

Marileena Koskela & Markus Vinnari (editors)

FUTURE OF THE CONSUMER SOCIETY

Proceedings of the Conference “Future of the Consumer Society”
28–29 May 2009, Tampere, Finland

FFRC eBook 7/2009



FFRC eBook 7/2009

FUTURE OF THE CONSUMER SOCIETY

Proceedings of the Conference
"Future of the Consumer Society"
28–29 May 2009, Tampere, Finland

Editors

Marileena Koskela
Markus Vinnari

Marileena Koskela, Project Manager
Turku School of Economics, Finland Futures Research Centre
marileena.koskela@tse.fi

Markus Vinnari, Research Scientist
University of Joensuu, Faculty of Social Sciences and Regional Studies
markus.vinnari@joensuu.fi

Copyright © 2009 Writers & Finland Futures Research Centre, Turku School of Economics

ISBN 978-951-564-968-3

ISSN 1797-132

Layout Katariina Yli-Heikkilä, Anne Arvonen

Finland Futures Research Centre
Turku School of Economics
Rehtorinpellonkatu 3, FI-20500 Turku
Korkeavuorenkatu 25 A 2, FI-00130 Helsinki
Pinninkatu 47, FI-33100 Tampere
Tel. +358 2 481 4530
Fax +358 2 481 4630
www.tse.fi/tutu
tutu-info@tse.fi, firstname.lastname@tse.fi



DOWN-TO-EARTH ECONOMY: THE DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTION OF SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION DEBATE

Annikka Berg
Department of Social Policy, University of Helsinki, Finland

ABSTRACT – Sustainable consumption and production (SCP) is a topical concept as national SCP programmes have been drafted by several countries around Europe. This discourse analysis, based on interviews with Finnish SCP committee members, suggests that sustainable consumption and production can be a useful concept for approaching economy in a down-to-earth manner. It can enrich the environmental policy agenda that has long been dominated by technology-oriented ecological modernization. A critical point is, however, that the SCP debate is more concentrated on the needs of consumers than on the needs of poor, the initial focus of sustainable development. Moreover, ideas on how to really change consumption patterns seem to be scarce, scattered, and also contradictory among the SCP stakeholders.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Sustainable consumption and production (SCP) is an emerging policy field that has evolved particularly after the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002). In Johannesburg, it was agreed that a 10-year framework of programmes will be developed in support of regional and national SCP initiatives. The aim of this paper is to shed more light on the *discourses that the SCP concept enables and encourages*. As empirical material has been used 20 interviews conducted with people who participated to the working of the Finnish SCP committee.

An empirical study that organizes the discourses can be fruitful in the case of SCP as there seems to be *continued confusion* over just what is or should be included under the heading of sustainable consumption and production. The confusion was evident already in the Earth Summit of Rio de Janeiro (1992) where some governments emphasized only consumer information while others were willing to problematize Northern consumption patterns in a more profound way.¹

Hajer² has stated that developments in environmental politics critically depend on the specific social construction of environmental problems. From constructivist perspective, certain policy concepts may enable, encourage or hinder the expression of certain facts, views or visions for future. A discourse is embedded in language and it enables "those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent stories or accounts".² What kind of discourses the concept of sustainable consumption and production promotes in the Finnish context? And what are the conceptual roots and theoretical linkages of these discourses? By addressing the first one of these questions, this article aims at providing a broad yet organized picture of the big questions present in the SCP debate as well as of their mutual relationships. By discussing the latter, the attempt is to shed light on the diverse theoretical roots that the SCP debate stems from.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

In Finland, the making of the SCP programme was broadly participative: a committee of some 40 people deliberated for one and a half years to come to a consensual proposal. The committee members represented various ministries but also other stakeholders of the SCP field such as business and industry, labour unions, environmental organizations and research institutes.³ The finalised programme 'Getting more and better from less' was accepted in 2005. It introduces in total 73 proposals for action. Key proposals include establishing a material efficiency service centre, defining long-term policy guidelines to

reshape the taxation system and initiating material- and energy efficiency dialogues for different industrial sectors.

