE group members per se. This is not to assume that latent social capital is vital. Indeed, one group established by the local authority demonstrated that significant, rapid progress could be made without the use of pre-existing networks, although this did appear to require the deployment of other organisational resources and human capital in the form of political leadership.

Developing common goals

The range of potential activities definable as 'community energy' is as broad as the values and approaches adopted throughout the sector (DECC, 2014, Databuild et al., 2013, Seyfang et al., 2014, Hielscher, 2011, Hielscher et al., 2011). While this diversity offers significant benefits to the movement as a whole (Seyfang et al., 2014, Seyfang et al., 2013), the establishment of a shared set of values and objectives is an important part of the development of individual groups. Indeed, the existence of shared interests and values has been found to be critical determinant in helping social enterprises cohere and initiate (Evans, 2003). This sentiment was echoes by several CE groups:

"Although everyone has different expertise, be it technical, legal, we all shared common values…I suppose it's the strength of the team that's helped us be successful." (Interviewee 1)

However, while CE initiatives tend to attract individuals with similar values, the inability of some groups to reconcile motivational differences proved a barrier to moving forward:

"I think it's like herding cats. They say they've got a shared motivation, but when you actually explore it, it is so wide. The differences are far greater than the similarities." (Interviewee 2)

These issues appeared to be more common in groups that had evolved out of existing (non CE) networks. Since such groups had developed bonding capital (including cognitive norms) around achieving quite different goals, shifting towards CE objectives required a process of negotiation between members. In this instance, social capital could be considered a barrier to progress.

Niche development

Establishing a CE group is of course only the first step in making progress towards objectives; groups must also make connections with a range of actors with interest and influence in the energy systems in which they wish to enable change. Of key interest here is the bridging social capital required of local communities, and the bracing capital needed for securing supportive niche networks.

Building local support

For many CE groups, gaining support from the wider local community is central to delivering local projects as well as to gain legitimacy, making it a means and an objective in itself. For example, such support is often necessary to permit (or at least not oppose) the local deployment of community assets such as wind turbines. RE projects are also increasingly seeking to access financial resources from within the local community.

Legitimacy in turn hinges on the belief among local communities that CE groups are acting appropriately in terms of the decisions they make. For CE groups then, bridging capital can be considered an important resource both in itself and as a platform to deliver local projects. Engaging the local community helps to identify local problems related to energy (such as sub-standard housing) and seeks buy-in and participation in solutions.

The availability and deployment of bridging capital is thus at the heart of questions around the how well CE groups represent the local communities in which they are embedded. While 'community energy' evokes connotations of participation and democracy, the degree to which CE groups actually enable such benefits varies greatly (Walker et al., 2008).

Building institutional infrastructure

While building local support can unlock important human and financial resources in the local community, CE groups also often require help from external organisations to help meet their objectives. Indeed, the opportunities afforded by outside organisation networking was considered by many groups as the second most success factor only to the group's own qualities (Seyfang et al., 2012). This includes partnering with a range of (predominantly local) actors including local authorities, other CE groups, businesses, schools, NGOs and national government departments (Ibid).

Engaging with other groups was found to be particularly valuable for a number of reasons relating both to practical and pragmatic issues. On one hand, advice from other more mature groups was valued:

"They are at the coal face, they know what I'm struggling with. As soon as I say something, they say 'oh my god we were struggling with that last year!', or 'we have that coming up'. We're all struggling with the same things." (Interviewee 2)

Such exchanges were useful in talking through practical solutions to problems (around attracting finance, for example) whilst simultaneously offering an understanding ear or a source

of moral support. In such a challenging, resource-scarce environment, the need for practical and moral support came up time and time again.

Aside from being beneficial for individual groups, the aggregation of learning from different contexts through systematic sharing means that sector-wide knowledge can be increasingly abstracted for emergent groups (Ibid), contributing to the internal momentum of the growing niche. Such learning within a network of intermediaries is considered central to the development of CE as a niche, not least because it establishes what Geels and Deuten (2006) term the 'creation of institutional infrastructure', which enables the "gathering and interaction of actors, the exchange of experiences and the organisation of collective action" (Ibid). The capacity for niche actors then to form and maintain networks of trust and reciprocity affects the speed and efficiency of knowledge standardisation and thus, how fast CE can grow.

