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Green Economy: Pragmatism or Revolution?

Perceptions of Young Researchers on Social Ecological Transformation

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4 ABSTRACT

5 The Green Economy is a strategic development concept of the United Nations incorporating a broad array of potential meanings and implications. It is consequently subject to academic 6 7 conceptualisation, operationalisation, reflection and criticism. The aim of our paper is to conceptualise a subset of the multi-faceted and at times polarised debate around the implications 8 9 and applications of Green Economy, and to provide reflective grounds for approaches towards 10 the concept. By using qualitative content analysis and a participatory approach, we investigate 11 perceptions of young researchers from various disciplines working on issues related to Green Economy. The spectrum of disparate perceptions observed among the respondents is 12 13 accommodated within a two-dimensional model. The dimensions are 1) the degree and nature of 14 desired societal change in relation to the current economic model and set of institutions; and 2) the role of research in delivering such change. We discuss the model in light of the existing 15 16 literature.

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18 KEYWORDS

19 Green Economy, pragmatism, radicalism, value pluralism, social ecological transformation.

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21 INTRODUCTION

Political agenda-setting at the global level often includes broad and overarching concepts that
many decision-makers agree upon in general, while allowing for a wide range of interpretations.
This appears to be the case with the concept of Green Economy (GE), presented at the 2012

United Nations (UN) Conference on Sustainable Development as a vehicle for sustainable 25 development and poverty eradication. The UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) proposed a 26 universal GE definition as an economy that results in 'improved human well-being and social 27 28 equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities' (UNEP 2011, p. 2). UNEP's concept, however, has also been criticised as a 'red herring' due to its focus on 29 30 economic growth and its inability to resolve 'the basic contradiction between ever-expanding 31 human activity and a finite world' (Spash 2012, p. 98). This imposes the question on whether GE is a sufficiently transformative concept to enable actual sustainable development, understood as a 32 33 truly just and durable mode of organizing and managing social ecological systems. We define the current system as growing international liberal market capitalism, while an alternative system is 34 negatively defined as being opposed to the current one. 35

36 The GE discussion poses a double challenge to science. On the one hand, researchers from different backgrounds take part in the discussion, posing an internal challenge of 37 interdisciplinary communication and collaboration, e.g. between social and natural scientists. On 38 39 the other hand, the GE concept requires both academic operationalisation and societal 40 implementation, posing a trans-disciplinary challenge for science-policy interaction. To face these challenges, researchers will need to reflect upon the content and meaning of GE and their 41 42 own role in it (cf. Farley, 2012). In other words researchers need to ask themselves: To what 43 extent should research engage in (current main-stream or alternative) policy-making, politics and societal action? What conceptual frameworks and language are to be used for which purpose? 44 Which consequences from which (inter-)action and conceptual usages can be expected? 45

46 During the 2014 Thor Heyerdahl Summer School (THSS) on Environmental Governance,
47 hosted by the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU), a small group of early career and

48 graduate researchers discussed multiple connotations and individual perceptions of Green Economy, as well as the role of scientists in and beyond science. The authors of this paper, 49 participants of the THSS themselves, saw an opportunity to engage with other researchers in a 50 51 deliberative space to better understand predominant framings and interpretations of GE among young scholars. Our paper is the outcome of such participatory research. Our research question 52 was: How do young scholars perceive the GE concept, the need for societal change, the potential 53 of GE for realising such a change, and the role of research in promoting this change? This 54 appears to be a very timely topic for sustainability research (Spash, 2016). 55

To capture different understandings of GE, we presented a definition to participants without implying the contested notion of economic growth as a starting point: 'the GE is a strategic concept to help address distributive problems within planetary boundaries'. We used a qualitative approach to analyse the data, gathered through questionnaires and a focus group. This paper continues in the following manner: in section 2 we describe the research methodology; in section 3 we present findings from our empirical investigation; in section 4 we discuss our findings and their implications; in section 5 we draw conclusions.

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64 METHODOLOGY

This article is based on a qualitative content analysis of written data, obtained through questionnaire responses and the transcription of a focus group discussion. Our ontology is therefore phenomenological, as we consider subjective perceptions as valid data. Traditional content analysis is employed to determine the absence or presence of certain keywords, phrases and concepts. We adopted an inductive approach by deriving and defining codes and categories from data, rather than from theory (Mayring, 2000). This approach is appropriate for describing a

phenomenon (assumed or existing) in absence of a suitable theory (Kondracki and Wellman,
2002; Mayring, 2000). In our case, no clearly predefined categories were available to describe
the relation between research(ers) and GE.

74 Our sample includes the participants of the THSS on Green Economy, held in June 2014 at the NMBU. The course admitted 24 participants (including the authors of this paper), who were 75 76 selected through a competitive process. Formal requirements for being selected for participation 77 in the Summer school included enrolment in PhD studies and proven academic quality. The main concern when screening motivations was whether candidates' interests and research topics were 78 compatible with the overall theme of the Summer school, namely GE. Selected participants had 79 different academic backgrounds, ranging from social sciences to natural sciences; the 80 81 participants represented a total of 20 different nationalities, including Africa, the Americas and 82 Europe. According to course organiser Arild Vatn, GE was chosen as the course theme because 83 it evokes varying ideas and framings, generating contrasting opinions, while still focusing on the relation between economic processes and nature. The leading idea of the Summer school was 84 85 thus not built around a fixed understanding of GE, but it was rather designed to maximise deliberation. Invited speakers from different disciplines also had widely varying understandings 86 of, and positions towards the concept of GE. 87

Given our involvement in the course, we had the chance to gain in-depth understanding of the participants' positions and ideas. A key component of our research was in fact the participatory and self-reflective approach. To be transparent on the knowledge generation process, we have synthetized the key phases in the development and consolidation of the categories and model (Figure 1).