The lengthy deliberative process that produced the Finnish SCP programme can be seen as a fruitful background for analysing discourses. Approximately half of the people involved in the working of the Finnish SCP committee were interviewed for the study. The 20 focused interviews concentrated on certain themes such as the provisions and the making of the Finnish SCP programme and the general politics on sustainable consumption and production.

The interviews were recorded, transcribed and later coded and analyzed by Atlas.TI. When tracking the discourses, the aim was to find the important bits from the empirical material and to see, by using theoretical knowledge about the field, what kind of stories or accounts they could make.² Thus, the analysis combined both theoretical and empirical approaches.

RESULTS

When making the analysis, one of the most striking features of the interview material was the great *variety* of ways that the term *sustainability* was used. What was labelled as sustainable varied a lot within the material. The era of sustainable development can be seen to begin with the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987. As frequently cited, Our Common Future defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.⁴

In my interviews, this original definition had given way to more recent definitions of sustainable development. The generally shared idea was that sustainability means taking into account the three or four ‘pillars’^{5,6}, the ecological, economic, social and, as some added, cultural dimension of sustainability. However, the material showed a number of ways to *weight certain pillars over others*. Thus, visible was how sustainable development allows for different interest groups or sector-representatives to package their message and interest as something that promotes sustainability.

“Finland is losing jobs all the time ... mostly to the former socialist countries and also to Asia [S]o of these dimensions of sustainable development one should emphasize employment or this social dimension in the future ... [I]f we think for example Finnish agriculture ..., so this ecological dimension is not a problem.” (H07)

When talking about sustainability, Finland was characterized both as a *model country* for sustainable development and as a *predator* that makes others pay environmental and social price for its prosperity. Accordingly, the change needed was seen both as fundamental and as superficial. On the other hand, typical for sustainability talk was the recognition of the *global context* where the possible problems of sustainability occur and need to be addressed. The globalised economy is a challenging field for grappling the problems as it works beyond the powers of a single state. Moreover, in global context, worries about national competitiveness may override other concerns. Thus, some considered that sustainable development has lost its environmentally conscious roots.

“[I]n my opinion, the whole history of [sustainable development] has dealt with the aspect that there was the need to strengthen environmental angle in economic processes while taking into account that it has social consequences. So now it feels that it has turned upside down.” (H05)

Dryzek⁷ has pointed out that the Brundtland report itself is a bit ambiguous on the existence of *environmental limits*. In addition, the *capitalist economy* is taken pretty much for granted by the advocates of sustainability. The environment versus growth controversy that polarized the debate in the 1970s is partially side-stepped. Emphasis is in the reorientation of growth to meet the urgent needs of the world’s poor and to reduce the impacts of economic activity on the environment.^{6,8} Thus, sustainable development appeals to established notions of progress, equity, prudence, and stewardship, but combines and extends these in new ways.⁹

While the idea of sustainability may be vague and even controversial as a concept that defines, for example, what should be done to our consumption and production patterns, it has also another dimension. This dimension deals with the ways to create fruitful circumstances for policy-making on sustain-

able development. In this context, ideas about *participation* and consensus-oriented deliberation play key roles. Some of the interviewees saw participatory governance and social learning as the practical means to implement sustainable development. The same process-oriented view is held also by many academic writers of sustainable development.^{6, 10, 11, 12}

"[I]n sustainable development, ... we Finns have had that kind of approach that emphasises social learning, so that we don't aspire at a... [sighs] grand plan that is carved to stone, and that is then implemented But we depart from the idea that we learn all the time, we learn new things, and there will be new programmes" (H11)

Lafferty and Meadowcroft¹³ conclude that sustainable development provides a framework within which to reconcile different sorts of interests and considerations. Meanwhile, Dryzek¹⁴ calls sustainability as "the axis around which discussion occurs". This idea about sustainability as a kind of *discursive forum* to deliberate on the big challenges of our time is the approach utilized in this paper.

