'I Live Sustainably': Exploring sustainable narratives through the lens of identity expression and motivational drives

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management

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DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Reading or any other institution.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores narratives of individuals who self-identify as living sustainably, with two interlinked aims: (1) to explore how such individuals use sustainable narratives as an expression of their identity, and (2) to explore what motivates them to live sustainably. While novel insights emerge from each of these explorations, findings are also used to shed light on how expressions of identity and motivational drives interplay in sustainable narratives. A brief review of key theories in identity and motivation literatures identifies the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) as well as the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) as useful frameworks to guide parts of the empirical research. A more elaborate review and exploration of the existing literature on identity and motivations in relation to sustainability is then provided in the discussion of findings. For the purposes of the empirical research, a total of 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals self-identifying as living sustainably. While the initial part of the interviews was conducted inductively using a range of projective techniques, the final part of the interviews was guided by the theories described above. The combination of inductive and deductive research enables both theory building and theory testing for the purpose of this study. Drawing on the analysis of participants' expressions of identity and motivational drives, as well as the analysis of their interplay, a new typology is developed. This typology classifies individuals as 'Holistically', 'Privately', 'Publicly' or 'Accidentally Sustainable', and offers a representation of associated identity characteristics and motivational drives for each group. Importantly, the findings reveal that individuals in each group differ in terms of key aspects of identity expression. These include whether aspects of personal or social identity are salient, and whether individuals are mostly motivated to live sustainably as a means of acquiring a status and financial benefits, to bond with others, to learn and develop themselves, or to defend their beliefs. While each group emerges with a distinctive portfolio of unique insights, it is the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives that is perhaps most interesting. This culminates with the presentation of a novel typology of identity and motivational elements which can – for the first time – describe, differentiate and explain sustainable narratives of individuals self-identifying as living sustainably.

A mi abuelo Carlos, por recordarme siempre que la vida hay que vivirla

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KEY DEFINITIONS

Sustainable living

Patterns of action and consumption, used by people to affiliate and differentiate themselves from other people, which: meet basic needs, provide a better quality of life, minimise the use of natural resources and emissions of waste and pollutants over the lifecycle and do not jeopardise the needs of future generations.

Sustainable self

A sense of identity which possesses sustainable awareness, motivation, empowerment, knowledge, skilful means and practice.

ABBREVIATIONS

CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
D1	Drive to acquire
D2	Drive to bond
D3	Drive to learn
D4	Drive to defend
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
IBM	Identity-Based Motivation
int	Interviewee
NAM	Norm Activation Model
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
RISC	Reading International Solidarity Centre
RQ(s)	Research Question(s)
SCT	Self-Categorisation Theory
SDT	Self-Determination Theory
TPB	Theory of Planned Behaviour
TRA	Theory of Reasoned Action
TSBE	Technologies for Sustainable Built Environments Centre
TST	Twenty Statements Test
UK	United Kingdom
VBN	Value-Belief-Norm

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces this piece of research, explains its purpose, process and contribution. In Section 1.1, the study is presented and contributions to knowledge are outlined. Section 1.2 contextualises the study and defines sustainable living. Following from that, the research questions and tasks are introduced (Section 1.3) and the research activities are defined (Section 1.4). The chapter concludes with the presentation of the structure of the present thesis (Section 1.5) and the practical importance of the study (Section 1.6).

1.1   Introduction

"I live sustainably". Individuals who self-identify as living sustainably may sound like good news to sustainability researchers and practitioners. However, very little is known in literature to date about what such narratives actually say about the people who employ them. In other words, very little is known about how sustainably they actually live, whether they all follow similar or different lifestyles or what really motivates such individuals to live sustainably. In this sense, researchers and practitioners may struggle to truly understand the phenomenon of sustainable living and engage meaningfully with others on issues of sustainability, such as how sustainable living could be encouraged more widely in the population.