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94 [FIGURE 1]

96 After introductory lectures, during the first days of the Summer school, participants were 97 invited to discuss ideas for collaborative research. Us authors formed a collaborative group, 98 exchanging ideas. The starting point was that the Summer school could be an excellent opportunity to better understand the variety of perceptions and positions on the GE from 99 100 participants with varying expert backgrounds. We decided to conduct a participatory and 101 qualitative study of diverse perceptions of the GE concept, methodologically observing 102 discourses, taking notes, and inductively developing a conceptual framework to capture opinions. 103 During the course, we noticed that some definitions, keywords and concepts under the overall 104 theme of the GE were repeatedly brought up in the discussion, and related to visions for societal 105 change, and role of research in such change. Particular keywords we noticed included 106 'revolution', 'evolution', 'radicalism', and 'pragmatism'. Based on these key words, we started 107 to formulate an initial idea of our model. We proposed semi-structured questionnaires to all participants, except the authors (N=20). Respondents had approximately 36 hours to provide 108 109 written answers anonymously. The questionnaire included questions concerning personal 110 perceptions of the GE concept, the nature and extent of necessary societal change and the role of 111 research in delivering such change. We deliberately refrained from introducing the four key 112 categories named above at this stage, to check whether they would again come up in the 113 responses. A first unpolished understanding of our categories and model was developed only 114 after a preliminary analysis of the questionnaires, where we were able to relate the key categories 115 to the two dimensions of societal change (about systemic visions for desired social ecological 116 systems) and the role of research (as transition facilitator or knowledge provider), both from an 117 explicitly individual perspective.

118 During the second week of the course, as a follow-up of the questionnaire, we organised and 119 moderated a focus group discussion of about 2 hours, involving all participants (N=20). Focus 120 groups, coupled with questionnaires, allow to explain and explore survey results more in-depth 121 (Kitzinger, 1995). We explained the aim of the focus group in order to structure the discourse 122 and introduced of the five key terms, namely: 'status quo', 'pragmatism', 'evolution', 123 'radicalism' and 'revolution'. We tried to verify whether our understanding of these concepts 124 based on a preliminary analysis of the questionnaire responses, coincided with those held by the participants. Participants were invited to freely associate these initial words with concepts, ideas, 125 126 discourses or even names of individual researchers, names of THSS lecturers were used as 127 'surrogates' to identify or symbolise particular visions or ideas. We did not explicitly introduce the dimensions of "societal change" and "role of research", to see what associations the 128 129 participants would develop during the discussion. To this end we added 'status quo' as a key 130 term to inspire comments regarding the current social ecological system. When deliberation 131 started, some participants demanded definitions of the key terms. We explained that the aim of 132 the discussion was not to give a definition, but to develop a joint understanding of these words 133 together. During the course of the focus group deliberations several understandings and 134 interpretations of the keywords and their relation to societal change, the role of research, and the 135 status quo were given by the participants. Many further concepts and ideas were suggested, and 136 the entire exercise was interactive, while we merely moderated and documented the discussion. We recorded different levels of loquacity among the participants, but overall each participant 137 actively contributed to the discussion. We believe the familiarity acquired during the course with 138 139 the main concepts and the other participants was key in enabling an open debate.

The following analytical process included a second, and more thorough reading of the 140 questionnaire responses and of the transcribed group discussion to develop appropriate codes and 141 categories (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Morgan, 1993; Morse and Field, 2005). A code is a word 142 143 or short phrase capturing the essential meaning of a portion of data. Based on their relationship, codes can be grouped into categories. In content analysis, codes and categories need to be 144 defined as precisely as possible to assure that different analysts obtain the same results. 145 146 Regarding this, the context needs to be analysed in terms of existing syntax and available semantics – all latent ambiguity or probable intentions must be treated with care (Berelson, 147 1952). We repeatedly examined the data and this phase was supported by a review of relevant 148 149 literature. The coding list was revised and refined within an iterative process (Gioia et al., 2013), 150 until the final version emerged (see Appendix). We included in the analysis the number of times 151 (counts) that a code was mentioned in the questionnaires and / or group discussion. Individual codes were then assigned to four categories: 'values', 'Green Economy', 'societal change' and 152 'role of research'. By gathering codes assigned to these concepts, we could identify a pluralistic, 153 154 but sound range of possible meanings for each of the concepts. Furthermore, both 'societal change' and 'role of research' were further developed into other four sub-categories: 'revolution' 155 and 'evolution', and 'radicalism' and 'pragmatism'. We thus conceptualized a pragmatic and a 156 radical view of the role of research, and an evolutionary and a revolutionary view of desired 157 societal change¹. By placing both 'societal change' and 'role of research' on one dimension 158 159 each, we created a 2x2 matrix. Such dimensionality allowed us to place individual positions

¹The concept of status quo, which we had introduced during the focus group, was not relevant in this context, and it was not introduced in the model since we have developed an understanding of evolution that it is rather based on the current system. The dimension that mostly qualifies for status quo in the current model is that of the 'radical evolutionist' (see section 3).

within one of four quadrants of the matrix and furthermore position the GE concept within thesame matrix, since participants had given their understandings of GE.