When making the analysis, it was noticed that a considerable amount of the empirical material dealt with the ways how the interviewees saw the relationships of the different pillars of sustainable development. Finding synergies is the essence of sustainable development.¹⁵ Thus, it was particularly interesting to analyse the positive *win-win* relationships that the interviewees found to exist between the pillars. The material that dealt with the 'double-dividends' between these pillars formed the plot for the discourse analysis. For example, Industrial welfare state discourse was built upon empirical material that dealt with the win-win of meeting social needs and promoting economic growth. Support for constructing the discourses and putting the pieces together was got from the theoretical literature of the sustainable consumption and production field. Interesting was that there seemed to be a lot of material that dealt with double-dividends between some two – and not all the three – of the pillars. The names and mutual relationships of the discourses can be found from the Figure 1.

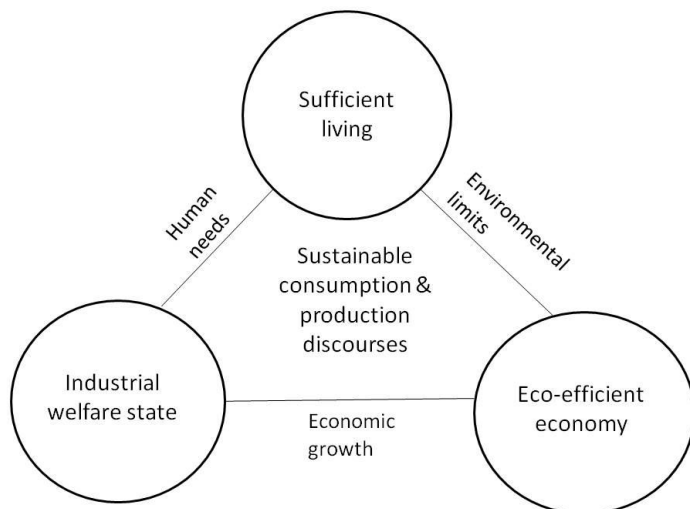


Figure 1. The discursive dimensions of sustainable consumption and production.

Industrial welfare state discourse

What kind of discourses Figure 1 entails? In Industrial welfare state discourse, the core idea is that meeting social needs and promoting welfare requires strong economy. Therefore *risking economic growth risks also the social sustainability*.

"Finland is a raw-material intensive country the well-being of which, in our opinion, is based on successful export industry If that suffers ... so we think that it will affect our well-being in Finland." (H09)

The flexible nature of the sustainability concept allows for the Industrial welfare state discourse to play down environmental challenges. Meanwhile, the importance of social and economic dimensions is

stressed. Environmentally-oriented thinking is pictured as 'luxury', something that can be afforded once the more basic needs are satisfied.

"But also here in Finland, we have poverty and a lot of that kind of social things, problems, the fixing of which promotes sustainable development by all means ... [I]f the lives of people are not all right, so it is useless to go and tell them about environmental issues, being ecological, if people have so little money." (H14)

In addition, an important part of the Industrial welfare state discourse was the idea that *environmental problems* or sustainability problems in general, are *not that serious* – at least in Finland. Thus, what was seen to be the goal in the process of sustainable consumption and production, and sustainable development in general, was largely to defend the current status quo. And if some changes would be needed on international level, there was no reason for a small country to play too brave. Other, more influential, countries should take the lead.

"[I]f you think globally, so we cannot by ourselves... And then here is also the dilemma that even though Finland and EU would do everything ... so it would be only 8 percent of this climate change." (H20)

Industrial welfare state discourse shows the strong standing that the long-dominant discourse of *industrialism* still has in our society. In addition, it demonstrates how the concept of welfare state helps those worried about social services to find those promoting stronger economic growth. According to Dryzek¹⁶, industrialism is committed to growth in the quantity of goods and services produced and to the material well-being which that growth brings. Environmental discourses depart from these terms. Still, in the Finnish context, ideas about welfare state probably have so strong positive connotations that they can be easily associated with sustainable development.

Eco-efficient economy discourse

Eco-efficient economy discourse is based on the notions that there can be win-win relationships in promoting economic growth and obeying environmental limits. The supposition is that *fixing environmental problems is also economically beneficial*, at least in the long term. Eco-efficient economy discourse takes the environmental challenge related to SCP much more seriously than Industrial welfare state discourse. Further, it promotes restructuration of the political economy along more environmentally sound lines.