While previous studies have tried to uncover differences between individuals who do or do not seem to live sustainably, they have often fallen short of providing insights beyond demographic groupings or description of observable behaviour (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Eiserman, Black & Sang, 2015). The aim of this study is to go beyond such demographic and behavioural data and deeply explore sustainable narratives by probing individuals' deeply rooted senses of identity and fundamental motivational drives in the context of sustainable living. As such, this study aims to address a number of **current gaps in literature**:

(1) It provides a much needed in-depth exploration of individuals who self-identify as sustainable. Typically in studies, such individuals are summarised as one group, commonly referred to as "the green group", or "the sustainable ones" (Young *et al.,* 2010; van Vut & Griskevicius, 2013; Chen & Chang, 2013). Perhaps surprisingly, very little is actually known in said literature about who these individuals are. This study unpacks this group analytically (and both inductively and deductively) to uncover the different reasons why individuals choose to live sustainably, the nuances of how identities are expressed in this context, and what motivates individuals to choose a sustainable lifestyle.

(2) Furthermore, this study is set in the context of 'sustainable living'. Previous studies have often focused solely on sustainable consumption, i.e. a much narrower focus of sustainable behaviour. By defining the context as 'sustainable living', this study utilises a holistic

approach to investigating sustainable narratives derived from motives, interests and behaviours in all parts of life.

(3) Finally, this study positions the exploration of sustainable narratives in the context of well-established literature that allows it to:

    a. Link the concept of sustainability to theories of identity and motivation,

    b. Guide part of the data collection, and the data analysis based on established frameworks, and

    c. Examine the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in the development of sustainable narratives, to gain a richer understanding of when, how and why individuals follow sustainable lifestyles.

To summarise how this research is positioned at the intersection of three areas, Figure 1-1 displays graphically the academic fields that inform the development and execution of the present study: the context of 'sustainable living' as well as the literature fields of 'identity' and 'motivation'.
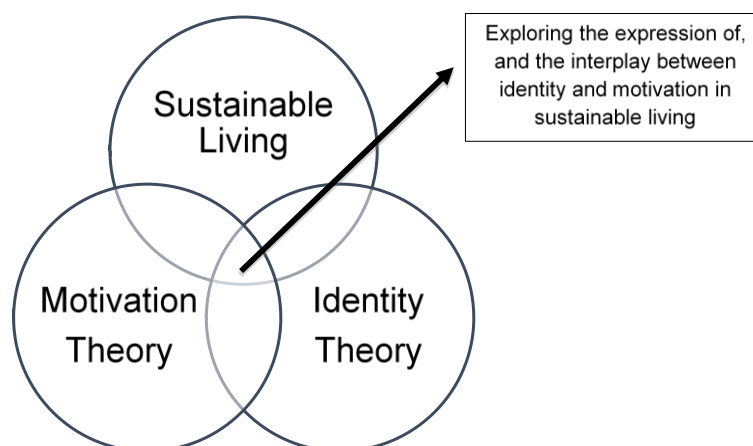
Figure 1-1. Gap in the existing literature

As such, this piece of research aims to make a contribution to knowledge in relation to the three aspects identified by Summers (2001), namely conceptually, methodologically and empirically.

Conceptual contributions

First and foremost, this study contributes to knowledge in sustainability and sustainable living through theory building and theory testing. Specifically, it explores in-depth, inductively and deductively, the sustainable narratives of participants through the lens of identity and motivation – which has not been done before, and in particular not focused on individuals self-identifying as living sustainably.

(1) THEORY BUILDING. As its main conceptual contribution, therefore, this study offers a **novel typology of sustainable living** that is based on psychological factors (identity expression and motivational drives), rather than describing individuals in terms of demographics or behaviours as often done in previous studies. Key insights for the development of the typology are drawn from both the inductive and deductive parts of the interviews. Through the development of a novel typology, this study contributes towards theory building in the area of sustainable living: it offers future researchers the opportunity to test this typology empirically, in different contexts and with different groups of individuals.