162 To ensure reliability and validity we adopted the following measures: 1) questionnaires were 163 administrated in English, a language common to, and understood at a high level of fluency by all 164 respondents; the focus group was also entirely conducted in English; 2) the discussion group was 165 recorded and transcribed; 3) data was independently analysed twice by the different authors; 4) 166 some keywords or quotes from the data are presented in the results section for transparency; 5) 167 anonymity was assured to all respondents. Respondents' answers regarding specific topics varied 168 according to different experiences and attitudes towards disclosure, but we assessed the quality 169 and quantity of data to be sufficient for the purpose of this analysis.

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171 RESULTS

The qualitative analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaires and the focus group resulted in several codes, sorted into four categories: 'values', 'Green Economy', 'societal change' and 'role of research'. The latter two categories furthermore include two sub-categories each, respectively 'revolution' and 'evolution', and 'radicalism' and 'pragmatism'.

176 The 'values' category includes 22 codes. These include the recognition of 1) 'social 177 equality and social justice' issues (count 38) that evolve around unsustainable production-178 consumption patterns (materialism), land and human rights, (corporate) power, conflicts and 179 wars, intergenerational justice, (rising) inequality and poverty, (increasing) privatisation and/or 180 economisation, and North-South relations; 2) 'ecological and environmental problems' (count 26) e.g. biodiversity and habitat loss, and climate change; and 3) the need for research to be 181 independent and to attend to multiple responsibilities, for instance, 'knowledge generation' 182 183 (count 26) and 'teaching and (facilitating) the learning processes' (count 20). While respondents

have their own specific set of values, values and problem statements could sufficiently begeneralised into commonly understood aspects related to sustainability and research.

Opinions and perceptions of GE, however, were more diverse. 'Green Economy' includes 186 187 12 codes. GE is largely understood in terms of a 'three-pillar model of sustainability' (count 18) 188 and as a 're-enforcement of the current political and economic structure' (count 15) involving a 189 variety of stakeholders (count 14). These statements include descriptive understandings, as well 190 as personal value judgments. GE is seen by some as a way to promote 'growth without damage' (count 11), motivated by 'good intentions' (count 7); and an instrument to pursue dialogue with 191 192 'stakeholders'. However, others stressed that GE is 'not innovative and critical enough' (count 9), 193 'unrealistic' (count 6), a 're-branding of old ideas' (count 4) or 'contradictory' as there could be 194 no continued growth within ecological boundaries (count 4). This diversity in notions concerning 195 the GE revealed considerable division between those who consider themselves to belong within 196 the 'circle of GE' and those who place themselves outside of it (Figure 2).

During our research we identified two dimensions for which the respondents differ most. 197 198 The first dimension is 'societal change', which includes codes related to respondents' 199 perceptions of the degree and nature of perceived necessary societal change in the face of 200 environmental and social problems. This category is divided in two sub-categories, namely 'evolution' (8 codes) and 'revolution' (12 codes). The second dimension is the 'role of research', 201 202 which relates to respondents' perceptions of the role of research in the promotion and realisation of societal change. This category is divided in two sub-categories, namely 'pragmatism' (8 203 204 codes) and 'radicalism' (9 codes). Based on the two categories 'societal change' and 'role of 205 research' and on the four sub-categories, we captured the perceptions of participants regarding 206 the degree and nature of research and necessary societal change in a bi-dimensional model

(Figure 2). The horizontal axis, identified by the extremes 'evolution' and 'revolution', describes
the nature of desired societal change. The vertical axis, identified by the extremes 'radicalism'
and 'pragmatism', refers to the attitudes participants have towards scientific contributions in
societal change.

211 The words we used to describe the extremes on the axes have several meanings and long 212 etymological and philosophical traditions. They arose in the discussions during the course and 213 were frequently repeated by several participants (see section 2 for the derivation of key 214 categories). Their meaning and conceptual implications were long discussed during the focus group. Based on the codes resulting from our data and with the auxiliary use of the Oxford 215 216 Dictionary (2014), we derived the following definitions of the extremes within our model which 217 identify a pluralistic but a sound range of possible meanings for each of the concepts. 218 'Revolution' refers to an intended change towards an alternative economic and institutional 219 system defined as being structurally different from the current one. It is seen as 'fundamental 220 change'. 'Evolution' refers to an incremental and self-organising change within the current 221 system. 'Radicalism' is characterised by a critical attitude and a certain non-negotiable set of 222 values and their defence. Some respondents e.g. referred to it as a 'critical assessment of our options'. 'Pragmatism' is etymologically bounded to its action-oriented connotation, especially 223 224 focused on feasibility. For instance, one respondent suggested that 'Trial-and-error is better than 225 doing nothing'.

