

Chapter 2

Vulnerability and Risk: Towards Stewardship of a Post-Carbon Economy

2.1 Participatory Democracy and Governance to Mitigate and Adapt to Climate Change

The research aims to establish if it is possible for cultural transformation to enable a shift from denial to ambivalence to sustainable cosmopolitanism.¹ It strives to

¹ *Firstly*, the aim is to develop a participatory democracy and governance cybernetics approach to support sustainable approaches to living well in geographically and socially diverse communities and contribute to developing the research capability on democracy, governance and sustainability in Australia. The research will provide greater insight of how diverse residents perceive their rights and responsibilities to mitigate the causes of climate change and adapt to the effects. *Secondly*, the research aims to discover whether participation enhances awareness of the need to live sustainably and whether this translates into measurable social changes indicated by the resilience scorecard based on the West Churchman's design of inquiring systems approach and an adapted form of Max-Neef's Human Sustainability Index. *Thirdly*, we will find out how socio-demographic, cultural characteristics and geographic location impact on consumer decisions about the way they live. It addresses the question of how to 'reconcile universalistic principles of human rights, autonomy, and freedom' with our identity 'as members of certain human communities divided by language, ethnicity or religion' (Benhabib 2007). It explores the extent to which cultural stewardship and concern for future generations plays a role in the way people choose to live and the extent that engagement leads to greater understanding of sustainable living, wellbeing and resilience. *Thirdly*, we explore which forms of engagement are most likely to have an impact on decision making and to what extent participants change their attitudes as a result of engaging with others and thinking about the consequences of their choices. The results based on measures are adapted from the Max-Neef Human Scale Sustainability Index (1991). It details: (a) what kinds of interactive processes help residents to think through the consumption choices they would like to make at the local level and the implications in terms of costs (social, economic and environmental); (b) the relevance of participation for rights and responsibilities; (c) an appreciation of an extended sense of space and time; and (d) the implications for consumption, policy and administration. These qualitative and quantitative data could provide valuable evidence for policy and planning on what works, why and how in order to enhance the wellbeing, sustainability and resilience of local communities. It will contribute to the theory on democratic engagement and how to address sustainable living through governance. It is always necessary to have standards and monitoring of standards. But what should these standards be? Excellence needs to be measured in terms of wellbeing and sustainability, not the economic bottom line. So whilst I applaud these efforts, I think we need to find ways to build

enable a greater awareness of consciousness of our rights and responsibilities as global citizens.²

This chapter discusses a participatory action research project in a place I will call ‘Middleville’ in South Australia.³ The chapter aims to:

- Address the challenge posed by Stiglitz (2010) to the Australian Productivity Commission, namely to foster an understanding that the wellbeing of humanity is dependent on the global commons. It makes the case that an Orwellian future of digital top-down controls or a breakdown of essential services in ungoverned regions is already a reality that needs to be controlled and reversed through balancing individual and collective needs.
- Explore the potential for participatory democracy and governance to (a) monitor, (b) match services to need and (c) blow the whistle on injustice. It makes the case that the following are amongst the greatest challenges facing humanity and that they potentially pose an ‘existential risk’: (a) representation of the increasingly diverse populations within nation states; (b) accountability to ensure that resources are used fairly and equitably and sustainably and (c) engagement to enhance the capability of people to understand that attitudes towards consumption have profound implications for social and environmental justice issues. The area

in ongoing evaluation to environmental concerns, and not the market. According to Stiglitz et al. (2011, p 15), building ‘wellbeing stocks’ for the future requires reframing our thinking, practice and our relationships to one another and the land.

² It is practical in that it attempts to acknowledge that localized, slow lives that are sustainable could lapse into the Orwellian nightmare of control from above—without surveillance from below to hold the elites to account. It is for this reason that the future needs to be shaped not only by the state military complex but also by members of the public—protected by a scaled-up version of the Aarhus Convention that gives residents within post-national regions the right to access information and the right to be heard by the state (1998, see McIntyre-Mills 2011).

