“It needs to make sense”

Local perspectives on climate change and sustainability

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Pictures of Aurskog-Høland (photos from private collection)

Abstract

It is increasingly recognized that climate change mitigation will require fundamental changes to societal systems, also known as societal transformations. This thesis explores local perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability in everyday life to contribute to a better understanding of what shapes public acceptance or resistance towards transformative change policies. Based on an understanding that resistance to policy is often shaped by factors specific to local contexts, I explore perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability among residents in Aurskog-Høland, a rural municipality in Norway, through qualitative interviewing. Applying social practice theory, it was found that the informants' perceptions of climate change and their perceived ability to perform sustainability in everyday life was shaped by relationships of enablement and constraint found in the nexus of practices that prescribe everyday activities. The analysis shows that most informants believed that climate change is happening, that it is caused by human activity, and that something needs to be done to deal with the crisis, conceptualized as a 'dominant narrative' on climate change. Furthermore, the findings indicate the existence of a 'collective project of sustainability', which represents collective ideas and goals oriented towards making changes towards sustainability in contemporary ways of living. However, the analysis shows that actual sustainability performances in everyday life was constrained by factors relating to the material structures in the built environment that shape how people engage with the physical world, conventions and norms that define what is socially expected and accepted, and conflicting understandings and motivations related to climate change and sustainability that shaped what sustainability practices make sense for the informants to perform. Finally, the thesis discusses how these findings reveal potential and barriers for transformative pathways across the practical, political, and personal spheres of transformation, showing how social practice theory can be applied to identify and discuss the interactions between these three spheres.

Keywords: transformation, climate change, social practice theory, three spheres of transformation, sustainable consumption, policy acceptance, policy resistance

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ABC-model: Attitude, Behavior, Choice-model

GHG: Greenhouse Gas

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

MDG: The Green Party (Miljøpartiet de Grønne)

NDC: Nationally Determined Contribution

NSD: Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata)

SSB: Statistics Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå)

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

1 Introduction

> *This report [1] is a dire warning about the consequences of inaction […] It emphasizes the urgency of immediate and more ambitious action to address climate risks. Half measures are no longer an option (Hoesung Lee, quoted in IPCC, 2022a).*

This quote from the chair of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Hoesung Lee, underlines the need for more radical approaches to climate change mitigation. A growing number of scholars stress that successful climate change responses require societal transformations towards sustainability, meaning fundamental changes to social systems that will alter how we live (Feola, 2014, p. 376; Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 179). Such a perspective argues that current ways of living are inherently unsustainable, and that new worldviews and ways of organizing society are necessary to limit climate change. In other words, fundamental changes will have to be made in people's everyday lives (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 179).

Deliberate transformation is initiated at the policy level and gaining public acceptance of climate policies and efforts to achieve transformations towards sustainability is crucial in these processes. However, transformation can be perceived as disruptive or threatening, and can induce resistance or other reactions that may block change from happening (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 179). In a recent study, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) found that in high-income countries, such as Norway, 72% of the respondents considered climate change an emergency, and wanted to see more action (Flynn et al., 2021, p. 7). A survey on Norwegian attitudes towards climate change and climate policies found similar results (Aasen et al., 2019). Studies like these show that resistance to climate policies cannot be blamed on a lack of popular understanding of the climate crisis or a general unwillingness to act. To properly understand resistance to climate policies, we need a more fine-grained picture.

Although most people generally want to see more effective action on climate change, the issue becomes more complicated when discussing the specifics of climate policy and sustainability transformations. What kind of policies should be implemented? What types of change do people consider meaningful and relevant? What changes in various aspects of everyday life are they willing to accept? For instance, there is wide support for increased domestic renewable energy production in Norway, but also considerable opposition to the development of onshore wind

[1] The sixth IPCC report on impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability (IPCC, 2022b).

production (Dugstad et al., 2020, p. 11). Resistance to particular policies should not necessarily be interpreted as resistance against climate mitigation itself, but rather as a sign that policies need to be more attentive to local contexts (Reed, 2020). Rather than framing resistance as a problem that can be solved through persuasion, it may be more fruitful to focus our efforts on understanding why people resist certain policies. Reasons for resistance to climate policy are diverse and often specific to local circumstances (Leiren et al., 2020, p. 1). We need more knowledge about what shapes resistance to (and acceptance of) particular climate policies on the local level, which is important for developing policies that are more attentive to people's needs and therefore more likely to succeed in creating change. Part of developing these understandings lies in understanding people's perceptions of the climate change issue, who has responsibility, and how people perceive of their own role in climate change response. A related question concerns people's willingness to make changes in their everyday lives towards more sustainable ways of living. I aim to contribute to this ongoing research effort.

1.1 Research aims and questions

In this thesis, I empirically investigate perceptions of climate change and sustainability, and attitudes towards performing sustainability in everyday life among people living in Aurskog-Høland, a rural municipality in Norway. With this, I aim to contribute to a better understanding of what it takes to effect transformative change towards more sustainable ways of living in ways that cultivate public acceptance. My main research question is:

> *How do localized perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability influence the transformative potential of everyday life?*

To answer this question, I draw on two theoretical frameworks. One from the transformation literature called the 'three spheres of transformation', developed by Karen O'Brien and Lydia Sygna (2013), and the other from theories of social practice and literature on performing sustainability in everyday life. Both frameworks will be explained in further detail in chapter 3. In short, the 'three spheres of transformation' framework stresses that transformations are complex processes that involve changes across multiple spheres of social life. This literature emphasizes the need to consider interactions between multiple social processes when discussing transformations to more sustainable ways of living (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 8). While this framework brings valuable perspectives on how we ought to approach transformation processes, its analytical potential is limited. I argue that a second analytical approach is needed to better grasp the interactions between the spheres. For this, I apply social practice theory.

Practice theoretical approaches understand human action as constituted by social practices, which can be conceptualized as patterns of behavior that enable and constrain what people do. These patterns consist of social, material, and bodily components that shape the course of everyday life (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 246). In practice-based literatures that address sustainable consumption, acts of consumption are commonly understood as something that occurs for the sake of accomplishing everyday life, as 'moments' in almost every practice (Warde, 2005, p. 137). Practice theoretical scholars therefore argue that initiatives to promote more sustainable ways of living should be rooted in an understanding of social practices, and how they develop and change (Shove et al., 2012, p. 2). Based on these practice theoretical perspectives, I have formulated two sub-questions which further guide the research and analysis in answering the main research question above:

1) *What are the informants' perceptions of climate change and how do they understand their own role and responsibility in responding to climate change?*
2) *How are the informants' perceived ability to perform sustainability enabled and constrained in everyday life?*

Before I move on, two clarifications need to be made in relation to these two research questions. First, I mainly discuss climate change in this thesis, not the full extent of the environmental crisis. I recognize that climate change is deeply embedded in a larger environmental crisis, including crises of climate change, biodiversity loss, and pollution. These crises are interconnected and are all caused by unsustainable human activity (UNEP, 2021, p. 1). The literature on social transformation addresses responses to the full extent of the environmental crisis we are facing and involve efforts to reshape our relationship with nature and reform social structures and systems to be more sustainable (Feola, 2014, p. 376; UNEP, 2021, p. 1). I have chosen to focus on climate change for two reasons: One is to limit the scope of this thesis. The other is that climate change is an abstract problem that can be difficult to grasp, with solutions that are difficult to implement (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 2). It is therefore both interesting and useful to better our understanding of how people perceive of the issue of climate change and why. Nonetheless, because climate change and other environmental issues are interconnected, and because sustainability encompasses more than just climate change response, elements of the environmental crisis beyond climate change will appear throughout the thesis. It is impossible to completely separate climate change from the larger environmental crisis when discussing sustainability and transformational change, which becomes evident in the informants' responses.

Second, in this thesis, I discuss sustainability *performance* in everyday life. This distinction is to signify that I am not only discussing sustainable consumption, but that I also include actions and behaviors related to politics, and social interactions that can be said to positively influence climate change response. Individuals are confronted with the climate change issue in several areas of everyday life, like their home, their workplace, and through political actions like voting (Dietz et al., 2020, p. 141). I therefore include actions that can be interpreted as sustainable in all aspects of my informants' everyday life. Importantly, I place emphasis on the actions and behaviors that the informants themselves see as sustainable. Furthermore, *performance* is tied to the practice theoretical understanding of human action, as "a practice can be understood as the regular, skilful 'performance' of (human) bodies" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251).

1.2 Motivation and previous research

I grew up in Aurskog-Høland, and what initially sparked my interest in this research topic was based in my personal experience of the differences between how friends and family engage with the climate change issue back home, compared to the friends I have in the city and fellow students in this master's program. In feeling that a lot of talk about sustainable choices in everyday life takes on an urban characteristic, especially regarding mobility and car use, I became particularly interested in further understanding the perceptions of the challenges and opportunities for sustainable living that exist in rural contexts.

Indeed, in Norwegian politics, the 'center-periphery-dimension' has for a long time represented a central cleavage in political opinion (Saglie et al., 2021, p. 16). Simply put, the center-periphery-dimension represents a power imbalance between the urban center and the rural periphery that creates differences in terms of available resources, access to government bodies, and who holds control over the political agenda (Strand, 2001, p. 249). In Norway, the center-periphery dimension most often plays out as a conflict between Oslo and the rest of Norway. The cleavage is also visible in Norwegian climate politics and can be seen in recent voting patterns (Berghei, 2019; Saglie et al., 2021). Rural residents tend to pay more attention to district policy issues than climate issues when casting their vote (Saglie et al., 2021, p. 16). Because people tend to pay more attention to climate change issues in the city, Norwegian climate policies tend to be marked by urban interests (Berghei, 2019). I was interested in exploring how these dimensions play out in Aurskog-Høland.

Like most peripheral areas, district policy issues are central in the political climate in Aurskog-Høland, and politics aimed at preserving and lifting the districts are prominent on the current

municipal council's political agenda (Aurskog-Høland Senterparti, n.d.). But Aurskog-Høland has also specified targets and goals for reducing emissions within the municipality in their climate action plan (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2018). Furthermore, one of the five focus areas in the municipality's vision for the future is "green first" (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a), so there is a clear focus on climate policies in Aurskog-Høland, at least within the municipal administration. It is less clear how important the climate change issue is to Aurskog-Høland's residents, and how they perceive of and engage with efforts to reduce emissions in their everyday lives.

Although the center-periphery-dimension highlights some general differences between urban and rural attitudes towards climate policies, I believe a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the many social and material factors that shape people's perceptions and behaviors within specific rural contexts is needed to understand acceptance and resistance towards climate policies among rural residents. For transformational responses to climate change to succeed, policymakers need a better understanding of what shapes people's perceptions of climate change and climate policies, and a better understanding of the social and material factors that enable and constrain actual sustainable behavior in everyday life.

1.2.1 The turn to the local level in climate politics and research

Climate change is a global phenomenon, and responses to climate change have traditionally taken a top-down approach, where internationally defined goals are brought home by national governments and the local levels have played the role of implementing the nationally defined policies. More recently, international approaches to climate change have become increasingly attentive to the potential role of all levels of government, allowing local level governments to take on a more active role. In fact, local governments play a potentially significant role in driving sustainable transformations (Amundsen et al., 2018, p. 23). Pasquini and Shearing (2014) identify three traits that place communities, or municipalities, in this position. They highlight, first, that it is at the local level that climate change impacts are experienced. Second, it is at the local level that individual behaviors can be most directly influenced. And third, that the local level is the scale where responses to climate change will be put into action (p. 272). Municipalities are thus in a unique position to engage with local perceptions and experiences of climate change and climate change response, and to influence individuals' behaviors through local policies that are adapted to local needs (Amundsen et al., 2018, p. 24).

However, local initiatives require local acceptance to be successful. Without community acceptance, policy implementations at the local level can be met by public resistance, or lack

of engagement, jeopardizing desired outcomes. In an article explaining local resistance to wind power projects in selected European countries, Leiren et al. (2020) argue that the reasons behind resistance to climate policies are multiple and complex. They explain that people do not necessarily resist the general idea of wind power solutions, but that their resistance to specific projects is based on a combination of technical, environmental, economic, societal, contextual, and individual factors (p. 2). This shows that extensive knowledge about the factors shaping community acceptance and willingness to act are important if municipalities are to unlock their potential as drivers of sustainability transformations. Climate policies affect people in their everyday lives, and it is thus useful to understand people's reactions to them when formulating and implementing new policies (Aasen et al., 2022, p. 1). Understanding people's perceptions of and engagement with the climate change issue and sustainability in their everyday lives may help form a better overall understanding of how sustainability transformations can be achieved and can highlight potential pathways towards sustainability at the local level.

1.2.2 Limited social science perspectives on the role of individuals in climate change response

This thesis draws on O'Brien and Sygna's (2013) 'three spheres of transformation' framework, which highlights the interactions between different levels of transformative processes. I view these interactions from the micro-scale perspective, asking about the interactions, decisions, and dynamics that individuals face in dealing with climate change and sustainability, and ask what implications this has for potential transformational change (Dietz et al., 2020, p. 141; Gillard et al., 2016, p. 261). Studies that track consumption-based emissions have found that nearly three quarters of total global emissions are driven by household consumption (Dubois et al., 2019, p. 145; Druckman & Jackson, 2016, p. 181; Wilson et al., 2013, p. 880). What these numbers show is that there is significant potential for emissions reductions through the actions and behaviors of individuals, mainly through changes towards less carbon intensive ways of living (Dubois et al., 2019, p. 145). Thus, individuals play a significant role in driving (and potentially reducing) GHG emissions, particularly through their lifestyles (Dietz et al., 2020, p. 141; Middlemiss, 2018, p. 5; Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014, p. 25).

However, social scientific scholars increasingly stress that the dominant narratives informing climate policies which target consumption at the individual and household level are limited, and in some cases, flawed (Brulle & Dunlap, 2015, p. 8; Norgaard, 2018, p. 174; Shove, 2010a, p. 1275). A number of policies that target sustainable consumption have been implemented over the years, but have not produced the desired results (Norgaard, 2018, p. 174). Three widespread assumptions have shaped the way policy in response to climate change has been formed: (1)

the ‘information-deficit model’, (2) the idea that people act in their own self-interest, and (3) the idea that the promotion of environmental values will produce more sustainable behaviors (Middlemiss, 2018, p. 76; Norgaard, 2018, p. 174). Policies that result from these assumptions have been accused of being individualizing, viewing consumption as driven by individual choices, and leaving the social and cultural structures that enable and shape these choices underexamined (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014, p. 26; Norgaard, 2018, p. 174).

A related critique has to do with the kind of social scientific theories that is represented in climate change research. In climate change research, economics has been the most widely represented social science, followed by psychology (Brulle & Dunlap, 2015, p. 8-10). They are among the few social sciences represented in the composition of the IPCC, and in the boards of interdisciplinary journals and in prominent university programs working on issues related to ‘climate change and society’ (Norgaard, 2018, p. 173). In other words, social sciences are generally poorly represented in the climate change science which informs policies, and only a few disciplines are represented at all. The economic and psychological disciplines each emphasize the rational consumer acting out of self-interest (economics), and the idea that people’s behaviors are influenced by their values (psychology). These ideas are not only prevalent in policies, but among the general public as well (Middlemiss, 2018, p. 91). A result of this is that most people only conceive of their impacts on climate change through individualized ideas of consumer actions (Norgaard, 2018, p. 172).

1.2.3 Understanding the influence of social structures

More recent approaches in the social sciences, who in many ways respond to the call for more social science perspectives in climate policy debates, emphasize that understanding why people fail to act on climate change is far more complex than what is recognized by the economic and psychological approaches (Dietz et al., 2020, p. 142; Leichenko & O’Brien, 2019, p. 16; Norgaard, 2018, p. 174). Several social scientists are therefore calling for the inclusion of more breadth in the social science perspectives on climate change. They stress that effective responses to climate change entails changes across multiple levels of society, which requires a deeper understanding of the relationships between social, cultural, political, economic, and material structures, and how these interact with individuals (Leichenko & O’Brien, 2018, p. 179; Norgaard, 2018, p. 174). For example, Norgaard argues that to better understand the dynamic structures that drive emissions and inhibit climate action, social science perspectives on climate change need to develop a “sociological imagination”, which can be summarized as the capacity to make visible the dynamic relationships between the micro-, meso-, and macro-

level structures of society (Norgaard, 2018, p. 172). The task at hand for social scientists working on climate change is thus to move the conversation away from individualizing explanations of climate inaction, and to form better understandings of how mitigation efforts can be achieved through addressing the many dynamic structural relationships that drive unsustainable behaviors (Norgaard, 2018, p. 171; Erhardt-Martinez et al., 2015, p. 2).

Calls for sociological approaches have been made in the literature on transformation as well (Gillard et al., 2016, p. 252). The transformation literature can benefit greatly from engaging with sociological perspectives because of sociology's ability to address interacting structures across multiple scales of society. From this, the enabling and constraining factors on transformation processes, and the potential trajectories for driving sustainability transformations, can be identified and discussed (Gillard et al., 2016, p. 261). This thesis' approach to analyzing the informants' perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability in everyday life is informed by these perspectives. With an aim to better understand how transformative change can be achieved, I focus on individual experiences of climate change and performing sustainability in everyday life, investigating how individual actions and behaviors are influenced by and interact with systems and structures.

To do this, I draw on social practice theory. Elizabeth Shove, a prominent researcher in the practice-theoretical field, has argued for the promise of practice theoretical approaches in conceptualizing and working with social change (2010a, p. 1277). She has argued that climate and environmental policies are typically restricted by what she calls the 'ABC-model' of social change, which represents an assumption that social change "depend[s] upon values and attitudes (the A), which are believed to drive the kinds of behaviour (the B) that individuals choose (the C) to adopt" (p. 1274). When policies adopt this perspective, they create a blind spot for understanding how people's behaviors are shaped by culturally and structurally defined ideas of need (Shove, 2010a, p. 1277). Instead, a practice theoretical approach contends that moments of everyday consumption are to a large extent conditioned by social conventions that define what people perceive as 'normal'. These conventions are, in turn, co-shaped by available materials and the built environment (Shove, 2003, p. 198). For instance, with the example of daily washing routines, Shove explains that attempts at understanding the practice of daily showering should be focused on conceptualizations of cleanliness in contemporary society, rather than understanding shower routines as a result of individual choices and values (p. 198).

Thus, a practice theoretical approach offers a way of understanding (un)sustainable actions and behaviors as shaped by and grounded in social and material contexts, rather than as outcomes

of individual attitudes, values, and choice (Hansen, 2022, p. 36). This offers new ways of understanding the role of individuals in climate change response and what shapes resistance or acceptance towards transformation processes. I apply these perspectives in my investigation of people's perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability in everyday life. With this approach, I ask how people's perceptions of and engagements with climate change and sustainability in everyday life are shaped by social practices. This, in turn, offers insights into how a successful societal transformation towards more sustainable ways of living can be achieved in local contexts.

1.3 Reader's guide

In chapter 1, I have introduced the research topic, announced my aims and research questions, presented the rationale for the research, and situated the project within the ongoing research efforts on social transformations and change towards more sustainable ways of living. In chapter 2, I discuss Norway's role in international climate response and what impacts of climate change Norway may expect. The chapter then moves on to discuss municipalities' role in climate policy work and their potential to influence societal transformations. Lastly, the chapter presents the local context of Aurskog-Høland and their current climate mitigation efforts. In chapter 3, I present the two theoretical frameworks I apply in the analysis. I explain the 'three spheres of transformation' framework and discuss its limitations. I then introduce the practice theoretical framework, where I draw on multiple practice theoretical works and operationalize Schatzki's (2002) 'site ontology'. Finally, I explain how I will apply the two frameworks in the analysis and discussion. In chapter 4, I explain and justify the methods I have applied in this research, including expert interviews, resident interviews, and a focus group discussion. I also address ethical concerns, my positionality, and methodological challenges. The remainder of the thesis presents the analysis and discussion. Chapter 5 analyzes the informants' perceptions of climate change and sustainability in light of the practice theoretical framework. Chapter 6 analyzes how the informants view their ability to perform sustainability in their everyday lives in light of the practice theoretical framework. In Chapter 7, I discuss the findings presented in chapters five and six in light of the three spheres of transformation framework and discuss implications for policy approaches to sustainability transformations, and suggestions for future research. Finally, I conclude my findings and discussion.

2 Background

In this background chapter, I will first explain and discuss Norway's role in the global climate crisis, which includes Norway's role in global climate politics and climate mitigation efforts, Norway's vulnerability to climate change, and Norway's role in driving GHG emissions through oil production and high consumption rates. Understanding Norway's position in this global issue is useful when attempting to understand the local perspectives of my informants. Second, I will explain the role that municipalities play in Norway's climate response and discuss the challenges municipalities face in implementing climate policies. Third, I will explain the local context of Aurskog-Høland municipality, and the municipality's current efforts to reduce GHG emissions within the municipality.

2.1 Understanding Norway's role in the climate crisis

Norway aims to reduce GHG emissions by at least 55% by 2030, and 90-95% by 2050. The government highlights (1) carbon credits to make emissions more expensive, (2) legal regulations and investments in climate-friendly solutions and planning, and (3) support schemes for zero- or low-carbon solutions and technologies as the most important ways in which Norway will reduce their emissions. They also point to the importance of international cooperation and engagement in climate change response (Regjeringen.no, 2021). On paper, Norway appears to be a country with significant potential to achieve emission reductions and deliver on the climate targets they have committed to. For instance, Norway is a small and wealthy country with a strong welfare state and a well-functioning bureaucracy. Furthermore, the Norwegian public is accustomed to an active use of policy instruments like taxes, economic incentives, and regulations to steer behavior (Schoyen & Takle, 2022, p. 153). Norwegian citizens are for example accustomed to comparatively restrictive laws, taxes, and regulations on the selling and use of cigarettes and alcohol. Finally, Norway has historically been a political champion of the international sustainable development agenda spurred on by the former prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland's role as the Chair of the World Commission on Environment and Development in the 1980s (Schoyen & Takle, 2022, p. 153). Norway has, for a long time, aspired to become a world leader in climate change response (Eckersley, 2016, p. 190).

However, there are a number of factors that contradict this positive view of Norway's role in global climate change response. First and foremost, like most other nations, Norway's national climate strategy emphasizes that transitions or transformations towards a more sustainable society should not come at the expense of economic growth, and that sustainable or 'green'

growth is possible (Meld. St, 13 (2020-2021), p. 11). This is mirrored in IPCC reports where they promote "sustainable low-emission growth paths" (IPCC, 2023, p. 26). However, a growing number of scholars contest this assumption and argue that economic growth cannot be decoupled from resource use (Hickel & Kallis, 2020, p. 469). They suggest that, to limit global warming over 1.5°C or 2°C, we need to challenge these assumptions and realize that 'green growth' or a 'green economy' is a "false alternative" (Brand & Wissen, 2021, p. 162). Policymakers should, instead, pursue alternative strategies that can challenge the growth imperative in climate policymaking (Stuart et al., 2022, p. 410). In the following sections, I will bring attention to some of the factors complicating Norway's positive image as an ambitious climate actor. I take a more critical view on Norway's climate change response and highlight some of the ways in which the international climate regime enables Norway to continue unsustainable consumption and production practices, without being held accountable for them.

2.1.1 Calculating Norwegian GHG emissions: Potential for emission-reductions

In a 2020 article by Wiedmann et al., they argue that the consumption of affluent households worldwide is "by far the strongest determinant and the strongest accelerator of increases of global and social impacts". They highlight that environmental impacts are to a large extent driven by the world's rich, a category the Norwegian population is placed well within (Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 3). Norway reports its national emissions calculations to the UNFCCC international climate regime, which count towards reaching the national climate targets. Official emission calculations are based on what is typically referred to as territorial-based calculations. Territorial-based calculations only calculate the emissions happening within a country's border, meaning that Norway is only held responsible for emissions that happen within their borders (Miljødirektoratet, 2020). What is not described by these calculations are emissions driven by the consumption of products that are produced in other countries and imported to Norway (Steen-Olsen, 2021, p. 5). Territorial-based calculations allow affluent countries to displace responsibility for the emissions associated with their consumption to the Global South, since this is where the majority of the world's product manufacturing takes place (Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 7). In addition, companies whose production was previously located in Western affluent countries have over time moved this to countries in the Global South, due to cheaper production costs (Peters & Hertwich, 2008, p. 1404).

Thus, a large proportion of the global emissions that the Norwegian population contributes to through their consumption habits, like smart-phones and clothing, falls outside of what is considered Norway's formal climate responsibilities. Hence, it has been argued that it is more

appropriate to apply consumption-based calculation methods, to account for these types of emissions. These calculations highlight the socially and culturally defined drivers behind emissions, and not just the emissions themselves, thus placing responsibility on those who consume the products (Steen-Olsen, 2021, p. 38). Because the reports to the UNFCCC applies territorial-based calculations, the regime enables Norway to avoid responsibility for their high consumption levels. If, instead, consumption-based calculations are applied, responsibility is placed with the final consumer, highlighting affluent citizens as the main drivers of global emissions (Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 3).

Applying these insights to understand Norway's role in the global climate crisis presents a less optimistic narrative of Norway's emissions. In a report published by the environmental organization Future in our hands, which mapped Norwegian emissions according to a consumption-based calculation method, they found that 42% of the emissions from Norwegian consumption in 2017 were emissions that took place in other countries, but whose final products ultimately ended up and were used in Norway (Steen-Olsen et al., 2021, p. 5). Furthermore, while the official Norwegian emissions had near stabilized in the period 2008-2013, emissions driven by Norwegian consumption of products that were manufactured elsewhere increased by about 17% (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 24). These numbers show that Norwegian consumption plays a significant role in creating emissions worldwide.

One consequence of the use of territorial-based emission calculations is that policies aimed at reductions in overall consumption are rarely prioritized in national climate policy. Looking at both the Norwegian climate plan (Regjeringen.no, 2021; Meld. St. 13 (2020-2021)) and "Climate Cure 2030" (Miljødirektoratet, 2020), a policy document analyzing the potential for emission-reductions in Norway, there is little mention of efforts to reduce overall consumption, with the exception of reductions in car use and meat consumption. This may be because territorial-based calculations highlight important target areas that are different from those highlighted by consumption-based calculations (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 22-25). Target areas direct what we pay attention to and what type of policies appear more important. Notably, the territorial and consumption-based calculations should be viewed as complementary when discussing transformations to a low-carbon society (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 5).

In recent years, consumption-based perspectives have entered the international climate discourse, arguing that reducing overall consumption to be within planetary boundaries is crucial for reducing total emissions (Hubacek et al., 2021, p. 1; Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 3). Yet, few countries include lifestyle changes in their NDCs, the national climate action plans to

cut emissions and adapt to impacts (Salem et al., 2021, p. 11). The most important take-away from this discussion is that consumption-based emissions accounting highlights the fact that demand in many countries (typically affluent countries) comes at the expense of other countries' emissions, and that the current system for national accounting of emissions hides the responsibility of affluent countries, like Norway, for emissions connected to a large portion of their national consumption (Mózner, 2013, p. 93; Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 3). In addition, consumption-based calculations highlight the potential for emission reductions achieved by reducing overall consumption, showing that individuals can play an important role through changing their currently unsustainable consumption habits (Steen-Olsen et al., 2021, p. 38; Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 3).

2.1.2 Norway's paradoxical position in climate change response

In the case of global climate response, others have highlighted that Norway is in a contradictive position, due to two conflicting ambitions. On the one hand, Norway aspires to take on a leadership-role in international climate policy, through being one of the most active contributors to the international climate regime and committing to more ambitious emission reduction targets than most comparable countries. On the other hand, Norway's ambitions to continue petroleum production and maintaining its large oil and gas industry is widely supported (Lahn, 2019, p. 5). Seeing that Norway is one of the world's largest oil and gas exporters, their leadership-role in global climate response has been described as paradoxical or contradictive, putting the country in a position of "tension", "role-strain", and "cognitive dissonance" (Lahn, 2019, p. 5; see also: Boasson & Lahn 2017; Eckersley, 2016; Norgaard, 2011). Norway must negotiate this paradoxical position and does so through various strategies (Harrison & Bang, 2022, p. 130).

First, Norway has been able to separate climate policy from petroleum policy, which has to a large extent been enabled by the way that official national emissions are calculated and reported to the UNFCCC international climate regime. This regime has allowed for offsetting emissions through carbon trading, and because of the use of territorial-based emissions, Norway is only held accountable for the emissions emitted in the process of producing oil and gas, and whatever consumption of oil and gas happens within the country's borders (Lahn, 2019, p. 6). Given that Norway exports about 90% of the oil and gas they produce, they are not held responsible for most of the GHG emissions stemming from their own petroleum industry (Harrison & Bang, 2022, p. 130). Thus, Norway has been able to continue oil and gas production, without this impeding on achieving their ambitious climate targets. However, in more recent years, this

separation between petroleum and climate policy has been challenged due to a growing realization that fossil fuel production needs to be limited on the same lines as fossil fuel consumption, shifting towards a supply-side perspective on the link between petroleum and climate policy (Harrison & Bang, 2022, p. 130; Lahn, 2019, p. 6). As a result, the discourse in Norwegian climate politics has changed, and high-profile politicians are beginning to argue for a down-scaling of the Norwegian petroleum industry. Even so, only marginal changes can be observed in the actual practices in Norwegian petroleum policy (Lahn, 2019, p. 33).

2.1.3 Impacts of climate change in Norway

The impacts of climate change are assumed to be less damaging in Norway than in other regions, like southern Europe or sub-Saharan Africa (O'Brien et al., 2006, p. 50). Still, Norway will experience several impacts of climate change if current emissions are not stopped (Miljøstatus, 2023). Predictions based on a high emissions scenario (with emissions continuing the current path) predict a temperature increase of 4.5°C (Miljøstatus, 2023). Climactic changes in Norway following a temperature increase at this level include a warmer climate, with more rainfall and more frequent occurrences of extreme rainfall. Additionally, we can expect drought in the summertime and higher risk of flooding and landslides (Aall et al., 2018, p. 27; Miljøstatus, 2023). The effects of these changes are expected to be less damaging than effects of climate change in other areas of the world, and some even argue that Norway could experience beneficial effects of climate change, with for example higher temperatures and longer summers that could increase crop production in the agricultural sector (O'Brien et al., 2006, p. 50; Meld.St, 13 (2020-2021), p. 8). However, others point to the fact that climate change may also introduce new crop diseases, and more unstable and extreme weather events may harm crop production, which would outweigh potential benefits (Aall et al., 2018, p. 42).

Importantly, even though Norway is less vulnerable to direct effects of climate change relative to other countries, we are more vulnerable to indirect consequences of climate change impacts occurring in other countries (Aall et al., 2018, p. 9). In a report mapping the indirect consequences of climate change for Norway, Prytz et al. (2018) detail Norway's vulnerability in relation to six categories; trade, agriculture and aquaculture, finance, infrastructure, people, and geopolitics. They find that the most serious risks are associated with an increased need for humanitarian aid, due to increased poverty and humanitarian crises brought on by climate change. These effects will cause instability to vulnerable states and regions and will result in mass migrations. Additionally, climate change will gradually decrease worldwide productivity, leading to increased volatility and higher prices on goods. Given that Norway relies on imports

for the majority of our food consumption, this will have significant consequences for Norway (Prytz et al., 2018, p. 5). A lack of focus on these indirect impacts may lead to a false sense of complacency or security among Norwegian citizens, potentially impacting their motivations to act (O'Brien et al., 2006, p. 54-55).

2.2 The role of municipalities in transformation processes

Given that the research project is set in a Norwegian municipality, it is useful to comment on municipalities' role in climate mitigation efforts and transformation processes. Municipalities are urged to take an active role in climate mitigation and make use of the potential that exists at this local level of government (Westskog et al., 2021, 8). Municipalities in Norway are urged by national government to prepare Climate and Energy Plans Some municipalities perform well at this process, while others lack the capacity or motivation to develop and implement climate measures and policy instruments (Kasa et al., 2018, p. 110; Westskog et al., 2022, p. 5). As mentioned in the introductory chapter, municipalities can play a significant role in facilitating transformations to a low-emissions society. The local level is where climate change policies are initiated, climate change impacts are felt, and where individual behaviors can be most directly influenced (Pasquini & Shearing, 2014, p. 272; Amundsen et al., 2018, p. 24). However, more is needed to fully understand and realize this potential. To start, municipalities have dual roles in social transformation work. The first is to transform within their own organization and reduce emissions from their own operations. The second is to act as a catalyst for transformation in the local community (Amundsen et al., 2018, p. 24; Westskog et al., 2018, p. 5). For the purposes of this thesis, I focus on the second. This includes the municipality's role in facilitating climate-friendly local businesses, their role in facilitating low-emission lifestyles, and finally, their role in planning for climate-friendly infrastructure (Westskog et al., 2022, p. 4).

It is up to each municipality to decide the scope, depth, and focus of their climate policies (Westskog et al., 2022, p. 5). The political instruments available to municipalities include legal instruments like long-term planning documents, market-based instruments like taxes and incentives, and dialogue-based instruments like facilitating change processes in the local community and informing residents or local industries of climate-friendly alternatives (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 6-7). Legal and market-based instruments can be referred to as "hard" policy instruments, while the dialogue-based instruments are referred to as "soft". While the hard instruments can directly regulate and incentivize sustainable choices, thus having a greater short-term effect on emissions, soft instruments are more important for building knowledge,

increasing acceptance for policy, and affecting motivations and attitudes towards policies and actors (Kasa et al., 2018, p. 99; Westskog et al., 2018, p. 7).

In a 2022 study, Westskog et al. find that factors that contribute to successful transformation processes include broad and in-depth engagement of multiple municipal sectors, and the development of an environmental identity which guides overall policy involvement. Additionally, taking the role as societal developers and adapting policies to local context are important factors in realizing community acceptance and successful adaptation of transformational policies. The authors further stress that transformation to a low-emission society should be viewed as a continuous process, involving multiple sectors, action areas, and scales (Westskog et al., 2022, p. 13). These results strengthen the argument that municipalities have significant potential as catalysts, facilitators, and active societal actors in transformational change processes, but that multiple factors are involved in realizing this potential.

In a 2018 report, Westskog et al. identify a number of barriers that municipalities face in climate mitigation work. Relevant to the purposes of this thesis are barriers related to how citizens respond to their initiatives. Summed up, this includes how climate policies are perceived by the public and (2) lack of acceptance and support for climate policies from residents and other actors (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 78). This thesis seeks to contribute to a better understanding of residents in Aurskog-Høland's perceptions of climate policies and the reasons why they may or may not accept certain policies. It will discuss what factor's influence individuals' perceptions of climate policies and transformational change, as well as their attitudes towards performing sustainability in everyday life. Furthermore, an overarching aim of this thesis is to develop a better understanding of how to formulate and initiate transformational policies at the local level, including how municipalities might realize their potential as catalysts and facilitators for transformations.

2.3 Aurskog-Høland

In this section, I give a brief description of the local context in which my data is collected. Aurskog-Høland is a rural municipality in Eastern Norway, with a landscape consisting mainly of open valleys, forests, and lakes (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). Aurskog-Høland is large in area, encompassing about 1150 km2, and inhabits around 18 000 people (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). The population is scattered across numerous small and large settlements (see Map 1 in Appendix V), with the municipal center located at Bjørkelangen (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). Because of this, distances between people and services

can be long, resulting in a high level of car dependency for the municipal residents. The primary industries are forestry and agriculture, but the largest employment groups are in service industries, secondary industries, and in the public sector (SSBa, n.d.). A large number of the population also commute out of the municipality for work, mainly to the nearby cities Oslo and Lillestrøm (SSBb, n.d.) (see Map 2 in Appendix V).

In the municipal masterplan, it is stated that 80% of future development should happen along the 'public transport axis' (Norwegian: *kollektivaksen*), meaning that new settlements and services should be located along where public transport routes travel, or in the municipal center (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2019, p. 29). This axis runs between the areas Aurskog – Bjørkelangen – Løken (see *Appendix V*). This is based on the strategies presented in the regional plan for area- and transport planning in Oslo and Akershus (Oslo kommune & Akershus fylkeskommune, 2015). This strategy for development involves centralization and densification processes, which significantly alters the municipality's characteristics (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2019, p. 36). Because of the scattered settlement clusters in the municipality, it can be difficult to balance area- and transport-efficient development with development that maintains the various local communities. Additionally, the municipality aims to protect the cultivated land around the municipal center to promote 'green growth' (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2019, p. 36). The municipal council has decided that development should be spread along the public transport axis, but the settlement clusters located outside of this will not be prioritized in future development planning (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2019, p. 36).

2.3.1 Climate change in Aurskog-Høland

In this section, I comment briefly on the municipality's current mitigation efforts. The municipality highlights their ambition to be a 'green' municipality on their website. They write that in addition to having large forest and agricultural field areas, one target area for the municipal administration is to think "Green first" (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). They plan to achieve this through an increased focus in the following areas: the goals and targets specified in their Climate Action Plan, recycling, organic food and organic farming, 'green' construction, facilitating for the use of electric vehicles, bioenergy, and a municipal blog named "Green corner" (Norwegian: *Grønt hjørne*) (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). In the municipal climate action plan, the municipality has identified three main focus areas where the most emissions occur. These are agriculture and food, transport, and construction (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2018, p. 36). These correspond to national climate goals and target areas, and are, as described in section 2.1.1, the areas with the highest emission levels based on

territorial-based emission calculations. The goals and targets defined to reduce emissions in each of these areas target both the emissions stemming from the activities within the municipal organization itself and the work to reduce emissions in the population and local industries (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2018, p. 37).