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227 [FIGURE 2]
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Radical evolutionist: '*Radical conservatives actually exist*' (participant in the focus
group discussion). This quadrant includes a radical defence of values that are present in the

231 current system, such as economic growth and capitalism. From a radical evolutionary perspective, ecological and sustainability problems stem from a not yet perfected global 232 capitalist system. Consequently, problems cannot be solved but through the more consistent 233 234 application of means within the current system. Arguments associated with this position are built 235 around unified and mainstream theoretical visions of a capitalist world. Change takes place 236 through self-organising techno-industrial progress or through social innovation. In this view, a 237 free market and the abolishment of subsidies will dramatically increase demand for the most (e.g. 238 energy and resource) efficient solutions and innovations; damages will be minimised and benefits maximised through ongoing commodification of services and pollution rights. Social 239 inequality can be minimised as the wealth of the rich will trickle down to benefit the others. 240 241 Research strategies from a radical evolutionary perspective are similarly based on the assumption 242 that the current pattern of economic growth could solve social and ecological problems. Rather 243 than aiming to fundamentally criticise the capitalist system, a researcher in this perspective 244 would argue that the current system is not capitalist enough, and he/she would be inclined 245 towards the study and application of technological innovations, market-based solutions, free 246 trade and the eradication of governmental intervention.

Pragmatic evolutionist: '*Revolution and a new system will not come timely enough. Let us try to pursue change within the current system, until something new arises*' (participant in the focus group discussion). The 'pragmatic evolutionist' believes that efforts should be directed towards mitigating the failures of the current system, with flexibility, experimentation and practical, workable solutions. Stances can include strategies of internalisation of externalities, policy mixes in regulation, economic instruments, technological innovation and social creativity. In this context, 'acting on solutions' concerns the identification of feasible solutions within the

254 current system and their application, requiring no fundamental change in current power and institutional structures. The concept of path dependency, as in adaptive change, concerns the path 255 of least resistance when improving the system. The main strategy consists in working with and 256 257 within the current system and making positive contributions to politically feasible options. This 258 allows for a plurality of visions and elasticity to compromise. There might be a perception that 259 improvement is necessary, but a systemic change is not intended. Research strategies from a 260 pragmatic evolutionary perspective assume the inevitability of capitalism and economic growth, 261 at least on the short- and medium-term. However, in this perspective social and ecological problems are also inherent to the current system. The research in this perspective is to address 262 these inherent ills through the creation and application of solutions that enhance the resilience of 263 264 the current system.

265 **Pragmatic revolutionary:** 'Pragmatism and evolution will bring us to the boundaries of 266 pragmatism, entering radicalism' (participant in the focus group discussion). The 'pragmatic 267 revolutionary' explicitly seeks for an alternative system, but also believes that there is no 268 singular and valid vision, but a plurality of these. This requires a need to compromise in 269 deliberation. Underlying this stance could be the idea that abrupt and fundamental change will 270 lead to violence and should therefore be avoided. A new system should be reached through a 271 context-dependent, adaptive and systemic strategy. Existing instruments are not sufficiently 272 innovative to deal with the inherent and deeply rooted problems of current institutions. Visionary processes and spaces have to be created. This calls for intentional change and the acting on 273 274 feasible solutions that lead to fundamental change and ultimately to an alternative system. For this to happen, current power and institutional structures need to be challenged and changed, e.g. 275 276 by engaging unconventional agencies in deliberative processes. A pragmatic revolutionary

277 researcher would combine fundamental critique of the current system with deliberations of 278 possible alternatives, perhaps actively creating spaces for deliberation beyond academia. 279 Transformations do not need to happen quickly, in fact, slower, deliberatively reflected 280 transformations are preferred. The end-state of incremental changes, however, should represent a 281 fundamentally different system from the current capitalist system.

282 **Radical revolutionary:** 'I totally don't want to extend this past to the possible future that 283 we have' (participant in the focus group discussion). The 'radical revolutionary' is characterised 284 by a non-negotiable set of values and seeks to fundamentally change the current system. The current system is perceived as fundamentally flawed. The required change is drastic and 285 concerns changing the essential quality and structure of e.g. the industrial metabolism, and can 286 287 only occur through a unified front of progressive agents. The radical revolutionary seeks to 288 construct a unifying notion to replace the hegemonic economic system. To challenge and alter 289 power structures and dominant values of the current system, visionary spaces and places have to 290 be strengthened, where critical voices and visions of strong imaginative power are loud and clear 291 enough to set systemic change in motion. The radical revolutionary vision fits a research strategy 292 that shows the need for fundamental change and for options that fit in an alternative economic 293 and social order. The radical revolutionary researcher disapproves of the capitalist system, while 294 rejecting 'solutions' that increase the resilience and longevity of an inherently corrupt system.

Based on our sample, respondents seem to perceive GE mostly as an approach to pragmatically improve the current system through incremental actions (Figure 2). It is worth noting that we did not identify any of the participants as radical evolutionists promoting the current system as the way towards sustainability. Three respondents could be identified as pragmatic evolutionists wishing to adapt the current system towards sustainability. Five were

identified as radical revolutionaries promoting a disruption of the current system to advance an
alternative one, rejecting approaches to incrementally green the economy. Twelve participants
fall into the category of pragmatic revolutionaries that seek to reach an alternative and more
sustainable system in an adaptive way. A portion of researchers was identified as not operating
within the epistemology of GE: three of them would fit our understanding of pragmatic
revolutionaries and three could be considered radical revolutionaries.