"In Germany, regions that have improved their eco-efficiency ... for example also employment rate is better, economy goes fine. And regions that have traditional heavy industry are not bearing out. ... That kind of far-reaching structural adjustment programme would be needed." (H01)

Closely linked to science, the development of environmentally sound *technology* is an important part of the SCP solution package provided by the Eco-efficient economy discourse. It reflects hope in human capabilities to come up with rational solutions. The emphasis on technological innovations as means of solving environmental problems links Eco-efficient economy discourse firmly to the *production* dimension of the SCP concept. About consumption, it has much less to say.

"[T]he development of environmental technology plays a key role if we think about getting forward." (H08)

As already the name reveals, the societal vision of the Eco-efficient economy discourse includes emphasis on energy and material *efficiency* as well as on life-cycle thinking. In general, it seems that eco-efficiency is an important concept in the whole discussion on SCP as it was frequently mentioned in the interviews. What helped in piecing together the Eco-efficient economy discourse was the theory of *ecological modernization*. As a political project, ecological modernization breaks with both strategies requiring radical social change and those offering end-of-the-pipe solutions.¹⁷ Ecological modernization recognizes the structural character^{18,19} of environmental problems and highlights the win-win possibilities between protecting the environment and boosting the economy.^{20,21} Thus, it shares the starting point of the Eco-efficient economy discourse.

Ecological modernization was first identified in the early 1980s by the German social scientists Joseph Huber (1982) and Martin Jänicke (1985) who observed and interpreted its development in Ger-

many. Hager¹⁷ suggests that with the global endorsement of the Brundtland Report and the general acceptance of Agenda 21 in the Earth Summit, ecological modernization became dominant in political debates on ecological affairs. From this perspective, sustainable development and ecological modernization would share a lot in terms of both history and content.

According to Lafferty and Meadowcroft²², promoting eco-efficiency, integrating environmental considerations into decision-making and linking the long-term economic progress to environmental protection are features embraced both by sustainable development as provided by the Brundtland Report and ecological modernization theory as presented in this article. On the other hand, contrasts between the two are also significant: While sustainable development is international in focus, ecological modernization concentrates on national level. Moreover, sustainable development cannot be reduced to the sort of narrowly economic and technocratic approach like that of ecological modernization.²³ However, as Eco-efficient economy discourse was so popular among the interviewees, it can be that sustainable consumption and production has become the politically re-invented name tag for ecological modernization. Also Spaargaren²⁴ concludes that the approach of ecological modernization is focused primarily on the reconstruction of those institutions of modern society which are involved in production and consumption. This would make it well-fit to the discussion on SCP.

To sum up, Eco-efficient economy discourse follows the main lines of argument of the general ecological modernization theory: It calls for scientifically grounded environmental reform of economy and technology and reflects the win-win between environment and economy. Eco-efficient economy has a rather strong change-oriented focus compared to, for example, Industrial welfare state. Still, considering the complexity of consumption and production practices, it can be asked whether its analysis and tools are a bit too mechanistic and technocratic.

Sufficient living discourse

As a seed for Sufficient living discourse acted the idea that promoting environmental sustainability in consumption and production would be beneficial also for people and their well-being. What essentially characterizes the Sufficient living discourse is the logic that for a country like Finland *less stuff means more life quality*.

"[W]hat is aspired is also the wellbeing of people, not in economic sense but perhaps more like joy and happiness. And I don't remember how we put it ... it was less stuff and more life quality. That, in my opinion, kind of pictures the goal the society could set for itself." (H08)

According to Jackson²⁵, it has been a frequent suggestion in the literature that this kind of double dividend is inherent in sustainable consumption. Manoochehri²⁶ points out that the roots of the sustainable consumption debate lie both in the long-standing concerns about natural *resource depletion*, and in the analysis of economic demand *behaviour*. A first seam of literature relevant to sustainable consumption was devoted to the practices of consumers, both in terms of behavioural drivers and the social and environmental costs of those practices. This seam stretches from Veblen's (1899) idea of conspicuous consumption to, for example, Durning's (1992) well-known book 'How much is enough?'