Leadership

Although this paper suggests that social capital is key to community energy, the creation and momentum of CE is fundamentally underpinned by human capital. The range of competencies required of CE groups is vast, and depending on the context can require expertise in community engagement, website development and social media, technical issues, finance and accounting, project management, business planning, planning and legal issues, and project evaluation (DECC, 2014). However, it is the manifestation of personal qualities in the leadership of CE groups that influences the speed and direction of CE efforts, and consequently the movement as a whole. Three key roles of CE leadership can be identified in relation to human and social capital: group formation, maintenance of momentum and niche policy advocacy.

Group formation

Seyfang et al. estimate that of those groups operating in 2011, around 60 per cent of CE groups were set up by individuals (Seyfang et al., 2013), meaning that the majority of groups were reliant on the one or two individuals to act on perceived failings and opportunities within the energy system and be both willing and able to draw in form a group to draw other members to the cause. This suggests of considerable human capital in terms of the necessary knowledge needed to be able to identify problems and potential solutions in the form of a local vision, the ability to encourage and mobilise others, and the will, determination and tenacity to drive ideas towards tangible outcomes.

Vision creation is particularly important here, as it helps to create a salient narrative around local issues, enlightening others to problems, and establishes expectations around the benefits to be gained from acting, both of which are considered important processes in niche development (Hargreaves et al., 2013, Coenen et al., 2010, Kemp et al., 1998). While a group's vision can be shaped by process of negotiation, for some groups, the vision of key individuals was instrumental in guiding the rest of the group:

"It's hard to see how [the group] could have got where it is without his strategic vision. Sometimes I think: "what's this one about?"…a couple of days later I get it, and off we go" (Interviewee 4)

For this participant, such leadership was considered instrumental to the group's success. Indeed, considerable faith was placed in the Chair in identifying opportunities and appropriate pathways for moving forward. Such faith is also linked to the optimism and determination needed of the sector as a whole, but as leaders most particularly.

Maintenance of momentum

In such a challenging, resource-scarce environment, the need optimism and determination was considered vital in taking projects from inception to delivery, as highlighted here:

"You need to believe that you'll find a way through anything…sooner or later. People might say "what's your business plan?". You shouldn't be doing this if there's not a business plan."…And we say…we will find a way through it." (Interviewee 3)

For this participant in a burgeoning CE group, faith, determination and vision was considered more important than other forms of capital, the sentiment being that without such traits, other key pieces of organisational or financial capital that would be needed to take their project to the next level could never be attracted. Where benefits can be social rather than financial, value must be believed in and promised by creating a 'market of expectations' (Kemp et al., 1998) before it can be realised.

Previous portrayals of CE practitioners as 'retired engineers' sought to communicate the importance of time-rich, technically minded tinkerers in driving the sector (IET, 2013). However, while understanding and overcoming technical challenges might be important, they are likely to be secondary to more fundamental attributes such as determination and belief, and the ability to form and communicate a vision, attributes which may be more difficult to 'buy in' than technical expertise.

Niche-policy advocacy

For some groups, affecting the politics of energy is as important as affecting local energy systems. Indeed, evidence suggests that such work is important part of niche development (Smith et al., 2015, Smith et al., 2014). As the sector has developed, representative bodies have been formed through which a coherent voice could be channelled, such as the Community Energy Contact Group, the sector forum created by DECC to develop its Community Energy Strategy. Gaining a voice in such bodies does appear to require significant human capital, not least in terms of demonstrating ability to converse and lobby with complex multifaceted issues through effective networking and communication.

While the creation of such bodies, with representative figureheads represents a step change in CE's development, there are risks that this facilitates minority-led agendas with concentrated power, which in turn constrains community involvement and diversity of objectives and undermines transformative power of the movement (Roberts, Hargreaves; Smith).

Social capital, policy and transformational change

This paper has touched upon some key issues in the development of CE, and suggests that human and social capital is integral to the movement. The use of a social capital lens permits critical insights into key aspects of CE, such as the meaning of community and the dynamics of collective action and participation. It also highlights that while local resources may be present, trust and reciprocity are central to their use. The availability of human and social capital in CE leadership is critical throughout the development of CE groups and the direction of the movement as a whole.