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307 DISCUSSION

All respondents shared some common values, including the need to address interlinked 308 309 ecological and social problems, and the need for research to be independent, provide options, 310 guidance and solutions to policy-making. This is not surprising considering that our sample was 311 not random, but included participants who already had an interest in, and understanding of, 312 concepts such as sustainable development and sustainability. However, we recorded disparate 313 opinions concerning and framings of GE as a concept. A generally cautious attitude towards GE 314 was recorded among our sample of young researchers. It was generally perceived as a 'new' 315 framing for sustainability that may bring along some (incremental) stimuli for change, but not 316 oriented to fundamentally changing the system and therefore does not provide for those 317 favouring an alternative system. The young researchers in our sample also had different opinions 318 of the necessary societal change and the respective role of research. Individual researchers may 319 wish for a different system or keep hope for the current one, whether driven by personal 320 conviction or a spirit of compromise.

321 In the model we presented, each quadrant shares some common features with other 322 quadrants, either in terms of perceived need for societal change or in terms of the perceived role

323 of research. GE is mainly located in the pragmatic evolutionary quadrant and only partly overlaps with the other three quadrants. This means that for each quadrant there is, at least 324 325 potentially, a portion of researchers that do not operate within the epistemology of GE. This is 326 confirmed by existing critical literature on sustainability and GE, summarized later on in this 327 section. The categories are, however, not mutually exclusive. Hybrid positions may exist among 328 the various categories. In particular, an affinity may exists between the radical revolutionary and 329 the pragmatic *revolutionary*, or between the *pragmatic* revolutionary and the *pragmatic* 330 evolutionist, or between the pragmatic *evolutionist* and the radical *evolutionist*. However, even 331 though they share a tendency for a radical attitude, the radical evolutionist and the radical 332 revolutionary may have very different ideas on what kind of societal changes are needed, 333 subsequently there may be least affinity between these two positions. The absence of radical 334 evolutionists in our sample can be explained by the fact that our sample was biased towards 335 values for strong sustainability and for a respective system change, as well as pragmatism.

336 Several conceptual framings and positions found in existing literature relate to our model. 337 Research has been conducted on the role of research in the context of sustainability (cf. Cash et 338 al., 2003; Costanza, 1992; Irwin, 1995; Kates et al., 2001; Norgaard, 1989). This body of 339 research can be differentiated between 'weak' from 'strong' sustainability: one revolves around 340 the idea of substitutability between economic, social and natural capital, allowing for a dominant 341 role of technological solutions to sustainability issues; the other assumes that substitutability is not just technically impossible, but also undesirable from a normative point of view (cf. 342 Neumayer, 2003; Ott and Döring, 2004). A similar divide is also reflected in the debate between 343 344 environmental economics and ecological economics (Bina and La Camera, 2011; Borel-Salading 345 and Turok, 2013; Munda, 1997; Lorek and Spangenberg, 2014). In this context, there is a strong

call for applied, interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and occasionally democratic science for
sustainability (Cash et al., 2003; Costanza, 1992; Kates et al., 2001; Sayer and Campbell, 2004;
Pielke, 2001) and for methodological pluralism (Centemeri, 2015; Noorgaard, 1989; Popa and
Guillermin, 2014; Spash, 2009).

In particular, scholars have also distinguished between 'pragmatism' (cf. Littig and 350 351 Griessler, 2005; Sayer and Campbell, 2004; Spash, 2009) and 'radical' behaviour (cf. Kemp, 352 1994; Adams, 2003; Ehrenfeld, 2005) in sustainability and environmental issues. In our 353 understanding pragmatism can, but does not necessarily refer to the philosophical current of American pragmatism; however, it denotes a 'hands on' attitude that considers choices within an 354 existent system. According to Norton (2005, pp. 63-64), pragmatism 'expects to arrive at a 355 356 justifiable decision in a particular situation' and it is therefore context-specific, but not 357 relativistic. Norton also states that 'A contextual approach eschews one-size-fits-all solutions 358 (...) and it offers no dictates based on prior principles and rules, but offers rather a method'. Furthermore, pragmatism is a monitor-learning process based on scientific knowledge, as a 359 360 means of adaptive management (Norton, 2005; Robinson, 2011). What we consider pragmatism may sometimes not be explicitly recognised as such (e.g. Adams, 2003; Ehrenfeld, 2005; Laufer, 361 2003), however it has explicitly been criticised from positions we understand as radical (e.g. 362 Spash, 2009).Radicals, include a critical body of literature on the difficulties and complications 363 related to sustainability concept, for instance, green capitalism (e.g. Sullivan 2009, 2013), green 364 grabbing (e.g. Corson, 2012; Fairhead et al., 2012) and green washing (e.g. Laufer, 2003; Lyon 365 and Montgomer, 2015; Walker and Wan, 2011). Furthermore, a critical body of literature 366 emerged in response to the predominant utilitarian framing of nature, nature valuation and 367

368 commodification (e.g. Delige and Neuteleers, 2015; Knetsch, 1994; McAfee, 1999; Spash, 2008;
369 Sullivan, 2013).