"[F]irst thing is of course that consumption should stay within the framework that nature can take. - - So the problem is that we are so rich. - - [A]nd then the question is, that should we content ourselves with somehow less." (H07)

What emphasizes the link between sustainable development and sustainable consumption is the fact that the most broad-ranging outcome of the Earth Summit, Agenda 21, includes Chapter 4 entitled "Changing Consumption Patterns". Even though Agenda 21 is a non-binding plan of action for the international community on sustainable development, Chapter 4 could be seen as a mandate for altering consumption and production patterns. Manoochehri²⁶ interprets, however, that compared to even the limited things that have been achieved based on the other chapters of Agenda 21, the results of the Chapter 4 mandate are close to a failure. According to him, one of the reasons behind the failure has been lack of distinction between sustainable development and sustainable consumption. In addition, sustainable consumption is easily cast as a negative message, either economically or morally, as it calls for restraint use

of resources and changes in behaviour. Moreover, it remains hard to balance the technical, efficiency-oriented message familiar from ecological modernization, with the more socially-complex issues of consumer preferences and behaviour.

A critical point made by the Sufficient living discourse is the realization of the *limits to eco-efficiency*. In the interviews, it was taken up that while for example cars have become more efficient, the growing size of vehicles has allowed for the traffic emissions to keep on growing. Thus, this so called rebound effect challenges the hopes vested to solving SCP-related environmental problems by efficiency gains alone.

The critique of eco-efficiency made the interviewees seek solutions from the social domain. The call was to change the *values and behaviour* of people. Different thing was, however, how this change could be eventually realized as it seemed that the criticism on eco-efficiency casted a shadow over the whole toolbox provided by the Eco-efficient economy discourse. Thus, views were split as regards the usefulness of economic instruments in solving the 'behaviour problem' of sustainable consumption and production. While some saw economic instruments as the only effective way to change peoples' behaviour, others counted more on informational devices and education, and some just concluded that changing the values and behaviour is extremely difficult.

As regards the role of *consumers* in making sustainable consumption happen, already Veblen²⁷ rejected the idea of rational homo economicus that is capable of maximizing his personal utility. For Veblen, humans were conspicuous consumers that competed, contrary to reason and better knowledge. More recently, writers such as Moisander²⁸ have criticized the role scripted for green consumers. There has been a tendency to rely on an individualist view of the subject as an autonomous, conscious, and self-contained agent whose mind is capable of independent thought and action. On the whole, Moisander concludes, such an individualistic conception of subjectivity and human agency largely fails to recognize the historical, political and social conditions and limits of everyday life.

"This [changing of consumption and production patterns] is challenging of course in the sense that this deals largely with persuasion or shaping the sentiment or the behaviour. So contrary to something like money or fiscal policy in which you just need to crank the tap and something happens." (H04)

Sufficient living discourse also had some own proposals for shaping the political economy. The idea was that the actual *needs* of consumers should be taken to the *core of the economy*. Thus economy should be need-driven and not production-driven. As it could be more environmentally friendly to satisfy needs with *services*, instead of material products, the development of the service sector should be promoted.

Moreover, Sufficient living also notices that it is not only money that moves people, and that for example an enabling infrastructure counts a lot. Accordingly, *environmentally sound living* could and should be *made easier*. Interviewees pointed out that different kinds of product-service systems could help in paving the way for the introduction of environmentally friendly technology.

"This was in my opinion cute; the promotion of new product-service systems ... This means for example the installation of a solar panel. ... [A] normal person won't like to start to think about that ... There should be someone who would come to design it for you and say that these are the options and then you can decide between them. Then the same partner organizes the installation and gives maintenance instructions." (H01)

To conclude, compared to Industrial welfare state and Eco-efficient economy, Sufficient living discourse provides a more detailed analysis about the SCP related problems at hand. It points out that eco-efficiency is not enough and even getting the prices right can fail if there are other structural barriers on the way. It opens up new kinds of visions by paying attention to human needs and the opportunities of the service sector in answering them. On the other hand, while behaviour and values of people stand at the core of the Sufficient living discourse, there seems to be confusion about how to really change them. This is a potential weakness of the discourse as it easily leaves the job on the shoulders of the green consumers. While win-win solutions for environment and human wellbeing may exist, the literature shows that they require a concerted societal effort to realize.²⁵