On their website, they state their overarching goals for the climate mitigation work in the municipality and highlight some ongoing efforts within each of the three focus areas mentioned above. Their overarching goals is to (1) take responsibility and contribute to Norway's goal of becoming a low-emission society by 2050, and (2) by 2030, reduce GHG emissions from the municipality's own operations by 40% (compared to 2018-levels) (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2020). As a reminder, Norway's goal is to reduce emissions by 55% by 2030 compared to 1990-levels. In the area of construction, the municipality's current efforts are to increase recycling and re-use of building materials, and the use of environmentally friendly building materials and energy systems in newer public buildings. Relevant to transport are efforts to facilitate for charging stations for electric vehicles. Relevant to food and agriculture are efforts to promote organic food and motivate organic farming, as well as hosting conventions and initiating or supporting projects with local farmers (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023b). They also highlight their role as a communicator and knowledge distributor to the population. In the climate action plan, one of their goals read: Aurskog-Høland municipality shall facilitate for the Green Shift by educating children and youth, as well as actively work in collaboration with residents, educational institutions, research, and businesses (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2018, p. 41).

Some of the community characteristics of Aurskog-Høland relevant to climate mitigation work and sustainability transformations include a high share of residents with electric vehicles, an interest in and traditions for organic farming, as well as a yearly festival celebrating local products ("Stuttreist og Himlaga"[2]) (Aurskog-Høland kommune, 2023a). According to statistics from SSB, electric vehicles made up 85% of all new car purchases in Aurskog-Høland in 2022, while the national average was 79% (Bråthen, 2023). In 2021, the municipality had a climate- and environment-fund where residents, businesses, developers, and the municipal administration itself could apply for financial support for 'green' initiatives and projects (Bradley, 2021). The fund contained a total of 840 000 NOK (Bradley, 2021). All in all, Aurskog-Høland's climate response seems to fit well with the general descriptions of municipal climate responses in Norway presented in section 2.2

[2] Translates to "Short-traveled and home-made".

3 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I present the theories that will be applied to analyze and discuss the findings in this thesis project. The chapter introduces two theoretical approaches: the 'three spheres of transformation' framework developed by O'Brien and Sygna (2013), and a practice theoretical framework based mainly on the theoretical writings of Theodore Schatzki (2002) and Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012). To reiterate, the main research question asks how localized experiences of climate change and sustainability influence the transformative potential of everyday life. In other words, the research aims to understand potential and barriers to transformational change towards more sustainable ways of living, as experienced by individuals at the local level. The two sub-questions ask about (1) the informants' perceptions of the climate change issue and (2) their perceived ability to perform sustainability in everyday life (2). In answering these questions, I aim to contribute to research on what shapes local acceptance of climate mitigation policies and policies aimed at achieving transformational change. Both theoretical frameworks contribute to this aim.

First, the 'three spheres of transformation' framework offers a perspective on transformation processes as something that happens across three interconnected spheres of social life, the *practical*, the *political*, and the *personal* sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4). A key insight drawn from this framework is that transformative change requires attention to all three spheres at once. It recognizes that each sphere has the potential to facilitate or disrupt transformations towards sustainability, and that true transformative change requires changes to happen within all three spheres (O'Brien et al., 2022, p. 37). This framework is well suited to discuss whether and how transformations can be achieved. However, the framework can be difficult to operationalize for the analytical purposes of this thesis, as it does not provide a clear analytical frame for analyzing the specific factors that shape people's perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability. The practice theoretical framework offers a more in-depth understanding. While the 'three spheres of transformation' offers a way to think about transformation, highlighting the importance of considering the complexity of change processes involving multiple and interacting factors, the practice theoretical framework provides a more thorough understanding of what those factors are, how they interact, and how they change.

3.1 The 'three spheres of transformation'

Following the realization that climate change and its drivers are deeply complex, and likewise its solutions, 'transformation' has emerged as a central concept. The transformation literature

argues that we need fundamental, radical, and rapid change towards sustainability in order to limit climate change (Feola, 2014, p. 376). Despite an overall consensus on the goal of transformations, the literature lacks a clear consensus on how the concept of 'transformation' should be defined (Feola, 2014; Hölscher et al., 2018; O'Brien & Sygna, 2013). This has resulted in a fragmented body of literature on social transformations, where "transformation means different things to different people" (O'Brien, 2012, p. 670). In response to this, O'Brien and Sygna (2013) developed the 'three spheres of transformation' framework, which draws on existing conversations on transformations to create a more comprehensive and integrated approach. The framework views the process of transformation as an integrated system of changing worldviews, institutions, technologies, behaviors, and structures across three interacting spheres: the practical, political, and personal. They recognize that existing theories on transformation include elements that relate to one or more of the three spheres but argue that these theories do not adequately appreciate the interactions between them, and therefore fail to fully see the dynamic nature of transformation processes (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4-7).

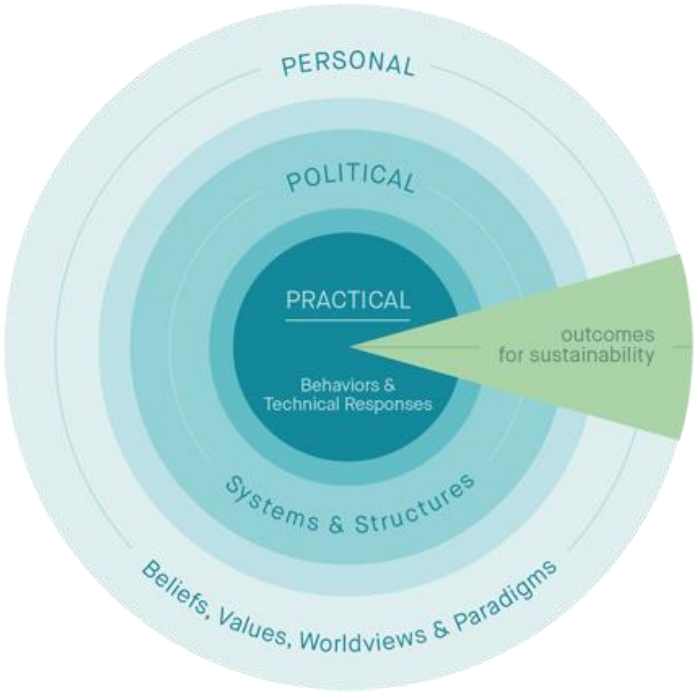

Figure 1: The 'three spheres of transformation' (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5)

Figure 1 illustrates the three spheres and how they interact. The *practical sphere* represents behaviors and technical solutions, the *political sphere* represents social systems and structures, and the *personal sphere* represents individual and collective beliefs, values, and worldviews (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4-5). The illustration depicts the practical sphere at the core, surrounded by the political and personal sphere. According to O'Brien & Sygna (2013), the

ordering of the spheres is significant. The practical sphere at the core represents the most tangible and measurable outcomes of change processes. The outermost circle is the personal sphere, which represents ideas and worldviews that have a more subconscious, yet pervasive impact on the political and practical spheres. The political sphere is positioned in the middle because it represents the "enabling/disenabling conditions" of systems and structures that moderate and maintain what is possible in the practical and personal sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5; O'Brien, 2018, p. 157). The figure is meant to show the relationships between the spheres, going from the more concrete elements of social life in the practical sphere, which can be relatively easy to change, to the more abstract elements of change in the personal sphere, where change is more complicated, but creates a more powerful and lasting impact (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5-7).

The green wedge illustrates the "multiple entry points for sustainability outcomes" that occur across all three spheres (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4). These represent the various changes that occur at different social levels as part of transformation processes (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 180). Although these changes can be observed separately, the key is to understand and acknowledge the interrelated nature of these changes, and the systems they are part of, when engaging in deliberate transformations. To sum up, the way this framework links the practical, political, and personal spheres makes visible the continuous connections and interactions between them. Any transformation in one sphere interacts with, and is influenced by, transformations in the other spheres (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 183). In other words, changes in one sphere have implications for, and are impacted by, changes in the others. In the following, I will give a more detailed account of the three spheres, beginning with the practical sphere.

3.1.1 The practical sphere

The practical sphere of transformation at the core represents the more concrete and visible elements of social life, like actions, behaviors, things, and infrastructures (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4). It involves all the physical outcomes that result from the personal and political spheres. Transformations in the this sphere have a direct impact on targets and goals in climate mitigation policies and are easy to identify and develop. Because of this, the elements that make up the practical sphere are often the focus of climate mitigation research and policies (O'Brien, 2018, p. 155). However, solutions focused on changes in the practical sphere alone do not acknowledge the influence of larger systems and structures associated with the political sphere, as well as the different ways of understanding and relating to the world located in the personal

sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5). When these relationships go unscrutinized, attempted changes in the practical sphere often fail to be implemented at scale and often result in unexpected outcomes and new problems (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6; O'Brien, 2018, p. 155).

Changes in the practical sphere can, however, trigger transformations in the political and personal spheres and play an essential role in supporting possible transformation processes (O'Brien, 2018, p. 155). For instance, new technological advancements can open up for new possibilities in structures and systems and may impact the way we interact with the world. Innovations like motorized vehicles, computers and the internet, and household equipment like microwaves and washing machines have all led to significant changes to the way we live our everyday lives. What is important to recognize is that these innovations would not come about or be picked up in everyday practices without the presence of certain conditions in the political and personal sphere (O'Brien, 2018, p. 155).

3.1.2 The political sphere

The political sphere represents the systems and structures that enable and constrain behaviors and actions in the practical sphere. Systems are understood as "relationships between parts that form a larger whole", and structures refer to "the norms, rules, regulations, institutions, regimes and incentives that influence how systems are designed, organized and governed" (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). It includes economic, political, legal, social, and cultural systems, meaning that it both refers to formal systems, like the organization of government processes, and informal systems, like social and cultural rules about appropriate behavior in a given social situation (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). They are interpreted as the 'political sphere' because they are created, maintained, and changed through political processes, which include things like social movements, lobbying, electoral politics, and revolutions (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6; O'Brien, 2018, p. 156).

Problems and solutions are identified and negotiated in the political sphere. Systems and structures play a defining role in transformation processes, as they facilitate and constrain possible transformations in the practical sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). Because actions and behaviors are regulated by the political sphere, changes in these cannot be realized without systemic and structural changes (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). For instance, internet use is the source of a significant portion of global emissions (Christensen & Rommes, 2019, p. 82). But because internet use is deeply embedded in contemporary society and plays a role in near everything we do in our everyday lives, reducing these emissions is a complicated task. Any individual attempt to reduce personal internet use would impact that person's ability to participate normally in

society, like e-mailing co-workers, communicating with friends, and streaming the latest movies and TV-shows. Therefore, reductions in emissions related to internet use must be initiated at the structural level, through technological innovations or through changing the way we engage with these technologies.

Systems and structures are shaped by politics and power, and it is through political action and struggle that they can evolve and be transformed (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6; O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). Systems and structures exist on global, national, and local levels, and change processes can be initiated through cooperation, collaboration, and compromise. O'Brien (2018) highlights the Paris Agreement as an example of this, as it has managed to unite state and non-state actors around a shared goal. This has the potential to bring about new structures that may support sustainable innovations in the practical sphere (p. 156). Transformations in the political sphere may also be initiated at the local level, and as discussed in chapter 2, local governments have significant potential in achieving this (Amundsen et al., 2018, p. 23).

3.1.3 The personal sphere

The personal sphere represents subjective beliefs, values, worldviews, and paradigms that influence people's perceptions of social systems and structures, actions, and technologies. These can be either individual or shared (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). In brief, they set the premises for the way people understand and interpret reality, thus influencing what is considered possible (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5; O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). The personal sphere has a powerful influence over the political and practical spheres. The personal sphere includes "understandings of causality, levels of social consciousness and future consciousness, perceptions of agency, and assumptions of leadership" that define "what is individually and collectively imaginable, desirable, viable and achievable" (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). The personal sphere influences the political and practical sphere, through the way discourses and paradigms shape "the framing of issues, the questions that are asked or not asked, and the solutions that are prioritized" (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). Changes in this sphere can result in new ways of viewing systems and structures in the political sphere and have consequences for what type of actions and strategies are initiated and carried out in the practical sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6).

The personal sphere is the most abstract of the spheres and can be the most difficult to transform (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). Individual and collective worldviews are deep-rooted and changes in these require time. However, changes in the personal sphere are also considered to have more powerful consequences than changes in the political and practical sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6; O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). Faced with a global environmental crisis, people are starting

to challenge the beliefs, values, and worldviews that underlie current ways of life, and seeing that they are not sustainable. Changing them will, however, take time, and it is both difficult to imagine what could replace them and to have people agree on what that should look like.

Transformations in the personal sphere, in many ways, set the stage for achieving transformations in the political and practical sphere. For instance, as much of the transformation literature suggests, limiting the effects of climate change requires fundamental shifts in the way the world is operated (Feola, 2014, p. 376). As people's beliefs, values, and worldviews make up the foundation for individual understandings and assumptions about the world, changes at this level are necessary for the achievement of real and lasting change in the other two spheres. In order to understand people's consumption habits, we should not just focus on immediate needs and desires, but also recognize how capitalist ideals of continuous growth encourage people to consume more, rather than less.

3.2 Applying the 'three spheres of transformation' framework to the research

The strength of the framework lies in its ability to capture the complexity of transformational changes, showing that deliberate change processes should consider how all three spheres may shape the outcomes of their efforts (O'Brien et al., 2022, p. 37). For example, in climate policies at the municipal level, barriers to specific climate initiatives may be found in each of the three spheres. Applying the three spheres in formulating and implementing such initiatives would mean to not only identify barriers within each sphere, but to also understand how these barriers are connected and how they influence each other (Westskog et al., 2018, p. 72). Taking recycling as an example: the practical barriers can be that people do not sort their waste properly, the political barriers can be flaws in the infrastructure, and the personal barriers can be that people do not see the purpose of and value in recycled materials. Furthermore, the practical barrier in this example can likely be a consequence of the personal and political barriers. The 'three spheres of transformation' framework offers a tool for acknowledging and discussing the connections between the spheres, which can improve how we move forward in formulating and implementing new climate policies.

According to O'Brien (2018), the framework works best when it is understood as a heuristic tool, rather than a theory of change itself. What she means by this is that the framework is meant to highlight the complex and interconnected nature of transformation processes, but that it does not provide a 'recipe' for how transformational change can be achieved. The analytical value of the 'three spheres of transformation' framework lies in its ability to highlight the multi-

leveled and dynamic processes involved in social transformations, and that it can be used to talk about individuals' role in climate mitigation without limiting it to a question of attitudes and choice (O'Brien, 2018, p. 155). However, it remains an abstract theory, which limits its analytical potential. O'Brien (2022) recognizes this and highlights the potential in combining the framework with other theories on social change, like Multi-Level Perspective, social practice theories, political ecology, and Integral Theory. I apply a practice theoretical framework to address these shortcomings and argue that a practice theoretical approach allows for a more thorough analysis of the interactions and dynamics between the three spheres.

3.3 Social practice theory: understanding human activity through practices

Social practice theory is a set of cultural theories that explain action and social order as resulting from 'practices' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 246). The practice theoretical field consists of a range of practice theories that share some common characteristics. In a 2002 article, Reckwitz synthesized existing practice theories and defined an 'ideal type' of practice theory (p. 244). In the article, he establishes that social practice theories are cultural theories that 'locate the social' in practices, meaning that it is through the study of practices that human action can be explained (p. 246). Reckwitz (2002) goes on to define social practices as "a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (p. 249). Individuals act as carriers of these practices, which both includes routinized patterns of behavior and routinized patterns of "understanding, knowing how, and desiring" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). In this sense, practices are not just certain ways of doing, but also refer to conventions, rules, and norms that inform how something can be or should be done.

Again, Reckwitz' (2002) definition of practice theory is an 'ideal type', identifying some common characteristics of the practice theories existing at the time. The early foundations of practice theory were laid by Bourdieu (1979; 1997) and Giddens (1984). Newer theorizations can be found in Shove (2003; 2010a; Shove et al., 2012), Spaargaren (2011), Sahakian and Wilhite (2014), Warde (2005), and Schatzki (1996; 2002; 2019). In this thesis, I draw mainly on the practice theories presented by Schatzki (2002) and Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012), while also including insights from other practice theoretical works. Schatzki's work provides the more fundamental theoretical understandings of practices and the way they hang together, and Shove et al. (2012) gives an account of how practices change over time and discusses how practice theory can be applied in formulating policy interventions towards more sustainable

practices. The next section is dedicated to showing how practice theory explains the "hanging together of social life", which will be applied to conceptualize the connections between the practical, political, and personal sphere. In this section, I draw heavily on Schatzki's (2002) book *The Site of the Social*, where he presents an ontology based on the concept of 'social sites'.

3.4 Practices, practice-order bundles, social sites, and the site of the social

In *The Site of the Social*, Schatzki (2002) seeks to explain how the constitution of social life is held together in what he calls 'the site of the social'. In Schatzki's words: "The social site is a specific context of human coexistence: the place where, and as part of which, social life inherently occurs" (2002, p. xi). He further explains that this 'site-context' is composed of a mesh of orders and practices. This mesh represents a complex organization of arranged things (orders) and organized activities (practices), and his book is dedicated to breaking down and making sense of these complex arrangements (p. xi). I find that the *site ontology* is a useful concept to identify and understand the factors that influence sustainability performance in everyday life, highlighting the complex ways in which these factors interact. In the following sections, I will go through each level of Schatzki's 'site ontology', starting with practices and their elements. Although this part of the theoretical framework draws mainly on Schatzki's work, I will also bring in other relevant practice theoretical works in order to either simplify or add to the perspective.

3.4.1 Practices and their elements

As mentioned above, Reckwitz (2002) defines practices as routinized types of behavior, consisting of several interconnected elements (p. 249). Among practice theoretical works, we find definitions that somewhat vary from Reckwitz', though they do tend to emphasize the same three things. First, they understand practice as some kind of ordered activity (a pattern/arrangement/routine). Second, they see practices as composed of smaller parts, usually referred to as 'elements' (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012; Gram-Hanssen, 2010). And third, they see practices and their components as interconnected through what is usually referred to as 'links' (Gram-Hanssen, 2010, p. 47). There are a few different ways that practice theorists write about and define these elements and links (see Gram-Hanssen, 2010 for a summary). Schatzki's definition of the elements and links that constitute a practice is as follows:

> [T]he doings and sayings that compose a given practice are linked through (1) practical understandings, (2) rules, (3) teleoaffective structure, and (4) general understandings. Together, the understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure that link the doings and sayings of a practice form its organization (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77).

First, *practical understandings* are the practical abilities needed to perform and recognize a given practice. According to Schatzki (2002), these are knowing how to do something, knowing how to identify actions, and knowing how to initiate or respond to certain actions. The link between doings and sayings formed by practical understandings lies in whether two individuals have a shared understanding of these know-hows. Second, *rules* are explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that guide and inform actions. The rules form links between doings and sayings in that individuals follow the same rules. Furthermore, rules have normative implications through shaping what makes sense for individuals to do, and it is typically persons in power who have the most say in shaping these rules (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77-80).

Third, *teleoaffective structure* is "a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects, and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80). This link is perhaps slightly more difficult to grasp, but the term 'teleoaffectivity' is a combination of goals and ends (teleo) that practices are oriented towards, and emotions and motivational engagements (affect) that follow from these orientations (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 64). These goals and motivations do not belong to the actors performing the practice, but to the practice itself. Schatzki states that there is an indefinite range of end-project-task combinations, and that these are contained in the teleoaffective structure of the practice and realized by the individuals performing the doings and sayings of the practice. What end-project-task combination is realized depends on either what participants in the practice *should* do or what they *may* do. More often than not, practitioners are not consciously aware of the teleoaffective structures, but their actions are nonetheless influenced by these cultural and normative motivations (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80-81). Gram-Hanssen (2010) uses the washing machine and washing habits as an example: "When individuals explain their washing habits, they do not refer directly to cultural understandings of what is clean and what is not. Their actions, however, will most probably follow the general norms" (p. 48).

Lastly, *general understandings* are shared ideas and beliefs about the world (Schatzki, 2002, p. 86). These inspire and orient actions through giving participants an explanation of how the world works. General understandings are usually not just tied to a single practice, but form links between multiple integrating practices (Schatzki, 2002, p. 105). To illustrate, ideas and beliefs about family life inspire and orient a range of practices believed to be representative of a good family life. Examples are having warm dinner on the table, sending the kids off to school on time and with a packed lunch, spending time with the kids, playing with them, and keeping a

clean and tidy home. To sum up, Schatzki (2002) explains that doings and sayings are linked to form practices through repeated expressions of the same practical understandings, repeated observance of the same rules, repeated inspiration and orientation through the same general understandings, and repeated carrying out of teleoaffective hierarchies found in the teleoaffective structure of the practice (p. 105).

We find a slightly different definition of practices and their elements in Shove, Pantzar and Watson's (2012) book *The Dynamics of Social Practice*. They base their understanding on Reckwitz' (2002) definition and see practices as made up of three elements: (1) *materials*, (2) *competences*, and (3) *meanings*. They view these elements as components of practice that are actively combined and linked when people perform practices. First, *materials* include things, technologies, physical entities, and what objects are made of (Shove et al., 2012, p. 14). Notably, material elements are not found in Schatzki's (2002) definition of practices, but he explains that practices are intrinsically connected to the physical world, and that practices and objects are both "components of single mesh" (p. 106). Shove et al. (2012) define materials as various components of the physical world that are used in a given practice, and that shape the physical world in which practices are performed in. They conceptualize the material element as encompassing objects, infrastructures, tools, and hardware, but also the body itself (p. 23).

Their second element, *competences*, is a grouping of different kinds of understandings defined by other practice theorists. It includes skill, know-how, and technique, as well as background knowledge and understandings. It is thought to capture both practical and general understandings in Schatzki's sense (Shove et al., 2012, p. 14; 23). Their third and final element, *meanings*, represents the social and symbolic significance of participation in a practice at any given moment, and encompasses the meanings, emotions, and motivations behind practices. Here, they recognize that there is some disagreement among practice theoretical scholars about how to characterize meaning, emotion, and motivation and their role in practices. They point to Schatzki's teleoaffective structure as an organizing principle and note that teleoaffective structures provide a way to take history and setting, as well as the future, into account. They specify that their understanding of meaning is as an element *of* practice, not something standing outside of it (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23-24).

Practice-as-entity and practice-as performance

In this thesis, I will draw on both Schatzki's (2002) and Shove et al.'s (2012) definitions of practices, elements and links in the analysis. There is some overlap between the components provided in each set, and I will be referring to them all as elements (not links) throughout the

rest of the thesis. The overlaps between Schatzki's and Shove et al.'s elements may complicate the way I apply them in the analysis. However, I find that both theories have components that explain an aspect of practice better than the other and have therefore chosen to draw on them both. In an attempt to clarify how I think about and use these concepts: I think Shove et al.'s elements provide a simpler way to identify and discuss practices and elements as specific entities that enable and constrain sustainable behaviors. They are, in a sense, more concrete concepts than Schatzki's links. Meanwhile, I find that Schatzki's links better conceptualize the complex ways that practices are intertwined, thus enabling a more nuanced discussion of the complicated interconnected relationships between and within practices.

Returning to Schatzki's theory of 'social sites', practices constitute the smallest unit of analysis and form the innermost 'layer' of Schatzki's (2002) site ontology. He explains that "the overall site where contemporaneous social life transpires is one immense mesh of practices and orders" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 151). In other words, social life is conceived as one large constellation of practices. In an attempt to visualize Schatzki's theory I have made a series of illustrations representing the different arrangements that practices form. The first illustration (*Figure 2)* is a simple depiction of practices and elements.

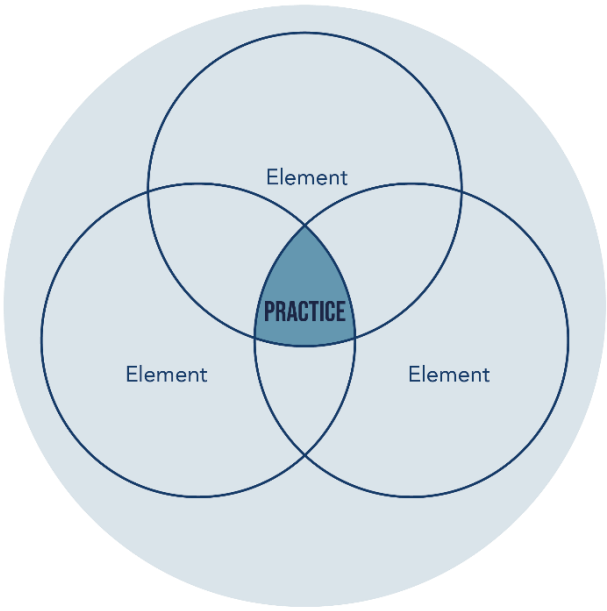

Figure 2: A practice made up of elements (Adapted from Shove et al., 2012, p. 29)

The figure is meant to illustrate that practices form through the active combination of their elements, through individual performance (Shove et al., 2012, p. 7). This means that practices are made and sustained through recurrent performances that bring their elements together. It also depicts the practice as an *entity*, signified by the circle surrounding the three elements. This

illustrates that a practice can be conceptualized as a unit that can be identified and spoken about (Shove et al., 2012, p. 7). For the purpose of this thesis, the number of elements depicted in the illustration is not important. The illustration is inspired by the figures in Shove et al.'s (2012) book (p. 29) and therefore shows three elements, even though Schatzki lists four. However, the illustration most importantly intends to show that it is in the intersection (or combination) of different elements that a practice is formed. In this way, neither practices nor elements have a life of their own.

3.4.2 Practice-arrangement bundles, social sites, and the site of the social

Continuing Schatzki's site ontology, a practice is never isolated from the context in which it exists. Practices exist in an integrated pattern, or as Schatzki calls it: "practice-arrangement meshes", or "a nexus of practices" (2002, p. 150; Hui et al., 2017). Throughout the book, Schatzki (2002) shows that this mesh consists of several levels of practice-order arrangements that eventually all link together in 'the site of the social' (p. 156).

Bundles

The first way that practices link together is to form 'bundles' (illustrated in *Figure 3*). Bundles are sets of practices where tasks, projects, and ends overlap (Schatzki, 2012, p. 17; 154). As explained above, tasks, projects, and ends are part of the teleoaffective structures linking practices together. For instance, gardening, cleaning, cooking, and other practices performed to 'take care of the home' form a bundle of domestic work. People perform these practices in the interest of achieving similar and overlapping tasks, projects, and ends.

Shove et al. (2012) distinguish between 'bundles' and 'complexes'. They define bundles as "loose-knit patterns based on the co-location and co-existence of practices", while complexes are defined as "stickier and more integrated combinations" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 81). In this thesis, I include both phenomena in my definition of 'bundles'. As loose-knit patterns, bundles can be a set of practices that are linked through things like physical surroundings or socio-cultural customs or trends. For instance, what people do in bathrooms are influenced and linked by the physical layout of the bathroom and by ideas of cleanliness and privacy. As stickier and more integrated combinations, bundles become entities in their own right with characteristics that cannot be reduced to the individual practices that compose them (Shove et al., 2012, p. 84; 87). For instance, 'getting ready in the morning' is a practice-bundle consisting of multiple single practices, like brushing your teeth, eating breakfast, packing lunch, showering etc. When viewed on their own, these practices do not necessarily have anything to do with getting ready in the morning and may not be recognized as such. But when seen together, we recognize that

these practices are performed together in order to achieve the specific task-project-end combination of 'getting ready to leave the house in the morning'.

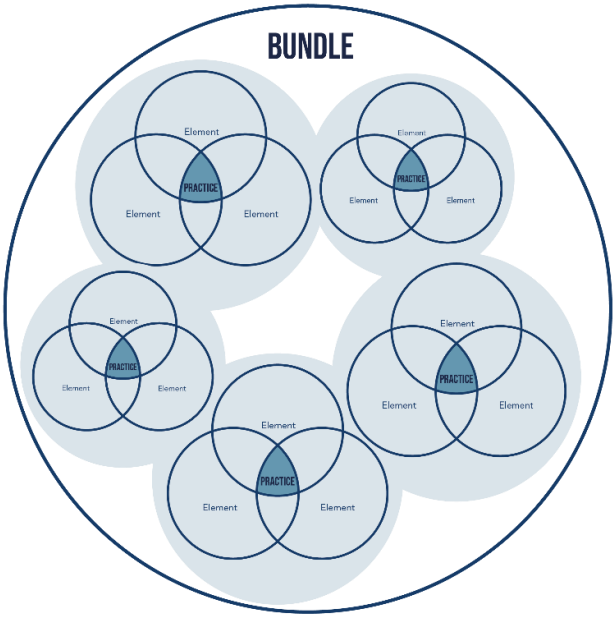

Figure 3: A practice-bundle

Finally, bundles are not strict arrangements, but rather a loose structure of intertwined practices. In Schatzki's (2002) words: "practices and orders are not just contingently but also incompletely and precariously packaged into bundles" (p. 154). One implication of this is that the practices that form one bundle can also extend beyond the bundle, forming links to other bundles. In later works, Schatzki (2019) has explained that bundles overlap through common teleologies, rules, emotions, and general understandings (p. 45). In his words: "The different bundles that compose a sports franchise, for instance, might share the end of a successful season, the ethos that winning is everything, and an emotional high after a big victory" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 45). We can recognize these same relations when talking about sustainability and environmentalism. Welch and Yates (2018) have developed a practice-theoretical account of collective action, recognizing the effects of collective projects and identities on our daily lives (p. 302). In this way, we can recognize how collective projects and identities form bundles and shape everyday practices.

Social sites

We can now move on to the next level of Schatzki's site ontology, where we find *social sites*. A site is a context, or a "wider expanse of phenomena", where social activities take place (Schatzki, 2002, p. 147). Sites are not spatially or temporally defined but are rather defined by the bundles that compose them (Schatzki, 2002, p. 173). In the example about the sports

franchise above, the franchise is an example of a social site. This site consists of a variation of bundled activities and people who share a range of goals, identities, and meanings in their relationships to the sports franchise. However, the people involved can have different roles within the sports franchise and perform tasks and projects within different bundles. Some are part of the administrative team, others are part of the athletic team, and others might be fans of the sports team.

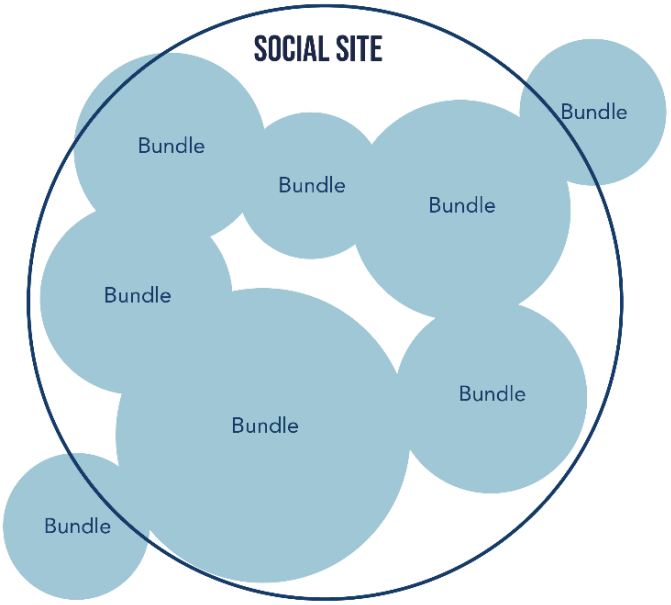

Figure 4: A social site

Figure 4 is a simplified illustration of a social site. The illustration shows that the bundles that compose it also reach beyond the one site, extending into and linking with other social sites. For instance, as a fan of the sports franchise, you participate in the "fan-bundle". This bundle might overlap with a different social site, like for instance a friend group who gets together to watch matches together, and perhaps also a sports bar where they meet up to watch the games. The sports franchise, the friend group, and the sports bar can all be conceived of as social sites with their own sets of teleologies, rules, emotions, and general understandings, but they are also connected through the teleoaffectivities and general understandings that follow from being a part of what constitutes the sports franchise.

In other words, social sites connect and overlap to form larger arrangements (Schatzki, 2002, p. 150-151). In this way, we can zoom in and out on social sites, bundles, and practices to analyze and discuss various aspects of social life and the ways that these connect. *Figure 5* illustrates an example of how social sites can overlap and exist within one another. In this example, the smallest circle represents a friend group, a social site containing shared meanings,

ends, and motivations, like having fun together and forming meaningful relationships. The second circle represents a school, which is another, larger social site. The members of the friend group can have met at school, they can play together at school, and their activities as a friend group can be conditioned by the school itself (by recess times, rules, school activities etc.). The third circle represents the specific community in which the school exists. The school is an important institution within the community and fulfills some of the teleoaffective goals and motivations defined at the community level, for instance being a place for learning, and where members of the community can gather. The fourth circle represents the nation that the community is part of, which again involves collective identities, rules, etc.

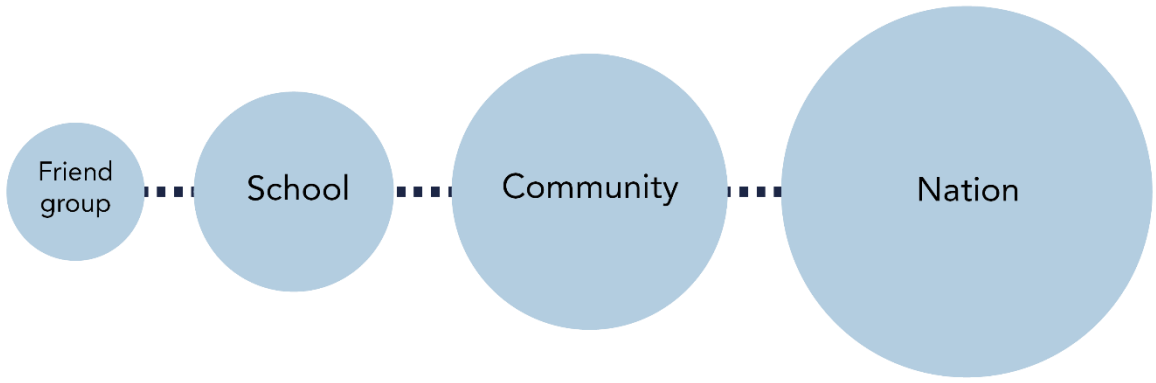

Figure 5: Examples of social sites existing within other social sites

These are just some examples of the possible connections between different social sites. These four sites can be depicted as existing within each other, but each of them also connects to social sites outside of these four (Schatzki, 2002, p. 150). The friend group connects to other arenas where they can be together, and to each member's family and home. The school is part of a web of schools, all influenced and shaped by the same rules and expectations defined at the national level. In this way, social sites and the numerous practices found within them form a massive constellation, or nexus, of ordered practices (Schatzki, 2002, p. 150).

The site of the social

Finally, Schatzki (2002) argues that, by zooming all the way out, we will arrive at 'the site of the social', which he defines as "the site specific to human coexistence: the context, or wider expanse of phenomena, in and as part of which humans coexist" (p. 147). In other words, the social site represents all of human coexistence. The site of the social is illustrated (although a simplified illustration) in *Figure 6*, showing that it is made up of multiple interacting and overlapping social sites. So, to sum up Schatzki's site ontology, the site of the social is the total and immense mesh, or nexus, of practices and orders in which social life transpires. By zooming

in and out on this mesh of practices, we can identify and discuss practices, bundles, and sites, and how they interact. In Schatzki's (2002) words:

> Through such phenomena as these, practices and orders form an immense, shifting, and transmogrifying mesh in which they overlap, interweave, cohere, conflict, diverge, scatter, and enable as well as constrain each other. Such is the nature of the social site (p. 157)

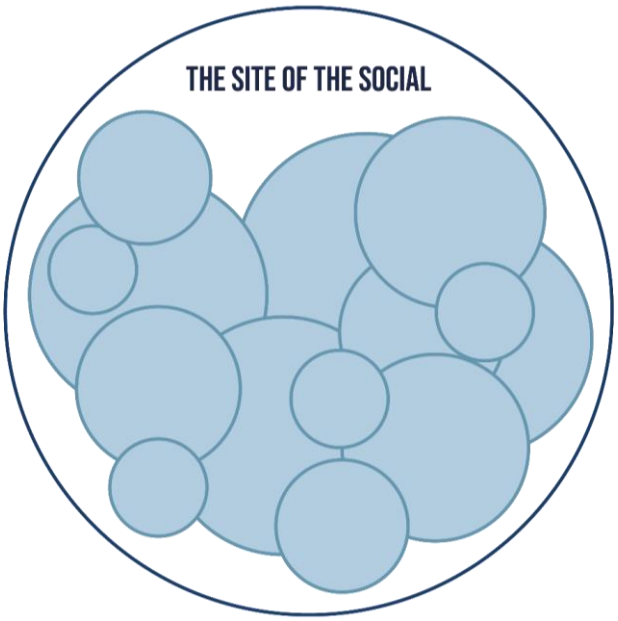

Figure 6: The site of the social

3.5 Conceptualizing changes in practice

Schatzki's site ontology provides an analytical tool for understanding how social life hangs together, forming arrangements that shape human action. Schatzki (2002) writes about the notion of 'prefiguration' and explains that practices and their arrangements define the different paths that human action may take. These are not absolute phenomena, but they define what he calls relationships of enablement and constraint, which are found in and between practices that in different ways shape what makes sense to do (p. 216). In this way, we can use this ontology to analyze the ways in which human action is shaped by practices and their arrangements. However, it does not offer an explanation of how these arrangements change. To understand how changes in practice come about, I refer to the book by Shove et al. (2012), where their goal is to develop a better understanding of how practices emerge, evolve, and disappear (p. 4). This understanding is based on three central aspects of practice theory: (1) That practices are made up of elements, (2) that people are carriers of practice, meaning that understandings and meanings are qualities of the practice, and not the individual, and (3) an analytical distinction between 'practice-as-entity' and 'practice-as-performance' (p. 7). This entails that it is through

repeated performance that practices persist, but that practices evolve and change through variations in their performance.