370 One of the main critiques to current sustainability research is that it does not provide 371 'knowledge that matter to peoples' decisions', fails to engage all relevant stakeholders and lacks 372 visionary and creative solutions (Wiek et al., 2012). This links back to the idea of societal 373 change, and an emerging concept of transformative research. The concept of transformative 374 research revolves around the idea that research can drive sustainability by promoting a shift of existing scientific paradigms (Wiek et al., 2012). Related research would, for instance include 375 376 resilience approaches (Folke, 2006), used to describe the dynamics of social-ecological systems, 377 and more broadly transition theory, that deals with system changes and regime transformation 378 (Geels and Shot, 2007). On the debate evolution versus revolution, Arthur et al., (1997) presents 379 economy as an evolving, complex system consisting of heterogenous, individual agents that 380 mainly act and interact and evolve locally. With a strong focus on economic growth and investments in green technologies and infrastructures, the concept of GE seems to evade the 381 382 discussion about societal transformation that is well beyond mere efficiency improvements 383 (Jackson 2011). The GE narrative also excludes discussions about de-growth (Asara et al., 2015) and different types of science required for alternative systems (Burke and Heynen, 2015). Similar 384 385 critiques have been highlighted by some of our respondents.

Based on the discussed literature, we attempt to identify relevant examples for each of the quadrants identified in our model. Radical evolutionists could be associated to traditional, neoclassical economy theory. On the other hand, the deep ecology (Næss, 1973) theorists belong to the radical revolutionary quadrant. The pragmatic revolutionary and evolutionist are the most similar categories, and include a great part of the ecological economics' research spectrum. In

particular, we could identify several ecosystem services' advocates (e.g. TEEB, 2010) as pragmatic evolutionists. The resilience theory, critical natural capital approaches and transformation theory, instead, better match the pragmatic revolutionary quadrant. It is possible that pragmatic revolutionaries and evolutionists may find, through the concepts of ecological economics and GE, common grounds to forward pragmatic, context-based solutions without renouncing to unconventional thinking (about the role of Ecological Economics in forwarding GE, cf. Richardson, 2013).

Both our analysis and the literature review show that the concept of GE is subject of 398 multiple understandings and perceptions, without including the entire spectrum of sustainability 399 400 research. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in scientific research. For example, a study by 401 Sandbrook et al., (2013) suggested that perspectives of conservation professionals and academics 402 on the growing use of markets and market-like instruments in the context of biodiversity 403 conservation are far more sceptical than the positions articulated by the organizations they work for. Finally, drawing from Torgerson (2001, p. 472) we argue that: "A central tension marks 404 405 thought about prospects for a Green Economy. [...] The question [...] is whether a functional 406 politics of system adjustment and adaptation is the right path, or whether a Green Economy 407 depends on a constitutive politics aimed at creating a system that is altogether different". While 408 fairly abundant literature exists on the issues discussed by this paper, we focused on empirically 409 observing young researchers' positions, and highlighting the differences and similarities, under 410 the GE as a conceptual lens.

412 CONCLUSIONS

413 We used qualitative research and a participatory approach in our study to analyse perceptions and attitudes of twenty young researchers working on issues related to Green Economy (GE). 414 415 We identified a bottom line of crucial values that are generally shared by the respondents, 416 including a common recognition of the need to address interlinked ecological and social 417 problems, and the need for research to be independent, provide options, guidance and solutions 418 to policy-making. We observed disparate and divergent opinions concerning GE and its potential 419 to genuinely further sustainable development. We also identified a broad spectrum of opinions 420 regarding the degree and nature of needed societal change and the role of research in the field of 421 GE. We captured these dimensions in a four-quadrant model that includes four different 422 ideological positions of researchers: Radical evolutionist, Pragmatic evolutionist, Radical 423 revolutionary and Pragmatic revolutionary (Figure 2). We positioned the GE concept within the model as perceived by the participants. We also positioned the participants based on their 424 preferred approach to solving sustainability problems. GE is not perceived as a particularly 425 426 revolutionary concept, rather it is understood to incrementally improve the current economic and 427 institutional system. In our model, GE is therefore centred in the pragmatic evolutionary quadrant. Most of the participants, however, were positioned in the pragmatic revolutionist 428 429 quadrant; they aspire to a more fundamental systemic change through adopting pragmatic approaches. 430

We acknowledge that our sample was biased towards values of strong sustainability and a certain sense of pragmatism. This might explain e.g. the absence of radical evolutionists. It would be interesting and valuable to further extend this research to include a new dataset, and different types of scholars as participants. A possibility could be to conduct a similar qualitative

435 study on a different sample of researchers, or alternatively to follow-up this study with a more 436 quantitative research on a broader sample. A broader sample may include young researchers 437 from applied sciences, such as engineers or from business and marketing studies. Extending the 438 sample to include senior researchers would also be of interest for two reasons: first, senior 439 researchers probably have already developed and consolidated their opinions and attitudes 440 towards GE; second, they have considerable leverage over current research lines.

It is not our intention to reduce or flatten the observed plurality of ideas and opinions 441 concerning GE into crystallized positions. We recognise that these positions are far away from 442 being bi-dimensional. On the contrary, individuals can move across different positions according 443 to context and time. The four quadrants in our model is a stylised description of reality. The 444 445 edges and discrepancies between quadrants are more subtle than depicted in this paper, while 446 different positions can be, and in fact are, interrelated. Nonetheless, we believe this exercise can 447 prove useful in visualising the theoretical landscape across which researchers in the field of GE move. This paper is meant as a moment of self-reflection on the meaning of research itself, and 448 449 its role in contributing to deliver visions, strategies and instruments towards a more 450 environmentally-committed, just and equitable society – for which GE appears to be only a 451 partial solution.