(2) THEORY TESTING. Importantly, the exploration of sustainable narratives in this study also incorporates the aspect of theory testing,

as the latter parts of the empirical interviews explicitly explore the expression of identity and motivational drives in relation to two existing frameworks of identity and motivation: the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). As such, conceptual insights are drawn informing the ***applicability and relevance of existing frameworks to the context of sustainable living***. Integrating insights from the deductive part of the empirical interviews into the findings presented in this study enables the researcher to ensure that current wisdom is fully exploited in the development of this study's typology, and to speak directly to established theory in its discussion.

(3) COMBINING THEORIES. Further conceptual contribution stems from the analysis of the ***interplay between identity expression and motivational drives***. To the best of the author's knowledge no study currently exists that explores both the expression of identity as well as motivational drives in the context of sustainable narratives in a combined manner. New conceptual insights on how sustainable behaviours depend on the existence and expressions of both identity and motivational factors are identified, and as such the study contributes to literature through the integration of theory on identity and theory on motivation.

Methodological contributions

This study contributes to knowledge methodologically by applying data collection and data analysis techniques to the context of sustainable narratives that have not been used in this context before.

(1) APPLICATION OF NEW TECHNIQUES TO SUSTAINABLE NARRATIVES. This study applies a **_range of imaginative and projective qualitative techniques to sustainable narratives_**, such as 'multiple definitions of identity', 'story-telling' and 'photo elicitation' approaches to gain deep insight into the subjective sense-making of individuals. The utilised projective techniques help the researcher to draw out, and gain important insights into, sustainable narratives. They also help to gain a deep understanding of the interplay between identity and motivations through the exploration of unconscious and subjective meanings of when, how and why individuals choose to refer to aspects of identity and aspects of motivation in their narratives.

(2) METHODOLOGICAL INSIGHTS FOR OTHER STUDIES. The findings from this research suggests that the utilised projective approaches, while not mainstream in application, offer a rich set of insights that may not have been possible by purely questioning the respondents. As previous work has often quantitatively explored aspects of social identity and its impact on sustainable consumption, this study can add value to methodological knowledge by outlining how a range of qualitative techniques may be applied by other researchers to

understand how stakeholders make sense of complex concepts, such as sustainable living in this case. As a result, this study offers insights into the **usability and applicability of projective qualitative methodologies to the wider business context**, beyond the fields of sustainable living, identity expression and motivational drives.

Empirical contributions

Lastly, this study contributes to knowledge empirically through the findings derived from participants' narratives. First, the exploration of such narratives contributes to an empirically grounded classification of sustainable living. Second, the findings suggest that drawing together aspects of identity expression and motivation reveals something new and useful to practice. Third, it seems that the insights can be applied not just to the context of sustainable living at the level of the individual, but importantly have implications for policy and regulators.

(1) EMPIRICALLY-GROUNDED CLASSIFICATION OF SUSTAINABLE LIVING. Empirical findings of this study suggest that exploring identity expression and motivational drives of people self-identifying as living sustainably can shed **new light on explaining systematic differences in when, why and how people choose to follow sustainable lifestyles**. For example, the findings suggest that both identity salience and congruence are key factors in understanding aspects of sustainable living. For example, personal identity salience and identity congruence are associated with commitment and positive emotions, while social identity salience and identity incongruence are

associated with lower commitment and more negative emotions. In terms of motivation, the findings suggest that all four drives are expressed through sustainable living – with two sub-groups emerging – those driven to learn and defend as one group and those driven to acquire and bond through their sustainable actions as the other group.

(2) COMBINATION OF IDENTITY EXPRESSIONS AND MOTIVATIONAL DRIVES REVEALS SOMETHING NEW AND USEFUL. Empirical findings in this study suggest that there is a ***strong interplay between how individuals express their sustainable self and the different motivations*** attached to those expressions of identity. In particular, the findings suggest that those expressing their sustainable self in congruence and primarily when personal identity is salient, seem to be mainly motivated by the drives to learn and defend (e.g. set an example to others, defend the planet). While at the same time, through unpacking these drives it could be concluded that they are particularly linked to collectivistic and intrinsic motivations. On the contrary, individuals expressing their sustainable self in incongruence and primarily when activating their social identity, tend to be generally motivated by the drives to acquire and bond (e.g. acquire a sustainable status, need of belonging to a community). These, at the same time, appear to be closely linked with individualistic and extrinsic motives to live sustainably.