Based on the three aspects above, Shove et al. (2012) contend that changes in practice can be influenced by attempts to reconfigure the elements and linkages in and between practices (p. 146). They write: "Practices like driving a car depend on specific combinations of materials, meanings, and competence; […] driving evolves as these ingredients change; and […] such changes are in part a consequence of the integrative work involved" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 25). So, through actively trying to reconfigure the elements and links between practices, we may be able to influence and shape new relationships of enablement and constraint, hopefully enabling more sustainable performances of practice.

3.6 Bringing back the 'three spheres of transformation'

The practice theoretical framework I have outlined here allows for a thorough analysis of the many factors influencing the performance of sustainability in everyday life. It understands actions, or performances of practice, as shaped by the complex arrangement of social practices, all tied together in 'the site of the social'. Schatzki's site ontology allows for an analysis of why people do what they do that considers factors at multiple levels. As a reminder, I argued that the 'three spheres of transformation' framework is limited as an analytical tool because it is too abstract to accurately capture the different components that make up each of the three spheres. Therefore, I apply the practice theoretical framework to analyze and discuss these components. I argue that practice theory can be applied to identify and explain factors influencing the transformative potential within the three spheres. Furthermore, a practice theoretical approach can draw out and explain the interactions and dynamics between the spheres, further developing our understanding of the dynamic nature of transformation processes. In this way, practice theory works well in combination with the 'three spheres of transformation', as it can be used to highlight and discuss how actions in the practical sphere are connected to and shaped by both social structures in the political sphere and individual and collective beliefs in the personal sphere, which are all linked together in the vast mesh of practices and their arrangements. In the analysis (Chapter 5 and 6), I apply the practice theoretical framework to understand how my informants' perceptions and performances of sustainability are shaped by practices and their arrangements. In chapter 7, I draw together these findings, and discuss them in light of the 'three spheres of transformation' framework, considering their implications for the transformative potential of everyday life.

4 Methods

In this project I followed a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. The project seeks a deep understanding of individuals' experiences of climate change, everyday life, and sustainability, which is best captured by a qualitative approach (O'Leary, 2017, p. 142). The data collection process consisted of eleven qualitative interviews and one focus group discussion with residents in the Norwegian municipality Aurskog-Høland. I set out to explore how people living in Aurskog-Høland experience and think about the climate change issue, and how they engage with sustainability in their everyday lives. Since I am from the municipality myself, I had some advantages regarding access to the field. My prior knowledge and personal experiences of the local context potentially enriched my understanding of the informants' experiences. At the same time, there are possible disadvantages related to my personal connection to the informants that may have influenced their responses, and my personal experiences might have impacted my ability to interpret these responses.

The methodological approach applied in the research was similar to phenomenological approaches to understanding social phenomena in that it took people's perceptions and experiences of something to be the main object of study (O'Leary, 2017, p. 149). Furthermore, phenomenological approaches highlight the impact of lived experience and beliefs, regardless of truth, which argues for the investigation of individual experiences when attempting to understand social phenomena (O'Leary, 2017, p. 142). The research did not, however, follow a strict phenomenological approach, but drew on multiple qualitative approaches in forming the methodological framework.

The research topic is placed within the field of sociology and various literatures that attempt to explain action and inaction in response to climate change. Most notably, these literatures call for deep understandings and integrative theory that can capture the complex social relationships that enable or constrain climate action. I chose to conduct in-depth semi-structured interviews with a small sample. Qualitative interviews are useful when attempting to get a holistic and deep understanding of complex topics, and are performed with smaller samples (Halvorsen, 2008, p. 129). The idea is to allow the informant to talk more or less freely on a given topic and, in that way, access their perspectives, understandings, opinions, and interpretations of the topic (Seale, 2018, p. 220). Interview guides can be found in Appendix IV.

Finally the research methodology draws on both deductive and inductive logics. Although I had an idea of the themes I wanted to explore in the data (deductive logic), I went into the field with

a broad research question and without a specific theoretical framework in mind and, to a large extent, let the empirical story emerge from the data (inductive logic) (Seale, 2018, p. 431; O'Leary, 2017, p. 330). From the beginning, the project has been influenced by the literature on societal transformations and the aim to understand how climate change and sustainability is experienced in everyday life. Through a 'cycle' of inductive and deductive reasoning, new theories emerged as valuable analytical perspectives that could add to the perspectives from the transformation literature, while former perspectives were abandoned. Eventually, I arrived at the combination of the 'three spheres of transformation' framework and the social practice theoretical framework explained in the previous chapter. In the following, I explain the data collection methods applied in more detail and discuss their usefulness and limitations. Next, I discuss ethical considerations and dilemmas that arose during the data collection process, and the potential conflicts related to my positionality in the research project. Finally, I explain the analytical process in more detail.

4.1 The interviews

In all the interviews, I used a semi-structured interview approach and took the role of facilitator and listener by attempting to ask open questions and let the informant speak freely, with minimal interruptions (O'Leary, 2017, p. 239). This allowed me to be flexible in the interviews and follow the flow of the conversation. It also opened up the possibility of exploring unexpected and interesting topics that came up during the interviews (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). This approach let the informants express what they found most important and relevant through open questions, which provided a deeper and more complex account of the informants' views in their own words (Byrne, 2018, p. 220). I conducted three different types of interviews for this research project. Two expert interviews with people working in the municipal administration, nine interviews with residents of the municipality, and one focus group discussion (see overview of participants in Apendix I). These offered different perspectives to the overarching research question that guided my data collection. In the following sections, I will give a brief description of how I conducted the different types of interviews, the purpose of each type of interview, and the possible limitations. I start with the interviews with the two people working in the municipal administration, which I refer to as 'expert interviews' (Bogner et al., 2009, p. 1).

4.1.1 Expert interviews

To get a better understanding of the municipality, and how climate change affects the people who live there, I wanted to speak to someone working in the municipal administration. They

have extensive knowledge of the municipal geography and demography, social and political systems, and the municipality's history and culture. I refer to these interviews as expert interviews due to their professional roles in the municipality and the specialized knowledge and experience they have acquired from this position (Bogner et al., 2009, p. 7). I approached this type of interview as an exploratory tool, with the purpose of providing an initial orientation towards the field of research. I approached the informants in these interviews, not as members of the target group of my research – residents in Aurskog-Høland – but as a complementary source of contextual information about this group (Bogner & Menz, 2009, p. 46).

The two interviews served different purposes, providing different types of specialized information. In the first interview, I wanted to know more about the social and cultural aspects that shape life in the municipality, so I contacted someone working in the culture department. Exploratory expert interviews should be conducted as openly as possible, while a topic guide or loosely structured interview guide helps steer the conversation in the right direction (Bogner & Menz, 2009, p. 46). I prepared an interview guide with open questions about how they would describe the municipality, what activities people were engaged in, whether the municipality had seen any changes over the past years etc. The interview guide helped move the conversation forward, but I adapted the questions and the order in which I asked them based on what emerged during the conversation.

The second interview was focused on the municipality's climate change mitigation efforts and how the people who live there seemed to respond to such measures. I wanted to know more about what policies and projects had been implemented in the municipality, the process of implementing them, and their results. What difficulties did they face? Where did they feel they had been successful? What did they think they could do better? For this, I contacted the municipality's environmental consultant. Following the same approach as in the first interview, I formulated an interview guide with questions about the municipality's climate action plan, what projects they had going in the municipality, his impression of people's thoughts on the climate crisis, and the municipality's views on climate change mitigation, consequences, and potential to act. This interview provided insight into the presence of climate change mitigation efforts in the municipality, the level of climate and environmental concern in the municipality, to what extent inhabitants were included in these projects, and the environmental consultant's perceptions about the potential and barriers to implement successful policies at the local level.

Sampling and access

For these interviews I used purposive or hand-picked sampling, meaning that I chose these informants based on specific criteria, which in this case was their expert knowledge (O'Leary, 2017, p. 210). I contacted the informants via email and referenced my own connection to the municipality to increase the likelihood of a positive response (see Merriam et al., 2001, p. 406).

Limitations

The most important limitations to consider related to these two expert interviews had to do with what type of information these interviews provide. It is important to recognize that the two informants are ascribed the role of expert by me, the researcher, because I assume that they possess some relevant information about the subject of my research. Furthermore, it is important to be attentive to the fact that experts possess different kinds of knowledge, and I should account for this in my analysis. (Bogner & Menz, 2009, p. 49; 52). Bogner and Menz (2009) explain that 'technical knowledge' about rules, regulations, and specialized competences are more clearly a type of knowledge where experts have a particular advantage. Second, 'process knowledge' is obtained through practical activity and being directly involved in specific processes. Experts can provide insights based on their practical experience. Third, 'interpretative knowledge' is the expert's subjective orientations and interpretations. This third type of knowledge highlights the fact that expert knowledge is subjective and should not be taken to represent some form of 'objective truth' (Bogner & Menz, 2009, p. 53). These were important considerations when interpreting and using these interviews in the larger research project. For instance, the insights I gained from the first interview about social and cultural structures present in the municipality may be a mix of the municipality worker's practical experiences and their personal interpretations of cultural aspects. In the second interview, the environmental consultant was likely to have extensive technical and process knowledge about local climate initiatives and state-level climate policies. However, when asked about how he perceived the response to local initiatives from the population, his response relied more on his interpretative knowledge.

4.1.2 Interviews with residents

The focus of this research project is the perceptions and experiences ordinary people living in Aurskog-Høland have of climate change and performing sustainability in their everyday lives. In order to get an understanding of these perceptions and experiences, I conducted qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews with a small sample of people living in Aurskog-Høland. I refer to these interviews as "resident-interviews". The purpose of these interviews was to learn

about the informants' perceptions of climate change, how they viewed their own role in responding to climate change, and their experiences of incorporating pro-environmental or sustainable actions in their everyday lives. This draws on phenomenological approaches to knowledge creation, where people's perceptions of certain phenomena are the focus of research. In-depth interviews are one way in which this type of knowledge can be accessed (O'Leary, 2017, p. 149). Phenomenology considers people's lived experience and emotions essential to understanding why people do what they do, which is a central part of my research question in this project (O'Leary, 2017, p. 149).

Prior to these interviews, I developed an interview guide informed by the insights gained from the expert interviews. The guide served to direct the conversations, while keeping a flexible structure to explore unexpected or interesting topics that deviated from the plan (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). This allowed for a natural flow of the conversations. Most importantly, the interview guide reminded me of the topics I wanted to talk about and provided starting points and follow-up questions to move the conversation forward when the informants no longer had anything new to say. These interviews were with either one informant or with a couple living in the same household.

Sampling and access

I used a snowball method to get in touch with my informants. This involved starting with an initial contact and asking them to suggest a new person that would fit the study criteria, and then asking each of these for further recommendations (O'Leary, 2017, p. 211). A snowball sampling method provides a way to easily contact new informants, starting with one initial contact, and building your connections from there (Seale, 2018, p. 230). I used my own network to get in touch with the initial informants. Then, I made a list of different characteristics I wanted my sample to have, such as including different genders and age groups. I had this list in mind when asking informants to suggest new contacts, and specifically asked if they could think of someone with the characteristics I was missing. Aurskog-Høland is an agricultural municipality, where farming is a key profession even though farmers do not make up a large percentage of the population. Because of this key role, I purposely asked for and included farmers in my sample. Thus, my research design also had elements of hand-picked sampling, which allows the researcher to study intrinsically interesting cases (O'Leary, 2017, p. 210).

Limitations

The snowball method can produce a skewed sample. Informants are likely to suggest others within their social circle who will likely share experiences (Seale, 2018, p. 230). I attempted to

compensate this by making a list of desired characteristics and actively seeking diversity in my informants, while trying to fit the sample to the municipality's population profile. However, the sample is likely to be somewhat skewed. Another way to make up for this is to find multiple starting points for snowballing (Seale, 2018, p. 167). About halfway through the data collection process, my snowball came to a halt when the new contacts I had received from the previous informant did not want to participate. I decided then to contact new people as starting points for snowballing.

Another limitation of the snowball method that I encountered was that I had limited control over what people the informants suggested I contact next. This method relied on the contacts provided by informants, which can be influenced by what kind of person your informant believes you are interested in. This, and the fact that your initial contacts rely on their personal contacts, could create a selection bias (Parker & Scott, 2019, p. 4-5). In this project I wanted to include people with various perspectives on climate change. But usually when my informants suggested someone I could contact, they tried to think of someone who was especially concerned with this issue, and who they thought would 'fit' my project. Informants typically have different selection criteria from the researcher's when they decide who they should suggest. They may think of someone with unusual experiences rather than just "normal" cases (Seale, 2018, p. 230). I made sure to explain to my informants that I was interested in talking to people with all kinds of perspectives on the climate crisis, but I believe the idea that my informants had of someone with a particular interest in the topic influenced the sample I ended up with.

Even though these limitations may result in a skewed sample, the goal of qualitative research methods is not to achieve representativity and generalizability, but rather to gain rich and deep understandings of an individual's experience. A more important consideration is whether the sample provides the researcher with enough data to reach saturation, the point where no new information is obtained from conducting more interviews. There is no clear answer to what it takes to reach saturation. It is up to the researcher to determine whether saturation has been reached (Gill, 2020, p. 579-580). In this project, I would not argue that my sample size was big enough to reach saturation, but my decision to end the search for new informants was more a result of practical limitations. Among other things, it was difficult to find people willing to conduct in-person interviews during a new wave of the Covid-19 pandemic in December 2021. If not for these limitations, I believe that more interviews could have added more information, and potentially strengthened the thesis. At the same time, I believe that my sample is broad

enough to reveal interesting and important perspectives that can bring valuable insights to policy debates and scholarly work on climate change response and transformation processes.

4.1.3 Focus group discussion

In one of my interviews the informant told me that he was part of an informal group that met up to discuss environmental concerns related to agriculture. All members were, or had previously been, working in, or in areas related to, the agricultural sector. They had formed the group based on their own interest in these topics, and the get-togethers were a type of social event. I found this very interesting and asked if I could join one of their meetings. We decided that he would invite the others to a new meeting where I could lead a focus group discussion. We held the meeting in February 2022, after I had completed the other interviews. The focus group had five participants.

In a focus group discussion, the goal is to facilitate discussions among the participants that lead to more nuanced perspectives and possibly new ideas (O'Leary, 2017, p. 250). The researcher becomes a facilitator, and the questioning is less direct than in one-to-one interviews (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). I attempted to formulate only a few questions in preparation for the discussion and tried to get the participants to talk to each other, more than they talked to me. These questions were informed by the expert interviews and resident interviews, and I wanted this discussion to add new perspectives and insights to the topics that had emerged during the interviews. The discussion guide included four main topics. The first was their motivations for forming the group. The second was their perspectives on the role of agriculture in climate change response. The third topic was how they saw the role of ordinary people in climate change response. The final topic was politics and climate change, and the relationship between local and state level politics in dealing with the climate change issue.

Limitations

I quickly realized that I would have to abandon most of the questions I had prepared for the discussion, because it took a long time for the group to finish discussing the first and second topic. I therefore decided to only ask a few overarching questions for each topic. We did not have a lot of time to discuss the final topic, but I was able to obtain a few of their insights on this. A second limitation emerged from their role in the agricultural sector and the fact that their meetings were usually more concerned with how climate change affected agriculture, rather than their personal experiences related to the climate change issue. The conversation often turned towards these aspects, which were less relevant for the topic of this research project. I

found it difficult to decide whether and when I should intervene in the conversation to get it back on track, and to be able to get through more topics before our time was up.

Because of these difficulties, the amount of relevant data from this focus group discussion is somewhat limited. When the discussion veered towards the more agriculturally specific issues, I felt that my vocabulary and knowledge of these issues was too limited to engage properly with what they said. Also, this made it hard to join the conversation to steer it back to the original question without interrupting or stopping the flow of conversation. Nonetheless, the discussion did reveal interesting perspectives and valuable insights, particularly in relation to why they formed the group and how their professional roles influence the way they perceive and engage with climate change and sustainability in their everyday lives.

4.2 Ethical considerations

In this section, I comment on ethical challenges and considerations related to the data collection process. First and foremost, the research design obtained approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) prior to the interviewing process. The data was subsequently stored following NSD guidelines. To ensure that my informants gave informed consent to participate in this study, several steps were taken. All informants received an information letter (see Appendix II) via email some days before the scheduled interview. This letter detailed the purpose of the project, the steps I would take to anonymize their participation, and the rights they have as informants to withdraw from the study or provide corrections to whatever information they give. I made sure to verbally repeat these rights at the beginning of each interview. Consent forms (see Appendix III) were then signed before the interview commenced. At the end of the interview, I repeated these rights.

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed. I took steps to anonymize the informants by swapping out their names from the point of transcribing. Recordings were deleted as soon as the transcriptions were complete. However, due to the small size of Aurskog-Høland's population, some informants may be easy to identify based on what they do for a living and where in the municipality they live. I have thus tried to limit how much of this information I include in the following analysis chapters, so as to not compromise anonymity. This issue could be resolved by creating a pseudonym for Aurskog-Høland itself. However, I find that some of the characteristics of Aurskog-Høland, its location and its ambition to become a 'green' municipality, are important features of this particular social context and that have implications for the everyday lives of my informants. Thus, I concluded that anonymizing Aurskog-Høland

would weaken my analysis and decided against it. Instead, I made sure to comment on this in the information letter, making sure that my informants were aware of the possibility that they could be recognized. Furthermore, I stressed that the informants could ask to see the information and statements that I include from them in the thesis, and that I would not include anything they were not comfortable with. None of the informants have requested this.

4.2.1 A note on positionality, power, and knowledge

In this research project, I am both an insider and an outsider in the cultural context that I set out to study. I chose to conduct my research in the municipality that I grew up in, interviewing people who live there now. It has been six years since I lived in the municipality myself, but I frequently visit my mother and extended family and have spent most of my summer's there since I moved away. I am an insider in respect to my knowledge of and familiarity with the place and my personal relationships to people who live there. Among my informants, there are some that I had a personal relationship to prior to the interviews, and some that I had never met before. Regardless, all but two informants had a connection to someone I know and could therefore identify me as 'the daughter of' …, or 'niece of' …, and so on. Naturally, this brings out questions about how my positionality affects the interview situation in regard to power relationships between me and the informants, and my ability to represent the information that my informants give me in a 'truthful' and unbiased way (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 416). How does my relationship with my informants and the context I am studying affect my abilities to understand their perspectives or to be objective? How does it affect my ability to engage my informants in the interview situation? Are they more likely to feel at ease and talk freely because they know who I am? Or does our shared cultural bond prohibit the discussion of 'taboo' subjects and opinions? How do my own perceptions of life in Aurskog-Høland and how I view the potential for performing sustainability in this context affect my interpretation of their replies?

I also carry an outsider status into this research project. I moved away from Aurskog-Høland six years ago and have no plan to move back. I have lived in a city environment my entire adult life and have never really been in charge of structuring everyday life in a rural environment. Additionally, even though I have lived in the same geographical place as my informants, our lived experiences are likely to be significantly different based on age, gender, education, work, family, income, skills, interests, etc. For instance, despite having lived 18 years of my life in the same home as my brother, I know that my experience is different to his, and that we have significantly different perspectives on many aspects of life. These reflections show that the line

between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ in research is not as clear cut as it may seem, and it is worthwhile to discuss the potential advantages and limitations that I have faced regarding these relationships in this research project (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411).

It is commonly assumed that the insider-status gives the researcher the advantages of easy access, ability to ask more meaningful questions, ability to read non-verbal cues, and to be able to gain a more truthful and authentic understanding of the culture that is being studied. Simultaneously, the insider-researcher is thought to be limited by inherent bias in their interpretations, and by being too close to the culture to be curious and ask provocative questions (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411). However, the insider-outsider debate needs a more nuanced and dynamic interpretation of what being an insider and outsider actually entails. The most important for the researcher to consider is where they stand in relation to ‘the other’, and to include multiple factors like gender, social class, age, political affiliation, religion, and region when reflecting on this. All cultures are heterogeneous and have internal variation. The researcher is thus always relatively inside (or outside) the culture they wish to study (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411).

In my experience, what I could benefit from being insider and outsider in the interviews varied with each interview. With each informant, my position in relation to them was different according to their age, gender, education, work, interests etc. The differences and similarities between me and the informants took on a new character in each interview. Additionally, my position vis-à-vis the informant could take on a new form as we moved through the different topics in the interview, with some topics being familiar ground for the informant, and others less so. I also noticed that they sometimes worried if what they were talking about was relevant to what I, as a researcher, wanted to know. In these instances I would try to assure them that I was primarily interested in their experiences and perspectives, and that all they could say about the different topics is relevant in its own way. I could go on about the many ways in which the insider-outsider dynamic presented itself in the interviews, but the most important take-away from these reflections is that each interview presented a different set of benefits and limitations for me to navigate in each interview situation, and which I needed to be attentive to when conducting the analysis. This meant reflecting on and considering how my positionality vis-á-vis the informant could influence their responses throughout the different stages of the interviews. I also attempted to ensure that my interpretations reflected the informants’ opinions by considering the contexts in which their statements were said and noting any contradictive statements they may have made during the interview.

4.4 Analyzing the data

The interviews were all recorded and then transcribed using the program f4transkript. I then began the coding process using Nvivo, a software package used for qualitative coding. My coding process began as an inductive process, with only broad research questions and themes guiding the coding (Seale, 2018, p. 431). I started by analyzing part of the data, creating open codes. Open coding is often the first stage in an inductive coding process, and involve reading each line or sentence separately, and seeing if it suggests a code for you (Seale, 2018, p. 434). From this, the researcher can begin to inductively discover relevant and interesting themes (O'Leary, 2017, p. 329; Seale, 2018, p. 434). What followed was what many talk about as a 'dance' between inductive and deductive reasoning. This involved multiple rounds of coding using both inductive and deductive logics. It was inductive in the sense that I identified themes and categories from the data itself (O'Leary, 2017, p. 330). At the same time, it was deductive in that I eventually discovered relevant theoretical concepts and frameworks from which I could draw conclusions about the findings in the data material, and further develop my analysis (O'Leary, 2017, p. 330). These were the 'three spheres of transformation' framework and social practice theory. The 'dance' between inductive and deductive reasoning is a back-and-forth process, where you both allow the raw data to tell the story, and search for potential confirmation of theoretical concepts or ideas (O'Leary, 2017, p. 330).

5 Local perceptions of a global problem

In the interviews, I asked the informants to describe their thoughts surrounding the topic of climate change. From their responses, it was clear that the topic of climate change was familiar to everyone who participated. Most informants gave a pretty clear account of how they viewed the climate change issue, their thoughts about what climate change is, and what they believed to be driving factors behind GHG emissions. Furthermore, they had a relatively clear idea of how their perspectives compare to those of others. A noticeable commonality was that most informants were quick to start talking about climate change as a crisis, emphasizing that "something needs to be done before it is too late" (Ida, age 36). This quote from Per exemplifies well the shared perspective on climate change found in these initial responses:

> Per, age 57: [T]he climate is changing. There is no doubt about it. And I am completely sure that, as most people are, that it is caused by us […] it is, in my mind, so simple as that we consume now, oil for instance, which is a result of many millions of years' worth of decomposing […] that we are now pumping oil from. And then we consume it. We burn it. And then we have helped ourselves greedily from the reserves. And that creates an imbalance. So that, I think, it is probably no one who doubts that this is happening. But, so it, that is the main cause, I think. Of the environmental changes.

The informants' initial perceptions reflected a sort of 'dominant narrative' that they believed is common among the Norwegian public when thinking and talking about climate change. This narrative, I argue, is made up of three points: that climate change is happening, that it is caused by human activity, and that something must be done to deal with the problem. This is reflected in various studies investigating the Norwegian public's attitudes towards climate change, and in studies investigating attitudes on a global scale (Aasen et al., 2019; Gregersen, 2022; Flynn et al., 2021). These studies discuss an increase in public concern about climate change and show that a clear majority of people believe in this dominant narrative (Flynn et al., 2021, p. 7).

Such narratives about the world are part of what Schatzki (2002) calls 'general understandings'. General understandings are shared ideas and beliefs about the world, which can orient and inspire people's actions. They are tied to a practice's 'teleoaffective structure', the goals and motivations tied to practice, in that it shapes what is considered meaningful, the factors that motivate performances of practice, and what makes sense for people to do (Schatzki, 2002, p. 86; 105). The dominant narrative expresses a belief or understanding that climate change is a serious problem and that it is rooted in human activity. It informs individuals that efforts to mitigate climate change are worthwhile and necessary, thus motivating climate-friendly actions

and support for climate policies. The dominant narrative orients the way the informants talk about and engage with climate change.

The role of general understandings in shaping and developing everyday practice has recently been explored by other scholars in the practice theoretical field. Welch and Warde (2017) explain that general understandings have an indirect effect on the carrying out of everyday practice (p. 195). They suggest that general understandings have three functions. The first is an organizing function which serves to orient and integrate a range of practices under a certain cultural formation. The second function concerns justification and sits across the pre-reflexive and discursive, meaning that it encompasses both verbal and reflexive reasoning and bodily and unconscious dispositions that presuppose practices (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 195; Gram-Hanssen, 2021, p. 444). The third function is to enable practical intelligibility, meaning to determine what makes the most sense to do next in a given situation (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 195; Gram-Hanssen, 2021, p. 444). I argue that the dominant narrative expressed by the informants exhibit these same functions. It can have an organizing function by distinguishing between people who believe we must do something about the climate crisis and those who do not. It can justify certain actions as being beneficial for the climate. And it can influence people's practical intelligibility by for example specifying what actions are more in line with this narrative than others.

However, the effects of this dominant narrative on the informants' performance of sustainability in everyday life appears a bit more complicated. Gram-Hanssen (2021) explores how an environmental ethic held by individuals may influence sustainable consumption practices. She finds that an environmental ethic (viewed here as a general understanding) can be carried out in practice through people's conscious or bodily awareness of doing things in a less environmentally harmful way. In this way, the environmental ethic enables the performance of sustainable consumption. At the same time, general understandings related to other fields than sustainability may come in conflict or skew the performance towards less environmentally friendly ways. Gram-Hanssen (2021) highlights that ambivalence and controversy are part of everyday life, and that there is not necessarily a direct line from ethics to actually performed practice (p. 445). Everyday practices are always contextual and performed in relation to others (Gram-Hanssen, 2021, p. 445; Halkier, 2020, p. 408). In other words, an environmental ethic may shape practices towards more environmentally friendly ways, but the intersection of multiple practices, social interaction, and competing general understandings may complicate and restrict this effect (Halkier, 2020, p. 408). Thus, despite their belief in the dominant

narrative on climate change, other factors come to constrain the informants' sustainability performance. The following analysis shows that the dominant narrative, and how it shapes human action, quickly becomes more complicated when applied to real-life situations and everyday practice.

The main research question guiding this analysis asks how localized experiences of climate change and sustainability influence the transformative potential of everyday life. Due to the broad nature of this question, I formulated two sub-questions, informed by practice theory, the first of which is the focus of this chapter. This question reads: What are the informants' perceptions of climate change and how do they understand their own role and responsibility in responding to climate change? Using the practice theoretical framework, this chapter explores the research question by analyzing and discussing how the informants, as representatives of local perspectives in Aurskog-Høland, perceive and understand the climate crisis, how they think about potential solutions, how they view responsibility and accountability, and how they think about their own role in responding to climate change. Attention is placed on the multiple factors related to the informants' understanding of the climate crisis that complicate and bring nuance to the dominant narrative. I do this through three themes that represent a common or shared sentiment expressed by the informants. These sentiments are captured in the headline of each section, which are based on quotes from the interviews. These quotes serve as starting points to discuss my informants' viewpoints. Throughout the chapter, I point to how these viewpoints are shaped by practices and their arrangements, and how they represent relationships of enablement and constraint on the performance of sustainability in everyday life.

5.1 "Everyone is talking about climate change now"

An overall consensus among the informants was that climate change is now a well-known topic and something that most people have a concern for. Several informants said that "everyone is talking about climate change now", meaning that climate change is often brought up and discussed in various public and private spaces. This is closely related to their perception of the dominant narrative on climate change as it is part of a widespread social landscape. The informants talked about regularly hearing about climate change in different types of media and in conversations with others. Some also pointed out that climate change is a central topic in contemporary political debates and has become part of the political landscape. Interestingly, this sentiment inspired both optimistic and pessimistic reflections about the future of climate change response. Some informants used this as grounds for optimism about society's collective

ability to deal with climate change, while others added a more pessimistic perspective, saying that people are talking about it, but not necessarily doing anything.

The informants said that climate change has become a topic that everyone engages with in some way or another. Industries talk about climate-friendly initiatives, governments and politicians discuss climate policies, and people talk about sustainable or climate-friendly actions they can incorporate in everyday life. As Silje (age 36) said: "I see, and I think, that the environment is considered in everything that happens". Most informants believed that people in their social circle are likely to have the same perspectives on climate change as themselves. As shown in the following quote:

> Andreas, age 29: Yes, uhm … No, I guess … I think most of my family and friends are concerned with … concerned about environmentalism. To some extent. And that some steps have to be taken in everyday life to live a bit greener. To live more sustainable.

In many ways, sustainability can be understood as an 'external goal' associated with a wide variety of practices. The informants talked about "living greener", "doing things in a sustainable way", and "choosing climate-friendly options". Related to the idea of a dominant narrative, the way the informants talked about sustainability, environmentalism, and being climate-friendly can, in practice-theoretical terms, be described as a form of 'collective project'. Schatzki (2002) explains that the doings and sayings that compose a practice can be ordered into 'tasks' and 'projects', with tasks being simple configurations of doings and sayings performed to achieve specific projects (p. 73). Collective projects are shared between a group of individuals and represent established sets of commonly shared beliefs, goals, and meanings (Shove et al., 2012, p. 157). Shove et al. (2012) explain that collective projects guide the ways in which people spend their time and the priorities around which their lives are organized (p. 135). My argument is that the informants treat the pursuit of sustainability in this way. The informants articulated a commonly shared belief interpreted as a dominant narrative on climate change. This narrative defines goals related to sustainability and reducing emissions, and these goals are interpreted into personal and collective action like reducing car use and recycling. Finally, participating in sustainable actions holds social and symbolic significance by being considered "good things to do".

Collective projects are "influential on several fronts at once" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 79). A practitioner in pursuit of a project will adapt their priorities and energies to focus their efforts to follow a particular direction defined by the project. In this way, a collective project of sustainability can direct people to seek more sustainable ways of performing everyday

practices. Notably, collective projects do this for multiple practitioners at once. At the same time, collective projects also compete with each other, with some projects gaining dominance over others (Shove et al., 2012, p. 79). To give an example, Silje considered it the new normal to care about climate change and said that she thinks her friends and family are similar to her in the way they think about climate change and sustainability.

> Silje, age 36: Like, I think everyone in my circle is very similar on this thing with the environment, that … I don't know anyone who's fanatic about it […] And I do know there are some people that are very, very, very concerned with it. That don't live what I consider a normal life because they are so concerned about it. […]
> Johanne: So, when you think about your friends and family in relation to this, you think that you are, all of you are more mainstream when it comes to it? But that what is mainstream now is to be concerned about it?
> Silje: Yes, that is at least how I perceive it.

What Silje said in this quote indicates that she and those around her are directed by the collective project of sustainability to be concerned about climate change and the environment. However, she thought that some people end up 'caring too much' and become "fanatics". This can be interpreted to mean that Silje may prioritize other things over the collective project of sustainability. She said that the people she perceived as 'fanatics' do not 'live normal lives', indicating that her version of normalcy, and what aspects of everyday life she values most, may conflict with the collective project of sustainability. Importantly, this is Silje's experience, but the collective project of sustainability may influence other practitioners in different ways.

In the following, I will provide some examples that further inform what the informants meant when they said that "everyone is talking about climate change now". Who do they mean by "everyone"? What exactly are people saying? What do the informants say themselves? And how do these sayings influence them in their everyday lives? Furthermore, does it indicate a real concern for the environment among the general public, or does it instead reflect new social conventions and trends that define climate change as something you *should* care about? If so, how far do trends go in shaping sustainable everyday practices? And how do such trends stand up to established political and cultural structures? These questions are explored through discussions of sustainability as a trend, the socio-political realm, and an experienced difficulty to engage with climate change and sustainability.

5.1.1 Sustainability is becoming trendy

One idea that stood out in the interviews was that sustainability and choosing what is considered climate-friendly alternatives is becoming 'trendy'. The informants said that it is "'in' with the times to be sustainable", particularly buying used things or owning an electric car. Also, when shopping for new things, they believe that people have begun to prefer things made from more sustainable materials. Jan (age 59) said: "Yes, it has become a bit 'in' […] and it is becoming more and more of it … those second-hand markets, they are increasing now. It is becoming more and more popular". In Norway, reports show a steady increase in recent years of people choosing to buy second-hand clothes and furniture from websites such as Finn.no and Tise, and second-hand stores like Fretex and Uff (Finn, 2022). In a report commissioned by Finn from 2022, they found that one in four Norwegians have bought a second-hand item among their ten latest clothing purchases, which was a 20 percent increase from 2019 (Finn, 2022; Rustad, 2022). However, a report by SIFO investigating Norwegian clothing consumption found that the respondents had on average acquired 23.5 new clothing items over the past year, and that only 1.3% of these items were acquired as second-hand items (Laitala & Klepp, 2020, p. 40). Furthermore, the authors note that it is difficult to say whether more second-hand purchases result in fewer new purchases, or if those who buy second-hand do this on top of new purchases (Laitala & Klepp, 2020, p. 41).

Fretex reports that they see an increase in people interested in second-hand shopping and that they have reached new customer groups over the past few years (Finn, 2022). Shove et al. (2012) discuss how the element of meaning in a given practice can become re-classified (p. 55). Trond believed that buying something from Fretex had previously been associated with poverty, and that it was a bit shameful, but now, he thought people proudly buy things second-hand because it is associated with being good for the environment, indicating a change in the social and symbolic meanings attached to this practice.

> Trond, age 59: Many are concerned with, like, this with re-use has become very 'in'. At least second-hand stores and-, and that is kind of, I think, like, it isn't embarrassing to say that you have bought something used anymore, because it's like, yes: "it's good for the environment".

A recent study from Australia exploring consumer orientations among second-hand shoppers found that frequent second-hand shoppers are now more often motivated by style-consciousness than before (Evans et al., 2022, p. 9). They find this particularly interesting as it signifies a shift from previous research showing that style-conscious consumers perceived second-hand stores as less attractive compared to other store types. Another interesting finding was that a larger

portion of frequent second-hand shoppers are motivated by style-consciousness, not ecological-consciousness (although this is still a factor among many frequent second-hand shoppers) (Evans et al., 2022, p. 10). In this way, a practice associated with sustainability is now also associated with being 'cool' or 'stylish'. These studies, and the informants' observations indicate that the practice of buying second-hand items has been reclassified from a sign of poverty and economic need to signifying environmental concern, trend, and sense of style.

Another example of how sustainability is associated with trends is in the increase of electric car purchases in Norway. In 2021, 65 percent of all private car purchases were all-electric vehicles (Bråthen, 2023). Trond (age 59) said: "Some people have probably bought an electric car because it gives status and is a bit exciting". He thought that electric cars have become a status symbol and are something that everyone wants to own. In a 2019 study of Nordic perceptions of electric vehicles, a theme highlighted by the researchers was a shift in status of electric vehicles from being perceived as a "work in progress" to becoming cool and "the sick thing to have" (Kester et al., 2019, p. 285). In this way, electric car purchases are not only motivated by environmental concerns but have gained popularity on other grounds as well. Such factors begin to influence people's purchases much in the same way that other trends influence you to wear your hair a certain way or buy a specific brand of shoes. Nonetheless, the history of electric vehicles' increased popularity is closely intertwined with increased concern for the environment and the pursuit of more sustainable ways of living in contemporary society. For instance, to reduce GHG emissions from the transport sector, Norway has implemented a number of economic incentives for people to purchase electric vehicles. This has likely had a significant impact on their popularity in Norway. Trond also gave a second example of how a new technology has gained popularity and status. He talked about competitions among people who have installed solar panels on their roofs:

> Trond, age 59: Those who installed the solar panels here, they said that it was very common that private customers want more solar panels than their neighbor. Not because it is financially right […] [But because] it is prestigious and gives a little status.

Here too, the solar panels come to represent not only an act of sustainability, but a perceived increase in social status. In addition, electric car purchases and solar panel installations are also influenced by economic factors. This adds to the status-perspective since these choices are only available to those who have the money to spend on it. I will get back to these factors in chapter 6, where I discuss factors that influence the informants' sustainability performances.

Associated with this idea that sustainability is becoming trendy, is the notion that young people show particular interest in the climate change issue and that they are especially interested in sustainable alternatives. There is a perception among the informants that the younger generation will initiate new, more sustainable ways of doing. They believed that the younger generations care more, and know more, about climate change than older generations. Andreas talked about how he thought that all members of the younger generation appear to show concern for the climate, even if they belong to subcultures that are not typically associated with these ideals.

> Andreas, age 29: And I think that, the generation that is coming now, and which I am probably part of, is much more aware of … the environmental issue, of nature conservation and animal protection, and … simply that of taking care of the planet. That it can make them be a bit more like … like, even if they are 'rånere' or 'ræggere'[3], or that type, they still have some awareness around what it means to take care of nature, or to take care of the planet.

This notion of increased awareness among the younger generation can for example be connected to the Fridays for Future movement led by Greta Thunberg, where teens across the world have gone on school-strike for the climate (see Fridays for Future, n.d.; Boulianne et al., 2020). Some informants interpreted the engagement they see from young people as a current trend in contemporary society, adding that they thought it was promising for future attitudes of sustainability and environmentalism.