³ The research has been funded by the Centre for Research into Aboriginal Health (CRAH) Australian Local Government Association and is currently in progress (McIntyre-Mills and de Vries 2011). The transdisciplinary team comprises: Janet McIntyre (Social and Policy studies) to conceptualise and implement the project with Dr. Denise de Vries (Informatics, Flinders University) with the assistance of Sun Binchai (Hons. graduate, Informatics, Flinders University), Ivantia Mokoginta (PhD student, Economics and Public Policy), Adib Mohammed Shomad (PhD student, Public policy and management), Barbara Dickson (MA student, Public Policy and engagement specialist for an urban renewal department, public sector, Adelaide), Dr. John Mugabushaka (PhD student and public policy and youth justice officer, public sector, Adelaide) and David Hope (accountant and risk management consultant for local government). Details can be found at: and an earlier version at <http://www.socsci.flinders.edu.au/av/pathways/binder.php>. Application for local government: https://socsci.flinders.edu.au/fippm/pathways_lg/. <https://wellbeing.csem.flinders.edu.au/>. The log in is user name=test, code=test.

The chapter needs to acknowledge the following publications on this research: McIntyre-Mills and De Vries, 2012, *Wellbeing and existential risk: engagement to address the policy and governance challenges of mitigation and accountability*, McIntyre, J. (School of Social and Policy Studies, Flinders University, janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au presenting author, De Vries, D. (Computer Science, Engineering and informatics, Flinders University, denise.devries@flinders.edu.au, paper delivered at CASS Research Conference *Sustainable Environmental Policy and Global Governance*, Beijing, China, 18–19 September 2012 and submitted to the journal of convergence, China Permission to publish UKSS paper.

of concern is to take into account social, economic and environmental factors that make a difference to wellbeing and our ability to mitigate or adapt to climate change and to develop climate change policy and actions, using a participatory process with local residents to inform policy makers and service providers.

The research on representation, accountability and engagement strives to prefigure⁴ another way to engage the public to adapt to and mitigate the extent of the risks posed by climate change. The research tests the principle of subsidiarity and Ashby's rule of requisite variety (1956) to establish ways to enhance representation, accountability and engagement.

In the resource-rich cities of the world, mobile people spend their time rushing from one appointment to another. They use mobile technology in ways that can make life frenetic. But digital technology could be used in different ways—not to constantly reschedule meetings but to enable life to be lived at a slower pace. It can be used to enable people to think about alternative ways of living and to 'join up the dots'. The containment of anxiety has been stressed as one of the main reasons for using digital technology by many very mobile workers. Containment anxiety is felt increasingly by overwrought people living very fast-paced lives (Elliot 2010, p 21) and so digital technology tends to be used to address isolation and rescheduling—but it can be used for transformation. The chapter suggests a different way of using technology, in order to support being rooted in one particular place. Mobility is greater than it has ever been in the past. Powerful decision makers live lives that are mobile and information rich, because they have wide networks. The current research with a local community in South Australia indicates an increasing awareness of the need to live sustainably.

The mobile hunter-gatherer is as normal as the localized cultivator of the earth in human history. Archaeological history and anthropology have also demonstrated that food security is not achieved only by the hunter-gatherers (who forage beyond the immediate neighbourhood) but also through localized agriculture, that needs to be sustainable, or it will lead to the sort of collapse that occurred at Chichen Itza, Mexico, or on Easter Island. Living locally and eating locally could become the norm in the event of a collapse in the carbon economy and rising costs, but it will need the careful governance of resources.

It is likely that a greater balance will need to be achieved between individual and collective needs through emphasizing the determinants of wellbeing for this generation and the next. This requires a new approach to public education, democracy, governance and ethics that places food security at the centre of decisions. The role of local participation and governance thus becomes increasingly important. Our research strives to enable people to have a say about how scarce resources should be used, in order to inform elected representatives of their perceived social, economic and environmental needs.

It is hoped that by thinking about what they have and what they need and what they are prepared to change (by being prompted to consider the consequences of

⁴ Thus, its emphasis is not merely to describe what the case is, but to design alternative praxis as a seed for transformation.

their choices for others and for the environment) thinking and practice will support local socio-environmental systems.⁵ The notion of engagement in ‘if-then scenarios’ is helpful to enable people to develop sustainable social, economic and environmental decisions (McIntyre-Mills and De Vries 2011).

Local government is able to address policy and governance based on an analysis of their perceptions and choices. By considering the implications of three scenarios, the users of the interactive software program are inspired to think about social, economic and environmental choices. The scenarios range from ‘business as usual’ to ‘small adjustments to green economies’ to ‘sustainability and wellbeing’.