This paper focused primarily on the CE movement as a key component of a more engaging energy system. However, insofar as the CE movement can be understood as a formalised network of collectives within civil society, the wider role of society in enabling, constraining and negotiating change must also be considered. In other words, the importance of social capital within CE is indicative of its importance more generally as a key resource for energy system transformation. Compared to the established energy system, the distributed technologies within a future energy system also have structural consequences for the distribution and localisation of governance, participation, finance, and value among communities, suggesting a fundamentally deeper role for social capital in the energy system than has previously been the case.

Nonetheless, UK energy policy is showing little commitment to valuing social capital, either explicitly or implicitly. On one hand the DECC has acknowledged that CE offers significant efficiencies, stating that it can "often tackle challenges more effectively than government alone, developing solutions to meet local needs, and involving local people. Putting communities in control of the energy they use can have wider benefits such as building stronger communities, creating local jobs, improving health and supporting local economic growth" (DECC, 2014). On the other hand, the government has so far proved unable to provide meaningful support for the

sector beyond acknowledgement that it exists, meaning the movement has evolved in spite or, rather than because of government support.

Whether or not the government can rationalise investment in social capital will depend on the degree to which its benefits can be valued. This may be addressed in part by ongoing attempts to quantify the impact of CE on implementing government policies, of which there is increasing evidence. Otherwise, rationale for intervention will hinge on whether the uneven distribution of capital, including social capital, is considered a problem. DECC's promise that "every community that wants to form an energy group or take forward an energy project should be able to do so, regardless of background or location" (DECC, 2014) will be tested in this regard.

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Discussant Contribution

Actions, roles and interactions of diverse participants

Vivien Lunda

Vienna University of Economics and Business

At first sight, the four papers in this session showed no obvious similarities that I was able to build my contribution on. While the first paper focuses on the understanding and conceptualization of collaborative economy, the second paper introduces awareness raising activities of the Association of Conscious Consumers in Hungary. The third paper analyses individual adaptation strategies to coercive consumption triggered by the economic crisis of 2008. And the last paper demonstrates the importance of the so far underrated role of social and human capital in the energy system transformation. However, on a closer look they all raise questions about the visions and conditions of change towards sustainable consumption lifestyles that unfold on either a collective or individual level. Concerns on drivers of and motivation for behavioural and social change clearly predominate over detailed explanations of social innovation which is used rather inherently in the texts. In total, references to social innovation are quite limited but of some significance as they reflect on the interdependence as well as interrelation of shifting values and social innovations conceivably inducing social change (as specifically related to in paper 3 and 4).

In the following, I highlight the most important aspects of each paper in relation to the identified common theme of vision. The summaries below do not claim to be exhaustive but rather give a first impression on the multidirectional and multifaceted influences, motivations and barriers that drive visions and therefore potentially change.

Paper 1 by Katarzyna shows the variety of understandings of sharing itself as well as the concept of collaborative economy that ranges from an idealistic unified vision of an alternative economic future to a co-opted market-embedded masquerade. The latter is a direct consequence of for-profit giants appearing on the scene of collaborative economy and seeking to have their slice of the pie. Hence, the identification of an optimistic shared vision towards sustainable consumption is clearly challenged by these system-inherent processes which results in an uncertain pathway for collaborative economy.

Paper 2 by Emese, on the other hand, demonstrates the success of participatory activities for conscious consumption triggered by shared visions of a more sustainable society which he considers to be the main driver of potential change agents. The analysis of three case studies on motivations for participating in direct food purchasing groups, the role of active community members in EcoTeams as well as the significance of visioning sessions lead to this conclusion but raise the question (by the author himself) of how to facilitate vision building.

In contrast to paper 1 and 2, paper 3 by Mária and Ágnes puts the emphasis of change on the individual level by analysing adaptation strategies to a decreased level of income and therefore coerced consumption. Their study reveals that individual goals as well as personality determine the level of adaptability and wellbeing. Decisive are, what they call, intrinsic factors such as an environmental consciousness and openness which support a higher willingness to change one´s lifestyle and act as change agent.