> Martin, age 26: But it will probably help with a generational shift too. On everything. Like the climate and environment is 'in' now. It is in with the times. So, the coming generation-, it is possible that they think more about it, than those who have been doing the same old thing for years.
> Helene, age 26: Yes, there is a lot more focus on it now than it was. And there are probably a lot more young people who are much more aware about it now than there was before.

The younger generation has come to represent a cultural turn where more sustainable ways of living are becoming more accepted and, in many instances, preferred over a less sustainable alternative. The informants' observations can be backed by empirical evidence showing that growing attention to sustainability and circular economy, particularly among younger generations, has impacted the fashion industry to include social responsibility and environmental values in their marketing campaigns (Gazzola et al., 2020, p. 15).

Studies also show that even though young people express more concern for the environment and a desire to live more sustainably, their consumer habits are not necessarily more sustainable

[3] This refers to a subculture typically found in rural Norwegian areas where members have an interest in cars and driving their cars for fun.

than other groups. Indeed, factors influencing consumption habits among young people are complex, and their concern for the environment only play a partial role in determining their consumer choices. Young people are also influenced by factors relating to identity, social status, peer pressure etc. which may complicate these choices (Ziesemer et al., 2021, p. 432). In another study, Bugge and Alfsnes (2018) found that young Norwegians were more interested in reducing meat intake than older generations, but that young people nonetheless had a significantly higher meat intake (p. 79). This is an example of what is typically referred to as the 'value-action gap' in psychological approaches to sustainable consumption (Middlemiss, 2018, p. 96). Some informants noted that they had observed such gaps in how young people talk about and perform sustainability in everyday life. Andreas (age 29) thought that young people tended to have a naïve approach to environmentalism, while Stine and Thomas said that their students could act careless in regard to their phones and clothes.

> Stine, age 27: It's like: "But my dad will just buy a new one anyways". And it is often like that with their clothes as well. […] Like, I teach arts and crafts, and [I will say]: "But you will get paint on that" and they reply: "Yes, but that's okay. My dad will buy a new one". "Mom will buy a new one, it's fine".

Regardless of the actual impact the younger generation has in promoting sustainability, it is the informants' belief that they exemplify a cultural turn towards sustainability in contemporary society that is interesting here. Together with the idea that sustainability is trendy, this belief reassured them that the climate change problem will be resolved, and that "we are on the right track". This can be tied to Shove et al.'s (2012) element of competence, which includes background knowledge and understandings (p. 23). When the informants believed young people were more engaged and that this would have a positive effect on future efforts to mitigate climate change, it impacted how they approached sustainability. Although one consequence of this could be that they want to follow the trend, thus enabling sustainability performances in their own lives, another consequence could be that their sense of urgency and personal responsibility is diminished, thus constraining on sustainability performance. Because they viewed the mainstream attitude towards sustainability to be good *enough*, they did not feel they needed to do more.

5.1.2 Climate change in the social and political world

Another aspect of the notion that "everyone is talking about climate change now" is the presence of the climate change topic in media and politics. Some of my informants said that they are constantly reminded of climate change because it is so often mentioned on the news and in

various kinds of media. They thought that this is one of the reasons why more people seem to be aware of climate change today than before.

> Helene, age 26: There is a bigger focus on it in media and … I think that makes people more aware. […] We hear about it all the time really.
> Martin, age 26: Yes, it has become a very big focus. It characterizes the media landscape, if not daily, then weekly.

The informants said that seeing and hearing about climate change or sustainability in the news, in television programs, on social media, or in documentaries on a regular basis increases their awareness of the issue. For instance, Silje (age 36) mentioned some television programs from the Norwegian public broadcast (NRK) (one that was aimed at explaining the consequences of climate change to children and one that was about food waste) that she felt made an impression on her and affected her thinking about climate change. Some informants said that these reminders can influence how attentive they are to sustainability in their everyday activities. As Silje said: "But generally, to be conscious of something and thinking about it makes it so that you want to improve on those matters"

The informants also held a perception that climate change has become a central topic in current political debates, and that 'all' political parties are talking about climate change these days. As a result, they felt that it was less important whether they prioritized climate change as a political topic. Some informants said that they thought climate change will be on the political agenda regardless of what parties hold political power. For some informants, this was used to justify that they deprioritized thinking about the parties' climate politics when casting their vote in the most recent national election. Since all parties have climate change on their agenda, they knew there will be a focus on it in some way or another, no matter who wins.

> Martin, age 26: It probably wasn't the climate-related issues that I looked at, like most thoroughly, when I decided who I would vote for. It was probably other things that were more important for why I landed on what I did. But all parties have to have a climate policy now. And there is a bigger focus on it now, no matter if it's the Center Party (SP) or the Green Party (MDG).

Similarly, some informants said that there was now less of an advantage for parties that had previously had a more prominent climate political agenda than the others. In their perception, there was not really a single party that stood out as better than the others when it comes to the climate issue, except perhaps the Green Party, who stood out as too radical in some informants' opinion.

> Silje, age 36: There wasn't really anyone who didn't mention the climate in some way or another now. Everyone has a focus on it, and so there are no one that stands out. Or, yes, for me the Green Party stands out a bit too much, and then the others are more mainstream.

Trond was of a similar conviction and said that he thought this was a shame since he thought that the Green Party deserved to be more acknowledged for their environmentalism. Especially now that so many want climate change to be on the political agenda.

> Trond, age 59: But I want more for the Green Party, I … now these are only my words: that the Green Party are more complete environmentalists, I think. But they may be, like, too far [out there]. But … [they are] more real environmentalists, I think. And … I would actually wish this would pay off more for them. With the fact that now, suddenly everyone is talking [about the] environment, and that has resulted in that, like, then there was no advantage for the Green Party [anymore].

Trond did not vote for the Green Party either, but what he was saying was that he thinks that voters who do prioritize climate and environmental issues now had other 'acceptable' choices than the Green Party. The interviews were held in the fall of 2021, not long after the previous national election. In the 2021 election, climate change was high on the political agenda, and many expected the Green Party to reach the electoral threshold (Farstad & Aasen, 2022, p. 1). However, the Green Party performed worse than expected and did not reach the electoral threshold. In a 2022-article, Farstad and Aasen explain this outcome as a result of fragmented issue ownership on climate change in the 2021 election. They show that voters who claim the climate issue as their top priority split their votes across several parties, with only 13% voting the Green Party. They further point out that other parties who now score higher on issue ownership on climate change have also had ownership on other issues, and voters seldom vote based on a single issue (Farstad & Aasen, 2022, p. 5-6). This was something that several of the informants talked about as well. They said that climate change was an important political issue for them, but that there were other issues that determined their vote in the end.

In this section I have highlighted a general perception among the informants that the topic of climate change is high on the political agenda and is frequently talked about in different types of media. They believed that this indicates that more and more people are aware of and show concern for the issue, which some interpreted as a sign that "we are headed in the right direction". On the other hand, the perception that "everyone is talking about it" was also used to justify a more lax, or passive, personal approach to the issue. This ties into often discussed questions about how values and knowledge are translated into action, or, more specifically, how they are not. The quotes in this section indicate that the informants had a passive approach to

thinking about climate change and sustainability efforts. In her book, Norgaard (2011) talks about 'denial of self-involvement' as a way in which individuals displace responsibility onto other actors than themselves (p. 44). I argue that this concept can help explain the perceptions highlighted in this section. To apply the practice theoretical framework, Norgaard's concept helps explain the general understandings and teleoaffective structures at play. Because the informants believed that climate change is already being dealt with, they did not see a reason to make any drastic changes to their own lives. The informants talked about seeing a change in how the world around them appears to treat the issue, but without necessarily including themselves as active participants in this change.

5.1.3 Not everyone wants to talk about it

The quotes I have presented so far have mostly shown the informants' positive perceptions of awareness and concern for climate change in the general public, in the sense that they seemed to think that people in general show a good enough level of concern for the issue. However, they also talked about people, either in the general public or in their personal circle, who they thought disagree with the dominant narrative on climate change or who they perceived to not take the issue seriously enough.

> Per, age 57: No, it is probably a bit varied. [Laughs]. There is a span there. A span, yes. There are some that don't. That believe, maybe, that still believe this is just hysteria. That we shouldn't take [action] … there's probably fewer of them though. And then there are people who agree a bit with me. And then there are some who take it a bit further. Who buy electric cars and who fly a bit less, and that part. But I feel that there is a, there were more climate skeptics three years ago to put it like that. People get it eventually.

In this quote, Per talked about climate skeptics as a shrinking group, but he still thought there were some who reject the idea that we should do anything about climate change. Interestingly, Per distinguished himself from both climate skeptics and those who "take it a bit further". This is similar to what Silje (age 36) said about there being some people who have become "fanatics" for the environment. This reveals some complexity in what is considered a 'normal' concern for the environment. Notably, Per mentioned people who buy electric cars and fly less as examples of people who take it further than himself. These are both established steps people can take to reduce their climate impacts, so it is interesting that this falls outside of what Per considered a normal concern for the environment.

Among the informants, there was one who did not believe that climate change was mainly caused by human activity, and thus did not fully agree with the dominant narrative suggested in the beginning of this chapter. Jan said that he was skeptical of this narrative and explained:

> Jan, age 59: [I understand] that we, by burning a lot of fossil fuels, that we maybe affect the climate to some degree. But it is by such a small degree compared to the rest of what is being emitted (he means through other natural causes). And that with the sun's effect on the earth […] I have a strong belief that that is a cause [too]. To the changes that we have. […] So the thing about the climate, I take that as, I am not so focused on it. I am more focused on the environment. That we have to use less, consume less, reduce transport, and reduce overconsumption. Because that is what we are doing now. We take more resources from the planet, than we are able to transfer back.

A recent study found that nearly one quarter (24%) of the Norwegian population does not believe climate change is caused by human activity. This was a considerably higher percentage than in the other countries surveyed (Germany: 18%, UK: 17%, Poland: 16%, Ireland: 11%, and Italy: 10%) (PERITIA, 2022). The findings from this study show that although the majority of Norwegians support the dominant narrative on climate change, there is still a considerable percentage that show skepticism towards this. This is possibly tied to how the public discourse surrounding sustainability has mostly focused on the climate aspect without successfully bringing attention to the strong connections between nature and climate. Climate change is more abstract than other environmental issues, and people may feel alienated because the issue is more difficult to grasp and, consequently, they reject the narrative (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 38). Because of his skepticism, Jan said he is not so concerned about reducing CO2 emissions and said he does not think people need to, for example, drive less for that reason. Interestingly, in the quote above, Jan said that he was more concerned about the environment than climate change and that he was most concerned about issues like excessive resource use and damage to nature. Here, he distinguished 'climate' from 'environment', saying that he was supportive of and concerned about many environmental issues, but not about the climate change issue.

When I first asked Stine and Thomas about what they thought their friends and family's perceptions on climate change were, Thomas' initial reply was: "Do we have to talk about it?" and pointed out that their family members were not the most eager to make changes for the sake of the environment. However, in the conversation that followed they discussed their parents' behaviors a bit more and mentioned examples of them being both climate friendly and not so climate friendly. They did think that their parents would agree with the dominant narrative on climate change, but that the problem was more connected to their willingness to make changes in their everyday lives. Finally, they said that the topic was not something they would really talk to them about.

> Thomas, age 30: It isn't really a topic we talk so much about. It isn't really.
> Stine, age 27: Like, [we don't] sit down at Christmas dinner and go: "Now, climate change, guys? But I think, all of them, they do have an idea about it …

Stine's example illustrates that it is not always appropriate to discuss climate change in certain social settings. This can either be because the topic does not fit in with the teleoaffective structures and meanings associated with the specific situation (family dinner), or because they know that the topic can become uncomfortable, which many people tend to avoid in social situations. In a recent study, people who aim to significantly reduce their consumption were found to experience several barriers connected to maintaining social relations. Among other things, they report that old habits of consumption enjoyed with family or friends are sometimes accepted because of a need to maintain family rituals and preserve social relations (Boström, 2021, p. 392). Although my informants do not have an outspoken agenda to become 'downsizers' or 'anti-consumers', similar conflicts appear in the way they described how they communicate with others about climate issues and sustainability. For instance, Ida said she would avoid the topic altogether in conversation with certain people or in certain social situations, usually because she wanted to avoid a negative consequence of bringing it up.

> Ida, age 36: I talk to some people about it. And then there are others who I don't talk about it with them because I get a little bit the feeling that we really, maybe aren't … that it isn't what they are most concerned with. So … it varies a lot.

To use the language of Schatzki's (2002) 'site ontology', in which social sites are "wider expanse of phenomena" where social activities take place (p. 147), there are certain social sites where talking about and discussing climate change is not what people do, whether it is to preserve established norms or because it is in conflict with the teleoaffective structures that define these sites. In my interview with Kjell (age 79) and Inger (age 75), they talked about how, in their experience, there were more public discussions on climate change in the 70s than there is now, and that the debate today appears more polarized, more often leading to conflict if brought up in social settings. Kjell explained that climate change is not a topic he would bring up in get-togethers at the local community center, and that he thought there are some people he could not discuss the issue with at all.

> Johanne: Do you think it's a bit of an uncomfortable topic?
> Kjell, age 79: Yes, it can be, you know. In some settings. So … you sort of dread taking that discussion, with some people.

Not only does talk of climate change conflict with the teleoaffective structures in these sites, but the informants' experiences also indicate that they lack social sites where this type of talk would be expected. This was a topic in the focus group discussion. They talked about the fact that they felt they lacked an informal arena to discuss climate change with other people in the municipality. This was in fact one of the reasons why they had created the group. That the informants in the focus group expressed this need for a social site where they could talk about and discuss climate change in a non-work-related or informal setting is significant. Social sites are defined by the bundled practices that compose them and have their own sets of teleoaffective structures, rules, and general understandings (Schatzki, 2002, p. 147). What the informants' talked about in these examples implies that the social sites they participate in as part of their everyday lives do not contain elements that enable talk of sustainability and climate change, at least not any serious discussions of it.

What I have attempted to illustrate in this section is that there are differences in how climate change is talked about in various social settings, and in how the topic is treated within different social sites. This makes it so that even though the informants initially believe that people, including themselves, participate in the collective project of sustainability, they experience challenges with realizing this project in different social sites. This could indicate that although the collective project of sustainability can have some powerful effects on what people think about climate change, the more local and personal sites are often shaped by other values, meanings, and motivations that have more power over people's behavior. In this way, people can agree with the dominant narrative on climate change and talk about collective efforts to live more sustainably, and still prioritize other things in specific everyday situations.

5.2 "I wouldn't say that I'm worried"

In each of the resident interviews, I specifically asked the informants if they were worried about climate change. Interestingly, all but one informant said that they were not. When the informants talked about their thoughts on climate change on a general level, they exhibited a level of seriousness and sense of urgency, especially regarding the need for action. This is visible in the quotes presented in the beginning of this chapter. Several informants talked about aspects of climate change that they found worrying, and used words like "scary", "worrisome", and "challenging" when talking about the potential consequences of climate change and the perceived lack of action to mitigate the issue. There are several examples in the previous section where informants said that they were "concerned" about climate change. Even so, when I asked them directly if they were worried, most of them replied that they were not. There seems to be

an important distinction here between talking about an overarching "concern" and direct "worry". It seems that when informants talked about concern, they meant in the sense of "being concerned with" something, like showing interest and placing importance on a given topic. But "worry" was more associated with an emotional response of being anxious or troubled by something, which was not the informants' experience. The response from all but one informant when asked if they were worried about climate change can be summed up with this somewhat reluctant response: "No, I wouldn't say that I'm worried".

They explained that although they see climate change as a serious and worrying topic, they do not go around feeling worried about it in their everyday life. For most informants, there is an element of worry that is brought forward when they actively think about climate change and its consequences, but they did not see it as something that affects them in their everyday lives.

> Martin, age 26: I think I have to admit that I don't go around thinking about it every day. So, like directly, very worried, I wouldn't say that I am. But …
> Helene, age 26: But it is the fact that the temperatures are changing … in a way that we notice it […]. Yeah. [But] I don't worry so much directly no. No.

So, even though their understanding of the climate change issue – as the dominant narrative suggests – was that it is a serious problem with potentially worrisome consequences, they did not *feel* worried. They expressed a general concern, and this enabled support for efforts to mitigate climate change and perform sustainability practices. However, this type of concern has limited influence over practice performances as we zoom in on the individual and their everyday life. When the informants thought about to what extent the climate change issue affects them in their day-to-day life, or whether they feel worried, they tended to talk about other things as more important, and they perceived climate change as too abstract and distant to have a significant effect on their personal life. In this section, I aim to explore these dynamics further.

The distinction between the informants' sense of concern and sense of worry is perhaps most clearly illustrated by Ida. When I asked her about her thoughts about climate change, she immediately replied that she thought it was scary, and that she was a little worried about the consequences it may have in the future. When I asked her what she found scary about it, she replied:

> Ida, age 36: No, well it is, it is the consequences of it. We do see that, yes, people have to flee because … countries are flooded, countries experience drought because of heat, we see animal species that go extinct … of all kinds. Both animals and insects. And one focus is all these, with bees and bumblebees and that they are […] dying. And that has consequences. I don't know exactly how to put my finger on it.

In Ida's case she talked about being worried about the larger consequences of climate change and the impact it may have globally. But she was not worried about any consequences it may have for her, personally. As she explained:

> Ida, age 36: No, I'm not very worried for myself in that sense. Because I am so lucky to live where I live, kind of. So I don't think that I am one of those who will be most affected by it. It is more in a general sense about what will happen eventually if nothing is done about the situation

These quotes illustrate that the most troubling and worrying aspects of climate change can be kept at a distance. It appears that the lack of feelings of worry among my informants is most prominently connected to the perception that the consequences of climate change are distant from themselves.

5.2.1 Too abstract

In addition to psychological distance, the abstract nature of the climate change issue may be another explanation why the informants did not feel worried about it. It can be difficult to grasp or visualize the climate crisis and its effects on people's lives. You cannot see greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and most of people's knowledge about climate change comes from reading or hearing about expert accounts. A common assumption is what is often referred to as the information deficit model, claiming that people would be more engaged in climate mitigation if they were properly informed (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 38). However, a large amount of research from psychology and the social sciences that aim to understand individuals' perceptions of climate change risks find that there are numerous other factors that determine people's understandings and beliefs about climate change and their perception of risk (Hannigan, 2014, p. 154). For instance, studies in psychology have showed that people are less responsive to scientific evidence than they are to emotions and stories (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 38). Images of people in distress after a natural disaster have a more powerful effect on people than graphs and models in a scientific report.

Turning to Schatzki's element of teleoaffective structures as task-project-ends combinations, people perform tasks as parts of bigger projects that are oriented to an overarching goal or end (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80). Also attached to the element of teleoaffective structures are the concepts of motivations and emotions (Welch, 2020, p. 64). The dominant narrative on climate change and the collective project of sustainability shapes the motivations and emotions attached to sustainability practices and creates an overarching goal for a larger social site. Presumably then, an overarching goal of reducing one's carbon footprint (end) should orient efforts to live more sustainably (project) which shape and define sustainable things to do (tasks), like recycling or

reducing their meat consumption. When thinking about climate change in this way, in the large and abstract, it is relatively simple to detect those teleoaffective structures as elements in larger social sites that shape people's doings and sayings towards more sustainable performances. However, when looking at everyday life and specific everyday practices within smaller social sites like people's homes, there are often other teleoaffective structures – like grabbing a hot-dog on the way because you need something quick and easy – that more directly govern people's doings and sayings. In everyday situations, the collective project of sustainability appears more distant. As a result, the teleoaffective structures attached to the dominant narrative on climate change and the collective project of sustainability have a less direct influence over people's actions.

Using a social-psychological model of climate change risk perception that includes experience, affect, norms, values, and knowledge as significant factors, Van der Linden (2015) explores what factors influence people's risk perception. Although knowledge and information do play a part in forming people's risk perception, it is the experiential and socio-cultural factors that is found to be most influential on people's personal sense of risk (Van der Linden, 2015, p. 118-121). When my informants talked about something that has worried them about climate change it was most often connected to a personal experience of some kind. A recurring experience was the summer of 2018, when Norway saw record-breaking temperatures and drought.

> Johanne: I have a question about whether you are worried about climate change?
> Stine, age 27: Well … In some sense, both yes and no … Because … That summer when it was so terribly hot, was it in 2019?
> Johanne: 2018.
> Stine: 2018. Then it was a small nightmare to get a hold of food for the horses. We went from paying 500 kr per haybale to paying 2000 kr, almost. Or, well, it doubled in price anyways. And it was near impossible to get a hold of anything. So … In that way …

That summer was brought up by several informants as an example of something that made them think about the consequences of climate change in a different way, having had an experience of how it might affect them in the future. They also mentioned other noticeable changes they believed were caused by climate change, including differences in the length of the seasons, and noticing that instead of falling off with the first frost, leaves rot on the trees.

Van der Linden (2015) also finds key differences between what he calls societal and personal risk perception, with societal risk perception referring to a perception of risk for society as a whole, and personal risk perception referring to a perception of risk to oneself (p. 120). He finds

that cognitive factors play a role in forming people's sense of societal risk, but not in forming perceptions of personal risk. In this way, people are able to form a general concern for climate change and its consequences based on information and facts about climate change causes, impacts, and response, without perceiving these risks as a personal threat (Van der Linden, 2015, 121). This distinction is summed up well in this quote from Kjell:

> Kjell, age 79: I think the whole situation we are in now (meaning the climate crisis in general) is very demanding, right now. But in the village here we will sail on happily, I think. We are simply lucky, I would say. That is my take on it.

When he thought about the climate crisis as a whole, he thought of it as a very difficult situation with serious and worrying implications for planet and society. But he believed that these consequences have limited relevance for life in Aurskog-Høland, and that the people who live here will be able to continue living more or less like normal. The literature on social-psychological understandings of risk perception and climate change suggests that rather than providing individuals with more information, climate change communication should focus on risk messages that appeal to affective and experiential processing mechanisms by for example making such messages more locally and personally relevant (Van der Linden, 2015, p. 122).

Andreas was the only informant who replied that he was worried about climate change when asked about it. He said he thought it was already too late to prevent some of the more serious consequences of climate change, and he also talked about worrying for his daughter's future.

> Andreas, age 29: Yes. Yes, I am. And … it is … a … as I have understood it, there is a good portion of climate scientists that say that it is already too late. That now we have to adapt to pretty extreme changes. Before it really … Like, it is going to be a good deal worse before it gets better. And when I have a daughter now who's 4 months old, then [I worry] for her future as well.

Even though Andreas was the only one who said he was directly worried about climate change, other informants also talked about worrying aspects or feeling worried about it sometimes, but not all the time. I have noticed some similarities in what could bring on feelings of worry among my informants. Worrying on behalf of future generations was mentioned by several informants, especially when thinking about their own children or grandchildren. The informants also talked about powerful images (either in media, or in their own imagination) like starving polar bears, or people who are forced to flee their countries due to uninhabitable conditions caused by climate change. These are images that in some way provoked powerful emotions and increased their sense of concern or worry about the future.

For most informants, their sense of worry was mostly directed at society in general and potential futures. In other words, their sense of worry remained connected to the abstract and distant. If we apply Van der Linden's (2015) concept of societal risk perception together with Schatzki's concept of social sites, we can see how an individual's perception of risk can be connected to the larger overarching social sites which envelop whole societies, but not specifically to sites containing single individuals or smaller groups. Reckwitz (2017) explains that all practices are affectively tuned in particular ways, meaning that all social order contains some form of affect. However, affects can vary greatly in type and intensity (p. 116-118). Thus, the societal risk perception of climate change, understood as an affect belonging to overarching social sites, influences practice in a general sense. But as we focus on particular everyday practices, the intensity and influence of this affect may not be as strong as other affects belonging to the specific practice. This may explain why the informants say they are concerned about climate change, but that they do not worry about it in their everyday life. In other words, worry about climate change is not an affect that belongs to the practices they perform in their everyday life.

5.2.2 A distant problem

Although Norway will experience some consequences, these are likely to be relatively minor compared to other areas of the world. Several informants said that they did not think they would be directly affected in Aurskog-Høland, at least not in their lifetime.

> Per, age 57: But here in Aurskog-Høland I am not worried about either sea level rise or temperature rise. I wouldn't … but, and maybe not, of course there can be some [consequences] in Norway, but we are, we are living on the, what is it called, the golden branch. We are lucky to live where we live. Either way.

Some scholars use the concept of psychological distance to explain apathy as a response to the climate crisis. In the example above, Per talks about what is called 'spatial distance', which refers to a problem being geographically or spatially far away (McDonald et al., 2015, p. 111-113). He perceives the more worrying aspects of the climate crisis will be experienced in other areas of the world and believes this will not affect him in a significant way.

Another form of psychological distance is temporal distance, which is based on perceptions of an issue being far away in time (McDonald et al., 2015, p. 112). Kjell (age 79) and Inger (age 75), my oldest informants, said that they were not worried at all for themselves, but that they were a bit worried for the generations coming after them. This was mentioned by younger informants as well. I asked Ida whether she thought that the area she lived in would experience any effects of climate change. Her response showed both examples of temporal and spatial distance to the potential consequences.

> Ida, age 36: I assume that there will be consequences. But how quickly they will come I am a bit more uncertain about. And if so, I am also uncertain about what type of consequences. We see that it is becoming milder and wetter. And that will affect, yes, what type of species live here and what produce we can have and those kinds of things. But I don't think that it will firstly affect me in any significant way, here where I am sitting and in the work that I do. Then I think it will likely come a bit further … several generations after me again. […] So, no, I don't think it will affect me in the first place, not to a large extent.

The perception of spatial and temporal distance to the consequences of climate change explains why the informants do not "go around worrying all the time" (Helene, age 26).

These concepts of psychological distance may also explain why, according to my informants, climate change is not talked about that much in Aurskog-Høland overall. In their perception, the population in Aurskog-Høland generally show little public interest in the topic.

> Helene, age 26: I feel like the environment isn't talked about much in Aurskog-Høland. Not in what we read about [in local news].
> Martin, age 26: No, there are certain things that come up. Like the big wind turbine discussion. […] But then the talk is … the arguments are more towards the local population. That they would damage nature and properties and … those possibilities, as opposed to the big environmental- … whether it will be positive for that.

What Martin is getting at here is that he thinks that the only times he hears about something climate related in local media, it is more on the side of opposing suggestions of producing wind power in Aurskog-Høland because it would have negative effects for the people who live here. Other than this, Martin and Helene do not think the topic of climate change comes up much in local newspapers or other local public arenas. This may be because they do not see it as a problem that will affect Aurskog-Høland and is thus not relevant in the local public discourse.

In my interview with Lars, the environmental consultant in the municipality administration, he mentioned that he thought the local politicians and the municipal council were not so concerned about climate related issues, and that people in Aurskog-Høland in general do not treat climate change as a very central topic in everyday life.

> Lars: [It's not very present in our minds]. As a population, or, and then it isn't within the administration here or with the politicians either. But I have seen some changes the past few years. Because then it is like, yes, there are some questions from the politicians now about "we need to do this" and "we need to do that". And then I reply that "but we've already done that".

His point was that, in his experience, the local politicians have not been the most active in discussing climate policies, but that he had noticed that this has been given a somewhat larger

role on the agenda in recent years. Additionally, he thought that the population in general were not the most eager to talk about climate change or think about sustainability in everyday life, and that there was a noticeable difference between city and countryside where people on the countryside are slower to accept new ideas and show more skepticism in the early stages of new trends. However, his experience working with policy initiatives has been that people are mostly positive to these initiatives when approached with them. He just does not think that people in Aurskog-Høland think about it so much in their everyday lives.

5.2.3 There is room (and need) to be optimistic

Finally, some informants did not worry so much about climate change because they saw reason to be optimistic about future mitigation efforts. They said that we are already on the right track in dealing with climate change, evidenced by people's growing concern, sustainability becoming trendy, more focus on sustainable production, and more focus on climate change in media and politics. The following two quotes exemplify this optimism. Silje emphasized that she was optimistic towards the science and awareness that we have today, and that we can focus on the potential within this, while Per was optimistic that we will find technological solutions to mitigate climate change, and that we will eventually manage to phase out the production and use of oil and gas.

> Silje, age 36: But the fact that we have figured out that what we are doing on this planet affects the things around us is not something to be overlooked. And [we should] think that we can actually make a difference and apply that knowledge and … science … to make it better.

> Per, age 57: I think that we … now there is a bit of a focus on this (climate change). And I believe that we, in the long term, will be able to-. So much is happening! On that front. So I believe that we, after a while, maybe in not too many years, we will shut down all the oil pumps and gas and get that out of the world.

The informants that expressed these thoughts do not necessarily mean that everything will be able to continue on as normal, but that society will find solutions that will allow us to carry on with our lives, and that the consequences we do experience will not be too drastic. This is evidenced in numerous quotes where the informants said that they thought they will not be affected in any significant way, or that they will be able to carry on as normal in the municipality.

In addition to finding *reasons* to be optimistic, the informants also expressed a *need* to be. They thought that worrying about climate change in their everyday life would just lead to unnecessary stress and anxiety. As Martin (age 26) put it: "You can't do anything over night anyways". And,

as mentioned in section 5.1, Silje (age 36) said that people should not be 'fanatics' when it comes to environmentalism and sustainability, meaning that people should not let concern for the environment control too many aspects of their life. In her book, *Living in Denial*, Norgaard (2011) writes about the 'social organization of denial' as a collective strategy to deal with difficult emotions. In short, the social organization of denial is a collective tool kit of resources used to distance oneself from disturbing information (Norgaard, 2011, p. 213). The quote "I wouldn't say that I'm worried" is perhaps an example of such strategies in use.

5.3 "Norway is a small country"

The title of this chapter is "Local perspectives on a global problem". Throughout the chapter, I have shown ways in which my informants have made sense of the climate crisis in light of their personal and local experiences. I have discussed their general understanding of the problem and its solutions, and the emotions and motivations attached to it. In this final section, I will discuss how the informants understand personal and national responsibility in the climate change issue, and how they view their own and Norway's role in it. A phrase that frequently appeared when discussing these topics was that "Norway is a small country". This sentence was uttered by several informants, but it had different meanings depending on context and different perceptions about the climate crisis held by the informants. In this section, I will analyze and discuss these different meanings, as well as discuss how these meanings relate to their perceptions of personal and collective roles and responsibilities in dealing with the climate crisis.

5.3.1 Discouragement, apathy, hopelessness

For some informants the notion of Norway being a "small country" induced a sense of hopelessness and a feeling of being small and insignificant compared to the rest of the world. The informants viewed climate mitigation as a global effort requiring international cooperation and coordinated efforts, which reflects the overarching political response to the climate crisis. They emphasized that all nations have a responsibility to achieve the goals and targets set by the Paris Agreement. Some informants included that they thought affluent countries have an added responsibility, both to be climate leaders and to take responsibility for creating a larger share of world-wide emissions.

> Martin, age 26: Yes, no, it is difficult. I think it is international. It requires … It requires a good cooperation. But how it will happen, I don't know.
> Helene, age 26: But also us rich, the rich countries, have a greater responsibility than the poor countries.

Many informants were convinced that Norway's emissions are small compared to other countries. This was largely based on total emissions, where Norway's small population size contributes to a low number compared to countries with larger populations.

> Jan, age 59: Yes, well, it doesn't amount to anything. Like, […] it's like the mouse pissing in the sea, like it doesn't help any. […] And if there was one country in the world, or two, that should be driving electric cars then that is China and India, right? Where there are so many people. Like, in Norway there are … like 5 million people? In India there are 50.

For some informants, thinking about the global cooperation necessary to stop climate change led to a feeling of hopelessness, both being so difficult to achieve, and something that they had little control over. A common way of thinking was that no matter what we are able to achieve within Norwegian borders, we cannot control the emissions of other countries. This seems to be based on an idea that the world's largest countries have a greater potential for reducing total global emissions than Norway does, if they manage to make changes in their population's consumption patterns. However, as discussed in chapter 2, emissions are most commonly calculated with territorial-based methods, which provides a different basis for understanding the potential for emission reductions through changes in Norwegian consumption patterns, and consequently shape the informants' perceptions presented here. When the informants think that Norwegian emissions play a small role compared to the global scale, they tend to devalue their own sustainable efforts, because single actions appear insignificant in light of the bigger picture.

> Silje, age 36: But again, little Norway doesn't make much of a difference in the global context. […] That is something I think about a lot. That it doesn't help that I recycle light bulbs and bananas, in a way, if the rest of the world isn't following.

Silje followed up this statement by saying that she still does recycle most of her waste, but the quote illustrates the role that affect can play in practices. If individuals believe that their actions do not matter, it influences their motivation to do them. This especially applies to sustainability practices that demand more effort to participate in, or that are not already established in people's everyday life. Affects vary in type and intensity and can exist as part of single practices or as part of larger constellations like bundles or social sites (Reckwitz, 2017, p. 120). Reckwitz (2017) explains that practice bundles have multiple ways to direct attention towards phenomena relevant to a practice, and that affects play a crucial role in these processes (p. 120). Discouragement and hopelessness are strong negative affects, and the informants expressed that these emotions prompt a "why bother?"-attitude towards sustainability practices that seem more difficult to perform. The reason why Silje still recycles most of her waste might be because

recycling has become an established practice in Norwegian society and is thus easy to perform, or it may be because recycling also carries meanings other than reducing emissions, like preventing wastefulness or recognizing the value in recycled materials.

5.3.2 Norway as climate leader

When the informants talked about their perspectives on Norway's role in the climate crisis, some informants talked about Norway as a "climate leader". They believed that Norway had a strong climate policy, and that they generally performed better than most other countries on reaching climate targets.

> Johanne: How do you perceive future developments (in climate change mitigation). Like, are you optimistic? Are you …
> Martin, age 26: On Norway's part I believe a lot is being done.

This perception was often accompanied by an attitude among the informants that affluent Western countries have a greater responsibility to achieve climate targets, an attitude that mirrors the discussion in section 2.1. This notion was both understood as a way to set an example for poorer nations, and to take responsibility for driving up emissions in the first place.

The statement "Norway is a small country" came up in multiple interviews, but not always as a reason to feel discouraged. Helene (age 26) emphasized that Norway has more opportunity to succeed with climate policies, because they have the money to spend on it, and because the population is small enough for change policies to take hold. Similarly, several informants believed that Norway could take on a role as a kind of climate leader in international climate politics. They still emphasized that this is a global effort, but believed that Norway could be singled out as a nation with superior knowledge on climate mitigation, and successful climate policies for other countries to learn from. In the quote below, Silje answered a question about who she thought is responsible for dealing with climate change:

> Silje, age 36: I think that … yes. I mean, first of all, I think it is the world community together. And it is important that those who govern in Norway tell those [countries] who have the highest emissions that they also need to do something. And then I think that it goes straight down to individuals after that.

Similarly, Martin emphasized that someone has to take leadership in the international response to climate change. And that policies have little effect if they are not implemented everywhere. He thought that the more affluent countries have a chance to take on this type of leadership:

> Martin, age 26: [Climate policies] have to crisscross everywhere. It is no help with 5 million people, yes, it must happen everywhere. For it to make a difference, I think. But it is difficult to put the responsibility

> on someone, but there is probably, there is someone who needs to lead. Say, the large, the rich and largest countries. If they start, and then others follow.

Several informants perceived Norway's climate policies as good compared to other countries, and also believed that Norwegian production is generally cleaner and has a higher quality than production in most other countries. They had a higher level of trust towards Norwegian products and said they often looked for Norwegian-made products when shopping.

> Inger, age 75: We use Norwegian food. As much as we can. Norwegian-produced. Yes. It happens that we buy something else, but then there wasn't a Norwegian-made option.

> Ida, age 36: Preferably produced in Norway. I buy products that are made and produced in Norway, preferably. Both because, here, I know that, at least considering animal welfare, there is relatively high standards. At least if you choose the organic. But also because you save on transport.

In a recent article exploring public concerns about animal welfare, they link such concerns to public trust in institutions. They find that the generally low levels of public concern for animal welfare among the Norwegian public can be explained using the concept of 'a veil of trust' through which the Norwegian public view meat production institutions (Kjærnes et al., 2022, p. 777). In short, the Norwegian public has a high level of trust towards Norwegian institutions and, because of this, public concern for animal welfare does not appear to be necessary. The social dynamics created by such a 'veil of trust' can also explain my informants' trust towards Norwegian climate policy and Norwegian-made products. Others highlighted Norwegian energy production, stating that Norwegian energy is clean energy. "As long as we use Norwegian-produced energy, then that is at least fine enough. That is favorable. Or, it doesn't make the climate situation worst at least" (Kjell, age 79). This is a fairly common assumption about Norwegian energy among the Norwegian public (see Winther & Ericson, 2012, p. 377).

These examples, along with the perspective on Norway as a "climate leader", contribute to an idea of being "good enough" when it comes to sustainability in everyday life. Norgaard (2011) writes about how the Norwegian identity helps construct narratives about Norway's role in the climate crisis. She highlights idealized narratives of Norwegian culture and identity that shape people's sense of self, including a strong connection to nature and rural life, ideas of simplicity, and Norwegian egalitarianism and humanitarianism. One effect of such narratives is that they obscure perceptions of actual lifestyle, politics, and economic decisions that contribute to global warming, leading to perceptions that "we are not so bad" (Norgaard, 2011, p. 145; 175). This was something that Lars, the environmental consultant, talked about. He said that he often encountered an attitude among people living in Aurskog-Høland that they already live

sustainably, and that there is no need to do more, because what they do (how they normally live their lives) is already good enough.

5.3.3 Confronting accountability

The ideas and perceptions about Norway's role in the climate crisis fit well with the narrative promoted by the Norwegian government, which was discussed in the background chapter of this thesis. As discussed in section 2.1, Norway holds a paradoxical position in international climate change response with ambitions to appear as a climate leader, but at the same time being one of the largest producers and exporters of oil and gas. Some informants talked about the disparity between Norway's outward climate profile, and the high levels of consumption Norwegian citizens are responsible for. Martin remembered something that was said in a seminar at his work about how the average lifestyle in Norway produces a lot of emissions.