The aim is to enhance their awareness and to help local government decision makers to understand the needs and perceptions of local voters. The software is populated by data on services that are available to enable greener choices. Thus, it aims to help with raising consciousness which can provide a step towards the creation of a new suburban culture.⁶

A digital future need not be Orwellian, based on skyscrapers such as the tallest building in the world in Dubai, controlled through digital means and top-down controls.⁷ It could instead be based on a form of participatory democracy and governance aimed at balancing individual and collective needs (McIntyre-Mills and De Vries 2011). Local community resilience could be enhanced through engaging

⁵ This research emphasizes the creation of multiple paths to form webs to wellbeing through critical, systemic engagement to ensure that local people get to know about local resources (that are listed in directories created by both service users and providers) and that their identity is protected. They are able to see the typical scenarios of what people have, need, are prepared to add or discard from their lives and what they think are turning points for better or worse. A sustainable local community is determined by a sustainable region in which food, energy and water supplies are considered as major determinants for wellbeing. No community can be expected to transform from a high-carbon lifestyle (or aspiring to this lifestyle) without feeling part of the design process and owning the decisions as to how resources should be used. The exercise of ‘thinking about their thinking’ is an attempt to build new neural pathways in the mind—to rehearse a different way of ‘being in the world’, based on thinking about the consequences for themselves, others and the environment.

⁶ This research explores people’s perceptions of what works why and how, but also assesses whether the process of engagement enables them to move from denial towards making changes towards a more sustainable future. Contradictions need to be identified and addressed by policy (supported by legal frameworks) at the local, national and post-national regional level to achieve transformation. The challenge is to enable people to become aware of the need for a cultural shift from a large carbon footprint created by ‘business as usual’ and to move towards making logical steps towards sustainable living, rather than making confused gestures at best, or making contradictory decisions in personal and public lives. But the point that is made in ‘Identity, Democracy and Sustainability’ (2011) is that a legal bipartisan agreement between the major emitters—USA, China and India—is vital. Good faith needs to be demonstrated by local networks that prefigure change on the ground and that link up with global networks, such as 350.org to make a change. ‘350.org is an international campaign dedicated to building a movement to unite the world around solutions to the climate crisis—the solutions that science and justice demand. www.350.org/en/node/3108’, accessed 27/05/2012. Other social movements such as Avaaz or open democracy are examples of other online movements that can ask for responses, such as the following: ‘We urge you to save the Earth Summit and the planet by delivering a real deal to end fossil fuel subsidies.’

⁷ <http://www.dubai-architecture.info/DUB-004.htm>.

with people to decide on how scarce resources should be used, in order to avert a breakdown in governance and democracy.⁸ Furthermore, monitory democracy and governance becomes increasingly relevant for adaptation to climate change, in order to mitigate the effects (greater extremes in temperatures, water shortages in droughts, inundations during floods or storm surges and greater risk of bush fires in summer). All these risks will become increasingly frequent. Wellbeing—not the economic bottom line—needs to be the focus of our attention for cultural transformation, according to Stiglitz et al. (2010). But this requires reconceptualising culture.

Wellbeing rests on mindfulness of our relationships with others and with the environment, not on status or ability to live ‘high-carbon lifestyles’ of our own choosing that are epitomized by mobility⁹ for pleasure, maintaining family connections or for work purposes (Elliot 2012).

Our research (McIntyre-Mills and De Vries 2010, 2011) explores whether we can change the architecture of engagement to enable more inclusive and creative designs that balance individual and collective needs through participation—based

⁸ Monitory democracy (Keane 2009) will need to support post-national governance (McIntyre-Mills 2012, in press). The aim is to pilot this approach at a local level and then to test it out at a subnational regional level and at a post-national regional level. A ‘small is beautiful’ (Schumacher 1973), post-carbon future in which energy alternatives are still at an early stage of redevelopment (sun-, wind- and ocean-powered tidal systems) may be a likely future. For this reason learning to live sustainably in smaller, slower and more localized communities could be an important way to adapt to climate change.