Paper 4 by Iain seeks to strengthen the role of human and social capital in the case of energy system transformation which he considers to be a determinant factor for the creation of vision. Specifically human capital supports the integration of perspectives on (local) change for a local vision which, thus, builds a strong network of local support. It furthermore enhances leadership skills and social competence. He differentiates between vision that is shaped by processes of negotiation as well as individuals who have the ability to guide a group. However, just as paper 1 suggests, concentrated power is considered to undermine the unimpeded development of shared vision.

Taken together, the contributions reveal rich insights into the values, beliefs and interests that underlie people´s choices and views on the necessity for change. They reveal that some consciousness of environmental and social conflicts and problems as well as openness towards potentially challenging solutions should be inherent to people in order to engage and mobilize themselves but also others. They illustrate the power of participation, social and human capital and community engagement at small scales. They point to limitations and potential pitfalls of concentrated and imbalances of power. And they all call for a focus on more community-level and bottom-up processes, but how to scale up these visions of change into transformative global thinking? On what scale is shared vision still possible? And what are supporting structures for the creation of shared visions?

Discussion Notes

Actions, roles and interactions of diverse participants

Mirijam Mock

Helmhotz Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig

The discussion revolved mainly around one topic: The role of the researcher. This topic was present in a latent way also in the previous discussions of the day, but emerged in this last discussion round as central topic and most of the participants participated in sharing their experiences and opinions for almost the complete time slot foreseen for discussing session 3.

Audley opened the discussion with questioning what kind of institutional pressure exists to engage researchers dealing with sustainability initiatives beyond the traditional research. He reports of an ongoing debate related to this topic in the UK, but in general the engagement is quite shallow. He asks of which kind of support we could think in order to engage more properly. Karin mentions that one kind of needed support is related to the training and education of the researchers. Researchers are often only trained in conducting traditional research methods, but only rarely in methods on how to engage with initiatives, which are needed in order to engage properly. Julia B., Edina, Maria and Keighley raised some possible roles for researchers: Julia sees researchers also as facilitators/mediators as we can potentially bring actors together in new and inspiring settings (e.g. the case study exchange event of the GLAMURS project). Edina, being half practitioner, half researcher, supported this adding that she experienced many kinds of for both sides useful cooperation projects of this kind. Maria highlighted the role of intermediaries and knowledge brokers - as Edina is one for example. Keighley regards agenda setting as an important task for researchers when engaging with initiatives. This would be to develop clear recommendations out of research findings for example for funders of the initiatives – also if this means that researchers take a stance. Kasia introduces the aspect of research evaluation (is it only about peer-review?): Engaging with the sharing initiatives is clearly part of her research and by doing so she also clearly takes a stance, but this parts of the research are hard to illustrate in publications. Whereas Flor thinks that there should be more "obligations" for researchers to engage with the initiatives (e.g. go to events of the initiatives), Karin and Adina are skeptical about this: Karin questions if researchers take too much the role of consultants if engaging strongly with initiatives (e.g. involving them into the development of the research questions). Adina reminds to deal carefully with different expectations and also questions who is putting pressure on researchers (e.g. the government? And what is the role of the government in knowledge translation?). She also states that it is important to focus on the own competences and is skeptical whether researchers are the best in translating scientific knowledge into everyday knowledge. The expectations should be realistic and not overburden the researchers. Gillian critically observes that most researchers present at this workshop (and dealing with multiple roles of researchers?) are female. Michaela sees all the raised issues as typical for transdisciplinary research and caused by different logics working at the same time. She thinks compromises can be the only solutions. Also Iain, Julia W. and Julia B. react similarly stating that being critical (towards the initiatives and also towards the status quo) does not exclude engagement.

IV

Final Plenary

Notes from the concluding plenary discussion

'Beyond' Transition

Marcelline Bonneau

Strategic Design Scenarios

In this last moment of the workshop, we first summarised the discussions of all the sessions before getting into new reflexions and opening up to new research questions and topics. Most of them related to the very core concepts at the heart of the day, as well as to the role research should play for societal transition.

Framing social innovation

The debate let arise further discussions on the framing of social innovation. We all agreed though that rules are crucial to the definition of a social innovation (these encompass values, norms as well as the logics of sciences, market, society, or personal ones), and this, be they individual or collective ones. We questioned the extent to which social innovation is different from social change. One explanation could be that social change sounds radical and that social innovation is a better vehicle for this concept at political level. This also means adjusting vocabulary depending on the target audience. Frames and narratives are crucial to discuss these rules and to make them visible to the world and where we are and where we want to go.