(3) IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND REGULATORS. Finally, it is hoped that some of the insights may be of ***practical use to governments and other bodies*** when considering policy and actions that are intended to encourage pro-sustainable behaviours. This thesis has implications to policy and practice, as the results of the study and the new typology proposed may inform and inspire policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting pro-sustainable behaviours.

1.2   Background to the research problem

Sustainable living is slowly gaining more interest among researchers as well as practitioners in the UK (Miller & Bentley, 2012; Hayles & Dean, 2015). While some studies suggest that people on the whole have become more aware of issues related to sustainable living (OECD, 2008; European Commission, 2013; Eurobarometer, 2014; Ethical Consumer Research Association, 2016), other studies point to the need for much more progress until common standards are widely accepted and adopted (Shirani *et al.,* 2015). Furthermore, some scholars identify gaps between people's stated preferences and actual behaviours in the context of sustainable living (Eckhardt, Belk & Devinney, 2010; Shaw, McMaster & Newholm, 2016; Higham, Reis & Cohen, 2016).

While overall studies on sustainable living are still fairly thinly spread, selected studies have looked into identifying 'green consumers' (Young *et al.,*

2010; van Vut & Griskevicius, 2013; Chen & Chang, 2013), analysing sustainable food consumption (Reisch, Eberle & Lorek, 2013; Thogersen, 2017) and studying the relationship between sustainable behaviour and values (Tapia-Fonllem *et al.,* 2013; Steg *et al.,* 2014a). Recently authors such as Costa Pinto *et al.,* (2016) have started exploring the concept of identity in the context of sustainable consumption – with the results suggesting that concepts such as identity and motivation could be usefully explored in the broader context of sustainable living.

Overall, however, studies that examine the phenomenon of sustainable living, and in particular in the context of theories linked to identity and motivation, are sorely lacking. In the extant literature, it is widely suggested that more research is needed to understand human behaviour in relation to sustainability (Prothero *et al.,* 2011). Particularly more in-depth research into the factors that motivate outcomes such as sustainable consumption and sustainable living (Clayton *et al.,* 2015) are required. To guide the reader on the terminology used in this study, the context of 'sustainable living' is now defined.

1.2.1 Defining sustainable living

The definition of sustainable living adopted in this study (for context and research design purposes) is based on Bedford, Jones and Walker's work in 2004. They define sustainable living as:

> *"patterns of action and consumption, used by people to affiliate and differentiate themselves from other people, which: meet basic needs, provide a better quality of life, minimise the use of natural resources and emissions of waste and pollutants over the lifecycle and do not jeopardise the needs of future generations"*

It follows, therefore, from this that sustainable living aims to reduce the negative impact human actions have on the environment by modifying important ways of living, including, for example, ways of transportation, consumption and diet (everyday practices). According to Winter (2007), sustainable living is a goal that cannot be completely achieved in our industrialised society. However, it can be attempted at home – for example, by reducing energy and water consumption or through recycling or growing our own food. Equally, when out of the house by walking or riding a bike instead of driving a car, supporting the local community by joining local organisations or helping local or independent businesses. Evidence suggests that these individual actions are spreading across society; for instance, 57% of participants of a recent study on awareness of and behaviours towards sustainable living in the UK, accepted that it is their personal responsibility to tackle climate change (Hayles & Dean, 2015).

Due to its growing importance, some businesses have integrated aspects related to sustainable living to their strategic plans. For instance, Unilever launched its Sustainable Living Plan in 2010, with the aim of integrating positive social impact into their business practices and reducing negative impact on the environment. They embed sustainability into their brands, while

they also try to engage their stakeholders with the plan. For instance, through their Sustainable Living Labs they allow experts from businesses, members of the government and NGOs to participate in an online dialogue about sustainability challenges (Unilever, 2013). This initiative (CSR dialogue) might generate value for the company and value for the cause (Korschun & Du, 2013), as the dialogue may persuade participants to modify their behaviours in support of sustainable living. Governments are also considering sustainable living when developing policies and public campaigns. For instance, the British government developed the UK National Framework for Sustainable Schools, encouraging schools to be models of good sustainable practices. This programme will offer children the chance to contribute to sustainable living, and help young people follow a sustainable lifestyle in the future (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008).