⁹ Mobility that is enforced could become greater as a result of increased regional conflict as a result of resource scarcity, disaster or climate change. Whilst there is resistance to this scenario at the moment whilst many live according to the principles of conspicuous consumption, because carbon-based lives are still within the reach of the middle classes, it is likely that this will be increasingly the preserve of the super-rich elites. The monitoring of scarce resources will become increasingly important for the democracy project, in order to ensure that cynicism and distrust does not alienate electorates. This requires many kinds of engagement—ranging from face-to-face focus groups to community agoras with an ‘online’ link to regional parliaments. This could enable all those who live within a region to voice their opinions. Giving ‘a voice to the mob’ is regarded as fraught by liberals and neo-liberals—not only because majorities do not always uphold social and environmental justice but also because the current status quo could be overturned! But in a post-consumerist world, wealth would need to be re-evaluated and reconceptualised, because, to draw on, adapt and apply Einstein’s well-known aphorism: We cannot solve the economic and environmental problems of today with the same ideas of *property and consumption* that created the problem of an *unsustainable* way of life. But to enable freedom of thought in science and democratic testing out of ideas requires a democratic state—but the problem is that the nation state has not acted in the interests of freedom and democracy as Keane (2009a, b) points out. Emotions run high as resources run out, but it is pointless to polarize emotional and rationalist responses to climate change. Our capability as human beings to think about our thinking requires reflexivity. The more we are able to think about our emotions and the emotions of others, the more likely we are to make decisions that are rational. At times of high risk, this becomes increasingly important for policy makers. The subjective, objective and intersubjective domains of knowledge are vital, and as Habermas has stressed it is the latter that require the most work in policy making. Reflexivity is both emotional and rational (see Holmes 2010). The recognition of the symbolic meanings people attribute to ideas needs to be given attention (Collins 2008, 2010). Human agency to respond to rising temperatures cannot be avoided and will require rational responses that take into account diverse emotions—particularly the outrage of the disenfranchised.

on the axiom that we can be free and diverse to the extent that freedom and diversity does not undermine the rights of others?

What does this mean for constructing and reconstructing the way in which we live?

As we face convergent social, economic and environmental challenges, complex, wicked choices are posed; these are changing society, changing the environment and changing ourselves. Social engineering has stared into the abyss of totalitarianist control and free market capitalism.

We face climate change challenges and market failure as starving people protest. The potential for adaptation to climate change poses suggestions that bioengineering and speciation that includes a post-human future has been raised and set aside as a choice that ought not to be made, even if it can be made (Fukuyama 2002, p 218). Liberal democracy as it is currently framed is considered better, by Fukuyama, because it protects our 'human essence', but the 'hopes, fears and struggles' of those who live wretched lives of exploitation are not necessarily understood by those who live privileged lives.

The research also explores whether face-to-face engagement processes as well as a computer-aided engagement could enhance data collection, analysis and ongoing awareness of complex social, economic and environmental issues associated with climate change.

The software is loaded onto the Flinders Website,¹⁰ in the first instance, but has the potential for links with local governments elsewhere at a sub- and post-national level within the region.

Part of the rationale for trialling the software was to establish to what extent computing per se is a useful way to engage different interest groups and whether it could be useful to enable managing large, diverse data sets spanning many diverse interrelated variables about which residents have strong values. A diverse range of values, emotions and opinions are associated with wellbeing, quality of life and climate change. These can be regarded as a wicked problem, in the sense that it has many, diverse and interrelated variables that are viewed differently by people with different values (see the West Churchman Series 2006).

The process aims to enable people to think through the 'if-then' scenarios, not merely to 'unfreeze' habitual praxis (to cite Lewin's concept), but to work towards sustainable praxis, based on an understanding of our interrelatedness. This requires

¹⁰ Until broadband is made widely available, the software will run less effectively at peak hours. Participation is thus effected by the lack of broadband. This point was made strongly by the Thinker in Residence, Genevieve Bell (2009), who was invited to review the potential for ICTs in South Australia in her report 'Getting connected, Staying Connected, Exploring South Australia's digital futures.' Another challenge was the migration of data from one part of the server to another and the right to obtain access to log into the data systems by both users and administrators. The next hurdle will be to link the Flinders website to the Local Government Association (LGA) website. It is currently linked as a demonstration to the ISA wiki site and also to Abdushomad Muhammad's website. As a senior public servant in the Ministry of Religion in Indonesia and my PhD student at Flinders University, he is well placed to assist.

ongoing changes to learning (Schein 1996), 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977) or ways of 'being in the world' (Haraway 1991, 1992, 2010).

Local government is able to address policy and governance based on a study of the participant's perceptions and choices. By considering the implications of three scenarios, the users of the interactive software program are inspired to think about social, economic and environmental choices.