We also underlined the field of "social experimentation", although this was not so much stressed during the contributions or discussions of the day. Social innovation also seems to be a key enabler to focus on the social part of the innovation as an element in itself, beyond the wider realm of socio-technical innovations.

Evolving in or questioning the current economic paradigm?

Consuming for sustainability

We have observed that most of our research is grounded in the existing economic growth. In some papers in particular, such a paradigm defines well-being, to which consumption is bound. We then seem to be often questioning ourselves about the extent to which people can afford to buy. Consuming, or overconsuming, defines the living standards of people, as well as the pressure they feel for achieve such standards. Comparing oneself to others in society is a crucial element for defining a (un)sustainable consumption. One key example are US inhabitants who feel for 89% that they are poor, although, as compared to worldwide standards, we know for a fact that they consume a lot. At the same time, as people feel insecure, they seek to compensate by consuming. In order to consume, they require money, putting the capitalistic paradigm at the core of their preoccupations … If so, sustainable consumption is better for the environment. However, what type of analysis could assess the way developed countries can sustain such a high level of consumption and be happy about it, when looking at the rest of the world? As such, training or educating are difficult tools to go into the depth of the realm of consumption behaviour patterns.

We also compared the American example to the Hungarian one: Hungary has a very small footprint as compared to Denmark or the Netherlands. This can be partly explained because of the more reduced consumption. However, Hungarians are perceived, or perceive themselves, as

being the "bad students" because they are not as advanced as countries with a strong sustainable consumption policy. Communication about (un)sustainability should probably be revised, especially that related to Eastern-Western comparison.

As such, some participants stressed that income was the most important indicator of footprint. Yet, there have not been many discussions on the models to care about this excess income as well as to redistribute them.

Developing new business models

The discussion also went to do identify which current economic models have been successful in terms of promoting sustainable consumption. This appeared to be a tricky issue. Fair Trade, although quite advanced as compared to conventional production and sale, is embedded in the logics of economic, capital creation, leading to pressures on producers with strongly obscure processes. At the same time, can vegetarianism be an example of something that works?

This part of the discussion concluded on the need to diversify the solutions provided in policy or market terms. These should get the mainstream (political, economic actors as well as citizens) involved, in order to support them as well, as opposed to limiting initiatives to the niche level. Such an approach also requires acknowledging the need for the development of models, flexible and adaptive, rather than miracle recipes.

Researching the achievement of sustainable consumption through social innovation

As a way of recapping on the above-mentioned points, we have identified two main areas to focus on for further research and paradigmatic framing.

Some normative considerations

At the end of the workshop, we went back to one of the objects under study: sustainable consumption. Indeed, the contributions presented wide examples of innovations in this field: social movements being exceptions of the mainstream. We focused mostly on the niche initiatives. However, we seemed to have left aside the dominant initiatives: *shouldn't we be interested in "unsustainable consumptions" and the way this could be shifted towards more sustainable ones? Isn't it paradoxical not to research what is the main issue at stake in nowadays' society, focusing on new, innovative solutions?*

This led us to another crucial point of the normativity of sustainable consumption. *How can we set up the norms which we, as a society, seek to reach?* Differentiating what is "good" from what is "bad". *Is "good" ever enough?* Going back to the some other points mentioned above, we have researched many successful *small* examples. Some of these examples are powerful as transformative social innovations. *Should "small" become the new norm then?* This questioning would also have further implications in terms of upscaling of these initiatives.

Where does our research lie?

Bearing this into account, in which direction should we strive our future research? As a starting point, going back to the very premises of this workshop, we discussed the rationale for its underlying concepts, namely sustainable consumption, social innovation the link between the two, or, more correctly, using one to achieving the other. Indeed, participants stressed the focus of this workshop which had been strongly on social innovation: both as a means and as an end. This approach had certainly emphasised the potential of new social organisation and relations in order to foster the path towards a more sustainable society. However, sustainable consumption was not addressed as such, or rather the role of social innovation in promoting such a pathways could still be further developed: *how could social innovation contribute to sustainability?*

Going one step beyond, our workshop took place just after the terrorist attacks of the 13 November in Paris. This brought us back to the need to combine immediate reactions to societal

challenges together with research for long-term structural changes. The current economic structures, free market, wars, migrations: these all play a role in the way we should tackle sustainable development and consumption. *How could social innovation contribute to these wider societal challenges?* Social innovation can, and should, support experimentation. However, *how could it address these more structural issues?*

These more fundamental, and philosophical, discussion went beyond the topic of the workshop, but should probably be kept in mind and serve as the rational, baseline, for carrying out further research on social innovation and its role in promoting and diffusing sustainable consumption, through the context within which it operates.