> Martin, age 26: They said that if everyone in the world had lived as an average Norwegian, then we would need three planets or something like that. So, you have to take a look at yourself a little bit. You can see that. But it depends if Norway is a bit ahead of the times, and I don't know how long it will be before other countries join in. That trend. At least some countries. China and others …

The trend that Martin referred to here was a general awareness about climate change in the Norwegian population and the use of electric vehicles and a well-functioning recycling system. Helene (age 26) responded to what he said saying that Norway, and other wealthy nations, has the ability to do those things, and therefore *should*. Other informants emphasized that Norwegians do have unsustainable lifestyles and they thought Norway should take greater accountability for this and for the oil they produce. Thomas (age 30) said: "We often have a focus on China as the bad guy. But in reality, Norway is a lot worse than China". He talked about how calculations presented in e.g. news articles often used numbers that show comparisons of countries' total emissions. He thought this was unfair as it did not highlight per capita emissions, which he believed would present a worse image of Norwegian emissions.

Before I move on, I want to comment on the countries highlighted by the informants as examples of high emitting, or who they otherwise thought perform poorly in climate mitigation. Norgaard (2011) also talks about perceptions among her informants connected to the idea that "Norway is a small country". In her book, the informants typically compare Norway to the US, highlighting Americans as high-level consumers and using them as an example of what *not* to do (p. 166). Interestingly, my informants do not mention the US, but talk about China or India instead. China is the country that is most often mentioned as one of the worst emitters, followed by India and some also mention Africa in these contexts without being more specific. China is

the highest emitting country in the world based off territorial calculations, followed by the US and India (Global Carbon Atlas, n.d.). However, this is based on total emissions, not considering per capita emissions. If we look at the per capita share of these emissions, China jumps down to being the 40th top emitter in the world, and Qatar becomes the number one emitter (Global Carbon Atlas, n.d.). This was something that Thomas (age 30) saw as an important factor when this is discussed publicly, and something that he thought was not given enough attention. "It's unfair to take a country like China, that has such a big population, and say that they are the worst. Yes, they are worst as a nation, but per capita they are not the worst at all."

Some informants also thought that Norway should accept accountability for how oil production contributes to global warming.

> Jan, age 59: Yes, we have a responsibility there. We pump up a lot of oil, and use a lot of resources on that. So we have a responsibility of course. But I do not think we have a larger responsibility than other equivalent countries.

Accepting responsibility for the role Norwegian oil production plays in driving global emissions was brought up by several informants. Some connected this to recognizing the privileged position they had gained from this venture and comparing it to the damage felt by others. They viewed questions of continued oil production as a justice issue and stressed that this is something we should be held accountable for.

> Andreas, age 29: No, I … I imagine that we have to do something about the oil industry. […] That there will be put a stop to looking for oil, simple as that. Because when they say: "No, we will keep producing oil in the unforeseeable future", and then we still, kind of, keep making society more green. And more environmentally friendly. That's like, that's two things that don't go together. Because … it's so lucrative to keep going with oil that … yeah. It isn't something that will go away on its own, unless we take drastic measures and say that now, enough is enough.

The quotes in this section and the previous section represent understandings and competences connected to the climate crisis and sense of responsibility. Notably, the informants talked about conflicting narratives, with, on the one hand, a narrative about Norway as a climate leader, and, on the other, a narrative about Norway as one of the world's top emitters. The informants expressed that some of the conflicts between these narratives could be uncomfortable to think about and accept, in turn leading to feelings of uncertainty and apathy.

These conflicting understandings exist at the same time and consequently push and pull the informants' practice performance in different directions. They shape the affective structures of practices by informing what makes sense to do (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 187). For example,

the notion that Norway is already doing a good job leads to a more lax attitude towards putting in personal effort. On the other hand, informants who had been confronted with the information about Norway's high consumption rates became more reflexive about the role Norwegians (or themselves specifically) could play in reducing worldwide emissions. In this way, we begin to see how such understandings can shape the performance of sustainability practices in everyday life. Simply put, informants who believe that their sustainable actions will not make a difference, are likely to think that it does not make sense to put extra effort into doing them.

5.4 Chapter summary and discussion: Perceptions of agency and responsibility

In this chapter, I have explored the informants' perspectives on climate change, sustainability, and how they view individual and collective responsibility in responding to climate change. This has revealed interesting conflicts between different teleoaffective structures and general understandings that connect to the informants' perceptions and beliefs about the climate crisis in relation to other aspects of their everyday lives. Most notably, the chapter revealed the presence of a dominant narrative on climate change that shaped an attitude among the informants that climate mitigation is important, and that it is worthwhile to make efforts to live more sustainably. However, the informants seemed to only hold these attitudes at a more distant and abstract level and the narrative appeared to be in conflict with general understandings related to their perceptions of risk, who holds responsibility, and beliefs about Norway's performance on climate mitigation targets relative to other countries and teleoaffective structures resulting from these understandings. These conflicts are expressed in feelings of hopelessness, an idea that "it doesn't really matter what I do", and a belief that we are already on the right track to achieve climate mitigation targets.

Finally in this chapter, I discuss the informants' perceptions and understandings of responsibility in climate change mitigation and performing sustainability, which builds on the findings explored in the previous sections. The findings show that the informants experience some difficulty balancing conflicting ideas surrounding individual and collective agency and responsibility in the global effort to mitigate climate change. As shown in section 5.3, the informants experience feelings of discouragement, apathy, and hopelessness when considering the scale and complexity of the climate crisis, which have led to a notion that the significance of individual actions is limited. Furthermore, they experience difficulties confronting uncomfortable topics, like Norway's unsustainable consumption habits and the fact that Norwegian wealth is built on oil. These understandings led to conflicting perceptions of how

they think they should view their own role in the global climate mitigation effort, and how they treat their sense of responsibility in continuing unsustainable practices.

The topics in section 5.1 and 5.2 can, in light of this, be understood as 'strategies' to deal with troubling or difficult information (Norgaard, 2011, p. 213). In section 5.1, I argued that the informants see sustainability as a collective project, and that they think being concerned with climate change and sustainability is becoming a normal thing in today's society. This led to a perception that society, as a collective, is already on the right track to mitigate climate change, a reassuring thought in contrast to the difficult emotions expressed in section 5.3. Section 5.2 implies another strategy, where the informants, in different ways, argue that worrying about climate change is unnecessary. By thinking that the impacts of climate change will not affect them and that they "can't do anything overnight anyways" the informants are able to keep the worrying aspects of climate change at a distance.

Although these strategies give an overarching impression of how the informants make sense of and engage with climate change and sustainability, there are variations in how they come to view questions of agency and responsibility. I have identified a significant distinction in their perceptions of agency and responsibility, which divides the informants into two groups. The first group, consisting of Per, Jan, Martin, Kjell, Thomas and Andreas emphasized that responsibility mainly lies with the structural and political level, arguing that changes towards more sustainable ways of living must first and foremost be initiated and facilitated for by the government. This group talked more about the importance of political and structural means that could ensure collective efforts. They emphasized the role of policies and political projects in dealing with climate change. Both through rules and regulations that target industries, organizations, and infrastructures, but also rules and regulations that target individual behavior, so that everyone is expected to put in the same efforts to live their lives more sustainably. Although they also talked about the importance of structural influences, the other group, consisting of Silje, Ida, Stine, Helene, Trond, and Inger placed more emphasis on how they could contribute to climate mitigation by making sustainable choices in everyday life.

I view this distinction as closely connected to understandings of power. Watson (2017) explains that power is a largely unspoken aspect of practices that is best understood as power relations existing in and between practices and their arrangements (p. 181). With this, he refers to the relationship between practices-as-entities and practices-as-performance. As entities, practices shape human action by prescribing what makes most sense for people to do in a given situation. At the same time, it is only through the performance of a practice that its power relations have

an effect. Finally, these power relations are always a result of innumerable moments of practice leading up to the performance in question. As for understanding the power of larger social phenomena, we need to understand how practices are related to each other across different sites. Part of this is recognizing how the elements linking practices and arrangements together influence the performance of a single practice (Watson, 2017, p. 181). Applying this conceptualization of power to understanding the informants' different perspectives on agency and responsibility in climate mitigation, we can bring attention to how the interactions between the general understandings connected to society as a social site, i.e. the dominant narrative, and those connected to the home and the everyday create relationships of power that shape the informants' sustainability performance.

I discuss these relationships through a few illustrative examples from the data material. As mentioned, some informants were more preoccupied with how they could contribute than others. These informants tended to talk about examples of how they did or could perform sustainability in their everyday lives, as part of the collective project of sustainability. For instance, Helene said that she thought everyone can contribute by doing what they can, and that awareness about climate change and sustainability spreads through individual actions. However, due to the scale and complexity of the climate crisis, she stressed that it was important that everyone contributes to these efforts she saw individual actions as closely connected to, and dependent on, government and policies, which ties back to perceptions of climate change as an abstract and distant problem. She said:

> Helene, age 26: There is a responsibility at the individual level, but I think it needs to be governed by … those who govern the country has to, maybe … be … have clear and precise rules. Or government decisions about how it should be solved. And then we need to follow them.

In this way, she believed there was a dual relationship between individual actions and changes to policies at the structural level. Individuals have power in that they can choose to follow government recommendations or not, but their choices are limited by what is facilitated for by the government.

In a second example, Trond explained that the way he saw it, there was no point in discussing where emissions happen and who is to blame as it will all affect the global climate either way.

> Trond, age 59: It is easy to trick yourself a bit […] with like … this with carbon credits and a lot of those things. Because it's like, we only have one sky. It's, [he laughs a bit], yes, I think May-Britt Andersen, I think has a … [she sang] "Now I pop your part of the balloon" (Nå stikker jeg hull i ballongdelen din). There is something about, yes, we only have one planet and one sky over that planet, so it, kind of, if there

> is pollution in China, then that is as serious as … […] I live in the belief that it will affect the average temperature on the [whole] planet.

Because he understood responsibility in this way, he thought that everyone should think about how their actions affect the climate, and not debate who (what country) is worse. Furthermore, he criticized climate strategies such as carbon credits because he thought they only displace and obscure responsibility for emissions, without there being an actual reduction. He believed that such strategies could send the wrong message to people, thus highlighting power relations between government narratives and individual beliefs and actions, as well as conflicts between the notion that we are on the right track, and knowledge that current efforts may be inadequate or flawed. Both quotes from Helene and Trond illustrate that even though they put more emphasis on individual agency and their ability to choose more sustainable behaviors, their actions are constrained by factors at the structural and political level.

Finally, those who tended to emphasize government responsibility and changes at the structural level typically talked about the effects of their own actions in a different way. First of all, they tended to talk about policies rather than their own efforts to perform sustainability practices when I asked them open questions about their perceptions of the climate crisis. Per (age 59) said: "I am passionate about implementing policies that are sensible and right". Second, they tended to think that their own actions were less important, weighing individual actions against large, collective phenomena.

> Martin, age 26: I am probably a bit more unsure whether what you do on an individual level … what difference it will make in the bigger picture. When it still is so bad with air traffic and […] Every bit helps in a way, but … I don't know.

And third, they tended to emphasize the importance of having a well-functioning plan for how transitions or transformations to a more sustainable society should be implemented. As Thomas (age 30) said: "I think there needs to be a … a roadmap for when things are going to happen". These perceptions can be tied to the notion that individual efforts are not worthwhile, or do not amount to anything in light of the bigger picture, as discussed in section 5.3.1. Furthermore, they emphasize the notion that climate change is an abstract and distant problem, strengthening the idea that individual actions have limited influence. The tensions explored in this discussion section contribute to an understanding of differences in the informants' attitudes towards personal and collective responsibility and agency in responding to climate change. These differences come into play in the next chapter, where I analyze how the informants' sustainability performance is enabled and constrained through social practice.

6 Performing sustainability in everyday life

In this chapter, we turn to the second sub-question introduced in the introductory chapter. This question reads: How are the informants' perceived ability to perform sustainability enabled and constrained in everyday life? To answer this question, I analyze and discuss how the informants talked about their own sustainability performance. This includes an exploration of what they thought of as sustainable actions in everyday life, whether they said they performed these actions, and their accounts of why they did or did not perform these actions. I analyze and discuss these accounts in light of the practice theoretical framework detailed in chapter 3, paying attention to how practices and their arrangements shape the informants' perceived ability to perform sustainability in their everyday lives. As a reminder, the way I view the performance of sustainability in everyday life is not limited to sustainability practices connected to the household but includes sustainability practices in all social sites that individuals interact with in their daily lives. I also include actions that are not directly related to consumption, but that may influence the sustainability performance of other people. For instance, I include practices like voting and teaching others about sustainability. Importantly, I allow the informants to define their own ideas of sustainable actions, meaning that the sustainability practices I discuss in this chapter are the ones mentioned by the informants.

The previous chapter already introduced some enabling and constraining relationships found in the conflicting general understandings and teleoaffective structures between the dominant narrative on climate change and the informants' ideas and beliefs about individual and collective risk, how they understood Norway's role in climate change response, and how they viewed their own role. I ended the chapter with a discussion of how the informants came to view questions of individual and collective agency and responsibility in responding to climate change. These views become relevant for the research aim in this analysis chapter, as the informants' different understandings of agency and responsibility formed a basis for how the informants approached sustainability in their everyday lives, especially in how they viewed the relative significance of sustainability performances at the individual level. In other words, they shaped the teleoaffective structures relevant to performing sustainability, or what sustainability performances made sense for them to do.

This became visible in what type of solutions to the climate crisis each informant highlighted. Some informants talked more about how individuals could contribute to change, while others believed that changes in consumption patterns depended on government policies and political

leadership. For instance, Ida (age 36) believed that she could play a role in reducing worldwide emissions as a consumer by limiting her consumption of new things.

> Ida: Like that with … yes, that I don't have to buy new things all the time. Not … yes, because […] a good deal of clothes and plastic and things use a lot of energy and water … when it is being produced. So, maybe, by buying less, then less things will have to be produced. […] If everyone, this sounds trivial, but if everyone contributes, then it will help.

That said, she, and the others who held similar perceptions, still thought that political action was needed, and, in particular, that policies should focus on making sustainable actions easier in everyday life. On the other hand, those who believed that change depends on policies argued that efforts to reduce emissions from individuals at the household level could only be meaningful if they were regulated by the government through policies etc., because then it would ensure that more people participate in them.

> Andreas, age 29: I don't think that we are able to solve the climate crisis, I mean the consumers and the industries together, we can't solve the climate crisis. We need clear political governance. And … governance that sort of forces the industries to make drastic choices. Or take drastic measures. To kind of … save the planet.

These differences in how the informants viewed the role of individual agency led to differences in how they engaged with sustainability in their everyday lives. Naturally, there were several perceptions and ideas about performing sustainability that were shared by both groups, but I argue that the distinction presented here explains a fundamental difference in the way that the informants approached their own role in responding to climate change, shaping their motivations to perform sustainability practices. This distinction is summed up well in this interaction between Helene and Martin, who lived together and had different perceptions on individual agency:

> Helene, age 26: I think that, and we are a bit different there, but that we all can join in and contribute. And that we, yes, that we can contribute with what we can.
> Martin, age 26: I don't disagree, really. But I am a bit more … skeptical as to whether what you do on an individual level-, what that amounts to in the bigger picture. When there is still so bad with air traffic and … yeah. […] Every bit counts in a way, but … I don't know.

However, the informants' understanding of agency and responsibility in relation to the climate crisis was not the only factor that influenced their sustainability performance, nor did it seem to determine whether the informants performed a sustainable action or not. To understand why this is, and what other factors influenced sustainability performance, Schatzki's (2002) understanding of the relationship between practices and agency may be useful here. He writes

about agency, using the concept of 'prefiguration': "Agency makes the future within an extant mesh of practices and orders that prefigures what it does – and thereby what it makes – by qualifying paths before it" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 210). In other words, practices and their arrangements condition what paths human action may take. He further explains that they do this through relationships of enablement and constraint, and stresses that these relationships are not absolute phenomena, but susceptible to change. Finally, actions always depend on multiple enabling and constraining factors at once (p. 211-216). In this way, 'prefiguration' is a notion that expresses "[t]he multitudinous ways that the mesh of practices and orders makes courses of action easier, harder, simpler, more complicated […] physically impossible or possible and feasible or unfeasible" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 225). Relationships of enablement and constraint are found within the mesh of practices that constitute and connect social sites, and these qualify paths that human action may take. They do not, however, determine human action, as there are always numerous paths that are made possible (Schatzki, 2002, p. 225-233). I will apply this understanding to analyze how the arrangement of practices can be said to have shaped the informants' sustainability performance. This contributes to a better understanding of how the informants approached sustainability in everyday life. The chapter follows the same structure as the previous chapter, introducing three themes that represent a common or shared sentiment found in the data material. These serve as starting points to discuss relationships of enablement and constraint shaping the informants' sustainability performances in everyday life.

6.1 "We do what we can"

A phrase that frequently came up in the interviews was "we do what we can". It was something the informants said when asked about how they engaged with sustainability in everyday life. What this statement represented was closely related to the understanding of sustainability as a collective project. They believed that everyone agrees that climate change should be dealt with, and that people generally put in a collective effort to contribute in the ways that they can. As Jan (age 59) said: "I know that everyone has a focus on it. We do what we can all of us. If we are told to recycle something, we do it". In some ways, the idea that "we do what we can" represents a general understanding that enabled sustainability performance because it normalizes and justifies sustainable ways of doing (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 195). It represents a belief that it is normal to do things that are considered sustainable, and that it is something that people already do. This shaped the teleoaffective structure of doing sustainability and motivated the informants to participate in the same way they believed others do.

At the same time, the idea could also constrain sustainability performance. Behind the sentiment was also a belief that their sustainability performance was "already good enough" or "as good as it can be". This belief was something that Lars, the environmental consultant, said he encountered often when trying to promote new sustainable initiatives in the municipality.

> Lars: The negative part is […] a kind of attitude that what we are doing [already] is so good that we don't have to do anything [more]. […] I dare to say that that is a common perception [here]. That, among us "Aurskog-Hølanders", that we, like, [we say]: "We are [already] environmentally friendly".

He said that it could be a challenge to convince people to participate in sustainable projects when they had this attitude. In the case of my informants, the idea can be seen as a justification for not engaging further with sustainability practices, and to say that they were content with their own efforts to act sustainably.

For instance, several informants came to contradict their own belief that they do the best that they can by saying that they "could probably do better" or mentioning specific sustainability practices that they did not think they were good at doing. This contradiction between "I do what I can" and "I could probably do more" sometimes came up within a single response. For instance, Silje (age 36) said: "I think there are surely things that I can become better at, and … At the same time, I feel that … I think about [sustainability], and then I feel that this is the best I can do right now. To contribute in our way". Looking closer at this quote, we can highlight some interesting aspects in the way Silje talked about this. First, she said that she thought about sustainability in her everyday life, and therefore thought she and her family did as many sustainable things as possible. This can be connected to the prevalent idea in climate policy work that increased awareness about climate change and sustainability will lead to more sustainable behaviors (Middlemiss, 2018, p. 76). In a way, Silje believed that having the right attitude and thinking about sustainability would lead to her performing more sustainability practices. However, as research on the 'value-action gap' has shown, the relationship between actions and behaviors is more complicated (Middlemiss, 2018, p. 97). Second, she said that she does the best she can right now, and that she and her family contribute in their way. With this, she indicated that she believed there are factors that shape her ability to perform sustainability, and that these are specific to her situation. This notion of personal ability to perform sustainability practices was suggested by several informants. They talked about different factors that made it either easier or more difficult for them to perform certain sustainability practices. Interestingly, what these factors were, and how they impacted their performance varied between the informants. Applying the 'site ontology' (see chapter 3), I explore these factors further.

6.1.1 Sustainability practices in everyday life

The informants were not unfamiliar with thinking about how they could implement more sustainable behaviors in their everyday lives. They gave several examples of practices that they associated with sustainability that they performed as part of their day-to-day activities. The informants talked about performing sustainability in multiple areas, or across social sites, associated with everyday life. *Table 1* on the next page provides an overview of the sustainability practices associated with what I call the 'household site' that the informants (not including the focus group) said they performed. I define the household site to include practices related to the material organization of the household and the day-to-day activities performed by the household members as part of, or in close connection to, practices performed in people's homes. I also include sustainable mobility practices, which are closely connected to many practices performed in the household, and which in many ways link the household to other social sites. In the table, the practices are grouped into six categories and the far-right column, labeled "number of households", indicates how many informants said they performed each practice. I count households because I have, in some interviews, interviewed two people from the same household. Important to note is that the table only shows what sustainability practices the informants mentioned themselves and should not be read as a representation of how many performed each practice. For instance, Per did not mention recycling, but that does not necessarily mean that he does not recycle. What the table does show is the variety of sustainability practices mentioned, and an indication of how common those practices were.

Four categories stood out as the most talked about sustainable household practices in the interviews. These were recycling, reducing food waste, car use, and reducing new purchases. These were practices that the informants thought of as relatively normal sustainability practices to perform, and they would justify and explain why they did or did not perform these. By applying the practice theoretical framework detailed in chapter 3, I analyze and discuss how the informants' performances of these practices are enabled and constrained by an organized nexus of practices that in sum prefigure their day-to-day activities.

6.1.2 Performing sustainability in practices

I begin with an analysis of how the elements of everyday practices enabled or constrained the informants' sustainability performances. To reiterate, I apply a combination of Schatzki (2002) and Shove et al.'s (2012) definitions of the elements that compose practices as detailed in section 3.4.1. In the following, I show how the informants' sustainability performances were shaped by relationships of enablement and constraint found in elements of practice through

some illustrative examples. The analysis is based on descriptions of how the informants perceived certain sustainability performances as more or less compatible with the practices they performed as part of the ordinary accomplishment of everyday life (Yates, 2022, p. 149).

Table 1: Household practices associated with sustainability

Category	Practice	Number of households
Reducing food waste	Planning dinners and shopping trips	4
	Eating/using leftovers	5
	Using ingredients they already have	4
Reducing car use	Doing more in one trip	3
	Carpooling	2
	Using public transport regularly	1
	Using public transport occasionally	5
	Home office/online meetings	2
	Cycling	3
	Walking	2
	Ordering groceries through Oda	1
Sustainable purchasing	Own electric car	2
	Plan to buy electric car	3
	Organic produce	2
	Secondhand	5
	Accepting hand-me-downs	1
	Prefer local products	4
	Prefer quality products	1
	Prefer products made from natural materials	2
Energy consumption	Turning down heating	2
	Turning off lights	1
	Replacing old wiring	1
	Running full loads of laundry	1
Energy choices	Solar panels	1
	Wood chip burner	1
	Ground source heat pump	2
Other	Recycling	5
	Reduce purchases	6
	Reduce meat consumption	3
	Repairing things that are broken/ maintaining equipment	3
	“Using up” old cars	4
	Making own produce in kitchen garden	1
	Bee friendly flowers/avoid cutting grass	2

First of all, the informants gave examples of how their sustainability performances were enabled and constrained by factors relating to the material element of practice. Material elements represent components of the physical world that are used in practices (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23). A central topic in the interviews was emissions stemming from car use. On this topic, several informants talked about making a switch from fossil cars to electric cars, which, as discussed in section 5.1.1, is understood as an increasingly normal and 'trendy' thing to have. It is also part of Norway's climate action plan as a means to cut emissions in the transport sector (Meld. St. 13 (2020-2021), p. 63). However, only two informants currently own an electric car, Ida (age 36) and Andreas (age 30). Several informants said they plan for their next car to be electric (see *Table 1* above), but some informants did not consider it an option. As an object in use, the car itself is part of the material elements of driving practices (Ryghaug & Toftaker, 2014, p. 157). The material aspects of electric cars, compared to those of fossil cars, become factors in the informants' decision to make this switch. The informants talked about factors like size, driving range, and whether the electric powered engine was strong enough to perform practices associated with their way of life. For instance, Helene (age 26) and Martin (age 26) lived on the top of a steep gravel road that gets icy in the winter and said they needed a car that would be able to get up that hill. Stine (age 27) and Thomas (age 30) kept horses and said they needed a car that would manage to pull a horse trailer. Ryghaug and Toftaker (2014) write that driving has become "a mundane everyday practice that has sunk into our technological unconsciousness and become automatic and trivial" (p. 157). The introduction of electric cars, with somewhat different material qualities and "user scripts" (like charging instead of getting gas) than fossil cars, prompt practitioners to consider the material qualities and limitations more carefully than they do with fossil cars (Ryghaug & Toftaker, 2014, p. 157).

Importantly, for the informants who were hesitant to make the switch to an electric car, their concerns were based on the factors mentioned above in combination with concerns about cost. Indeed, factors influencing electric car purchases in Norway is found to be a combination of whether it meets people's needs, availability of models, and concerns about battery life, charging infrastructures, and total cost (Figenbaum, 2022, p. 3). Helene and Martin were sure that there were electric car models that could fit their needs, but they did not think they could afford them. Martin said that an electric car would need to be: "both cheaper and […] compatible with bad gravel roads. So, [I think] that can happen. But … the options for electric cars at the moment don't match our needs". Questions of justice regarding factors such as accessibility and affordability of electric cars have been raised by scholars who take on a more

critical view of policies focused on transitions to low emission vehicles. They argue that such policies privilege those who have access to private cars and can afford to make this switch, while those who cannot afford it are left at a disadvantage in future mobility systems (Mullen & Marsden, 2016, p. 109). Differences regarding accessibility and affordability can be detected among my informants as well.

Material elements also shape the physical world in which practices are performed (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23). Important here is the material infrastructures that contribute to shaping and defining normality in everyday life. Shove et al. (2019) define infrastructures as "material arrangements that enable and become integral to the enactment of specific practices" (p. 4). Infrastructures are networked features of the built environment which most daily life practices depend on in some way or another (Shove et al., 2019, p. 3). The informants gave examples of how infrastructures related to household waste management and the transport infrastructure enabled and constrained their performance of sustainability in related practices. In the case of household waste management, the material infrastructure of waste sorting and collecting plays a major role in shaping how people perform these practices. Stine (age 27) and Thomas (age 30) talked about how the system instructed what categories they sort and where it should be delivered. Helene (age 26) and Martin (age 26) pointed out the fact that they had bins for glass and metal right outside their house, rather than being required to drive this kind of waste to a recycling station elsewhere. They thought this made it much easier to go through the effort of sorting and disposing of those materials.

Infrastructure was also an important factor in the informants' mobility practices. Aurskog-Høland is large in area, and distances between people and services can be long. Few informants lived close enough to be able to walk to work, and for some, the closest grocery store was about 5 km away. If residents in Aurskog-Høland are to reduce their car use, the transport infrastructure needs to facilitate for alternative modes of transport between where residents live and the places they need to get to in line with Norway's strategy to facilitate for walking, biking, and public transport, in addition to increased taxes on fossil-fueled transport (Meld. St. 13 (2020-2021), p. 63). The informants expressed that they felt very car dependent, which they viewed as a barrier for reducing car use that is specific to rural areas. Silje (age 36) said: "If you live in Oslo, you might not even need a car. While here you are dependent on having a car. Both to function socially, but also to get to work". This notion is supported by research on mobility systems and transitions in mobility practices, where it is pointed out that people in car dependent areas can experience disadvantages in a transition to low emission mobility practices

(Sheller, 2018, p. 22). This can refer to unequal access to different kinds of transport alternatives, costs and time-use of these, unequal access to goods and services, life opportunities, and social networks, or safety concerns (Lucas, 2012, p. 107). In rural areas, developments in car-prevalence, urbanization, and centralization over time has led to increased car dependency, as important societal functions become centralized and distances have grown longer (Berg & Ihlström, 2019, p. 1).

The informants highlighted that there were few or no viable alternatives to the car in many of their daily activities. There were few bike lanes and walking paths that connected the different settlement clusters, which affected the informants' mobility practices going to work, to visit friends and family, or to the store. They also said that the public transport alternatives were limited. Although many informants said they were impressed by the public transport system in place in Aurskog-Høland compared to other rural areas, they said its infrastructure is designed for trips to nearby cities, not for traveling within the municipality.

> Kjell, age 79: Yes, I think [the public transport system] is good enough.
> Inger, age 75: Yes, for our use it is. But it may be that … It is when you go to the city. Right? Because if [we would go] elsewhere … Within the municipality, then it is … Then you go by car.

In this way, the design of the public transport infrastructure constrained regular use of public transport in everyday activities and was, instead, something the informants used on special occasions like going to a restaurant in the city.

The informants' responses revealed how their sustainability practices were, furthermore, enabled and constrained by factors related to the element of meaning, which represents the social and symbolic significance tied to the performance of practice (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23). This is closely related to Schatzki's (2002) 'teleoaffective structures' which I explored in more detail in chapter 5. Here, I focus on how the meanings tied to specific practices may enable or constrain sustainability performances. First, the informants' performance of 'recycling', seen as a sustainable component in household waste management practices, was enabled by a notion that sorting and recycling waste is expected of them by political institutions. Indeed, recycling has been an important principle in Norwegian waste management practices since 1973, and current discourse signifies waste as an important resource (Grundt, 2015, p. 1-2). These meanings have become institutionalized in Norwegian household waste management practices through the rules, systems, and infrastructure shaped over time by international agreements and national decisions. As a result, Norwegian citizens tend to perform expected recycling practices regardless of their environmental concerns (Skorstad & Bjørgvik, 2019, p. 214). This is

reflected in the way the informants talk about sorting and recycling waste. First of all, this is apparent in how the informants talked about the 'rules' that inform how household waste should be managed, and how they carried out these rules in practice.

> Thomas, age 30: We sort out what the municipality …
> Stine, age 27: Says that we should.
> Thomas: Yes. They don't have [a system for] sorting plastic[4]. So, if they had that, we would sort out that too.
> Stine: Not yet no. […] But we sort food waste, residual waste, glass and metal, and paper. And also, like batteries and that … stuff (tull). And then we drive to Spilhaug (a local recycling station) with other kinds of waste. And sort it there.

Citizens are expected to sort food waste, residual waste (including plastic), and paper waste to curbside containers that are picked up by ROAF. Glass and metals, textiles, electronic waste and bulky waste (furniture etc.) are expected to be sorted and delivered to designated recycling stations. Hazardous waste is kept in a special container and collected annually or delivered to a recycling station (ROAF, n.d.). Citizens are also expected to rinse packaging to remove excess product. These expectations constitute a set of explicit formal rules, which is one of Schatzki's practice elements. These rules instruct and guide the informants' actions and have normative implications in that they define what is 'right' to do (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80).

Second, the informants also mentioned factors that constrained their performance of recycling practices, but because recycling was an institutionalized practice, they tended to perform them regardless. For instance, some informants mentioned that it could be a tedious task to rinse everything, that they were uncertain about where something should go, or about what actually happens to the waste after collection. These factors are represented in the element of competence, which includes different kinds of knowledges (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23).

> Silje, age 36: What I experience as the most difficult in everyday life is waste. What does it kind of … Does it help that we sort it? Does everything end up in the same place? … Yes. I think that is difficult. And I'm sometimes a bit lax on that. That in a busy everyday it isn't always that things are facilitated so well for, that this goes here and that goes there, and that it should be dried and … […] Yes. So I think waste is a bit difficult.

[4] I looked into what inhabitants in Aurskog-Høland are supposed to do with their plastic waste, and found that the waste management company used here has one of two automatic sorters for plastic waste in Norway, so this should just be rinsed and then put in the residual waste bin (ROAF, 2022). Few of the informants knew about this, and some were, like Thomas, dissatisfied with the lack of plastic recycling opportunities available. Wondering whether the plastic waste would be sorted out and recycled if not rinsed properly, I contacted ROAF by email. They replied that the waste would still be recycled, but they wanted people to rinse the plastic waste so that they would not have to transport unnecessary weight.

Silje felt unmotivated because she was uncertain about what actually happened to her waste, and whether her efforts would matter for the climate cause. Other informants expressed similar concerns and said that they had heard that a lot of collected waste ends up getting incinerated or dumped in the sea, even if it is sorted correctly. Martin (age 26) mentioned a TV show from NRK: «We watched the show with Andreas Wahl and then I didn't want to sort waste anymore. He [Wahl] said that there was no point". These concerns indicate that there was a conflict or breach between different competences and teleoaffective structures tied to recycling practices, showing how these elements may simultaneously enable and constrain the practice. Yet, the informants assured me that they did not stop recycling all together. As Helene (age 26) said: "Yes, we sort the waste. It is a discussion that we have. But we still do it". This strengthens the point that recycling has become an institutionalized practice for Norwegian citizens.

In other examples, the informants experienced a breach between knowledges or understandings about what practices could be considered sustainable. In section 5.3.1, I discussed how the informants could get a "why bother"-attitude towards certain sustainability performances if they thought their efforts did not really make a difference in the bigger picture. Similarly, the informants experienced that one piece of information could argue that a practice is sustainable, while a different piece of information could problematize this understanding. For instance, Silje brought up electric cars and the environmental costs associated with the batteries they use.

> Silje, age 36: Long term, I think an electric car is an option [for us]. But at the same time I am a little uncertain about what happens when all the electric cars are "used up". When the batteries fail? How do we handle it then?

These uncertainties could constrain sustainability performances by lowering the informants' motivations to perform them. If something was already perceived as inconvenient, information that their efforts may not be as sustainable as they first thought further justified their decision not to participate in that practice.

Finally, in several of the sustainability performances that the informants talked about, the informants said that their motivation to perform them came from other meanings associated with the practice, in addition to 'being sustainable'. With sustainability practices that had meanings that the informants already valued, 'sustainability' was perceived as an added bonus rather than the main motivation. For instance, some sustainability practices were perceived as healthier than their unsustainable counterpart. This was the case with walking and cycling, meat reduced diets, and organic produce. Second-hand shopping, which has gained new symbolic significance as 'trendy' (see section 5.1.1), was additionally thought to be cheaper or was seen

as the best way to find items they like. Like Martin (age 26) said about buying secondhand furniture: “For me it is just as much because I think that old things have a certain charm”.

Similarly, efforts to reduce their food waste and their overall consumption was tied to larger ideas of having respect for resources and recognizing the value and work that goes into the production of food and things. This was often framed as a response to what they perceived as unsustainable social structures that drive people to consume too much. “We have to use less, consume less, reduce on transport, and reduce over-consumption. Because that is what we are doing now. We extract more resources from the earth than we are able to place back” (Jan, age 59). Several informants said they had an ambition to consume less, or that they felt they did not need to acquire so many new things. “We have this idea that we don’t need to have new things all the time” (Helene, age 26). The informants mentioned several strategies to reduce their consumption, summed up as strategies to reduce, re-use, and repair. Trond, who is a farmer, said that he avoided buying new machinery and tractors by maintaining and repairing what he had. He said that this was mainly motivated by the fact that he knew that producing these machines have a significant impact on the environment.

6.1.3 Performing sustainability through work

An interesting finding is that some of the informants placed emphasis on sustainability that they performed in their work. Work constitutes a significant part of people’s everyday life, yet few studies investigate the connections between work practices and other everyday life practices (Klitkou et al., 2022, p. 613). In the interviews, several informants highlighted their work as playing a significant role in their own perceptions of their sustainability performance. Three informants said that work was the area of everyday life where they thought they performed best in terms of sustainability. “No, I would say, like privately, I am not any-, I am not any better than anyone else. And could probably do more. But as a farmer I think I am a little bit ahead of the average” (Per, age 57). Several informants talked about engaging with sustainability through their work. In this section, I explore how the informants talked about performing sustainability at work, and comment on how this was different from their engagement with sustainability performed in the home.

Almost all informants had experience engaging with sustainability at work in some form or another. Per (age 57) and Trond (age 59) as full-time farmers, and Helene (age 26) and Martin (age 26) as “hobby-farmers” talked about trying to switch to more sustainable farming practices. Trond was an organic dairy farmer and said that the choice to run his farm organically had always been motivated by his concerns for the environment. For Trond, his identity as an

organic farmer was an important factor in how he engaged with environmental issues in all areas of his life. He often brought up that this influenced how he thought about performing sustainability in the household, and what he thought others might expect of him in terms of his sustainability performance. He said: "As an organic farmer, I am a little bit above medium interested in the environment. And so it is a bit ill-fitting that I just switched out my old diesel Peugeot with an equally old one, but a petrol car". Applying a practice theoretical understanding of social identity, Bottero (2015) explores how individuals' desires and goals are rooted in practice. She explains that "by participating in a practice we take on its ends as our own and derive intrinsic rewards ('internal goods') from following the conventions, and acquiring the know-how or skills specific to a practice" (Bottero, 2015, p. 536). From this perspective, Trond's 'career' as a practitioner of organic farming practices had evolved his internal logic of motivation to be concerned about environmental issues (Bottero, 2015, p. 536).

Helene and Martin were also interested in organic farming and said that they were exploring how they could make the transition to running their farm organically. While Trond said he was primarily motivated by his environmental concerns, Helene and Martin approached this transition with more emphasis on how it could benefit them financially.

> Martin (26): Because that is something we are considering here. Long term. Whether we can do something organically. It is both thinking about nature and the environment … And the financial bit too. Whether it is something we could have a little extra income from.

They also said that this could be a relatively easy transition for them, as they only had a small farm and because it was not their main occupation. They noted that they perceived organic farming on a larger scale as more difficult to achieve, especially farming organic produce, as they said it requires organic manure which can be more difficult to obtain if you do not produce it yourself. Although they did not express the same internal logic of motivation as Trond, they expressed that organic farming was a potential avenue for them to engage more thoroughly with sustainability in the future, and something that had inspired new perspectives on contemporary farming practices altogether. Following the same argument as above, this shows that participation in new practices can inspire new action logics and motivations.