The scenarios range from 'business as usual' to 'small adjustments to green economies' to 'sustainability and wellbeing'. The aim is to enhance their awareness and to help local government decision makers to understand the needs and perceptions of local voters. The software is populated by data on services that are available to enable greener choices. The challenge is to enable people to become aware of the need for a cultural shift from a large carbon footprint created by 'business as usual' and to move towards making logical steps towards sustainable living, rather than making confused gestures at best, or making contradictory decisions in personal and public lives.¹¹ But the point that is made in 'Identity, Democracy and Sustainability' (2011) is that a legal bipartisan agreement across the major emitters—USA, China and India—is vital. Good faith needs to be demonstrated by local networks that prefigure change on the ground and that link up with global networks, such as 350.org to make a change.¹² A digital future need not be Orwellian.¹³ It could instead be based on a form of participatory democracy and governance aimed at balancing individual and collective needs (McIntyre-Mills and De Vries 2011). Monitory democracy (Keane 2009) will need to support post-national governance (McIntyre-Mills 2012, in press).

The aim is to pilot this approach at a local level and then to test it out at a sub-national regional level and at a post-national regional level. A 'small is beautiful' (Schumacher 1973), post-carbon future in which energy alternatives are still at an early stage of redevelopment (sun, wind, and ocean powered tidal systems) may be a likely future. For this reason, learning to live sustainably in smaller, slower and more localized communities could be an important way to adapt to climate change. Local community resilience could be enhanced through engaging with people to decide on how scarce resources should be used, in order to avert a breakdown in governance and democracy. Furthermore, monitory democracy and governance

¹¹ Thus, it aims to help with raising consciousness which can provide a step towards the creation of a new suburban culture. The aim of this research is to explore people's perceptions of what works, why and how, but also to assess whether the process of engagement enables them to move from denial towards making changes towards a more sustainable future. Contradictions need to be identified and addressed by policy (supported by legal frameworks) at the local, national and post-national regional level to achieve transformation.

¹² '350.org is an international campaign dedicated to building a movement to unite the world around solutions to the climate crisis—the solutions that science and justice demand. www.350.org/en/node/3108', accessed 27/05/2012. Other social movements such as Avaaz or open democracy are examples of other online movements that can ask for responses, such as the following: 'We urge you to save the Earth Summit and the planet by delivering a real deal to end fossil fuel subsidies.'

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becomes increasingly relevant for adaptation to climate change, in order to mitigate the effects (greater extremes in temperatures, water shortages in droughts, inundations during floods or storm surges and greater risk of bush fires in summer). All these risks will become increasingly frequent.

Wellbeing—not the economic bottom line—needs to be the focus of our attention for cultural transformation, according to Stiglitz et al. (2010). But this requires reconceptualising culture. Participants are asked to think about their quality of life in terms of health, housing, employment, education and social inclusion within their communities and what they are prepared to change in terms of their thinking and practice, in order to adapt to the effects and to strive to address the causes through mitigation. The monitory democracy and governance scorecard does not merely rank the outcome of indicators in terms of business as usual, small changes and sustainable futures. It provides weightings of each of the individual choices and invites participants to consider the consequences of their choices.

The aim is to establish if it is possible for cultural transformation to enable a shift from denial to ambivalence to sustainable cosmopolitanism. It strives to enable a greater awareness of consciousness of our rights and responsibilities as global citizens. It is practical in that it attempts to acknowledge that localized, slow lives that are sustainable could lapse into the Orwellian nightmare of control from above—without surveillance from below to hold the elites to account. It is for this reason that the future needs to be shaped not only by the state military complex—but by those who wish to act as whistleblowers. Members of the public need to be protected by a scaled-up version of the Aarhus Convention that gives residents within post-national regions the right to access information and to the right to be heard by the state (1998; see McIntyre-Mills 2011); thus, this section: (a) discusses the theory of participatory democracy—based on the principles of subsidiarity and Ashby's rule of requisite variety—and (b) makes a case for new forms of accountability to support regional governance that is capable of extending the social contract beyond the nation state and thus to protect biospheres and the diversity within them. The governance decisions will need to be upheld by rule of law based on the axiom that we can be free and diverse to the extent that freedom and democracy is not undermined (McIntyre-Mills et al. 2006). The program of research makes the case for:

- Systemic matching of governance options in context through a range of engagement processes
- Social change to address wellbeing not merely being about productivity for profit
- Transdisciplinarity and a reframed approach to wellbeing

The 'small is beautiful' philosophy of Schumacher resonates with the notion of caretaking stressed by Aboriginal Australians. The conundrum I address is how to combine localism with a concern for the global commons. The case is made for scaling up subsidiarity, so that local people make local decisions within overlapping regional biospheres. As populations increase in size, compete for scarce resources and emphasize 'time is money' in a fast carbon-based economy, we are at risk of forgetting our dependency on the land.