IV Annex

SCORAI
Sustainable Consumption Research and Action Initiative
EUROPE

http://scorai.org/scorai-europe/

About SCORAI Europe

Founded in North America and inspired by the European SCORE! Network (2005-2008), SCORAI is an international network of professionals working to address challenges at the interface of material consumption, human fulfilment, lifestyle satisfaction, and technological change. SCORAI Europe was founded in the context of the European Roundtable for Sustainable Consumption and Production conference in Bregenz 2012. In that session, participants unanimously agreed that creating a SCORAI Europe network would help strengthen the sustainable consumption community in Europe, both in terms of research and practice. Shortly afterwards, SCORAI Europe was launched. Its goal is to support a community that contributes forward-thinking, innovative research in the area of sustainable consumption, while also bridging academic research with mainstream thinking and policy-making. Since then SCORAI Europe closely works with the Society of the European Roundtable for Sustainable Consumption and Production (ERSCP) and our sister SCORAI organization in North America, as well as other research networks that are focused on the challenges of addressing the society-environment nexus from a consumption perspective like the Degrowth community.

Since its inception, SCORAI Europe has organised and run a number of workshops and conferences with the aim of bringing together practitioners and researchers to enhance understanding and find innovative approaches toward sustainable consumption. For more information please click on the links below.

Leipzig (2014)	*Sustainable Consumption Transitions Series Issue 4*
London (2014)	*Workshop Report*
Rotterdam (2013)	*Sustainable Consumption Transitions Series Issue 3*
Istanbul (2013)	*Sustainable Consumption Transitions Series Issue 2*
Muenster (2013)	*Workshop Results*
Bregenz (2012)	*Sustainable Consumption Transitions Series Issue 1*

To learn more about SCORAI, please visit: http://www.scorai.org, where you will find a dedicated web page for SCORAI Europe activities.

To become a member of SCORAI Europe, please join the SCORAI EUR listserv: http://scorai-eu.opendna.com.

For more information on SCORAI Europe, please contact: scoraieurope@gmail.com.

SCORAI Europe supporting community

Steering Committee

- Julia Backhaus, Maastricht University
- Janis Brizga, NGO Green Liberty & University of Latvia
- Frances Fahy, NUI Galway
- Audley Genus, Kingston University
- Sylvia Lorek, Sustainable Europe Research Institute
- Henrike Rau, University of Munich
- Marlyne Sahakian, University of Lausanne
- Edina Vadovics, GreenDependent Institute

Founding members*

- Nilgün Ciliz, Bogaziçi University
- Neil Coles, UNEP/Wuppertal Institute/CSCP
- Antonietta Di Giulio, University of Basel
- Doris Fuchs, University of Münster
- André Martinuzzi, WU Vienna
- Oksana Mont, Lund University
- Jaco Quist, TU Delft
- Inge Røpke, Danish Technical University
- Lucia Reisch, Copenhagen Business School
- Willi Sieber, Austrian Institute of Ecology
- Gerd Scholl, Institute for Ecological Economy Research
- Ulf Schrader, TU Berlin
- Martin Schweighofer, Austrian Institute of Ecology
- John Thøgersen, Aarhus University
- Arnold Tukker, TNO

*Only those not in the steering committee

http://scorai.org/scorai-europe/ http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/

Workshop Programme

SCORAI Europe/TRANSIT Workshop

'Beyond' Transition? Understanding and Achieving Sustainable Consumption through Social Innovation