In terms of the practices sustainable living entails, the SPREAD Sustainable Lifestyles 2050 European project (Mont, Neuvonen, & Lähteenoja, 2014) identified four key areas of a sustainable lifestyle, which are living, consuming, moving and health and society. While a broader conceptualisation of (1) sustainable living could be seen to encompass issues related to homes and energy as well as encompassing consumption, moving and health, it is useful to signal how Mont *et al.* (2014) make sense of these sub-dimensions. (2) Sustainable consumption is seen, as following efficient, different and sufficient consumption practices. (3) Sustainable moving is seen in relation to the impact of transport on the environment – in particular shifting from individual car use to more sustainable modes of

transports such as car sharing, using public transport, cycling or walking. Finally, unsustainable lifestyles are seen lead to health problems for individuals and also to negative consequences for society (4). Engaging in sustainable living helps deal with problems related to diet and social inequality (Backhaus *et al.,* 2011). These dimensions have been taken into account in this study, which also aims to develop a deeper understanding of what following a sustainably lifestyle means to different kinds of sustainable individuals.

As the results of this study show, each individual will give a different meaning to sustainable living, as every person is different and will make decisions depending on personal aspects. The findings from this study shed new light on why individuals are differently motivated to follow sustainable lifestyles; depending on the characteristics attached to their identity as well as key motivational drives. Drawing on the results of this research, a new typology is presented which uses elements of identity and motivation to explain narratives about sustainable living.

1.3   Research questions and research tasks

This study aims to offer a deep understanding of individuals self-identifying as sustainable by analysing sustainable narratives and unpacking the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives. For that purpose, three main research questions guide this study:

- Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?

- Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?

- What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?

These research questions are explored in the context of sustainable living, with a focus on examining the psychological concepts of identity and motivation in this context. More specifically, identity is analysed through the lens of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development, which allows a deeper psychological understanding of the identity of sustainable individuals than is currently offered in extant literature. Motivation is investigated by means of the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation, which states that behaviour is motivated by a set of four innate motivational drives. Finally, aspects of identity are linked to motivational findings, in order to explore the interplay between the identity and motivations of those following a sustainable lifestyle.

The nature of this research led to the selection of qualitative methods as the most appropriate research strategy. In particular, data was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews, as they allow access to people's experiences and understandings of social reality (Mason, 2002). After a pilot study, a total of 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted between October and December 2015 with individuals who self-identified as living sustainably, with the aim of answering the research questions stated above. The analysis of participants' narratives following both inductive and deductive approaches has offered valuable answers to the research questions, which

contribute to the advancement of sustainability theory and practice by offering insights on the role of identity and motivations in sustainable living.

1.4 Research activities

In order to answer the research questions outlined above, the following research activities were carried out:

1. The first task of the present research consisted of a **literature review** of the relevant theories based on the research proposal. The review covered literature from six main areas: social psychology, consumer behaviour, social marketing, sustainable consumption, ethical behaviour and organisational behaviour. Part of the literature has served as the basis for the development of the research questions, and is reviewed in Chapter 2. This chapter also includes the presentation of the two theories guiding part of the data collection, and the data analysis in this study, namely (1) the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) and (2) the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002).

2. After an analysis of the existing literature, the **research questions** driving this study were defined, and the **research methods decided upon**.

3. The relevance and usefulness of the guiding theories and selected research methods were investigated by conducting an exploratory qualitative **pilot study** with 10 individuals who declared that they

follow sustainable practices (after having done the appropriate pre-testing). From the results of this pilot study, the **interview guide** was revised and improved and projective techniques to study the participants' identities, emotions and innate motivations to live sustainably were developed.