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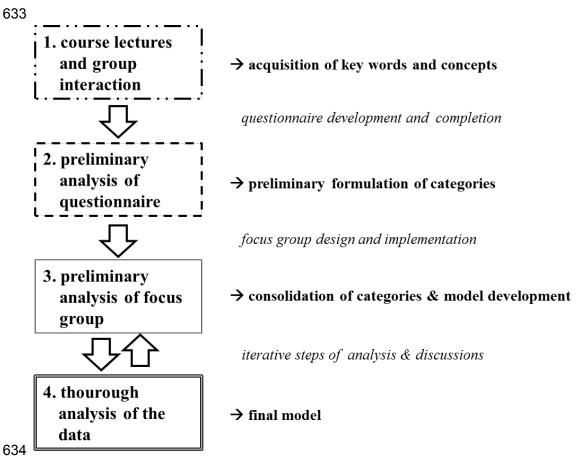
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- 636 Figure 1. Different phases in the development and consolidation of the categories and model. The arrows indicate
- 637 outputs, the numbers mean coarse steps in analysis, and processes are highlighted italic.

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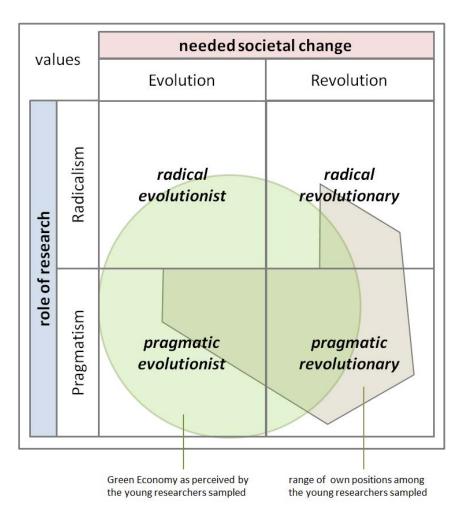


Figure 2. Perceptions of young researchers (N=20) concerning the GE concept, the need for societal change, and the
role of research in promoting this change. The horizontal axis is the perceived need for societal change (Revolution
vs Evolution), while the vertical axis refers to attitudes towards the role of science (Radicalism vs Pragmatism). GE
is mainly perceived as an approach within the current system (evolution) and an action-oriented style of research
(pragmatism). Respondents (participants of the THSS) tended towards revolutionary and pragmatic positions.

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- 647

648 APPENDIX

649

650 Table 1. Codes and categories of the analysis. V=Values; GE= Green Economy; RS= Role of science; SC= Societal

651 change; P= Pragmtism; Ra= Radicalism; E= Evolution; R= Revolution.

CODES	DEFINITIONS	v	GE	RS	SC	Р	RA	Е	RE
ACTING ON	Adopting an action-oriented approach.					•			
SOLUTIONS									
ACTIVISM AND	Should researchers also be activists? For example, being involved in politics	٠		٠					
RESEARCH	and policy-making, relating to media.								
ADAPTIVE	Working to ameliorate the instruments that we already have.					٠			
CHANGE									
AMBITIOUS	The concept of GE is too ambitious, considering the multiple challenges that it		٠						
	is called on to solve.								
ALTERNATIVE	An alternative system to the current one, which is able to address the same								•
SYSTEM	problems (i.e. environmental and social) using different instruments.								
AMERICAN	The word 'Pragmatism' is sometimes used in debates and literature as stripped					٠			
PRAGMATISM	of the philosophical connotation belonging to American pragmatism.								
APPROPRIATE	Researchers require appropriate salaries and long-term security, space, time	•							
WORKING	and resources for good research.								
CONDITIONS									
AWARENESS	The process of raising awareness concerning environmental and social	٠		٠					
RAISING	problems and giving voice to silent stakeholders.								
BOTTOM-UP	A bottom-up approach to solving interlinked environmental and social					•	•	•	•
	problems e.g. local and context-specific experimentation.								
CHANGE	In opposition to evolution, revolution is a more clear-cut change of direction.								•
DIRECTION									
CHANGE NOT	A new system will not come timely enough, so it is better to work within the					•			
QUICK ENOUGH	current system, despite its intrinsic flaws, to change what possible.								
CONTRADICTOR	GE is a contradictory concept as there cannot be continuous growth within		•						
Y	ecological boundaries.								
CRITICAL	Understanding where we are and where we would like to go as a society: not						•		
ASSESSMENT OF	simply a 'blind' and 'fast' approach to problems.								
OUR OPTIONS									
CRITICAL VOICE	A critical approach toward the current system.						•		