2.2 Local Governance Process to Address Perceptions and Choices

The research is a practical attempt to develop an architecture for participatory democracy and governance guided by the axiom that wellbeing and happiness rest on the notion that we should be free and diverse to the extent that our freedom and diversity is not at the expense of others or future generations of life.

- How can subsidiarity be applied within and across increasingly large nation states that are made up of increasingly diverse people?
- How can cosmopolitan governance architecture protect the global commons without becoming a leviathan? The issue is that the nation state is no longer the only basis for identity. People are connected to one another as a result of cross cutting loyalties, by virtue of shared concerns. On the one hand, independence has been fiercely fought for by past colonies, or subsections of marginalised groups who wish to splinter away from dominant centralised control of authoritarian governments. The powerful economies of the world have been built upon exploitation and the lack of representation. It is no surprise that the old and new powers rule through state control. Access to controlling resources, military and/or economic might¹⁴ is the basis for controlling others. The issue of national identity versus global identity has never been more important. The problem is that as people compete for scarce resources they fracture the shared identity that is so important for a sustainable world.

The implications are as follows:

- Extending digital technology could either enable us to achieve our potential which could, in the words used by John Man, turn us into ‘cells in a planet-sized brain’ (Florini 2003, p 195) or it could lead to our becoming increasingly disconnected and disengaged in face-to-face communication.
- Alternatively, the development of local versions of participatory democracy and governance platforms could help to enhance real-time responsiveness to local experiences. This needs to extend the process of engaging with one another face to face in real time that requires being able to connect emotionally with one another. The capability to communicate in many ways and to respond effectively and quickly to increased risks is the topic of this book.

By considering the implications of three scenarios, the users of the interactive software program are inspired to think about social, economic and environmental choices. This chapter addresses the scenarios that range from ‘business as usual’ to ‘small adjustments to green economies’ to ‘sustainability and wellbeing’. The aim is to enhance their awareness and to help local government decision makers to

¹⁴ http://databank.worldbank.org/databank/download/GDP_PPP.pdf World Bank Gross domestic product 2011, PPP, (millions of Ranking Economy international dollars): “(1) USA, 14,991,300, (2) China 11,290,911, (3) India 4,531,655 (4) Japan 4,303,352 (5) Germany 3,227,444 (6) Russian Federation 3,133,81”.

understand the needs and perceptions of local voters. The software is populated by data on services that are available to enable greener choices. Thus, it aims to help with raising consciousness which can provide a step towards the creation of a new suburban culture.

The challenge is to enable people to become aware of the need for a cultural shift from a large carbon footprint created by ‘business as usual’ and to move towards making logical steps towards sustainable living, rather than making confused gestures at best, or making contradictory decisions in personal and public lives.

A legal agreement is needed between the major emitters—USA, China and India—as well as the demonstration of good faith by local networks that prefigure change on the ground and that link up with global networks. Cosmopolitan initiatives, such as 350.org, need to scale up their collaboration to make the difference.¹⁵

2.2.1 *Learning Ethical Agency*

How should wellbeing be defined? Should we follow a definition of wellbeing based on: ‘contentment and experienced wellbeing, in a Benthamite hedonic utility sense? Or do we care about eudaimonia or life purpose, in an Aristotelian sense? Particular individuals will value one more than the other depending, in part, on what they are capable of. While scholars surely can measure both, from a societal and policy perspective, which dimension of happiness should policy aim to maximise?’ (Graham 2011, p 121)

Wellbeing rests on mindfulness of our relationships with others and with the environment, not on status or ability to live ‘high-carbon lifestyles’ of our own choosing that are epitomized by mobility for pleasure, maintaining family connections or for work purposes (Elliot 2012). Mobility that is enforced could become greater as a result of increased regional conflict as a result of resource scarcity, disaster or climate change. Whilst there is resistance to this scenario at the moment whilst many live according to the principles of conspicuous consumption,¹⁶ because

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¹⁶ Originally, conspicuous consumption was possible only for the leisure class and now they are more widely emulated, in order to keep up appearances in capitalist society. ‘Conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure. As wealth accumulates on his hands, his own unaided effort will not avail to sufficiently put his opulence in evidence by this method. The aid of friends and competitors is therefore brought in by resorting to the giving of valuable presents and expensive feasts and entertainments. Presents and feasts had probably another origin than that of naïve ostentation, but they acquired their utility for this purpose very early, and they have retained that character to the present; so that their utility in this respect has now long been the substantial ground on which these usages rest. Costly entertainments, such as the potlatch or the ball, are peculiarly adapted to serve this end. The competitor with whom

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