According to Warde (2005), wants and desires are generated by participation in practices. Because of this, he argues that consumption is often a result of the practices that people engage with in their everyday life, rather than an expression of individual taste or choice (Warde, 2005, p. 137- 138). Consequently, people's interests, e.g. the TV shows they like, the leisure activities they pursue, and the food that they eat, are created by participation in different practices. Seen

in this way, the practices that people participate in at work can have implications for consumption in other sites, as the wants and desires generated by participation in the workplace is carried into participation in other practices. In the data material, the informants' engagement with sustainability in different ways at work seemed to influence how they engaged with sustainability in other sites. Most notably by influencing their broader perceptions and understandings of sustainability and climate change.

This was the case for Ida, who worked with immigration as a lawyer, and dealt with climate refugees. She explained that this aspect of her work had made her more aware of the damaging consequences of climate change in other areas of the world. This was an understanding she carried with her into her everyday life.

> Ida (age 36): We see the consequences of it. And they are pretty serious consequences. […] So … Yes, I would say so. It affects you to see that people can't … Their crops die, their livestock die. Like, then their whole basis of life dies, and then … then life gets tough. And they have children and … No, I think it's horrible. So, I would say that it affects me. It does.

This can be connected to an argument by Shove et al. (2012) that institutions like work and education inadvertently and effectively reproduce unsustainable ways of life (p. 158). Introducing new competences to these sites can, in turn, influence sustainability performances in other sites. Other informants also talked about ways that their competences in relation to sustainability had been influenced by work practices. For instance, in section 5.3.3 I gave an example of how Martin's perspectives on Norway's responsibility in the climate crisis compared to other nations had been influenced by seminars related to the workplace's ambition to get an Eco-Lighthouse certification.

Stine, Thomas, Helene, and Andreas were teachers and talked about knowledge- and value-sharing as a way to perform sustainability in everyday life. Schatzki (2017) writes that language, sayings, and text play a myriad of roles in the relations between practices as key components and means of connection among bundles. Among other functions, sayings and text can motivate people to intervene in or respond to the world and can contribute to intelligibility (what it makes sense for people to do) (Schatzki, 2017, p. 134). The informants stressed that they felt responsible to teach sustainability in a good way, being mindful of how what they say could impact their students.

> Andreas (age 30): I am in a bit of an interesting position, I think. Because as a teacher you have, you take in information about the climate crisis. And then you choose to relay that information to the students. So you become a kind of lightning rod for much of the … of what is said about it. And then you have to try

> and interpret it and present it in a way that does not create anxiety with the teenagers. But rather, kind of, manage to give them a sense of optimism for the future.

In this way, they saw their teaching as part of their sustainability performance, and this carried into other practices, as what they taught their students also impacted their own intelligibility.

Interestingly, the informants who emphasized their work as their most important contribution to the collective project of sustainability were all self-employed and engaged in some kind of innovative project. Jan's company installed screw-based foundations, which, he informed me, is an alternative to cement foundations and has a significantly lower carbon footprint. Even though he was personally more concerned about other environmental issues than GHG emissions, like harm to nature, he said that the screw foundations were a potential solution to both nature preservation and reduced emissions. He explained that he was motivated by working with something innovative that could solve the problems of today's society.

> Jan, age 59: I think about [the environment] every day in relation to the work that I do. And that is because I think it is very fun to provide, or work with new things. Innovative things. I became aware of the screw foundations in 2014 and have worked a lot with it since, because I saw that it can solve a lot of the challenges we have talked about now. In relation to damages to nature and transport and that bit.

Per (age 57) talked about a project he was working on to make his farming practices more sustainable. He said he had previously tested out some organic farming methods, and that he was now interested in converting to a farming system called Conservation Agriculture (see Climate-ADAPT, 2019 for an explanation). Per explained that it is a method that allows for less work with the soil, which means that he would be able to reduce the amount of times he has to go over the field with a tractor from five times to only one. He said this would significantly reduce emissions stemming from this activity. He said that it was not necessarily easy to convert to this system, but that he found it both interesting and exciting.

In addition to the farming practices already mentioned, Per and Trond had projects related to alternative sources of energy and heating at their farms. Per's energy initiative was to produce heat to his own house and a handful of neighboring houses with a wood chip burner. Wood chip heating is considered a sustainable alternative to electric heating that uses materials collected from road cleaning etc. (Miljøfyrtårn, 2019). Trond's initiative was that he had installed solar panels on the roof of his barn that produces energy used in his farming practices. This was a project that had been initiated in collaboration with the municipality and other farmers in the area. The purpose of the project was to test out the solution and map out his energy use on the farm, which would then help develop more efficient systems to be used on other farms. An

important motivation for Trond was that this project could have implications beyond himself, and thus connected his efforts to the larger world.

> Trond, age 59: So, it isn't just, it isn't just here, but in ten years, then maybe it can be developed a system that is environmentally friendly [in the way that] you don't just install solar panels, but you calculate based on the consumption and what, what time [of day] you need it.

The motivations that the informants expressed in these examples are interesting as they had a different character from motivations expressed by the informants regarding sustainability practices performed in the household site. To understand why that is, we can return to the elements of teleoaffective structures and meanings. As discussed in section 5.3.1, the informants expressed feelings of discouragement, apathy, and hopelessness related to performing sustainability. Furthermore, the examples in section 6.1.2 show that their performances were influenced by factors related to the experienced convenience of a given practice and that the practice was perceived to have benefits besides being considered sustainable. These factors were not present in what the informants said about their sustainability performance at work. This may be an indication that the teleoaffective structures and meanings that define goals and inform intelligibility in the work site are inherently different from those in the household site. For instance, Shove (2003) argue that conventions of comfort, cleanliness, and convenience shape everyday household practices. These findings suggest that the work site carried teleoaffective structures and meanings tied to innovation, efficiency, and perhaps even toil, that better align with the goals and motivations found within the collective project of sustainability. I further explore such differences between social sites in the next section.

6.1.4 Performing sustainability in the interactions between practices

Klitkou et al. (2022) argue that a social practice perspective on transformational change should consider the interlinkages between practices and their different arrangements, especially interlinkages between different sites (p. 604). They argue that attentiveness to these connections reveal important aspects of what shapes sustainability performance in everyday life (p. 612). As mentioned in the introduction in chapter 5, Gram-Hanssen (2021) writes that ambivalence and controversy are part of everyday life (p. 445). When the informants talked about why they did or did not perform sustainability practices, they often talked about competing demands or challenges associated with different social sites. The informants justified and explained their sustainable or unsustainable performances by pointing to how ideas of sustainability align or conflict with other ideas and demands associated with everyday practices.

The reasons behind the informants' sustainability performances were often complex and they rarely pointed to just one reason why they did not perform a practice that they considered sustainable. Instead, they gave reasons that highlight how human action is shaped in the intersection between practices. A relevant concept is what is sometimes referred to as the "practices-in-between", meaning the practices that are at the intersection of several others (Klitkou et al., 2022, p. 603). A typical example is mobility practices. Only one informant used public transport to get to work. Ida worked in Oslo, and she said she drove half of the way to a trains station and took the train from there to Oslo. The factors that enabled her and constrained others to use public transport can be connected to the concept of 'practices-in-between'. First of all, Ida used to travel by bus all the way from home, but after having kids, this was no longer a viable option. She explained:

> Ida, age 36: I used to commute by bus to and from [Oslo]. But then we had kids, and it (commuting) had to be combined with pick-up in kindergarten and stuff like that. And then it no longer worked [to take the bus]. The buses were late, and it didn't work. I came home so late that it simply didn't work, so I had to drive a car.

This example shows how mobility practices exist at the intersection between practices in the work site, the household site, and the kindergarten as a third site (Klitkou et al., 2022, p. 603). These sites contain practices of care, work practices, and household practices that Ida participate in, and that her mobility practices interact with. The work and kindergarten sites have rules related to work and opening hours that Ida had to account for in her choice of transport mode, and that constrained her from only traveling by public transport.

Second, there were factors related to the practice-bundles at Ida's work that enabled her use of public transport half of the way. She had flexible work hours and was able to adjust when she typically started her workday to better accommodate her situation, i.e. leaving early to avoid traffic and make it in time for the train. In the event that she missed the train and would have to wait one hour for the next one, she said it was possible to log on to work remotely from the train station. Furthermore, during the Covid-19 pandemic, she had started to work from home. Home office was a practice that worked well, and her work continued this practice post-pandemic, allowing her to work from home three days a week. This further reduced her regular car-use, and also lessened the costs associated with her otherwise long and expensive commute, making the inconvenience of the trip less noticeable as she only had to do it twice a week.

In contrast, Thomas (age 30) explained that he could not use public transport to get to work because his work hours as a teacher were fixed, and they did not align with the bus schedule.

He explained that he could take the bus to work, but that he would have to leave home 50 minutes earlier if he did. This was because the travel time was 30 minutes longer, and because he would arrive at work 20 minutes earlier than if he drove himself. Since he was a teacher, he had limited opportunity to use this extra time to start work early, because work starts when classes start. The informants gave other examples of how mobility practices intersected with other everyday practices and mentioned strategies that they employed to reduce how much they used their cars by coordinating several practices in one trip. For instance, Thomas made a point of doing the grocery shopping on the way home, and Jan said that he liked to plan ahead when taking a longer trip: "Like, if I'm going to Bjørkelangen, then I try to get as much done as possible when I'm there, so that I can drive a bit less" (Jan, age 59).

Mobility practices could intersect with work in other ways as well. For Per, Trond, and Jan their work relied to a large extent on having access to their cars. Jan (age 59) said he needs to bring equipment when he goes to do a job and could not carry it with him through other transport modes. Per (age 57), being a farmer, said that he drives too many places throughout the workday, and wouldn't have time, or get to where he needed to go by use of public transport: "I drive too much. I don't take enough public transport. But it isn't possible really. The way that I run things. In the way that I work, in the job that I have, it isn't possible to get around by public transport". These examples highlight how decisions about car ownership and car use were tied up in demands from multiple intersecting practices.

The interactions between practices also shape the informants' sustainability performances by defining competing demands and social expectations between different practice bundles and social sites. To reiterate, these are constellations of practice that carry their own set of teleoaffective structures, rules, practical and general understandings (Schatzki, 2002, p. 45). For instance, recycling can be considered a bundle of practices that include rinsing, sorting, and properly disposing the waste. Furthermore, this bundle overlaps multiple social sites as individuals interact with the household, the waste management facilities, and recycling stations in their performance of recycling practices.

Another practice bundle associated with the household is food practices. In other works, food practices are often written about as 'compound practices' (see Warde, 2013). Here, I use the concept of 'bundles' to discuss the interactions that occur between the different practices involved in acquiring, preparing, and consuming food. Bundles are defined as loose structures of intertwined practices where tasks, projects, and ends overlap (Schatzki, 2002, p. 17). Household food practices typically involve different tasks like acquiring ingredients, prepping

ingredients, cooking ingredients, eating, and finally clean-up and dealing with leftovers. Several informants placed emphasis on reducing food waste as an important sustainability performance in everyday life. Many expressed that they believed reducing food waste was something that could have a big impact on GHG emissions, and something they felt they had a level of control over. “And that is pretty, that is actually one of the best climate initiatives we can take. To eat our food. There is so much that gets thrown away” (Per, age 57). Furthermore, reducing food waste was not only associated with sustainability, but carried other teleoaffective structures that signified it as a valued practice. For instance, the informants equated avoiding food waste with having respect for resources and not being wasteful. These same values were relevant in relation to other consumer practices. For instance, Stine (age 27) and Thomas (age 30) talked about valuing products like smart phones and clothes, taking care not to damage them, and happily accepting hand-me-downs for their daughter.

The informants talked about a number of strategies for avoiding food waste that were performed in different parts of the food practice bundle. Per (age 57) talked about trying to make sure that they eat any leftovers. He said that they would often buy “in abundance”, but that they seldom threw anything away: “It needs to get moldy and sour before it ends up in the bin. So we have a lot of leftover-dinners. Quite good at that. I think we are pretty good at that really”. Other informants described a more elaborate strategy.

> Ida, age 36: We try to be good at planning our shopping trips. So that we only shop, try to shop only once a week. So that we only buy what we need, and that we have the menus ready beforehand. And that we have thought about: “What do we need? If we only use half of that in that dinner, can we use the other half in something else later in the week?”. So that we are able to use up everything. But at the same time making something that we know the kids will eat.

Ida’s efforts to reduce food waste started with planning. She planned what meals she wanted to make, how ingredients could be used in multiple meals, what she already had, and what she needed to get from the store. Already, this involved more than one social site.

Because social sites intersect and exist within one another, Ida’s food practices are further shaped by the social sites these are performed within. Cooking happens in the household, while shopping for groceries happens in the social site of the store. The family can be considered one social site that exists within, but also outside of, the household site. I separate between these because the family site can be defined by goals related to affection, parenting, love, and social bonding as well as it involves numerous practice bundles that connect the family to social sites outside of the household, like visiting family members, attending parent-teacher conferences

etc. The household site, although related to many of the elements and structures composing the family site, can be said to have somewhat different teleoaffective structures and rules attached to it. For instance, the household can include practice bundles associated with fixing or decorating the house, which is not necessarily practices associated with family. Hansen and Wethal (2023) explore the dynamics created in the intersections of different social sites through an analysis of how meat consumption is embedded in everyday practices, and become entwined with practices of care, notions of class, social expectations, and normativity (p. 8). Applying this to Ida's efforts to reduce food waste, she mentioned that they needed to plan food that the kids would like. Here, parenting practices (caring for children) influenced food planning and cooking practices. Ida did not say that this necessarily impacted their ability to reduce food waste, but that it was another factor that played into her food planning.

Similarly, Silje talked about how her kids' food preferences influenced her ability to perform sustainability in household food practices. She talked about wanting to have more vegetarian meals in their diet, but that her kids disliked the idea. She explained how she then negotiated, drawing on ideas of sustainability:

> Silje, age 36: I [want to] have a vegetarian [food] week … The kids don't like it as much. But then, again, I can pull the 'climate-card' and say that it also much healthier for us, and it is also good for the environment.

Here, Silje is able to draw on the teleoaffective structures associated with the collective project of sustainability to enable the performance of a sustainability practice. Yet, if she did not need to consider her children's preferences, she might have been able to have vegetarian meals more often, and further reduced her meat consumption. Indeed, Halkier (2020) writes about how social interaction is an important dynamic to consider in our understanding of different practices. Through social interaction, practitioners get a sense of what conduct is considered socially expected and acceptable in, for instance, food practices. She further explains that food practices are connected to different cultural repertoires, like vegetarianism, flexitarianism, traditional cooking etc., that the practitioners use as legitimations for food conduct (p. 405). Silje was able to draw on a repertoire suggesting that replacing meat dinners with vegetarian foods is good for the environment in combination with a repertoire suggesting that reducing meat consumption and eating more vegetables is healthy.

Other informants also talked about the vegetarian repertoire but used other repertoires to legitimize why they did not reduce their meat consumption. For instance, several informants talked about buying Norwegian produced foods as more important than reducing meat

consumption. “I buy Norwegian as much as possible. I choose Norwegian products” (Per, age 57). Others said that they did not think reduced meat consumption made any difference on GHG emissions. “I think that it doesn’t matter if I keep eating meat, because it will get produced no matter what” (Martin, age 26). Inger (age 75) and Kjell (age 79) said that they tried to include more vegetables and fish in their diet, but when I asked if this was due to climate concerns, they were a bit hesitant and admitted that it was more motivated by health concerns. But, as was also discussed in section 6.1.2, the ‘sustainability’ of the practice was perceived as an added bonus.

6.2 “I’m not that extreme”

The dominant narrative and collective project of sustainability introduced in chapter 5 indicated that the informants were generally supportive of the idea that changes to everyday practice is necessary to mitigate climate change. However, some sustainability practices fell outside of what they considered acceptable changes, and were, instead, considered ‘extreme’ versions of sustainability concern. They did not think people should let their concern for the environment overshadow other aspects of life that they consider more important. Furthermore, they thought that people should make changes to live sustainably, or “do what they can”, but not necessarily at the expense of living their lives comfortably.

> Jan, age 59: No, like, we do what we can all of us. But not at the cost of everything else […] that affects people [negatively]. Like, we need to try and keep at the level that we have reached (meaning the level of development or growth we are at today).

I summarize this attitude in the statement: “I’m not that extreme”. This is not a direct quote from the interviews but represents various ways in which the informants described sustainability practices as “going too far”. The informants used phrases like “fanatic”, “too much”, “weird”, “nonsense”, or “unrealistic” to describe different sustainability practices performed by others, or certain practices they felt are expected of them to participate in. Like Silje (age 36) said: “That is something that I care about a bit. That we can’t become fanatics. That we … we are simple people really, and we live the lives that we do. And then … we will always have some needs”. This was not necessarily an attitude against sustainability efforts, but a resistance to efforts that she felt took away from living what she considered a normal life.

The notion that environmental concerns should not overshadow other aspects of life is connected to normative expectations of what is acceptable conduct in everyday life. Schatzki (2019) explains that what is considered acceptable, is prescribed by the normative character of teleoaffective structures. This means that in a practice bundle, or social site, certain task-project-end combinations are more acceptable than others, and some are not acceptable at all (p. 31).

For instance, Martin (age 26) explained that the students at the school he works at do not like electric cars. “I work at an agriculture school, and the attitude there is that … they (cars) are supposed to rumble … [and the students think that] electric cars are for ‘city-people’”. In other words, electric cars were not considered acceptable in that social site. Shove (2003) argues that conceptions of normality in household practices are defined by standards of comfort, cleanliness and convenience, which are often taken for granted aspects of ordinary consumption (p. 188). Comfort, cleanliness, and convenience are conventions that have evolved over time and have led to increased consumption and demand for key resources like energy and water. Shove (2003) illustrates that these conventions, as components of social practice, shape and configure ‘normal ways of living’ (p. 191). This notion is captured in this quote from Andreas (age 30): “It is convenience over conscience. Simple as that”.

6.2.1 Downsides of performing sustainability

Several informants felt that many sustainability performances in some way disrupted ideas of normalcy and convention. This was to a large extent connected to the affective aspects of practices, meaning their emotional connections and symbolic significance (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80), or, using Shove et al. (2012), the element of meaning. To illustrate, practices have certain meanings attached to them, for instance, having dinner can be connected to ideas of comfort and care. These meanings can evolve and become reclassified over time, which influences how these practices are valued. As the conventions of cleanliness has evolved to value ideas of freshness, daily showering has become a standardized practice in contemporary society (Shove et al. 2012, p. 55). An illustrative example of how the informants experience a disruption to a standardized and normalized practice is found in air-traveling. Stine (age 27) said, “I think that it would be very sad to have to stop seeing and experiencing the world and stuff because we think so much about the climate that we forgo doing it (traveling)”. In this quote, Stine expressed an emotional attachment to traveling and experiencing the world. Commercial flying has made traveling across the world easy, accessible, and affordable. Heisserer and Rau (2017) note how applying a practice perspective to understanding travel practices ensures and recognizes the relevance of affective aspects of particular modes of transport, revealing barriers (or constraints) to change (p. 584). For Stine, giving up flying would mean giving up something she values as an essential part of living a good life. In this way, the affective aspects attained through flying end up constraining sustainable performances of traveling practices.

Other constraints can be related to cost, convenience, comfort, practicability, and feasibility, some of which were brought up in section 6.1 above. These barriers also tie into the emotional

aspects of practices as these standards are valued by practitioners in various ways. Certain standards may be valued because they enable other valued practices in everyday life, like how the relative convenience of one practice performance impacts the amount of time you have for other everyday practices. For instance, Silje (age 36) talked about how a busy everyday life impacted her willingness to perform recycling practices that she perceived as inconvenient. Shove (2003) writes that modern understandings of convenience are related to scheduling and co-ordination of people and objects in time and space. "Understood in this way convenience is about *timing*, that is, the ability to shift and juggle obligations and to construct and determine personal schedules" (Shove, 2003, p. 171). Availability and use of convenience products is viewed by practitioners to enhance a sense of control in an otherwise busy everyday life where people are often pressed on time (Shove, 2003, p. 172). Notions of convenience and flexibility were often mentioned in relation to car use in the interviews. Silje noted how access to a car while at work was tied to practices of care in a family with small children:

> Silje, age 36: If it was possible to just hop on a bus if I need to get home […] It is something with the flexibility of a car. And especially with caring for young children. […] They might call from the kindergarten and say that your kid is sick. Then I understand that it is difficult to use public transport.

Here, the flexibility of driving a car compared to public transport was valued because it enabled this particular aspect of caring for young children. As discussed in section 6.1, different sites carry different teleoaffective structures that can align or conflict with each other. In this example, caring practices associated with the family site carried teleoaffective structures that Silje valued more than those related to the collective project of sustainability.

A final affective aspect of everyday life I would like to bring up here is the aspect of enjoyment. Several informants expressed that too much worry or attention to performing sustainability could cause stress and anxiety, or generally interfere with their ideas of a normal life. As already mentioned, Silje said that people shouldn't become fanatics about environmentalism. And as described in section 5.2, the informants thought that there was no point in being too worried about climate change, because you have limited ability to do something about it. Per (age 57) stressed that, faced with the climate crisis and goals for sustainability, it is important to enjoy oneself too: "But I like to, what can I say? Yes, we shouldn't throw food away, but we shouldn't-, we need to enjoy ourselves too!". This quote illustrates how everyday life was tied up with emotional and symbolic significance that determined fun, relaxation, and indulgence as important aspects. These affectivities did not necessarily align with the collective project of sustainability.

6.2.2 Justifying unsustainability by defining the "extreme"

In this section, I highlight some examples of practices that the informants considered sustainable, but that they perceived as "too extreme" to perform themselves. These examples highlight how social interactions shape practice performance, as practices are judged by others on how socially expected or normatively accepted they are (Halkier, 2020, p. 401). In one example, Silje talked about not wanting to install solar panels on the roof, because she believed this will be perceived as "weird":

> Silje, age 36: But … you think, of course, that, could you maybe have … If we had lived a bit more in the forest maybe, or … then I think maybe we could consider and thought that "could we maybe have some solar panels?". Or … Now we live in a way that it would just be a bit weird.

Here, she implied that there are certain standards and conventions concerning the outside appearance of her home. In other words, she did not think it was socially acceptable. In Schatzki's (2002) terms, acceptability is governed by the rules and teleoaffective structures that prescribe practices. Silje believed that it would be a breach of the social rules specific to the community to have solar panels on her home. It is interesting that she thought it would be better if her house was more sheltered. Because she lived by the side of the road, she placed even more significance on these social conventions.

In a different example, Stine (age 27) mentioned that she could use reusable cloth diapers for her baby, but that she was not willing to do so. Although she did not explicitly go into detail about why, she seemed to associate reusable cloth diapers with extra toil and uncleanliness. She said: "Of course, we could have used those cloth diapers and stuff, but [laughs]. Sorry. There … There I am going to keep being *non*-environmentally friendly". Indeed, a study investigating what factors influence consumers' purchase intention of cloth diapers found that purchase intention was strongly connected to the perceived convenience of this product. The perceived inconvenience of washing the diapers made people less inclined to buy the product (Ramayah et al., 2010, p. 1426). Furthermore, Stine's response could also be related to socially defined ideas of cleanliness. Such ideas and standards can be understood as socially organized through the materials and symbolic meanings of practices, which develop and change over time (Shove 2003, p. 90).

The final example I will highlight here is the decision to stop (or significantly reduce) traveling by plane. Flying has become a common practice but is at the same time widely understood to be unsustainable (McDonald et al., 2015, p. 1507). In the case of vacationing and flying, the sustainable performance would be to limit or avoid air travel by either substituting it with more

sustainable modes of transport or avoiding vacations requiring air travel. I already discussed the negative affective aspects attached to reduced air travel in the previous section Here, I comment on how the informants see this as an extreme sustainability performance. Some informants said they were willing to substitute domestic flights with traveling by train under the right conditions, but they were not willing to forego a vacation because it would include air-travel. Per (age 57) considered it a too drastic choice compared to his level of concern: "I'm not so worried that I decide to never ride another plane. Just to save the environment. I'm not quite there". Affective dimensions of practice work to motivate performance of certain practices (Reckwitz, 2017, p. 120). Reckwitz (2017) writes that there must be some affective incentive (i.e. motivation) to participate in a practice, and that motivations are embedded in the practice itself (p. 120). The affective incentives to avoid air travel, mainly incentives related to environmental concerns, conflict with the affective incentives to go on vacations that involve air travel. In this way, the informants were more incentivized to fly, than they were to avoid it. Notably, because they experienced the incentives to avoid air travel as less significant, they perceived this choice as extreme.

There were a few exceptions among the informants where the positive aspects of air travel were dampened or where they saw added negative aspects to air travel or added positive aspects to other modes of traveling. For instance, Inger (age 75) felt uneasy on flights and said she "preferred staying on the ground", Ida (age 36) said that having young kids made air-travel more difficult, Silje (age 36) said that they had had a positive experience going on a "Norway-vacation"[5] during the pandemic and would like to do this again, and Andreas (age 30) said that he enjoyed traveling by train when this was possible. In these examples, avoiding air travel was justified by other affectivities than those related to the collective project of sustainability, thus enabling this sustainability performance.

6.2.3 Radical environmentalists

The previous section gave examples of sustainability performances that the informants considered extreme. In this section, I discuss how the informants perceived other people's sustainability performance as too extreme. The informants pointed to groups that perform certain sustainability practices and said that "I am not as extreme as them". Some examples were the Green Party in Norwegian politics, activist groups and Greta Thunberg, and organic farmers. The example that was most often mentioned was the Green Party. For them, the Green

[5] "Norgesferie" – Going on vacation within Norway, typically by car. Gained popularity during the Covid-19 pandemic as an alternative to long-distance travel, which was restricted by closed borders and risk of infection.

Party was synonymous with 'extreme sustainability'. "It (sustainability) is not so important that … Like, I'm not like 'MDG' (the Green Party)" (Silje, age 36). Similarly Stine (age 27) used it as a measurement of how "into sustainability" she thought people should be: "Like … You don't have to go all 'MDG' in all of this". Shove et al. (2012) write about the role of networks and communities in the emergence, evolution, and disappearance of practices. Practices often emerge in specific networks and evolve as they circulate within and across multiple networks (Shove et al., 2012, p. 66). This example illustrates how the informants separated themselves from the Green Party and their followers, defining them as a network or community they were not themselves participants in, saying that "I am not like them". They viewed the beliefs and actions of the Green Party to deviate from what they considered normal and acceptable in the social sites they participated in themselves. This is perhaps reinforced by the notion that climate change and sustainability was not talked about so much in Aurskog-Høland, leading to a perception that supporting the Green Party was not socially expected (Halkier, 2020).

The main reason the informants gave for why they perceive the Greeen Party as going too far, was that they thought the views they hold, and the solutions they promote are too 'unrealistic'.

> Silje, age 36: I think, for me personally, then the Green Party is too fanatic. Like it becomes utopia to think everything that they are thinking, I feel. And that [in reality] it isn't so black and white.
>
> Kjell, age 79: It's clear that when I saw the Green Party, then … excellent spokespersons, I'm sure. But it's so unrealistic compared to reality.

This highlights an important aspect of how they perceive the Green Party. The Green Party can be viewed as representing *more* sustainable values, and a *stronger* concern for environmental issues etc. However, the quotes presented here do not necessarily indicate a reluctance towards environmentalism and sustainability among my informants, but rather a belief that the measures and policies promoted by the Green Party are not the right way to go about achieving a transformation to more sustainable ways of living. This can be tied to Warde's (2005) definition of consumption as something that is performed for the ordinary accomplishment of everyday practices (p. 145). Because the informants viewed many unsustainable practices as necessary parts of everyday life, they did not believe the Green Party's policies would be successful.

Helene described a different view on the Green Party and their role in Norwegian politics. She believed that having members of parliament with radical perspectives on the environment could push politics in the right direction, even if they were on the more extreme side.

> Helene, age 26: They (the Green Party) make it so that, if they are part of it, it makes it so that it at least becomes … someone has a focus on it then. And it is important that, maybe it is important that they have, that that (environmental issues) is their focus. That is what they are good at. Even if they're not always …
> Martin, age 26: But it becomes a bit too extreme sometimes.
> Helene: Yes, but maybe it needs to be a bit extreme, and the others can … yes.

If we view politics and government through a practice theoretical understanding of agency, we can say that individuals or collective social actors have agency in the sense that they have the capacity to shape the actions of others. This capacity should further be understood as an effect of the performances of practices (Watson, 2017, p. 170-171). Thus, the practice performances by members and representatives of the Green Party in political social sites will be shaped by the rules and teleoaffective structures attached to the Green Party, politics, and state policy as social sites. Thus, the motivations and beliefs of the Green Party will influence their political practice performance, which, in its effects, have the capacity to shape people's actions through government policies. Helene's assumption is that if the Green Party has a seat in parliament, they can push Norwegian policy in more sustainable directions.

A second example brought up in the interviews was Greta Thunberg. The young Swedish activist has gained media attention in recent years after her school strike for the climate became a global phenomenon. Per said that, although he believed activism can sometimes have a positive political influence, he thought it can cross the line and become too much.

> Per, age 57: Activism can be interesting. But then I think it can sometimes become too much. Greta Thunberg is an example of someone who is very eager. But I become a bit like, that 'ugh', it becomes maybe … it becomes a bit too much sometimes.

Again, his perception does not necessarily represent a resistance to or disagreement with the messages promoted by Thunberg, but it is a comment on how he believed these messages should be communicated.

The final example I want to bring up is attitudes towards people engaged in organic farming. Here, there was a mix among the informants, with some informants having a personal interest in organic farming. Still, there was a perception that organic farming is often perceived by others as too extreme.

> Helene, age 26: I am studying organic farming at the moment, and … I went to visit [an organic farmer in the area] for instance, who is, well, very into [organic farming]. But … and he is a bit, almost "uglesett"

> (Norwegian idiom for perceived with disdain) by many in the community, I think. Because, or at least by many farmers who think it is a terribly foolish thing to be doing.

Helene and Martin said that farmers who belong to the older generation, in particular, were less inclined to accept organic farming practices. Trond (age 59), being an organic farmer himself said that he had previously felt that others viewed him as too extreme, but that he had noticed a change in recent years where people are starting to think that "Huh, maybe those stupid [organic farmers] were right!". The example of organic farming indicated both conceptions of normality in contemporary farming practices, and changes in these conceptions, as new practices have emerged and circulated in and across social sites (Shove et al., 2012, p. 114).

The informants also addressed attitudes towards organic farming from the consumer side. Ida (age 36), Inger (age 75), and Kjell (age 79) said they preferred to buy organic produce, while Andreas (age 30) said he was more skeptical towards whether organic farming was really a viable alternative. He said, "I think there is too much ideology in it". By this, he meant that organic farming was not just an alternative way to do farming more sustainably, but that it had come to represent a whole way of life with specific ideologies and worldviews attached to it. In this way, he perceived organic produce to be representative of a social site that he was not a participant in. To Andreas, the symbolic significance of buying organic produce was as a signifier of membership in a particular social group that he did not feel he belongs to. Shove et al. (2012) explain that people become committed to different practices in the course of their lifetime, and that their commitment is shaped by past commitments to other practices (p. 65). Viewed in this way, Andreas' reluctance towards buying organic produce should be understood in relation to his past and present commitments to other social sites and practices (Warde, 2005, p. 137- 138).

6.3 "It needs to make sense"

When the informants talked about reasons why they did or did not perform practices that were considered sustainable in everyday life, they often said that "it needs to make sense". All informants said this, or a version of this, at some point during the interviews, and it represented an expressed need to understand and agree with the logic and reasoning behind specific climate policies or sustainability practices, and a need for these to be compatible with the ordinary accomplishment of everyday life.

> Thomas, age 30: There is something about [contemplating] those changes that are going to happen. They can't have a shocking effect on people. It needs to happen over time, and it needs to happen in a way that

> we understand why we are doing it. And I think that [new] things need to be in place before you take something away. There needs to be a good alternative.

These perceptions were both directed at policies that aim to promote sustainable behaviors or prevent unsustainable ones, and at specific sustainability performances they considered making in their everyday practices. In the following sections, I analyze and discuss the various ways in which the informants talked about needing policies and sustainability to "make sense".

6.3.1 Sustainability should be the easy option

A common perception among the informants was that to get people to behave more sustainably, sustainable alternatives need to be made easier or they need to benefit them in a significant way compared to their regular everyday practice performance. "Because, to call a spade a spade, we humans are very simple and made lazy. Like, we choose the easiest options. And then it needs to be facilitated for that we choose the [sustainable] options" (Silje, age 36). This was closely related to the idea that people consume as a way of accomplishing ordinary everyday life practices, which is common in practice theoretical literature dealing with sustainable consumption (Warde, 2005, p. 145; Shove, 2010b, p. 282; Gram-Hanssen, 2021, p. 433). This idea suggests that consumption is shaped by the organization of everyday practices people set out to perform (Warde, 2005, p. 146). In section 6.1, I explored how the informants' sustainability performances are shaped by the complex arrangement of practices and their elements in relation to the tasks and projects that they perform as part of their everyday lives. That the informants emphasized that sustainability should be made easy suggests that the extent of their sustainability performances relied on whether the performance was seen to align or conflict with the motivations and demands in already established everyday practices.

This came into play in how the informants talked about their sustainability performance in two ways. First, if the 'sustainability' of a practice performance was perceived as an added bonus rather than the main motivation, they were more likely to perform the practice.

> Andreas, age 30: It quickly becomes the case that you choose what is easy. And then it is the case that the choices that are healthy are often environmentally friendly too in many instances. So it's like … there is maybe more focus on what is healthy and good for your body. And then it is also good for the environment. As an added bonus.

When the informants talked about sustainability as an added bonus, they described how many of their sustainability performances were enabled by other factors than sustainability. In section 6.1, several examples highlight this, with the informants talking about how factors like affordability, that something was considered healthy, or that something fit their style were more

important reasons why they performed sustainability practices than reasons related to the collective project of sustainability. Conversely, when sustainability practices were perceived to add disadvantages, the informants did not think people (including themselves) would be willing to perform them. “It should pay off to be environmentally conscious. Without having to be punished for doing the things you have to do” (Thomas, age 30). The informants expressed that they first and foremost need to manage their everyday lives.

Second, the informants thought policies should focus on facilitating sustainable behaviors, rather than regulating or taxing unsustainable ones. They believed that many unsustainable practices in everyday life were unavoidable due to lack of good alternatives, and that policies should be attentive to what people need to do to accomplish the everyday.

> Per, age 57: Limits on car use for instance, limits on use of diesel cars. No, I hope … I have always been in favor of the carrot over the stick. That I don’t like … I hope we don’t have to do that in Norway. That we can [rather] have measures that enables [people] to purchase environmentally friendly equipment.

The informants further talked about how policies should consider the lifestyles and needs that are specific to rural contexts. Several informants perceived climate policies to have an urban characteristic and thought that they could be difficult to implement in more rural contexts because they are not designed with such contexts in mind. Thus, they wanted future policies to be more attentive to the factors that shape everyday life in rural areas.

> Andreas, age 30: And then we need to implement policies that make it possible to live in the countryside and still live environmentally friendly.

> Jan, age 59: It can be difficult to listen to what is being said (about sustainability efforts) in national media. That like, in Oslo for instance, they have a certain position in the environment and climate debate. Like, they put in some measures and many things, that you can probably do in Oslo. It works there. But it does not work in Høland.

Research on how societal challenges are made meaningful in local contexts has found that global challenges like climate change are translated into a variety of manifestations at the local level, thus highlighting the importance of understanding how successful responses to such challenges depend on the social contexts they are implemented in (Wittmayer et al., 2014, p. 481). Ida talked about the costs of using public transport to commute to work in the city and said that it can become quite expensive when you commute over several public transport zones, or if you have to drive part of the way to commuter parking lots.

> Ida, age 36: The problem is … from home to the commuter parking. If that trip is so expensive that it doesn’t pay off anymore. There is something about-, what works in Oslo, doesn’t necessarily work here.

> Johanne: Do you feel like that is taken into account (in policy). How it affects …?
> Ida: No, not in any significant way. […] I don't feel like they facilitate for it. For people to choose the most sustainable mode of transport. It costs you quite a lot to do it.

She perceived efforts to reduce car use through the use of public transport as unrealistic for many people living in Aurskog-Høland. In the regional plan for area and transport for Oslo and Akershus, they state that 'park-and-ride' facilities facilitate access to regional public transport for rural residents (Oslo kommune & Akershus fylkeskommune, 2015, p. 35). However, as Ida explained, if the costs associated with both owning a car to get to these parking spots and paying for the parking itself is added on to an already expensive public transport ticket, rural residents perceive these policy initiatives to be inadequate and are less willing to use these facilities.

6.3.2 Policies should be fair

Another aspect of how whether the informants perceived policies and sustainability performances to 'make sense' was based on whether they perceived these to be fair. The informants said that they could get behind climate policies if they have a fair distribution of costs and benefits. Again, this perception came into play in two ways in the informants' responses. First, and this can be identified in the quotes from the previous section too, they thought that policies should be fair to the people they affect. In short, they thought that policies should not cause harm, especially when people have no choice but to keep performing the unsustainable practices that a policy aims to prevent.

> Ida, age 36: I think it is wrong that people should have to pay 20 kroner per liter for diesel, when they currently cannot afford to swap their car for an electric car. It has a cost to buy a new car … and … no, we have to solve it in a slightly different way. I don't necessarily know how, but I don't think that increased prices or taxes is the right way to go. You can tell people to get a small electric car, but if you don't have 200 000 kroner, then you don't have 200 000 kroner.