DEMOCRACY IN	Multiple approaches / strategies versus a unified 'front' of researchers with a		• •	• •
RESEARCH	leading strategy.			
ECOLOGICAL	The recognition of the existence of ecological and environmental problems	•		
AND	(either mentioned specifically or generally) that need to be addressed e.g.,			
ENVIRONMENTA	biodiversity loss, climate change, etc.			
L PROBLEMS				
EVOLUTION CAN	Evolution can eventually lead to a revolutionary change.			•
LEAD TO				
REVOLUTION				
EVOLUTION NOT	Evolution is seen as an unfolding process, perhaps apolitical or lacking			•
NECESSARILY	intentionality.			
INTENTIONAL				
FREEDOM OF	The need for research to be independent and unconstrained or influenced by			
EXPRESSION	e.g. funding systems.			
FUNDAMENTAL	A change needed at the very core of the system.			•
GOOD	It is accepted that GE is based on 'good intentions' or aims to do good, e.g.,	•		
INTENTIONS	poverty alleviation and solving of environmental problems.			
GROWTH	A way to conciliate growth and ecological boundaries by adopting measures	•		
WITHOUT	such as green technologies or re-thinking of employment.			
DAMAGE				
INCREMENTAL	A change of the system that is gradual, but positive.			•
CHANGE				
INTERDISCIPLIN	Research should be based on, and stimulate communication and interaction	٠		
ARITY	between different disciplines.			
KNOWLEDGE	Generation of knowledge regarding environmental and social problems, to			
GENERATION	work on providing possible solutions.			
KNOWLEDGE	The bilateral process of learning and teaching that can be perpetuated through			
HUB -	research, publication, lectures and conferences in different context (local-			
'LEARNING AND	national), and includes the possibility to interact and engage with others.			
TEACHING'				
MEANINGFUL	Desire by the researcher to contribute meaningfully to research, and ultimately			
CONTRIBUTION	to the world.			
MIXED	The researcher experiences mixed feelings towards research (e.g. anxiety,			
FEELINGS	enthusiasm, passion).			
TOWARDS				
RESEARCH				
MULTI-SCALE	Different problems exist at different scales, and there is a need for a variegate •	•		
	set of solutions that is applicable in different contexts.			

MOTIVATE	Among other reasons for doing research, there is the ability to motivate others
OTHERS	and to be motivated in return.
MORE	A more artistic approach to problem-solving is needed, rather than relying on
IMAGINATION	the old 'toolbox' that we already have.
NEEDED	
NATURE AS AN	Nature is an asset and externalities need to be taken into account, e.g. markets.
ASSET	
NEED FOR	Need for change, but what type and how (e.g. transformative, adaptive, • •
CHANGE	fundamental) is not specified.
NEED FOR	Revolutionary thinking is needed in the field of economics to really face
REVOLUTIONAR	environmental and social problems.
Y THINKING	
NO IVORY	Science cannot be disconnected with society.
TOWER	
NOT	GE is seen as not innovative and critical enough.
INNOVATIVE &	
CRITICAL	
ENOUGH	
NOT	GE is a political, non-normative notion.
NORMATIVE	
PATH-	Evolution is influenced by path dependency. It is an unfolding change based on
DEPENDENCY	previous events.
PERSONAL	Researchers conduct research for personal curiosity, intellectual gratification
INTEREST /	and achievement, income.
SATISFACTION	
POSITIVE	Evolution, revolution, pragmatism and radicalism are all oriented towards a
CHANGE	positive change.
RADICALISM	Radicalism and pragmatism are seen as individual 'views' or approaches, while
AND	revolution and evolution are both oriented towards an institutional change.
EVOLUTION=VIE	
WS	
RADICALISM	Radicalism can operate within the current system. •
CAN OPERATE	
WITHIN THE	
CURRENT	
SYSTEM	
RE-BRANDING	Referred to as GE, proposing old concepts in a different light to make them •
	more appealing, without offering an actual solution.

REINFORCE	In the context of GE, a mechanism, method or language that obstacle a change
POLITICAL &	of direction and reinforces the current political and economic system.
ECONOMIC	
STRUCTURE	
REVOLUTION =	As a general understanding, revolution can be perceived as pursued true violent
VIOLENCE?	means. However this is not always the case.
REVOLUTION	Revolution and evolution are both oriented towards an institutional change, in
AND	opposition to radicalism and pragmatism that are seen as individual 'views' or
EVOLUTION=	approaches.
INSTITUTIONAL	
CHANGE	
SCIENCE-	The need / the role of science to provide information, solutions and guidance to • •
POLICY	policy-makers.
INTERFACE	
SEEKING FOR	The responsibility and ability of the researcher to provide options / alternatives • •
SOLUTIONS	and seek for solutions to problems.
SENSE OF	Conducting research also includes a sense of responsibility and duty, e.g. to • •
RESPONSIBILITY	'give back' to society.
/ CALL TO	
RESEARCH	
SOCIAL	The recognition of the need for social equity and justice, including democracy, • •
EQUALITY AND	human rights, stopping wars and poverty, intergenerational justice.
SOCIAL JUSTICE	
STAKEHOLDERS	Embracing dialogue with several or all stakeholders facilitating participation.
THREE-PILLAR	Sustainability is traditionally defined as embracing three dimensions:
MODEL OF	economic, social and environmental.
SUSTAINABILITY	
TOP-DOWN	Top-down approach to solving interlinked environmental and social problems,
	e.g. mainstream ideas, guidance to nations.
TRANSFORMATI	A change that is not path-dependent or adaptive, but can lead to an ex novo
VE	condition.
TRIAL-AND-	An action-oriented approach is preferred, despite its possible limitations, to a
ERROR IS	theoretical approach or a very slow change.
BETTER THAN	
DOING NOTHING	
UNDEFINED	In the context of a radical approach seeking for a revolutionary change, is there •
VERSUS CLEAR	need for a clear vision, or is it acceptable or even beneficial to have no clear
VISION?	vision?
WHAT IS RIGHT	Adopting a normative position on what is the best change for all of society.

TO DO	
UNREALISTIC	GE is unrealistic because economic growth cannot be conciliated with • ecological boundaries; it does not deliver realistic / achievable solutions.
WORKING	Working within the current system, despite its intrinsic flaws, to change what
WITHIN THE	is possible to change.
CURRENT	
SYSTEM	

653

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