On the other hand, product-service innovations as well as the ecological restructuring of economy and systems of provision are ideas that could be shared by both Eco-efficient economy and Sufficient living discourse. As they manage to balance between the different aspects of the discourses, they might be seen as potentially useful tools in the palette to promote sustainable consumption and production.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the beginning of this article, the following research questions were posed: What kind of discourses the concept of sustainable consumption and production promotes in the Finnish context? And what are the conceptual roots and linkages of these discourses? Table 1 below answers these questions by summing up the analysis presented so far. What Table 1 shows is that Industrial welfare state and Sufficient living share the interest in social needs. While Industrial welfare state deals with securing the national economic growth, Sufficient living questions the connection made between growth and quality of life. From the social point of view, Eco-efficient economy could be criticized for technocracy. Still, if environmental concerns are seen to be the core of promoting SCP, Eco-efficient economy and Sufficient living sketch some new future visions while Industrial welfare state mainly defends business-as-usual.

On the basis of the analysis, an important question to ask is whether the concept of sustainable consumption and production can provide anything *new* for the discussion on sustainable development and environmental policy. What seems fresh from the mainstream environmental policy point of view are the provisions of the Sufficient living discourse. It is broadening the scope of problem definitions as well as solutions compared to the more mechanistic thinking of ecological modernization. What is particularly appealing is the way it discusses economy. By addressing things such as human well-being and the meeting of the needs in environmentally sound way, the discourse brings *economy down to the grass root level of everyday life*. It enables us to ask questions such as: Is economic growth making us happier? What more ecologically benign consumption and production patterns would mean in practice? And to what extent it is fruitful to talk about economy beyond the social?

What was a bit surprising in the interviews was the rather restricted definition of social sustainability. The discussions dealt mostly with the social dimensions of consumption and production in Finland. Thus, the needs of the world's poor, the initial focus of the Brundtland Report, gave way to the *needs of consumers*. Moreover, the questions on the potentially massive global social problems related to, for example, extractive industries, manufacturing or international trade were hardly addressed in the interviews. Since the understanding about environmental problems and, to some extent, also economy was global in the interviews, the nationally restricted understanding of social sustainability seems odd. An explanation could be that SCP talk in general bears closer resemblance to ecological modernization than to the 'original' sustainability language of Our Common Future. And, as Dryzek²⁹ points out, "ecological modernization is completely silent about what might be appropriate path for the Third World societies".

To conclude, it is fair to say that in the interview material, there was also text that carefully integrated the different discourses presented here. So, the discursive model drafted in this paper is only a kind of caricature of the elements present in the discussions. Still, what it hopes to provide is a more organized, empirically inspired but theoretically rooted picture about the big elements of the sustainable consumption and production debate. It is built upon interviews conducted with SCP stakeholders in Finland. However, as the empirical material went rather easily together with the previous literature on the field, similar discursive structure can probably be found also from other related cases.

Table 1. *The discursive dimensions of sustainable consumption and production.*

	Industrial welfare state	Eco-efficient economy	Sufficient living
Current situation	Finland as a model country for sustainable development	Finland meeting the global challenge of environmental problems.	Finland facing pressing ecological limits and problematic consumption patterns.
Need for change	No. Rather there is the need to defend the status quo.	Yes. Eco-efficiency should be promoted by incorporating the environmental costs into economy.	Yes. But eco-efficiency is not enough – changes in peoples' values and behaviour are needed.
Future vision	Even more prosperous and socially sustainable welfare state.	Growing but eco-efficient economy with ecologically sound product life-cycles.	Newly structured economy that departs from needs and provides services.
Link to SCP	Restricted definition of sustainability	(Sustainable) production	(Sustainable) consumption
Roots (win-win)	Industrialism (economic-social)	Ecological modernization (ecological-economic)	Critique of consumer society, limits to growth, sustainable consumption (ecological-social)
Critique	Fails to seriously acknowledge ecological challenges. Enables for the social and economic interests to defend the status quo.	Offers a clear and practical approach to solving broad-ranging environmental problems. Still, view on society and consumption mechanistic and technocratic.	Includes a more thorough analysis about social life and human needs. Ideas about how to really change things somewhat undeveloped.