This was closely connected to the informants' perception that people are doing what they can (see section 6.1). In their experience, people around them wanted to implement more sustainability practices in their everyday lives but face many barriers in doing so.

> Jan, age 59: I think everyone is very set on doing their part for the community when it comes to it (sustainability). But then we need, like I said, the tools need to be in place. So that it is easy for people. Because people have too much … other stuff on their plates … to do everything themselves.

Southerton et al. (2004) argue that consumers have limited autonomy in their consumption choices due to the norms and conventions defined by social practice. Because of this, they argue that policy approaches to sustainable consumption focused on influencing individuals'

motivations to choose sustainable consumption alternatives are flawed and will not lead to the desired changes (Southerton et al., 2004, p. 5). The quotes above suggest that the informants took issue with what they considered typical climate policies. In light of the argument made by Southerton et al. (2004), the informants perceived these approaches as problematic and unfair because they felt they had limited ability to make the kind of choices that are asked of them.

A second way in which the informants talked about fairness in relation to climate policy was through their perceptions of responsibility and distribution of costs and benefits across social groups and between affluent and developing countries. Some informants talked about recognizing how their own unsustainable practices contribute to global emissions and noted that they thought wealthier nations and wealthier individuals should play a bigger role in climate mitigation efforts. Andreas thought it was important to recognize that even though he thought the largest portion of the responsibility lies with governments, it is important to have a conscious understanding of how his own actions contribute to GHG emissions, and not solely rely on politicians to make these changes happen.

> Andreas, age 30: We have a … we all have a responsibility. And that is to … make good choices. […] And we can't just, kind of, eat 3 kg of red meat a week and, kind of, buy and throw away, "honk and drive", as long as the Green Party gains the majority in government, kind of. We have to make conscious choices. Eat … choose a diet that is more sustainable. Repair instead of buying new, as examples.

Similarly, Per talked about how this involves a level of sacrifice by accepting policies that one might disapprove of on a personal level.

> Per, age 57: I think that after some time, maybe in not so many years, we will close all the oil pumps and gas and get that out of the world. And then we will manage to live normally after all. […] And then we might have to accept that there is a whirring windmill somewhere on the horizon. […] We need to see that in relation to other things. The pros and cons. I think that will be important.

From one perspective, the informants' perceptions of policies as fair was based on how it affected them personally. If they believed a policy would give them or other people an unjustified disadvantage, they were less likely to support it. From a different perspective, ideas of fairness were based on how they perceived responsibility and issues of inequality. From this perspective, some of the informants implied that they would be willing to accept some disadvantages. Thomas (age 30) said that he did not necessarily mind policies that would put him at a disadvantage in some way or another, but that his acceptance was based on how disadvantages and benefits were distributed among different people and actors: "I think that as long as things are fair, [it's okay]. And then they (policymakers) can [basically] do it (policy)

however they want. Based on that (fairness)". In short, the informants believed that if policies are principally fair, they were more willing to accept them, and thought that if policies are fair, they would also be more likely to be successful.

6.3.3 Policies need to be rational, logical, and holistic

A final aspect of the need for policies to "make sense" was the informants' expressed need to understand the reasoning behind specific policies and to perceive them as logical and well-informed. They used words like "reasonable", "holistic", "comprehensible", "nuanced" and "realistic". Several of the informants' understandings about the climate change issue and their perceptions of what shapes their ability to perform sustainability discussed so far in the analysis become relevant to understanding why the informants think this is important. To begin, their experiences of factors that enable and constrain their sustainability performance shape what they considered reasonable and logical policies. "What should I say? If everything was facilitated for, we would be driving the most environmentally friendly car" (Thomas, age 30).

This was especially prevalent in the way that the informants talked about performing sustainability in rural contexts. For instance, many mentioned that they thought ongoing centralization processes in the municipality (and society in general) are not necessarily compatible with efforts to reduce car use. This was, for some, a source of frustration. They revealed that they felt they had little control over climate policies and centralization processes, as both represented politics that are formulated at regional or state levels, rather than a reflection of what people in the municipality actually want.

> Jan, age 59: Because we have a work life, and a settlement that almost makes it impossible. And there are decisions that demand that everything should be centralized, that make it so that we actually work against what we are saying that we want. Because it needs to hang together, I think. So, if we're going to drive less and move [around] less […] then we can't centralize everything to one place, so that everyone has to go there. Because then everyone would have to live there. And that is not possible.

The 'center-periphery dimension' in Norwegian politics, which represents a political cleavage between the urban center and the rural periphery, is a useful concept to understand these attitudes (Strand, 2001, p. 249). In Norway, Oslo has taken political leadership in climate policy debates and the climate policies implemented there are the most visible (Berghei, 2019). In other words, these are the policies the informants hear about most frequently. The 'center-periphery dimension' is also relevant in the centralization processes, as these are governed by the regional and national planning documents for area and transport planning. Lars, the environmental consultant, said that his experience was that the national transport plan will just

"run its course" no matter what the municipality's opinion was on these developments. As a result, many informants thought that the climate policies they heard about are not formulated with rural areas in mind, leading to policies that do not make sense in these contexts.

Another factor that shaped whether the informants perceived climate policies as logical and rational, was whether they believed the policy actually contributed to a reduction in GHG emissions. This was based on their understanding of what the most important drivers behind emissions are, whether they thought the policy would lead to rebound effects or unintended consequences, or whether they thought the policy actually targeted unsustainable ways of living. "If you buy an electric car but end up driving twice as much, it may not be as fruitful. Then it may not be as positive for the environment after all" (Trond, age 59). A central theme in these concerns were the informants' awareness of conflicting understandings between what we can call 'bigger picture' and 'smaller picture' competences. The informants were simultaneously aware of information and knowledges connected to smaller and larger social sites. In Trond's example, the smaller picture competence was that electric cars emit less GHG emissions as a result of driving than do fossil cars, thus the practice of driving causes less emissions. The bigger picture competence was that electric cars are still tied to emissions related to the resources required to produce them and that the lifecycles of electric cars should also be considered, from production to disposal of batteries (Sovacool et al., 2021, p. 12). Because of this, Trond thought that owning an electric car should not be interpreted as an excuse to drive more. The same concepts can be applied to understand this quote from Per:

> Per, age 57: I'm a bit tired of some [of the] policies that are being implemented. And one of them is about [methane gas from cows in food production]. There is no doubt that the cow burps and farts methane, but in the calculation, they only include the methane emissions. Without considering that the cow actually eats grass. And grass cultivation is photosynthesis. And photosynthesis is important because it uses CO2. So, in my head it becomes ridiculous to go after those processes without considering that we are using Norwegian nature and that we facilitate for photosynthesis and carbon storage through this.

He explained that the way he understands the impact of meat production on GHG emissions is that it basically works as a "zero-sum game". Because of this, he did not see the point in targeting meat production in climate policies and thought there was more to gain by putting our energies to use in other areas. In these examples, the informants talked about how, similar to what was discussed in section 5.4, inconsistencies and conflicts between the smaller and bigger picture of climate change mitigation can lead to feelings of distrust and uncertainty, as well as an attitude that sustainability efforts were not really good for anything. They held a perception that any progress they might achieve will get eaten up by unintended consequences or be too

small to make any real difference in light of the bigger picture. The concerns raised by the informants in this section, again shows how conflicting understandings shape the teleoaffective structures of sustainability performances (Schatzki, 2002, p. 86).

A final aspect of the informants' view on policies and how they could 'make sense' was that they talked about a need for more fundamental changes to social structures and systems. Some informants stressed that little progress will be made if we do not manage to effect changes in the more deep-rooted societal structures underlying unsustainable ways of living. For instance, Jan talked about living in a big house with only himself and his wife. He said that he thought this was unnecessary really, but that it is what is normal to do.

> Jan, age 59: Like, we need to start thinking about what we're actually saying. Like, it doesn't help to cut emissions in one place if we do not consider everything. So, if we could reduce our overall consumption. Just looking at how we live. There is so much energy and money that go into how we live. Do we really need it?

He implied that changes to our ideas and standards of what is considered normal ways of living is what will lead to significant emission reductions, in particular, changes to the standards and norms that encourage consumption. As Southerton et al. (2004) write, "part of the 'consumer attitude' is that the solution to personal fulfilment is thought to be found in the consumption of more, not less" (p. 1). To reduce overall consumption, we need a revision of the social practices that prescribe consumption. It is not sufficient to make sustainable products more available (Southerton et al., 2004, p. 16).

In another example, Helene talked about her interest in traditional farming practices, and said that farms were previously structured to be more self-sufficient than they are today.

> Helene, age 26: And I think it is interesting to see that earlier … I've just read a bit about this farm here, and how they, in the 1900s they had-, it was divided in many different rotations, and they used the land in a much more sustainable way. And every farm had a few animals and was able to make it work with that. I think it is very interesting with self-sufficiency and … that stuff.

She did not say that she thought farmers should necessarily go back to doing farming in this way, but that she thought modern farming could learn from the traditional practices, and that a transition to a more self-sufficient farming system could lead to more sustainable ways to work with the land. The need for fundamental changes to social systems is the main argument in the literature on social transformations towards more sustainable ways of living (Feola, 2014, p. 376). Because current ways of living are inherently unsustainable, this literature contends that new worldviews and ways of organizing society are necessary for a successful climate change

response (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 179). These arguments have gained support in international climate politics, and the reflections presented by the informants in these quotes may indicate that they are becoming more prevalent in the general public as well.

6.4 Chapter summary and discussion: Shaping local acceptance of climate policies

In this chapter, I have analyzed and discussed how the informants justify and explain their sustainability performance through the statements "We do what we can", "I'm not that extreme", and "It needs to make sense". I have explored how the informants' perceived ability to perform sustainability in everyday life is shaped by relationships of enablement and constraint in the arrangements of practices, and how notions of normality, standards, and conventions shape what performances are considered socially expected and accepted. A central finding is that the informants' sustainability performances are shaped by the demands and expectations defined by everyday practices. In the previous section, I showed how these relationships of enablement and constraint came into play in the informants' understandings of climate policies and sustainability practices and shaped their motivations for performing sustainability in everyday life.

A central aim of this thesis project is to form a better understanding of the factors that shape public acceptance of, and resistance to, climate policy and transformation processes. In this discussion section, I synthesize the findings explored in this chapter and discuss their implications for the informants' attitudes toward current climate policies and what kind of policies they believed would be successful. Section 6.1 explored the informants' perceptions of how sustainability could be performed in different everyday practices and in relation to different social sites. Section 6.2 and 6.3 showed how these perceptions, along with the informants' motivations to engage with sustainability, came in conflict with everyday practices. The perceptions discussed under the headlines "I'm not that extreme" and "It needs to make sense" seemed to be an expression of a desire and need to still be able to live relatively normal lives. The informants were motivated to making everyday life more sustainable but did not want to give up things that they enjoyed or make their lives more difficult than it needs to be. Moreover, they wanted sustainability practices to fit into current everyday practices, and not disrupt everyday conventions like those tied to comfort, convenience, and broader notions of normalcy. Furthermore, they stressed that policies should not create unfair disadvantages or punish people for performing practices that are central to accomplishing everyday life tasks and projects.

Related to the notion of punishment, Silje said that policies, and the broader understanding of what it means to perform sustainability in everyday life, should not require a perfect performance of sustainability practices. “People will always slip up from time to time. And I think that needs to be allowed. That we need to be generous with each other. [And think] that doing something is better than doing nothing” (Silje, age 36). When policies or sustainability performances conflict with everyday practice performances, the informants tended to view these as extreme, or that they do not make sense. This attitude was determined by and embedded in practice. It was an expression of the elements that shape practices and their performance, as detailed in section 6.1, and of the expectations and demands that exist in the intersection between different practices. In light of this, gaining local acceptance towards policies may be achieved through an exploration of questions about “how resource intensive practices take hold in society and how they change” (Shove, 2014, p. 417). Shove (2014) argues that policymakers might create more successful policies if they focus on how they can facilitate for the conditions that make sustainability performances possible, rather than trying to persuade people to behave in more sustainable ways (p. 426). A related and significant finding was that some of the informants viewed their work as playing a major role in how they perceived their own performance of sustainability. This finding inspires a discussion about how individuals interpret sustainability in relation to different social roles and in the different social sites they participate in. This may inspire more research on the role of the individual in sustainability transformations that include practices outside of the household.

As for enablements and constraints related to performing sustainability in agriculture, which was relevant for several informants, the focus group highlighted that there were many ways in which the agricultural sector could reduce emissions, and that some of these are actually relatively easy to transition to. However, they problematized several relationships between sustainable farming practices and the workings of the farming industry in Norway today. One main point was that it is more difficult to make money with more sustainable farming methods, and the subsidies you can apply for barely cover the costs. As a result, farmers who go through the trouble of transitioning to more sustainable methods do not get a financial reward. As Rune (age 57) said: “Farmers end up doing all this work for free!”. What the focus group hoped to see in the agricultural sector was more opportunities to map emissions, carbon capture, and storage, in addition to access to guidance on climate initiatives for the individual farm. They believe that much can be achieved through targeting the “low-hanging fruits”, but that currently, there are no actors who function as drivers for this type of transition to be achieved.

The informants' concerns about responsibility and fairness in climate response illustrate how the informants may interpret and negotiate narratives about responsibility and agency in climate response, and that this sometimes requires them to confront uncomfortable topics. Norgaard (2011) writes about how confronting the global inequities underlying the climate crisis and thinking about one's own unsustainable behaviors can cause feelings of guilt (p. 86). She explains that people tend to keep these feelings at a distance, but that they remain "aware beneath the surface that something is not quite right" (Norgaard, 2011, p. 87). Using the language of Schatzki's site ontology, the uncomfortable narratives represent general understandings that exist on more abstract levels and that have a less direct influence on practice performances (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 195). I argue that these can be understood as components of the larger social sites that orient human action. As detailed in chapter 3, social sites exist in relation to each other and 'smaller' sites are shaped and organized by the 'larger' sites they exist within (see Schatzki, 2002, p. 173). In this way, the informants are aware of the understandings that inform them that their practices are unsustainable. However, practices performed for the sake of accomplishing everyday life are ordered in such a way that these understandings can be kept at a distance. There are, in other words, conflicting relationships between the large and abstract, and the small and specific. The influences of the different elements of specific practices are more direct and, therefore, take precedence in shaping and structuring the informants' performances, while the general understandings shape practices in more indirect ways.

To sum up, the informants want policies that are compatible with the demands of everyday life. The policies must have a more holistic approach and target the fundamental structures and systems that shape unsustainable behavior in the first place. Interestingly, the work site seemed to be an arena where such policies can more easily be incorporated. At first glance, the first and second point may seem a bit contradicting. In a way, the informants are saying that they want to see fundamental changes to the way they live their lives, while at the same time saying that they want to live their lives normally. However, I argue that this is best understood as an expression of the informants' struggles with incorporating sustainability in their day-to-day activities. As a result, the informants see that the norms and conventions that shape the performance of everyday life are unsustainable, but they cannot choose to not behave in accordance with these norms. Thus, the informants' attitudes towards climate policy are better understood as a desire for policies that allow them to participate normally in society, but that they want to see changes in what that 'normality' entails.

7 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss how the findings presented in the previous analysis chapters respond to the main research question presented in the introduction: How do localized perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability influence the transformative potential of everyday life? In the previous analysis, I have analyzed the informants' perceptions of climate change and sustainability, and their experiences engaging with sustainability in everyday life. In this chapter, I discuss how these perceptions and experiences influence the informants' attitudes towards policy and their willingness to make changes towards sustainability in everyday practice. Furthermore, I discuss what the informants' perceptions and experiences reveal about the transformative potential of everyday life, implications for policy response, and make suggestions for further research.

In this discussion chapter, I apply O'Brien and Sygna's (2013) 'three spheres of transformation' framework as a heuristic tool to bring the findings into a conversation about sustainability transformations. As a reminder, this framework consists of the practical, political, and personal spheres, representing a complex integrated social system in which transformative change takes place. According to the authors, the framework "can be used as a tool for understanding how, why and where transformations towards sustainability may take place […] paying particular attention to how the relationships among the spheres together influence outcomes for sustainability" (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 1). In the previous analysis, I have investigated factors that enable and constrain the performance of sustainability in everyday life, through a practice theoretical perspective. This has brought insights to understanding why the informants do or do not perform sustainability practices, what factors shape their perceptions of climate change and sustainability, and why they might resist or accept certain climate policies. Importantly, the analysis has shown that the informants' perceptions of and engagement with sustainability in everyday life is shaped by interconnected and competing demands found in social practices. In the following, I discuss how these findings can contribute to a better understanding of what it takes to formulate and implement successful transformative policies that integrate policy approaches within the practical, political, and personal spheres.

7.1 Approaching transformation through theories of practice

In section 3.6, I explained how practice theory can be applied to analyze and explain the interactions and dynamics between the three spheres. In this section, I elaborate on this connection between the frameworks giving a brief explanation of how the findings from the

previous chapters can be viewed in light of the 'three spheres of transformation'. First, the performance of practice is the actual outcome, the behavior, that results from the patterns provided by practices (Shove et al., 2012, p. 7). It is through the actual performance of practices that GHG emissions are released into the atmosphere. This is what the practical sphere of transformation represents, and it is where we wish to see physical changes in order to reduce emissions and mitigate climate change. Without changes in this sphere, we cannot realize outcomes for sustainability (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5). Second, the analysis has shown that the informants' everyday practices are intricately connected through elements, practice-bundles, and social sites. Viewing the informants' responses in light of these arrangements revealed that the performance of sustainability in everyday life is shaped by understandings and knowledges about how the world works which motivate human action, norms and conventions that inform what is acceptable and expected, material arrangements that shape everyday practices, and finally, the interaction between the different practices that are part of everyday life. In this discussion, I will show how these factors can be seen as components of the practical, political, and personal spheres.

Third, as shown in the data material, the informants expressed a concern for the environment and ambitions to live more sustainable lives through the dominant narrative on climate change and the collective project of sustainability. These factors are aspects of the personal sphere of transformation, which are considered particularly important for transformations towards sustainability, as they influence how people think about and make sense of the climate crisis. However, ideas and motivations alone do not result in emission reductions. They need to be followed through with changes in actions and behavior in the practical sphere, which again are shaped by different aspects in each of the three spheres. O'Brien & Sygna's (2013) framework highlights the importance of a holistic approach to transformation processes, acknowledging the breadth and depth of transformative processes. Viewing transformations through this perspective can reveal barriers and potential entry points for sustainable outcomes that would not be made visible by only engaging one of the spheres (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 4). Key to this is recognizing the complex interactions between the spheres, and to not limit how we think about climate policies and transformations to a single sphere (O'Brien, 2018, p. 158).

7.2 Transforming everyday life: "Beyond the ABC"

The goal of sustainability transformations is to realize a less resource intensive way of life so that the 1.5° target may be reached (O'Brien, 2018, p. 157). O'Brien & Sygna (2013) refer to this as the "outcomes for sustainability" which are the observable changes located in the

practical sphere of transformation (p. 8). Realizing these outcomes depend on a transformation of systems and structures in the political sphere, which are driven by individual and collective transformation of beliefs, values, and worldviews in the personal sphere. Importantly, they argue that to achieve sustainability transformations, we need to pay attention to all three spheres at once, initiating transformative processes from both the 'outside-in' and the 'inside-out' (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 7-8). This means that to achieve transformations in the way we live our lives, we need change to happen across all three spheres.

In chapter 5, I showed that most of the informants believed in the dominant narrative on climate change which represents a belief that climate change is happening, that it is caused by human activity, and that it is urgent and necessary to do something about it. I explained that this can be viewed as a general understanding, a belief about how the world works that informs what is meaningful for a person to do. Closely connected to the dominant narrative, I argued for the existence of what I call a collective project of sustainability that motivates and gives meaning to the performance of sustainability practices in everyday life. The informants believed that everyone is concerned about efforts to live more sustainably nowadays, that sustainability is becoming trendy, and that people have begun to value sustainability when carrying out everyday practices. In this way, the collective project of sustainability defines goals and meanings that influence people's priorities in everyday life (Shove et al., 2012, p. 135). The dominant narrative and the collective project of sustainability can be seen as aspects of the personal sphere of transformation, which represents beliefs, values, and worldviews (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). The personal sphere is considered the most influential sphere because it sets the premises for how people understand and interpret reality, influencing what is considered possible (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). In other words, the dominant narrative and the collective project can be considered influential for sustainability transformations in everyday life.

Indeed, as explored in the introduction chapter, common assumptions related to climate policies targeting unsustainable household consumption have claimed that people would behave in more sustainable ways if only they had more information about the climate crisis, or if only they could be convinced of more environmental values (Norgaard, 2018, p. 174). Under these assumptions, the dominant narrative and the collective project should lead to more sustainable behaviors. Shove (2010a) has named these assumptions the 'ABC-model' of social change, which stands for attitudes, behavior, and choice. Basically, this model contends that people will choose to behave more sustainably if they hold the right attitudes (p. 1274). However, as the data material shows, although the dominant narrative and collective project have some

influence over the informants' performance of sustainability practices, there are a number of other factors that shape this performance. Notably, the dominant narrative and collective project of sustainability seem to be aspects of the 'larger' social sites that orient people's behavior. However, these have a more indirect influence on practice performance than more 'local' sites and practices. General understandings and collective projects inform the teleoaffective structures of practices, but they do not govern what people do (Welch & Warde, 2017, p. 187). The findings show that there are competing collective projects and general understandings that may gain dominance in orienting the performance of specific practices (Shove et al., 2012, p. 79). Finally, everyday practices seem to be more directly influenced by the more concrete demands related to the ordinary accomplishment of everyday life, rather than by abstract ideas of sustainability (Shove, 2010b, p. 282).

These findings support O'Brien and Sygna's (2013) argument that transformative change will not be realized by only focusing on one sphere. As recent sociological approaches to understanding consumption have argued, behavior change to reduce GHG emissions depend on more than ideas of "sustainability" and "green lifestyles" or people's knowledge of and concern for the climate crisis (Klinenberg, 2020, p. 659). To understand how sustainable outcomes in the practical sphere may be achieved, the policy discussion should "move beyond the 'ABC'" and recognize how social and material contexts, as well as cultural meanings, all play a role in influencing the potential for transformative change (Shove, 2010a, p. 1283; Klinenberg, 2020, p. 659). In light of the 'three spheres of transformation' framework, understanding the relative influence of the dominant narrative and collective project on sustainability performance in everyday life should consider how they interact with other factors within and between the three spheres (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 8). Relevant questions include: What other understandings and values encompassed by the personal sphere compete with the dominant narrative and collective project in shaping outcomes for sustainability? And how do factors in the political and practical spheres shape which understandings and values gain dominance? The findings show that the dominant narrative on climate change and the collective project of sustainability only play a limited role in what influences the sustainable performance of practices. In the next section, I explore these questions in detail, identifying factors that shape the transformative potential of everyday life across the three spheres of transformation.

7.2.1 Understanding interactions between technology, infrastructure, and everyday practice

Realizing outcomes for sustainability in the practical sphere involves changes to technologies, infrastructures, and behaviors. Such changes are the focus of many existing climate policies, as

technologies and people's consumption patterns have a direct effect on GHG emissions (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5). In chapter 6, I analyzed how the informants perceived their ability to make such changes happen in the consumption patterns associated with their everyday practices. The findings indicate how factors related to each of the three spheres influence these perceptions. I start by discussing the factors that are encompassed by the practical sphere. These are factors relating to the built environment and the coordination of everyday practices that shaped how the informants perceived their ability to perform sustainability in everyday life.

One example is the existence of and access to sustainable technologies and products. Introduction and use of new, more sustainable, technologies are typical changes in the practical sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 5). In section 6.1, I discussed how the informants' sustainability performances were enabled and constrained by the material element of practice. For instance, the informants talked about the increased availability and enhanced quality of electric cars, noting the increased popularity of electric cars in the Norwegian population. Two informants owned electric cars, and several informants said that they planned to buy an electric car the next time they buy a car. That they perceived electric cars as accessible and practical were important factors for these decisions. Some of the informants, however, thought it was still a way to go before they would be able to get an electric car. This was based on a combination of factors relating to available models with the right qualities to fit their needs, and the affordability of these models. In particular, they thought that they could probably afford one type of electric car, but not one that would meet their needs. The informants' perceptions of electric cars show how technological innovations, and the availability and accessibility of these innovations, influence people's consumption patterns. As mentioned in section 6.1.2, differences in how accessible and available electric cars are to different people can create unfair disadvantages in a societal transition to low-emission vehicles (Mullen & Marsden, 2016, p. 109). Because of this, a sole focus on swapping fossil cars for electric will not be enough in a transformation towards sustainable mobility. Instead, transformative policies should focus more on reshaping our mobility needs, being attentive to how modes of transport are used in practice (Henderson, 2020, p. 2006; Watson, 2012, p. 496).

Another way in which factors in the practical sphere influence sustainability outcomes is through the ways in which material surroundings and the built environment facilitate sustainability performances. Developing and upgrading infrastructure are possible actions that can be made in the practical sphere (O'Brien, 2018, p. 155). For instance, the informants' performance of recycling practices was greatly influenced by the material infrastructure of the

local recycling system. As shown in section 6.1.2, the informants considered easy access and convenience to be important factors here. Most informants said that they did what was expected of them in terms of recycling as long as they felt the waste handling infrastructure facilitated an easy way to rinse and sort their waste correctly. In a second example, the informants talked about how the public transport infrastructure facilitated for trips to the city, but not trips within the municipality. As a result, most informants only used the public transport system for traveling to the city, usually associated with leisure activities or culture events, but not in their day-to-day activities. Infrastructures play a powerful role in societal transformations as they shape the social, ecological, and technical interactions of systems by defining system boundaries, what is central, included, and connected, and what is marginal, excluded, and isolated (Gilbert et al., 2022, p. 1). This example shows that there may be potential in developing the public transport system to better facilitate getting around within the municipality. Alternatively, other systems could be explored, like car-sharing or 'demand responsive transport systems' (Julsrud & Farstad, 2020; Leiren & Skollerud, 2015).

A final example of how factors in the practical sphere influence sustainability outcomes is found in the interactions between the tasks and projects the informants carried out in their day-to-day lives. In section 6.1.4, I discussed how their efforts to perform everyday practices in more sustainable ways were shaped by how different everyday practices interact with each other. Competing practical demands from the sites, bundles, and practices that the informants routinely engage with as part of their everyday lives form relationships of enablement and constraint on specific sustainable performances of practice. This is a key point in practice theoretical approaches to policy where the goal is to understand the "complex causalities that lead to more (or less) resource-intensive practices" (Welch & Warde, 2015, p. 89). To give an example, whether the informants perceived the public transport system as a feasible mode of transport to get to work depended on the interaction between the structure and composition of daily tasks associated with the workplace, their homelife, and those associated with getting kids to school or kindergarten or doing grocery shopping. Importantly, time-use, monetary expenses, and the overall compatibility with achieving other everyday tasks and projects were important factors in determining how the informants' viewed public transport as an alternative mode of transport. Shove (2014) writes that the job of the policymaker is to "think about the total range of practices that might make up a more sustainable society" (p. 419). Rather than limiting their attention to a single practice, policymakers should consider how unsustainable practices are outcomes of the emergent, historically specific interweaving of practices and their arrangements

(Shove, 2014, p. 420). In response to barriers such as these, Berg & Ihlström (2019) suggest that there may be potential in coordinating public transport with other forms of services, such as grocery deliveries, to accommodate all everyday activities and recognize the totality of practices performed on people's way home from work (p. 10).

7.2.2 Changes in social expectations, norms, and conventions

The political sphere encompasses social and political systems and structures. O'Brien (2018) writes that "systems can be described as relationships between parts that form a larger whole, and structures describe the norms, rules, regulations, institutions, regimes and incentives that influence how systems are designed, organized and governed" (p. 156). In the analysis, I have discussed how social sites shape the performance of practices. Applying the 'three spheres of transformation', social sites can be considered a type of system in the political sphere, and the structures that define them are captured in the analysis of the rules, teleoaffective structures, and understandings that shape these sites. First of all, the analysis revealed a range of norms, conventions, and social expectations associated with practice performances in different sites. Typical behavioral policy approaches include interventions aimed at influencing social norms (Yamin et al., 2019, p. 2). An interesting finding discussed in section 5.1 was that many informants talked about sustainability as "trendy" and something that is increasingly normal to be concerned about. They also believed that most people already attempt to do more sustainable things in their everyday lives, as is the topic in section 6.1. This, and the existence of the dominant narrative on climate change and the collective project of sustainability, indicate that the social norms that determine acceptable and expected behavior in everyday life situations have changed to include expectations about sustainability. These ideas represent shared interests and understandings related to climate change and sustainability, which are influential aspects of the political sphere (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156).

However, the political sphere is also where differences in interests and understandings can create tensions and conflict (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156). Some scholars argue that there can be potential for societal transformations in these conflicts as social, political, and cultural difference can generate creative opportunities for more radical solutions (Gillard et al., 2016, p. 258). Revez et al. (2022) suggest that increased citizen participation may be a fruitful avenue to bring contrasting theories and perceptions into dialogue (p. 13). Nonetheless, understanding the basis of these differences is fundamental. Changes in social norms consequently imply that existing social norms become challenged, which can lead to disagreement or feelings of stress or of being threatened (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 179). As revealed in section 6.2, what

sustainability practices the informants included in their conception of normality was limited by different social norms and conventions associated with other aspects of everyday life. While purchasing electric cars, recycling, and efforts to reduce food waste and overall consumption were considered normal, giving up flying, cloth diapers, and voting for the Green Party were considered "extreme". One factor that seemed to be influential for whether the informants accepted a sustainability performance as normal or considered it too extreme was how well it aligned with valued teleoaffectivities, and conventions associated with the practice in question. Electric cars do not require any major changes to the practice of driving, recycling is already an institutionalized practice, and efforts to reduce food waste and overall consumption were already associated with having respect for resources and not being wasteful. On the other hand, giving up flying meant giving up a valued experience, cloth diapers required added toil and conflicted with ideas of cleanliness, and voting for the Green Party involved disregarding other, more important, political issues. Conflicting interests and values should be negotiated in policy responses that address these issues (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 181). Importantly, the informants seemed more interested in sustainability performances that can be tied to other positive affects, which suggests that policies, and possibly arenas for citizen participation, should open discussions about these factors.

Leichenko & O' Brien (2019) write that climate change is often defined as one big global problem, which results in one-dimensional solutions. In reality, the drivers behind GHG emissions are dispersed among workplaces, cities, communities, households, and individuals which all play their role in increasing or reducing emissions (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 100). Thus, an exploration of how different social sites define enabling and constraining relationships on sustainability outcomes can bring useful insights for addressing sustainability within different practices. This may contribute to a wider solution space for climate mitigation (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 79). In the analysis, I identified differences in the teleoaffective structures, rules, and understandings that orient actions in different social sites. For instance, in section 6.1.3, I discussed how sustainability is treated differently in the social site of the home compared to that of work. The social expectations that define work can be oriented towards goals like innovation and efficiency, while social expectations in the home can be oriented towards goals like convenience, comfort, wellbeing, and love. This had implications for how the informants' perceived their ability to perform sustainability in these sites.

Most informants have some experience engaging with sustainability at work, examples include sustainable farming practices, increased attention to sustainability in meetings and seminars, or

through innovative sustainability projects. Interestingly, several informants expressed more motivation towards sustainability efforts at work because they thought these had an impact beyond what they could accomplish through individual actions. Keller et al. (2016) argue that the rigidity and formal rules associated with workplaces can be utilized in transformative processes. Furthermore, they argue that work is an important avenue for people to engage with sustainability, because much of people's everyday life is spent at work (p. 84). As my findings show, the informants include their work practices when thinking about their own sustainability performance. This factor should not be left out when attempting to understand people's attitudes towards sustainability transformations (Keller et al., 2016, p. 84).

Although home and work can be distinguished as separate social sites with their own sets of social and institutional structures that define and orient them, they are still intricately connected. Klitkou et al. (2022) argue that approaches to sustainable transformations can benefit from considering the interactions between different spheres of everyday life (p. 604). By not only focusing on single practices but taking a wider approach to explore the interlinkages between e.g. work, household, mobility, and leisure practices research can reveal more about where policies should intervene (Keller et al., 2016, p. 84). The findings indicate several ways in which the intersection and interaction between social sites impact the informants' overall sustainability performance. First of all, in relation to how the informants perceived their own sustainability performance, some put emphasis on the sustainability practices they performed at work and used this to justify a more lax approach at home. Hence, the informants perceive their contribution to the collective project of sustainability as a combination of their performance in different sites, allowing them to compensate for less attention to sustainability in one site with more attention in a different site.

Second, the links between sites and the practices performed in these sites form enabling and constraining relationships for sustainability performance in other sites. Turning back to public transport and mobility practices, the findings show that whether the informants considered public transport to be an option was shaped by interacting demands and practice elements associated with the home, the workplace, and the built environment. Klitkou et al. (2022) write that work-related mobility practice depends on factors related to three themes. First is the practices in the work site such as timing, location, or mobility plans offered by the employer, in combination with transport infrastructures. Second is mobility needs at work, which was also mentioned as a constraint by my informants. Third is digitalization of work practices, that make working from home a possibility (Klitkou et al., 2022, p. 610). Ida, the only informant who

used public transport daily, talked about a number of factors that made this possible for her, like having flexible hours at work and that her workplace facilitated for her to work from home three days of the week. Thomas, on the other hand, found public transportation unfeasible since his work hours were set, and not compatible with the bus schedule. As a teacher, he was also unable to work from home. These findings indicate that policy initiatives focused on the three themes suggested by Klitkou et al. (2022) have significant transformative potential. Work hours and whether or not employees can work from home are part of the social and political systems that define the constraints and possibilities for practical transformations, which can be changed through initiatives in the political sphere (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6).

7.2.3 Changes in values, beliefs, and worldviews

The personal sphere encompasses individual and collective values, beliefs, and worldviews (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). Changes in this sphere are influential for changes in the political and practical sphere. They shape perceptions, interpretations, and construction of reality, which, in turn, shape different 'action logics', how people view systems and structures, and what are considered possible actions and strategies (O'Brien, 2018, p. 156; O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 6). Consequently, factors in the personal sphere shape what policy initiatives are supported and prioritized (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019, p. 182). As already mentioned, the dominant narrative on climate change represents an understanding that the climate crisis is real and needs to be dealt with. Because of this understanding, the informants are generally supportive of climate mitigation efforts. However, the details of climate mitigation, what kind of policies should be implemented and what changes people need to make in their everyday lives, are more contested.

In section 5.2 and 5.3, I discussed the informants' experiences of negotiating conflicting understandings and teleoaffective structures related to the climate crisis and climate mitigation efforts. First, the informants experienced difficulties negotiating the relationship between their understanding of climate change as an urgent problem, and their perception of climate change as an abstract and distant problem. On the one hand, the informants said they were concerned about climate change and that they saw it as a serious and challenging problem. On the other hand, they said they did not feel worried about climate change, which impacted how they approached sustainability in their everyday lives. These conflicts were tied to the concept of 'psychological distance', which is widely perceived to be a barrier for climate action (Schuldt et al., 2018, p. 151). Furthermore, these conflicting understandings were tied to Norgaard's concept of 'the social organization of denial' as a collective strategy to deal with difficult emotions (see section 5.2.3).

Second, the informants talked about conflicting understandings regarding Norway's responsibility in global climate mitigation efforts and what role individual actions play in these efforts. Among the components of the personal sphere, O'Brien (2018) lists understandings of agency and leadership (p. 156). The informants expressed difficulties with making sense of their role in climate response when they thought about the global scale of the problem compared to the small scale of individual actions. Moreover, they talked about conflicting understandings regarding Norway's role in the climate crisis. Most informants believed that Norway did well on climate mitigation targets compared to other countries. At the same time, several informants were aware of high consumption levels among the Norwegian population and how Norway's petroleum industry was not compatible with a sustainable future. These conflicting understandings could be uncomfortable to think about and led to feelings of uncertainty or apathy among the informants. This impacted the informants' motivation to perform sustainability in their everyday practices, as well as their perception of policies. As discussed in section 5.4, the informants had different perceptions on individual responsibility and agency, and they used these conflicting understandings to justify their perceptions and actions.

Otto et al. (2020) argue for the need to explore alternative concepts of human agency in responding to the global climate and environmental emergencies (p. 7). Perceptions of agency are found to be a better predictor of climate action than knowledge of climate change (Leichenko et al., 2022, p. 574). Finding ways to influence individuals' perceptions of agency can thus be impactful for transformative processes. Leichenko et al. (2022) contend that this can be done through integrative learning processes that provide individuals with a space to "think critically, question assumptions, see themselves differently, and explore their role in social change processes" (p. 583). Their approach is directed at students in a classroom setting, but there may be potential in exploring ways to achieve this in a community setting. Another approach is found in Chambers et al. (2022), who explore these questions through the concept of 'co-productive agility'. They suggest four transformation pathways aimed at navigating tensions and power dynamics between diverse actors. These are (1) elevating marginalized agendas, (2) questioning dominant agendas, (3), navigating conflicting agendas, and (4) exploring diverse agendas (Chambers et al., 2022, p. 13). However, arenas where these pathways can be facilitated for in rural communities still need to be identified. In Aurskog-Høland, it may be fruitful to explore these approaches in the municipality's interactions with local agriculture. Revez et al. (2022) argue that public engagement processes like Citizens' Assemblies can facilitate for deliberative processes and be a place where ideas can be shared.

Furthermore, they argue that developing community ownership of transformative processes can have powerful effects (Revez et al., 2022, p. 14). This can be connected to Trond, who said that he was excited by the fact that his solar power project could contribute to developing solutions in larger social sites (see section 6.1.3). Hence, public engagement processes might contribute to locating and strengthening the role of individuals in transformative change processes.