4. The **sample recruitment** was performed by contacting organisations in Reading which could be considered sustainable and by creating an appeal campaign in Facebook.

5. Over two months of **data collection**, 35 individuals who self-identified as sustainable were interviewed.

6. The interviews (which were recorded) were then **transcribed and coded** using NVivo version 10. From the codes, 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the interplay between identity and motivations in sustainable living.

7. The 1st-order themes and 2nd-order themes were then **analysed**, and aggregate dimensions were established. From the analysis of the data, the **new typology** of individuals self-identifying as following sustainable lifestyles was developed.

8. The next research activity consisted of the **discussion of findings**, including a more extensive review of the literature in relation to the results.

9. The **contribution and implications** of the research were outlined, as the last task linked to the study.

Figure 1-2 presents graphically the research activities mentioned above, including a reference to the chapters reporting on each of these activities.
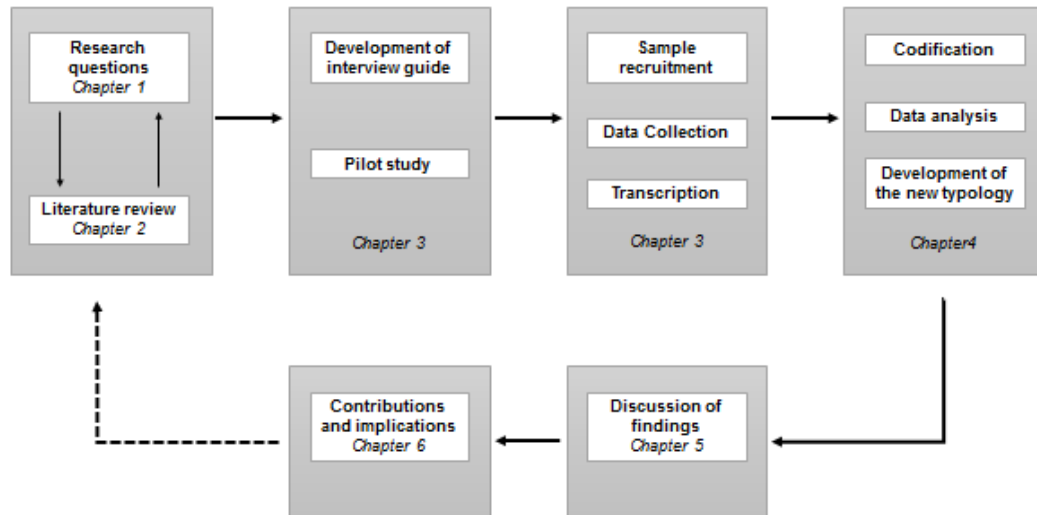
Figure 1-2. Summary of the research activities

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 has contextualised the study by offering a definition of sustainable living, the lifestyle chosen as the context of this study. Furthermore, it has briefly outlined the research aims and objectives, as well as the theoretical background and methodological choices. In Chapter 2, the relevant literature on identity and motivational drives is reviewed in order to identify the guiding theoretical framework of the study. Firstly, the concepts of identity, including theories of the self, descriptions of personal and social identity and literature on identity formation and development – including the explanation of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development – are presented. Secondly, literature related to motivations and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation are

analysed and presented. At the end of this chapter, key literature relating to identity and motivations is presented and the two theories guiding part of the data collection, and the data analysis in the study are introduced.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology employed for the collection and analysis of data. This chapter includes the research philosophy and research design and method, as well as explaining the results of a pilot study conducted during the first stage of the PhD. It also presents the research parameters (context and sampling approach), the methods of data analysis and the ethical considerations concerning the study.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of this research. The chapter starts with an explanation of the identity characteristics of the individuals who self-identify as following sustainable lifestyles, including an analysis of identity salience and identity congruence. Then, the reasons behind this lifestyle choice are defined and linked to the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend. To conclude, this chapter considers identity expression and motivational drives together, and new a typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable is introduced.