Venue: Impact Hub, Vienna **Date:** 17 November 2015

Time	
8.30 - 9.00	Arrival; registration; refreshments
9.00 - 9.15	**Introduction** by *Audley Genus* (SCORAI Europe) and *Julia Wittmayer* (TRANSIT)
9.15 - 10.45	**Theme 1: Investigating 'transition' and 'transformation'** Chair: Audley Genus Discussant: Philip Vergragt Note-taker: Iain Soutar Transforming the economy vs. transitioning to a sharing economy: theories of change in four bodies of literature. *Julia Backhaus et al.* Intrapersonal conflicts as starting point for transition governance? *Felix Rauschmayer et al.* Transition or Transformation of Societal Practices and Orders? *Michael Jonas* Sustainable lifestyles through the lens of time and space: preliminary research results and implications for economic transformations *Adina Dumitru et al.*
10.45 - 11.15	Break
11.15 - 12.45	**Theme 2: Case studies of social innovation or sustainable consumption** Chair: Edina Vadovics Discussant: Karen Dobernig Note-taker: Ágnes Zsóka Narratives of change: How Social Innovation Initiatives engage with their Transformative Ambitions *Julia Wittmayer, Julia Backhaus, Flor Avelino, Bonno Pel, Tim Strasser, Iris Kunze* Sustainable consumption practices in a Viennese Cohousing project. A praxeological case study *Michaela Leitner and Beate Littig*

	Hitting a policy wall: the opportunities and limitations of a political consumerism approach for transforming food systems as observed in Community Pick-Up Point Schemes. *Keighley McFarland and Julia Wittmayer* Comparing two city administrations' approaches to promoting social innovation in their governance – lessons from the URBACT Capitalisation work on Social innovation in cities *Marcelline Bonneau and François Jegou*
12.45 - 14.00	Lunch
14.00 - 15.30	**Theme 3: Actions, roles and interactions of diverse participants** Chair: Julia Wittmayer Discussant: Vivien Lunda Note-taker: Mirijam Mock Framings of Collaborative Economy – Q study based in Vienna *Katarzyna Gruska* Research based sustainable consumption education for social change *Emese Gulyás* Crisis as a gateway to social innovation? Individual strategies for restoring subjective wellbeing when consumption gets constrained. *Mária Csutora and Ágnes Zsóka* The role of social capital in energy system transformation: insights from community energy *Iain Soutar*
15.30 - 16.00	Break
16.00 - 17.00	**Plenary session: discussion on the issues raised during the day; future directions for research; feedback on workshop; next steps** Short introduction to the plenary session: by the chair-discussant-note-taker teams of the 3 Themes Chair: Julia Backhaus Note-taker: Marcelline Bonneau **Closing** by Audley Genus and Julia Wittmayer

http://scorai.org/scorai-europe/ http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/

Participants List

SCORAI EUROPE/TRANSIT WORKSHOP

"BEYOND" TRANSITION? UNDERSTANDING AND ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION THROUGH SOCIAL INNOVATION

IMPACT HUB, VIENNA, 17 NOVEMBER 2015

Family Name	Given Name	Affiliation
Avelino	Flor	Erasmus University Rotterdam
Backhaus	Julia	Maastricht University
Bonneau	Marcelline	Strategic Design Scenarios
Csutora	Maria	Corvinus University of Budapest
Dobernig	Karin	University of Applied Sciences Wiener Neustadt
Dumitru	Adina	University of Coruña
Genus	Audley	Kingston University London
Gruszka	Katarzyna	Vienna University of Economics and Business/ RCE Vienna/Institute for Economics
Gulyás	Emese	Association of Conscious Consumers
Jégou	François	Strategic Design Scenarios
Jonas	Michael	Institute of Advanced Studies, Vienna
Leitner	Michaela	Austrian Institute for Sustainable Development
Littig	Beate	Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna
Lunda	Vivien	Vienna University of Economics and Business
McFarland	Keighley	Ecologic Institute, Berlin
Mock	Mirijam	Helmhotz Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig
Omann	Ines	Helmhotz Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig
Pataki	György	Corvinus University of Budapest
Satoru	Mizuguchi	Japanese Forum of Environmental Journalists
Soutar	Iain	University of Exeter
Vadovics	Edina	GreenDependent, Hungary
Vergagt	Philip	Tellus Institute, Boston MA
Wittmayer	Julia	DRIFT, Rotterdam
Zilahy	Gyula	Corvinus University of Budapest
Zsóka	Ágnes	Corvinus University of Budapest

Picture of the workshop participants