7.3 Unlocking transformative potential in the interaction between the spheres

Although understandings of individual agency were seen to influence the informants' perceptions of climate policies and the significance of individual actions, it was not the only factor influencing the informants' sustainability performances. In particular, these understandings seem to have influenced what the informants think they *should* do. Otto et al. (2020) emphasize that social structures are simultaneously a manifestation of, and constraint on, human agency (p. 5). As highlighted in this discussion chapter, the analysis has revealed throughout that the informants' sustainability performances are shaped by the relationships of enablement and constraint found in a vast mesh of practices that compose everyday life. These relationships become specific to the individual, as different intersections between social sites and practices become relevant to each informant. In section 6.4, I discussed how these different enablements and constraints come to shape acceptance for climate policies and sustainability initiatives among the informants, and their willingness to perform specific sustainability practices in their everyday lives.

Social practice-based approaches to policy stress that more attention should be given to the wider terrain of interacting practices that make up everyday life (Keller et al., 2016, p. 84). This is a central argument in Shove's work (2010a; 2014). Understanding consumption as an outcome of the routine reproduction of ordinary practices, Shove (2014) argues that policymakers should consider how practices shape unsustainable consumption, understand the dynamics and histories of these practices, and then focus their efforts on reconfiguring the elements of such practices to shape new, more sustainable pathways (p. 426). Importantly, this involves considering the totality of practices involved in shaping unsustainable ways of life, in what I have referred to in this thesis as practice-arrangement meshes or the nexus of social practices (Klitkou et al., 2022, p. 605; Schatzki, 2002, p. 150; Hui et al., 2017). More research into how this nexus involves and connects components of the practical, political, and personal spheres can highlight the interlinkages between the spheres. This can be fruitful in efforts to achieve "ethical and equitable outcomes for sustainability at the rate and scale that are called for in climate change response" (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013, p. 8).

I argue that these dynamics and interactions are captured in the informants' attitudes towards policy and sustainability performance, where they contend that changes towards sustainability need to be compatible with already existing demands from everyday life. A key finding in this regard was that the informants were more willing to perform sustainability practices if the "sustainability aspect" of the given practice was perceived as a bonus trait in addition to already existing motivations to perform a given practice. This is an indication that policies should aim to facilitate for the conditions that make sustainability performances easier or more desirable (Shove, 2014, p. 426). Furthermore, the distinction made by the informants between 'normal' and 'extreme' sustainability performances shows how what is considered socially accepted and expected shapes practice performances (Halkier, 2020, p. 405). Finally, the informants' motivations to perform different sustainability practices was enabled and constrained by understandings that in different ways aligned or conflicted with understandings related to everyday life practices, and understandings of the larger social and political world in society understood as an overarching social site.

7.4 Conclusion

This thesis has explored how local perceptions of and engagement with climate change and sustainability shape the transformative potential of everyday life. A central aim of the project has been to contribute to a better understanding of what shapes local acceptance and resistance to transformative policies. Its main findings reveal an understanding among the informants that climate change is a serious and urgent problem, expressed in the dominant narrative on climate change, and an ambition to make changes toward more sustainable ways of living, expressed in the collective project of sustainability. Understood as general understandings and teleoaffective structures, these led to a general support toward the general aim to reduce emissions and the idea that changes to everyday life will be necessary among the informants. However, due to complex relationships of enablement and constraint found in the nexus of practices, the informants held mixed perceptions of how actual changes towards sustainability in everyday life could be achieved. First, they expressed frustrations dealing with conflicting understandings and difficult emotions. On the one hand, the notion that "everyone is talking about climate change now" represented a reassuring thought that we are already on the right track in climate change response. On the other, the informants dealt with conflicting understandings and difficult emotions related to their perceptions of agency in climate mitigation and how to negotiate individual and collective responsibility in the global climate crisis. These conflicts resulted in decreased motivation to perform sustainability in everyday life.

Second, their perceived ability to perform sustainability in everyday life revealed relationships of enablement and constraint shaped by interconnected everyday practices. In particular, the informants' perceived ability to perform sustainability in everyday life was shaped by material structures in the built environment, competing demands defined by different practices and social sites that the informants participate in, normative expectations of appropriate conduct that distinguish the 'normal' from the 'extreme', along with motivations and broader understandings of the world that shape what is considered possible and meaningful activity. The informants expressed a need for policymakers to recognize these enabling and constraining factors existing within the practices, bundles, and social sites that make up their everyday life, and consider them in formulating future climate policies. Whether these demands and expectations aligned with or came in conflict with the goals defined by the collective project of sustainability, influenced the informants' attitudes towards policies and their willingness to perform different sustainability practices in everyday life. These attitudes are summed up in the three headline statements in chapter 6, with the informants saying, "we do what we can" *but* "I'm not that extreme" and "we do what we can" *but* "it needs to make sense".

Finally, it was discussed how these findings could be connected to the practical, political, and personal spheres of transformation, revealing potential and barriers to sustainability transformations across the three spheres. The main arguments resulting from this discussion include that factors within each of the spheres push and pull the informants performance of everyday practice, and that their concerns for sustainability take on a secondary role in shaping these practices. Instead, their practice performances are first and foremost shaped by factors relating to the ordinary accomplishment of everyday life. Importantly, the findings highlight the interconnected nature of the three spheres, showing that the factors that constrain the transformative potential of everyday life are defined by the intersections between different practices and the competing motivations and demands found in social sites. Moreover, the perceptions and experiences of the informants are specific to their local and individual contexts. Each of the factors explored in this discussion are defined by the coordination and intersection of the practices and social sites that the informants are participants in. This suggests that acceptance towards transformative change processes is more likely if these processes are approached from the 'bottom-up', with a focus on how local experiences and perceptions can be heard and accounted for in transformative policies, in this way unlocking the transformative potential of everyday life.

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Appendix I: Overview of participants

Table 2: Overview of informants

Participants from the municipal administration				
Name	**Position**			
Harald	Leader for "KulturArena" (cultural events and activities)			
Lars	Environmental consultant			
Participants in the resident interviews				
Name (age)	**Household**	**Children**	**Education**	**Occupation**
Per (57)	Wife and daughter	Three adult children	Master's degree in Plant science (Agronomist)	Farmer and Consultant for Norsk Landbruks-rådgivning
Trond (59)	Wife and daughter	One adolescent and two adult children	One year program agricultural machinery school	Organic dairy farmer
Jan (59)	Wife	One adult child	Certified agricultural mechanic	Runs a construction company and Maintenance worker for Avinor in winter
Silje (36)	Husband and two sons	Two young children	Bachelor's degree in early childhood education	Leader for SFO (after school program)
Ida (36)	Husband and two sons	Two young children	Master's degree in law	Lawyer
Kjell (79) and Inger (75)	Husband and wife	Two adult children	Kjell: civil engineering Inger: Art teacher degree	Pensioners. Kjell: formerly worked for the Norwegian Public Roads Association. Inger: Formerly worked as teacher. Artist.
Helene (26) and Martin (26)	Partners	No children	Helene: Bachelor's degree in teaching Martin: Bachelor's degree in social work	Helene: Kindergarten teacher Martin: Skilled worker at an upper secondary school
Stine (27) and Thomas (30)	Husband and wife, daughter	One young child	Bachelor's degree in teaching (both)	Teachers
Andreas (29)	Wife and daughter	One young child	Master's degree in teaching	Teacher
Participants in focus group				
Name (age)	**Occupation**			
Per (57)	See above			
Rune (57)	Senior adviser and farmer			
Arne (67)	Pensioner, former senior adviser for Landbruksdirektoratet			
Geir (66)	Pensioner, former agricultural advisor, farmer, and department head at Debio			
Odd (71)	Pensioner, former project manager in organic farming and leader for "forsøksring" at Haldensvassdraget			

Appendix II: Information letters

Expert interviews:

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet «Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dyp forståelse av hvordan klimakrisen oppleves av Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

I dette masterprosjektet ønsker jeg å få en dyp forståelse av innbyggere i Aurskog-Hølands erfaringer, tanker og perspektiver på klima, klimakrise og klimapolitikk gjennom kvalitative dybdeintervjuer. Målet er å få utfyllende beskrivelser som kan bidra til å forstå kommunens og innbyggernes rolle i klimasaken. I dette prosjektet er det innbyggerne som er i fokus. Informasjon om innbyggernes erfaringer og perspektiver kan gi kunnskap til utforming av klimapolitiske tiltak og kommuners rolle i klimakrisen. Det er interessant å vite mer om kommunens kultur og historie. Denne informasjonen kan bidra til å bedre forstå innbyggernes perspektiver og konteksten de befinner seg i.

Spørsmålene jeg stiller i prosjektet handler om hvordan sted er med å påvirke hvordan man erfarer og tenker om klimakrisen. Hvordan tenker Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere om egen rolle i klimakrisen? Hvilke erfaringer har Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere i møte med klimasaken? Hvordan påvirkes innbyggernes liv av klimasaken? Hvordan oppleves klima som en global problemstilling fra et lokalt perspektiv?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Universitetet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Jeg ønsker å intervjue noen som har kunnskap om Aurskog-Hølands kultur og historie. Jeg har tatt direkte kontakt med personer jeg tror har denne typen kunnskap og bedt dem foreslå andre som kunne være med i intervjuet.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet innebærer det et intervju på ca. 1 time. Intervjuet vil innebære spørsmål om kommunens kultur, identitet, historie og andre særegenheter. Videre ønsker jeg å vite om noe av dette har endret seg over tid. Det vil bli gjort opptak av intervjuet som transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Transkripsjonen vil oppbevares elektronisk.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- De som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger er meg og min veileder.
- Opptaket av intervjuet transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet vil lagres i UiOs lagringstjenester.

Personopplysninger vil anonymiseres så godt det lar seg gjøre i oppgaven som publiseres. Det kan allikevel tenkes at du kan gjenkjennes basert på din arbeidsstilling. Dette vil bli forsøkt unngått så godt det lar seg gjøre. Jeg vil gi deg mulighet til å gjennomføre en sitatsjekk før oppgaven publiseres, slik at du kan kontrollere at opplysningene du har gitt er riktige dersom du ønsker det.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er juni 2022. Opptak vil slettes fortløpende og transkripsjon av opptak vil slettes ved prosjektslutt. Personopplysningene som publiseres vil være anonymisert.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Oslo har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?
Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:
- Universitetet i Oslo ved Johanne Heen Enger (masterstudent), mob: +4740555345, e-post: johaneng@student.hf.uio.no eller Niladri Chatterjee (veileder), e-post: niladri.chatterjee@sum.uio.no.
- Vårt personvernombud: Roger Markgraf-Bye, e-post: personvernombud@uio.no.

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Johanne Heen Enger
Masterstudent
Senter for utvikling og Miljø
Universitetet i Oslo

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

«Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dyp forståelse av hvordan klimakrisen oppleves av Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
I dette masterprosjektet ønsker jeg å få en dyp forståelse av innbyggere i Aurskog-Hølands erfaringer, tanker og perspektiver på klima, klimakrise og klimapolitikk gjennom kvalitative dybdeintervjuer. Målet er å få utfyllende beskrivelser som kan bidra til å forstå kommunens og innbyggernes rolle i klimasaken. I dette prosjektet er det innbyggerne som er i fokus. Informasjon om innbyggernes erfaringer og perspektiver kan gi kunnskap til utforming av klimapolitiske tiltak og kommuners rolle i klimakrisen. Det er interessant å vite mer om hvordan kommunen jobber med klimaspørsmål og hvordan innbyggerne eventuelt involveres i dette arbeidet. Denne informasjonen kan bidra til å forstå innbyggernes perspektiver.

Spørsmålene jeg stiller i prosjektet handler om hvordan sted er med å påvirke hvordan man erfarer og tenker om klimakrisen. Hvordan tenker Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere om egen rolle i klimakrisen? Hvilke erfaringer har Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere i møte med klimasaken? Hvordan oppleves lokal og nasjonal klimapolitikk fra et lokalt perspektiv?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Universitetet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
Jeg ønsker å intervjue ansatte i kommunen som er involvert i arbeidet med klimaspørsmål i kommunen. Jeg har tatt kontakt med deg direkte fordi du er ansatt i kommunen og er involvert i kommunens arbeid med klimaspørsmål.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet innebærer det et intervju på ca. 1 time. Intervjuet vil innebære spørsmål om kommunens arbeid med klimaspørsmål og din rolle i forhold til dette. Videre ønsker jeg å vite mer om hvordan kommunen involverer og engasjerer innbyggerne i dette arbeidet. Det vil bli gjort opptak av intervjuet som transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Transkripsjonen vil oppbevares elektronisk.

Det er frivillig å delta
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Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- De som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger er meg og min veileder.

- Opptaket av intervjuet transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet vil lagres i UiOs lagringstjenester.

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Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er juni 2022. Opptak vil slettes fortløpende og transkripsjon av opptak vil slettes ved prosjektslutt. Personopplysningene som publiseres vil være anonymisert.

Dine rettigheter
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- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
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Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

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Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?
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- Vårt personvernombud: Roger Markgraf-Bye, e-post: personvernombud@uio.no.

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Med vennlig hilsen

Johanne Heen Enger
Masterstudent
Senter for Utvikling og Miljø
Universitetet i Oslo

Resident interviews:

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet «Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dyp forståelse av hvordan klimakrisen oppleves av Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
I dette prosjektet ønsker jeg å få en dyp forståelse av innbyggere i Aurskog-Hølands erfaringer, tanker og perspektiver på klima, klimakrise og klimapolitikk gjennom kvalitative dybdeintervjuer. Målet er å få utfyllende beskrivelser som kan bidra til å forstå kommunens og innbyggernes rolle i klimasaken. I dette prosjektet er det innbyggerne som er i fokus. Informasjon om innbyggernes erfaringer og perspektiver kan gi kunnskap til utforming av klimapolitiske tiltak og kommuners rolle i klimakrisen. Videre gir det utfyllende kunnskap om hvordan klimakrisen kan oppleves i en lokal kontekst.

Spørsmålene jeg stiller i prosjektet handler om hvordan man erfarer og tenker om klimakrisen, og jeg ser svarene i lys av den konteksten informantene befinner seg i. Hvordan tenker Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere om egen rolle i klimakrisen? Hvilke erfaringer har Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere i møte med klimasaken? Hvordan oppleves lokal og nasjonal klimapolitikk fra et lokalt perspektiv?
Prosjektet er en masteroppgave.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Universitetet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
I dette prosjektet har jeg brukt en snøballmetode for å finne informanter til prosjektet. Det betyr at jeg har begynt med å spørre personer i mitt eget nettverk om intervju og deretter spurt om de kjenner noen andre som kan tenkes at vil delta i prosjektet. For å være med i prosjektet må man være innbygger i Aurskog-Høland og være over 18 år.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Dersom du ønsker å delta i prosjektet innebærer det et intervju på omtrent 1 time hvor jeg vil spørre deg om dine erfaringer og perspektiver på klimakrisen, samt om ditt forhold til Aurskog-Høland. I intervjuet kan det komme fram personopplysninger som navn, arbeid, bosted og politiske syn. Det vil bli gjort opptak av intervjuet. Opptaket av intervjuet transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Transkripsjon av intervjuet vil oppbevares elektronisk.

Det er frivillig å delta
Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

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Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

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Personopplysninger vil anonymiseres så godt det lar seg gjøre i oppgaven som publiseres. Det kan allikevel tenkes at noen personer vil kunne gjenkjennes basert på opplysninger om yrke og bosted. Dette vil bli forsøkt unngått og meninger vil bli forsøkt frakoblet fra personopplysningene. Det vil si at du kan gjenkjennes som deltaker i prosjektet, men ikke hvilke meninger og erfaringer som tilhører deg. På grunn av dette vil jeg be deg om sitatsjekk før oppgaven publiseres.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er juni 2022. Opptak vil slettes fortløpende og transkripsjon av opptak vil slettes ved prosjektslutt. Personopplysningene som publiseres vil være anonymisert.

Dine rettigheter
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Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Oslo har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?
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- Vårt personvernombud: Roger Markgraf-Bye, e-post: personvernombud@uio.no.

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Med vennlig hilsen

Johanne Heen Enger
Masterstudent
Senter for Utvikling og Miljø
Universitetet i Oslo

Focus group:

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

«Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å få en dyp forståelse av hvordan klimakrisen oppleves av Aurskog-Hølands innbyggere. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
I dette prosjektet har jeg hatt et mål om å få en dyp forståelse av innbyggere i Aurskog-Hølands erfaringer, tanker og perspektiver på klima, klimakrise og klimapolitikk gjennom kvalitative dybdeintervjuer. Målet var å få utfyllende beskrivelser som kan bidra til å forstå kommunens og innbyggernes rolle i klimasaken. I denne omgang ønsker jeg å invitere deg til et fokusgruppeintervju hvor vi vil diskutere potensial og utfordringer som innbyggere i Aurskog-Høland møter i en omstillingsprosess mot lavutslippssamfunnet. Spørsmålene jeg stiller vil dreie seg om hvordan det er å bidra til omstilling i Aurskog-Høland som lokal kontekst, hva som må til for å legge til rette for klima- og miljøvennlige handlinger, på hvilke områder innbyggere har mulighet til å bidra og hvilke potensial og barrierer Aurskog-Høland som kommune møter i klimautfordringen. Prosjektet er en masteroppgave.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Universitetet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
Jeg fikk høre om gruppen i et av dybdeintervjuene jeg har gjennomført. Jeg ønsker å ha denne fokusgruppen med dere siden dere har en spesiell interesse for klimaspørsmålet og fordi dere har tilknytning til landbruket i Aurskog-Høland. Landbruket er primærnæring i Aurskog-Høland og er en viktig del av hvordan Aurskog-Høland kan bidra til å redusere klimagassutslipp.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Dersom du ønsker å delta i prosjektet innebærer det et fokusgruppeintervju på omtrent 2 time hvor jeg vil spørre dere om deres perspektiver på problemstillingen nevnt over. I intervjuet kan det komme fram personopplysninger som navn, arbeid, bosted og politiske syn. Det vil bli gjort opptak av intervjuet. Opptaket av intervjuet transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Transkripsjon av intervjuet vil oppbevares elektronisk.

Det er frivillig å delta
Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan jeg oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger
Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- De som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger er meg og min veileder.

- Opptaket av intervjuet transkriberes og deretter slettes. Når intervjuet transkriberes, vil det bli anonymisert. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet vil lagres i UiOs lagringstjenester

Personopplysninger vil anonymiseres så godt det lar seg gjøre i oppgaven som publiseres. Det kan allikevel tenkes at noen personer vil kunne gjenkjennes basert på opplysninger om yrke og bosted. Dette vil bli forsøkt unngått og meninger vil bli forsøkt frakoblet fra personopplysningene. Det vil si at du kan gjenkjennes som deltaker i prosjektet, men ikke hvilke meninger og erfaringer som tilhører deg. På grunn av dette kan du be om å få innsyn i oppgaven før den publiseres.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes/oppgaven er godkjent, noe som etter planen er juni 2022. Opptak vil slettes fortløpende og transkripsjon av opptak vil slettes ved prosjektslutt. Personopplysningene som publiseres vil være anonymisert.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Oslo har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?
Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:
- Universitetet i Oslo ved Johanne Heen Enger (masterstudent), mob: +4740555345, e-post: johaneng@student.hf.uio.no eller Ulrikke Bryn Wethal (veileder), e-post: u.b.wethal@sum.uio.no
- Vårt personvernombud: Roger Markgraf-Bye, e-post: personvernombud@uio.no.

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Johanne Heen Enger
Masterstudent
Senter for Utvikling og Miljø
Universitetet i Oslo

Appendix III: Consent forms

Expert interviews and resident interviews:

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i intervju
- ☐ at det gjøres opptak av intervjuet
- ☐ at opplysningene om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes som deltaker i prosjektet

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Focus group:

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Perspectives on the Climate Crisis in Aurskog-Høland», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i fokusgruppeintervju
- ☐ at det gjøres opptak av intervjuet
- ☐ at opplysningene om meg publiseres slik at jeg kan gjenkjennes som deltaker i prosjektet

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix IV: Interview guides

Expert interviews:

#1 Intervjuguide: Kultur og historie

Bakgrunnsinformasjon:

Navn:

- Kan du fortelle litt om hva du jobber med?

Spørsmål om Aurskog-Hølands identitet og kultur:

- Hvordan vil du beskrive Aurskog-Høland?
    - Kan du fortelle litt om Aurskog-Hølands historie?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive innbyggerne?
    - Hva kjennetegner en person fra Aurskog-Høland?
    - Hølending, Urskauing, Rømsing osv. Er det noen forskjeller?
- Har du noen tanker om hvordan relasjonene mellom de som bor her er?
- Er det noen forskjeller mellom ulike typer mennesker som du tenker på?
- Opplever du at noe av det vi har snakket om til nå har endret seg over tid?
- Etter din mening, er det noe som truer Aurskog-Hølands identitet i dag? Eks: Endringer i samfunnet, endringer som kommer utenfra, endringer som skjer innad i kommunen, føringer fra overordnede instanser, klimaendringer?

Spørsmål om næringer, arbeid, fritidsaktiviteter:

- Hva er de viktigste næringene i kommunen?
    - Har dette endret seg over tid?
    - Hva jobber folk i kommunen med?
    - Har du noen tanker om det som går på ikke-formelt arbeid? Som tjenester, arbeid på hus og gård, jakt osv.
- Hva er det som opptar folk som bor i kommunen?
- Hva med fritidsaktiviteter?
    - Er det noen aktiviteter som er viktige for de som bor her?
    - Har noe av dette endret seg over tid?

Spørsmål om kommunens forhold til andre steder:

- Hvordan vil du beskrive forholdet mellom Aurskog-Høland og andre områder i nærheten?
    - Mellom Aurskog-Høland og Lillestrøm/Oslo?
    - Mellom Bjørkelangen kommunesenter og de andre områdene i kommunen?
    - Med andre kommuner/tettsteder?
    - Hva har disse relasjonene å si for Aurskog-Hølands identitet?

Til slutt:

- Er det noe du vil legge til?

#2 Intervjuguide: Kommunen og klima

Bakgrunnsinformasjon:

- Navn:
- Kan du fortelle litt om din stilling i kommunen?
- Hva er din rolle i forhold til arbeidet med klima i kommunen?
    - Er klimaarbeid en del av stillingen din?

Kommunen og klima:

- Hvordan jobber kommunen med klimaspørsmål?
    - Hva legger kommunen vekt på i dette arbeidet? Hva er viktig?
    - Hvordan spiller ditt arbeid inn i dette?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive innbyggernes holdninger til klimaendringer og klimatiltak?
    - Opplever du at folk er villige til å gjøre endringer for å hjelpe klimaet/bidra til omstilling?
    - Påvirker dette hvordan kommunen jobber med klimaspørsmål? På hvilke måter?
- Hvordan engasjerer kommunen innbyggerne i saker som har med klima å gjøre?
    - Involveres de i arbeidet med utforming av løsninger osv.?
- Har dere noen arrangementer e.l. hvor innbyggerne kan delta som tar for seg disse temaene?
- Finnes det noen organisasjoner e.l. i kommunen som jobber med eller er opptatt av klimaspørsmål?
- Er kommunen involvert i noen form for samarbeid med andre kommuner når det gjelder arbeid med klimaløsninger?
    - Hvordan fungerer dette?

Planer og satsninger:

- Aurskog-Høland er miljøfyrtårn. Kan du fortelle litt om hva det innebærer?
- Kan du fortelle litt om klimaplanen og arbeidsprosessen rundt den?
    - Er det andre planer eller satsninger du vil fortelle om?
- Har du/dere merket noen endring over tid med tanke på kommunens rolle og arbeid med klimaendringer og klimaløsninger?
    - Har dette vært gradvise endringer over tid, eller har de oppstått på grunn av spesifikke føringer, ny ledelse, endringer i lokalstyre osv.?:

Muligheter og utfordringer:

- Er det noen forhold i kommunen eller blant innbyggerne som bidrar positivt til å utforme klimaløsninger?
    - Hvordan jobber dere med å ivareta disse? Og bruke det i arbeidet med klimaløsninger?
    - Er det noe dere kunne gjort bedre etter din mening?
- Er det noen forhold i kommunen eller blant innbyggerne som byr på spesielle utfordringer?
    - Hvordan jobber dere med disse utfordringene?
    - Hvordan påvirker det arbeidet?

Til slutt:

- Er det noe du vil legge til?

Resident interviews:

#3 Intervjuguide – Intervju med innbyggere

Bakgrunnsinformasjon:

- Hvor gammel er du?
- Hva er din familiesituasjon?
- Hva er din arbeidssituasjon? / Hva jobber du med?
- Utdanning?
- Hvor lenge har du bodd i Aurskog-Høland?

Spørsmål om Aurskog-Høland og tilhørighet:

- Hva er ditt forhold til Aurskog-Høland?
- Opplever du en følelse av tilhørighet til Aurskog-Høland/bostedet ditt?
- Vil du si at hjemstedet ditt har endret seg over tid?
- På hvilken/hvilke måter? Kan du utdype?

Spørsmål om perspektiver på klimasaken:

- Hva er dine tanker om klima og klimakrise?
    - Kan du utdype?
- Er du bekymret for klimaendringer?
    - Kan du fortelle litt mer om disse (tankene)? Hvor kommer bekymring fra? Kan du fortelle litt om hva du tror påvirker hvordan du tenker om klima? Eks. Jobb, familie, nyheter, erfaringer, noe i hverdagen din…
- Hvordan vil du beskrive dine venner og families tanker om klimasaken?
    - Diskuterer du klima med venner og familie?
- Etter din mening, hvem vil du si har ansvar i å løse klimautfordringene?
    - Kan du fortelle noe mer om det?
    - Vil du si at du selv har et ansvar på noen måte når det kommer til å løse klimautfordringene?
- Hvor vil du si at du henter informasjon om klimakrisen og klimaendringer fra? Avis/nettavis, sosiale medier, samtaler med venner og familie, bøker, artikler/tidsskrift? Annet?

Spørsmål om hendelser/annet som har påvirket deres syn på klimaendringer:

- Har du noen eksempler på noe du har erfart eller opplevd som du tenker at kan knyttes til klimaendringer? Eller har du lagt merke til endringer over tid som du tenker kan knyttes til klimaendringer? Be om å utdype.
    - Har denne/disse erfaringen(e) påvirket hvordan du tenker om klima og klimaendringer?

- Aurskog-Høland opplevde en tørke i 2018 som bl.a. førte til flere skogbranner og trøbbel for bøndene i Aurskog-Høland.
    - Ser du på denne hendelsen som et tegn på klimaendringer?
    - Har denne hendelsen påvirket hvordan du tenker om klima og klimaendringer?
- Har du noen eksempler på at ulike typer media har påvirket ditt perspektiv på klimaendringer?
    - Noe du har lest, film, tv, kunst, demonstrasjoner osv.
    - På hvilken måte? Kan du fortelle litt om det?

Spørsmål om handlinger og dagligliv:

- Tenker du over miljø og klima i dine daglige gjøremål?
    - Kan du fortelle mer om dette?
    - Kan du gi noen eksempler?
    - Vil du si at du tenker på disse tingene i forbindelse med jobben din/ditt arbeid? På hvilke måter?

- Hvordan er dine transportvaner når det gjelder hverdagsreiser?
    - Hva er de viktigste grunnene til at du velger …?
    - Hva med fritidsreiser? Drar du ofte på ferie? Har du en hytte? Hvordan reiser du eventuelt da?
    - Vil du si at klimakrisen påvirker dine reisevalg? På hvilken måte?
- Kan du forsøke å si noe om dine forbruksvaner? F.eks. hvor ofte du handler, hva du er opptatt av når du kjøper noe, butikkvaner osv.
    - Tenker du ofte over forbruksvanene dine? Hva er eventuelt viktig for deg å tenke over?
    - Vil du si at klimakrisen påvirker dine valg når det gjelder forbruk? På hvilken måte?

Spørsmål om politiske synspunkt:

- Er klima et viktig tema for deg når det kommer til politikk?
    - Er du engasjert i noen form for politisk handling i forbindelse med klima?
    - Hvordan tenker du at man kan påvirke politikken i forbindelse med klima?
- Påvirket klimasaken din stemme under forrige lokalvalg?
    - På hvilken måte/kan du utdype?
- Påvirket klimasaken din stemme under forrige stortingsvalg?
    - På hvilken måte/kan du utdype?

Focus group interview:

#4 Intervjuguide Fokusgruppe

Introduksjon: Hvem jeg er og hva forskningsprosjektet handler om. Meningen med fokusgruppen og hva det innebærer å delta, samt rettigheter.

Innledning

- Kan dere fortelle litt om hvordan denne gruppen oppsto? Hva var motivasjonen bak å ha disse møtene?
- Hva har dere snakket om før?
- Er det et spesielt fokus for disse møtene?
    - Snakker dere om løsninger, barrierer, ting som er vanskelig osv.? Eller handler det om å dele informasjon? Snakker dere om dere selv, Aurskog-Høland, landbruket, eller er fokuset på nasjonalt eller globalt nivå?
- Kan dere fortelle litt om hvorfor dere selv er interessert i disse temaene?

Landbruk

- Dere er alle involvert i landbruket på et vis. Hva tenker dere om landbrukets rolle i å bidra til å redusere utslipp/finne mer klimavennlige løsninger?
    - Hvordan er det i Aurskog-Høland spesifikt? I Norge?
    - Kan dere fortelle litt om de valgmulighetene bønder i Aurskog-Høland har når vi snakker om å redusere utslipp?
- Flere av de jeg har snakket med ønsker å utforske mer klima- og miljøvennlige løsninger i forbindelse med landbruket. Hva skal til for å få til dette?
    - Økonomisk
    - Kunnskapsmessig
    - Kultur – er det en kultur for dette i Aurskog-Høland? Finnes det samarbeid om løsninger?
    - Småskala vs. storskala
- Jeg har hørt at kommunen tilbyr støtte til ulike klimaprosjekter i landbruket. Kan dere si litt om hvordan dette påvirker bønders muligheter til å redusere utslipp?
- Påvirkes landbruket i Aurskog-Høland av klimaendringer? På hvilke måter? Hva har dere erfart selv?
    - Er dere bekymret for denne utviklingen?
    - Finnes det positive aspekter ved dette? Hvordan opplever dere at andre tenker om dette?
- En annen ting jeg har blitt oppmerksom på i intervjuene er at det ikke finnes et sted for å levere inn plast fra rundballer til gjenvinning i Aurskog-Høland, men at dette må kjøres til Alnabru.
    - Har dette alltid vært tilfelle? Tror dere dette påvirker hvorvidt folk leverer inn denne plasten til gjenvinning eller ikke? Finnes det andre løsninger man kan benytte seg av i kommunen?

Redusere utslipp

- Hvis dere tenker på dere selv, hvordan kan dere bidra til å redusere utslipp?
    - I jobben og i hverdagslivet ellers?
    - Opplever dere noen forskjell i hvor mye dere føler dere kan bidra med i forbindelse med jobben og i forbindelse med hverdagslivet? Be om å utdype.
- Hvordan tror dere folk motiveres til å gjøre endringer for å redusere sine klimautslipp? Hva tror dere eventuelt kan oppleves som demotiverende?
- Det kan virke som om folk i Aurskog-Høland synes det er vanskelig å vite hvordan de kan bidra til å redusere utslipp i hverdagslivet, utover resirkulering og å bytte til elbil.
    - Hva tror dere kan være mulige årsaker til dette?
    - Hva skal til for at folk gjør mer?
- Hva tenker dere er de viktigste måtene folk i Aurskog-Høland kan bidra til å redusere utslipp?
    - I intervjuene jeg har hatt, har det kommet frem at folk ønsker at det skal legges til rette for å gjøre bærekraftige og klimavennlige handlinger. Hvordan opplever dere at det legges til rette for slike handlinger i Aurskog-Høland?
    - På hvilke områder mener dere at dette eventuelt kan forbedres?

Lokalt vs. globalt problem – politikk

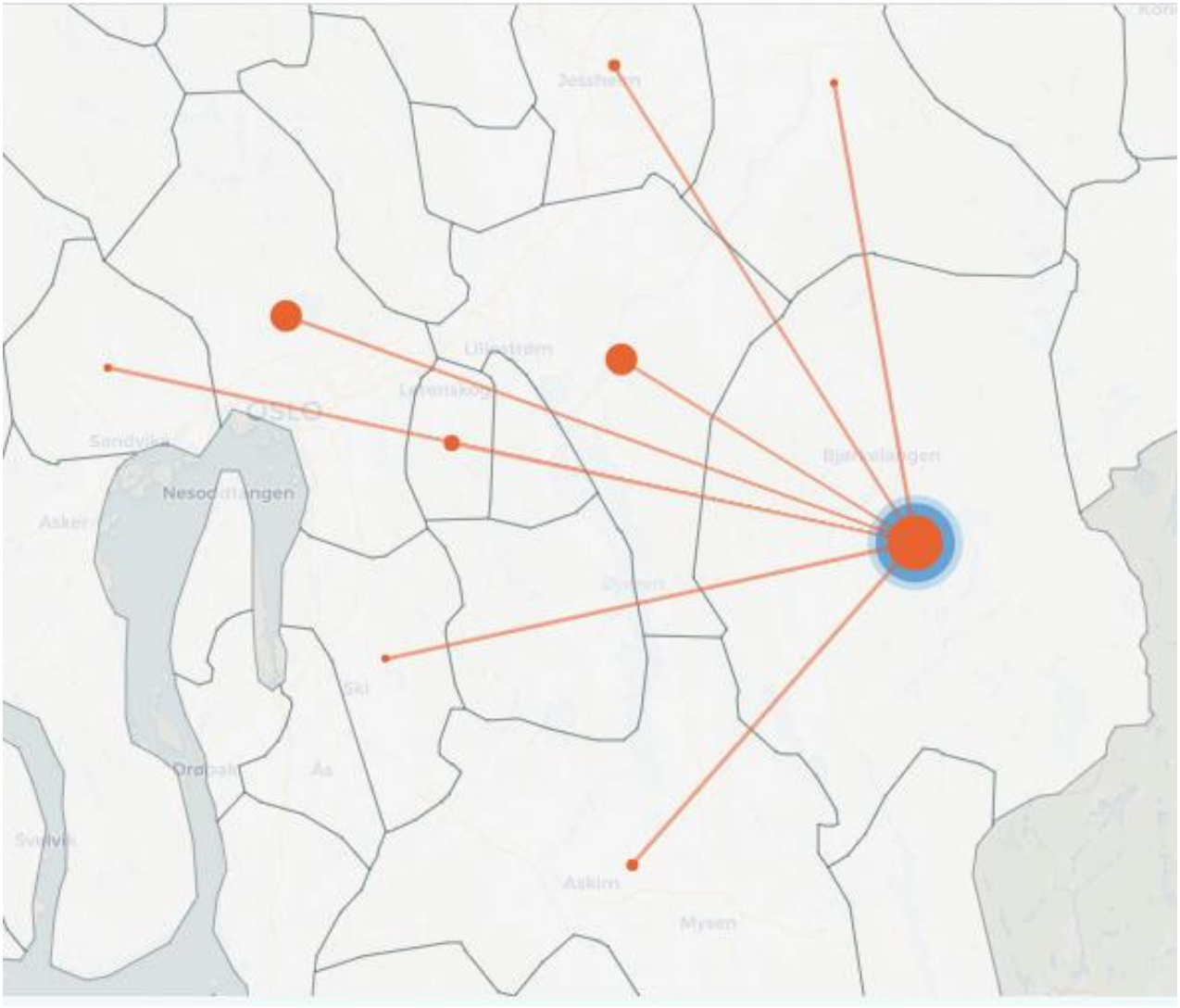
- Klimaendringer er jo et globalt problem. Hvordan tenker dere om å forholde seg til dette i Aurskog-Høland kommune? Fortell om deres egne opplevelser.
    - Hvordan opplever dere at andre rundt dere forholder seg til dette problemet?
- Hva tenker dere om klima i forhold til politikk?
- På spørsmål om politikk er det få som sa at klima var det viktigste temaet for dem når det kom til politikk og valg, til tross for at de synes det er et skremmende problem og noe som må gjøres noe med. Hvorfor tror dere det er slik?
- Hva tenker dere om lokalpolitikkens rolle i å løse klimautfordringene?
    - Er det noe dere ønsker at var annerledes?
    - Har dere noen tanker om hvordan klimautfordringer kan jobbes med på lokalt nivå? Lokalpolitikk og kommunenivå.
    - Sett i forhold til nasjonalt nivå?
- I intervjuene har vi kommet inn på det med sentralisering. Hva tenker dere om dette? I forhold til det vi har snakket om nå?
    - I intervjuene har vi blant annet snakket om at sentraliseringen skaper større avstander, som fører til mer bilbruk. Har dere noen tanker om dette?
    - Har dere noen tanker om fylkessammenslåingen og hva det har å si for disse tingene?
- Hvordan opplever dere landbrukets rolle i klimapolitikken?
    - Føler dere at bøndene blir hørt i disse diskusjonene?
    - Hvordan kan deres egen kompetanse brukes til å finne løsninger på å redusere utslipp i landbruket?
    - Føler dere at dere har mulighet til å bidra med denne kompetansen?

Appendix V: Maps

Map 1: Map of Aurskog-Høland showing the six main settlement areas

Google Maps. (2022). https://www.google.com/maps/place/Aurskog-H%C3%B8land/@59.8086774,11.5052367,10.58z/data=!4m6!3m5!1s0x4643c6a338196383:0xba40392f192cfb6!8m2!3d59.7942688!4d11.5774608!16zL20vMDE4NTlm (place names edited in)

Map 2: Map showing commuter patterns from Aurskog-Høland to nearby areas:



Source: SSB (n.d.b). *Pendlingsstrømmer*. Statistisk Sentralbyrå. Retrieved May 4, 2022, from https://statisticsnorway.shinyapps.io/pendling/