REFERENCES

- 1 Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2002) *Implementing Sustainable Development. Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies.* Oxford University Press. pp. 387–388
- 2 Hajer, M. A. (1995) *The Politics of Environmental Discourse. Ecological Modernisation and the Policy Process.* Oxford University Press. Oxford University Press. 332 p.
- 3 The Committee on Sustainable Consumption and Production (2005) *Getting more and better from less. Proposals for Finland's national programme to promote sustainable consumption and production.* Available <http://www.ymparisto.fi/default.asp?contentid=149254&lan=en>. Cited 29th April 2009.
- 4 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) *Our Common Future.* Available <http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm>. Cited 29th April 2009.
- 5 Hopwood, B., Mellor, M. & O'Brien, G. (2005) *Sustainable Development. Mapping Different Approaches.* Sustainable Development Vol. 13, pp. 38–52.
- 6 Jordan, A. (2008) *The governance of sustainable development: taking stock and looking forward.* Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy Vol. 26, pp. 17–33.
- 7 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses.* Oxford University Press. pp. 129–130.
- 8 Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2002) *Implementing Sustainable Development. Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies.* Oxford University Press. pp. 11 – 12.
- 9 Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2002) *Implementing Sustainable Development. Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies.* Oxford University Press. pp. 12.
- 10 Bagheri, A. & Hjort, P. (2007) *Planning for Sustainable Development. A Paradigm Shift Towards a Process-Based Approach.* Sustainable Development Vol. 15, pp. 83 – 96.
- 11 Morse, S. (2008) *Post-Sustainable Development.* Sustainable Development Vol. 16, pp. 341–352.
- 12 Newman, L. (2007) *The Virtuous Cycle. Incremental Changes and a Process-Based Sustainable Development.* Sustainable Development Vol. 15, pp. 267–274.
- 13 Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2002) *Implementing Sustainable Development. Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies.* Oxford University Press. pp. 12.
- 14 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses.* Oxford University Press. pp. 14.
- 15 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses.* Oxford University Press. pp. 132.
- 16 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses.* Oxford University Press. pp. 12.
- 17 Hajer, M. A. (1996) *Ecological Modernisation as Cultural Politics.* In Lash, S., Szerszynski, B. & Wynne, B. (eds.) *Risk, Environment, and Modernity. Towards a new ecology.* SAGE. pp. 248–249.
- 18 Hajer, M. A. (1995) *The Politics of Environmental Discourse. Ecological Modernisation and the Policy Process.* Oxford University Press. pp. 24–25.

-
- 19 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses*. Oxford University Press. pp. 141.
- 20 Spaargaren, G. (1997) *The Ecological Modernization of Production and Consumption. Essays in environmental sociology*. Thesis Landbouw Universiteit Wageningen. pp. 12.
- 21 Orsato, R. J. & Clegg, S. R. (2005) *Radical Reformism. Towards Critical Ecological Modernization* Vol. 13, pp. 253–267.
- 22 Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2002) *Implementing Sustainable Development. Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies*. Oxford University Press. pp. 447–450.
- 23 Hajer, M. A. (1996) *Ecological Modernisation as Cultural Politics*. In Lash, S., Szerszynski, B. & Wynne, B. (eds.) *Risk, Environment, and Modernity. Towards a new ecology*. SAGE. pp. 253–255.
- 24 Spaargaren, G. (1997) *The Ecological Modernization of Production and Consumption. Essays in environmental sociology*. Thesis Landbouw Universiteit Wageningen. pp. 26.
- 25 Jackson, T. (2005) *Live Better by Consuming Less? Is there a “Double Dividend” in Sustainable Consumption?* *Journal of Industrial Ecology* Vol. 9, pp. 19–36.
- 26 Manoochehri, J. (2002) *Post-Rio ‘Sustainable Consumption’: Establishing coherence and a common platform*. *Development* Vol. 45, pp. 47–53.
- 27 Veblen, T. (2002) *Joutilas luokka (The Theory of the Leisure Class)*. Art House. pp. 7 (In Finnish)
- 28 Moisander, J. (2001) *Representation of Green Consumerism. A Constructionist Critique*. Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration, *Acta Universitatis Oeconomicae Helsingiensis*, A-185. pp. 252.
- 29 Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses*. Oxford University Press. pp. 146.