Chapter 5 includes the discussion of results in relation to relevant literature. The chapter begins with the discussion of findings related to each of the four groups forming the new typology proposed ('Holistically', 'Privately', 'Publicly' and 'Accidentally Sustainable'). Then, the key outcomes corresponding to identity and motivations are outlined and discussed in accordance to appropriate literature.

This thesis concludes with Chapter 6, which offers a summary of the main findings and reflects on the key contributions, considering conceptual, methodological and empirical contributions. The last part of the chapter includes the limitations of the study as well as outlines areas for future research.

1.6 Practical importance

Along with an increased academic interest in understanding the causes and consequences of sustainable living, society has also become more aware of issues related to sustainability (OECD, 2008; European Commission, 2013; Eurobarometer, 2014; Ethical Consumer Research Association, 2016). At the same time, government, businesses, public institutions and NGOs have developed a concern and interest in sustainable behaviours and in knowing how those who live sustainably are and why they behave the way they do. Some classifications of individuals living sustainably do exist (see DEFRA 2011). For example, according to DEFRA 2011, key behaviours and sub-groups of behaviours which could drive individuals to live sustainably can be summarised in nine headline behaviours – or groups of behaviours that represent priority areas: 1) Eco-improving your home (retrofitting), e.g. generating own energy or insulating your home; 2) using energy and water wisely; 3) extending the life of things, in order to minimise waste; 4) cooking and managing a sustainable and healthier diet; 5) choosing eco-products and services; 6) travelling sustainably; 7) setting up and using resources in your

community; 8) using and future-proofing outdoors spaces; and 9) being part of improving the environment. This framework for sustainable lifestyles was developed from the results of a previous study in which DEFRA established an environmental segmentation, dividing the British population into seven different segments (Figure 1-2) which have been largely cited in studies on sustainable behaviour (e.g. Corner & Randal, 2011; Anderton & Jack, 2011). (1) Positive Greens, (3) Concerned Consumers and (4) Sideline Supporters have – in different degrees – the ability and willingness to act, even though Sideline Supporters are beginners; (2) Waste watchers and (5) Cautious Participants have the potential to do more but need encouragement; while (6) Stalled Starters and (7) Honestly Disengaged have low potential and willingness.
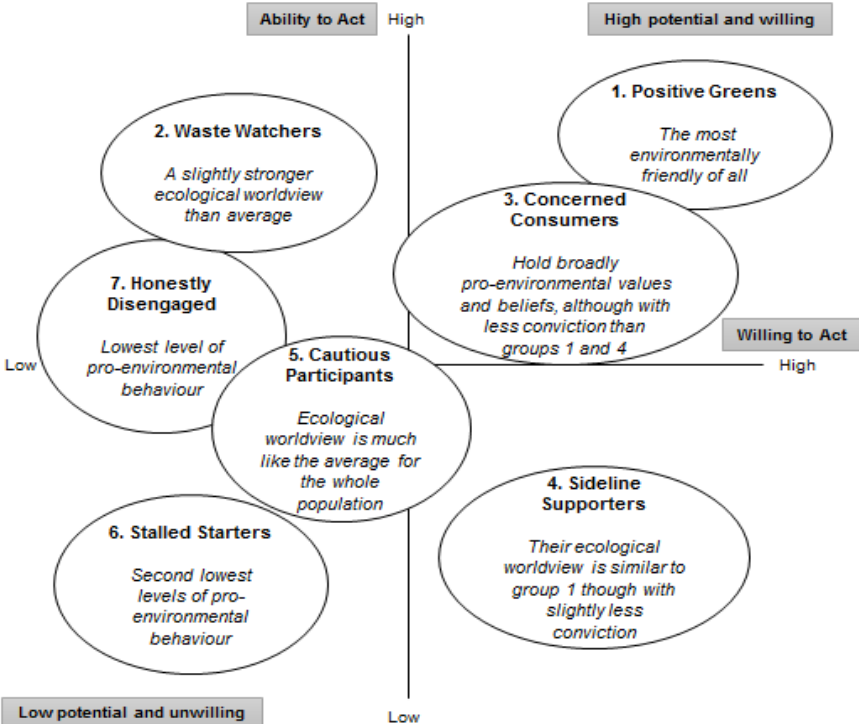
Figure 1-3. Seven Population Segments[1]

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[1] Adapted from DEFRA (2008).

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Another classification of sustainable behaviour in the UK dates back to the year 2000 (Ipsos MORI, 2000). The study identifies five groups of sustainable consumers. The most 'ethical' are those called (1) 'Global Watchdogs', because they consume sustainably and also seek information about ethical issues. 'Global Watchdogs' are often located in the South of England and they are aged between 35 and 54 years old. Those who also buy ethically but are not that informed are the (2) 'Conscientious Consumers'. The third group is called (3) 'Brand Generation' and is formed by individuals who are single and under 35 years old, and who, even though do not behave in a truly sustainable way, have ethical issues engrained. Almost half of the population studied in this research is part of the (4) 'Do What I Can' segment, consisting of consumers who behave sustainably when it is easy or accessible (e.g. recycling). At the bottom of the classification are the (5) 'Look After My Own' consumers, who seldom act ethically in relation to sustainability.

Importantly, individuals following sustainable lifestyles should not be seen as identical to sustainable consumers, as even though individuals refer to green consumption practices when talking about sustainable living, consumption practices are only a part of a sustainable lifestyle (Black & Cherrier, 2010). Nevertheless, engaging in sustainable consumption might lead to other pro-environmental behaviours (Gilg *et al.*, 2005), and therefore consumption becomes a very important factor to look at when researching about sustainable living. The same occurs with the antithesis of consumption. For instance, anti-consumerist attitudes may be linked to the expression of

sustainable living, as anti-consumerism appears to be a key aspect when pursuing a sustainable lifestyle (Black & Cherrier, 2010).

Despite the value that the frameworks above provide, they are predominantly based on demographic information, and ways of behaving, and stop short of exploring psychological factors, such as identity and motivation, which could help to provide a fuller explanation why certain people make sense of the world in the way that they do. We build on the calls of scholars such as West, Hillenbrand and Money (2015) and West *et al.* (2016) – to include psychological concepts to provide a deeper understanding of stakeholder sense-making and behaviour. In fact, recent studies on sustainable living denote a lack of focus on deeper psychological factors when exploring sustainable behaviour (Koger, 2015; Edwards, 2015; Jones, 2015; Hayles & Dean, 2015; Clayton *et al.,* 2016; Ryan, 2016; Wamsler *et al.*, 2017).

The study conducted in this thesis builds on this and on the calls of the abovementioned scholars. For the purpose of this study, the expression of identity of those self-identifying as sustainable as well as the innate motivations driving their behaviour is unpacked through the analysis of participants' narratives. This allows the presentation of a new typology of sustainable individuals based on the expression and interplay of identity and motivations, which could help NGOs, policy makers and public institutions when targeting sustainable behaviours. A literature review of relevant theories on identity and motivations is offered in the next chapter.

Chapter 1 introduced this research and explained its context of sustainable living. Furthermore, it presented the research questions and aims, and outlined the structure of the thesis. In Chapter 2, a review of literature on identity and motivation is presented, and the two guiding theories of the study – the Dynamic Model of Identity Development and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation – are introduced and explained.

CHAPTER 2. UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF IDENTITY AND MOTIVATIONS IN SUSTAINABLE LIVING

This chapter offers a review of relevant literature on identity and motivation and introduces the two theories guiding the analysis of the narratives of study participants. Section 2.2 presents key concepts of identity, including the introduction of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development, which constitutes one of the guiding theories of this work (Section 2.2.3). In Section 2.3, literature related to motivations is outlined and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation is presented as the second key theory guiding the analysis and part of the collection of data in this study. The chapter concludes by discussing literature linking identity and motivations (Section 2.4), and by introducing the proposed interplay between the two guiding theories of this thesis (Section 2.5).

2.1 Introduction

This study aims to contribute towards a deeper understanding of the personal characteristics and behaviours of those self-identifying as living sustainably by examining the interaction between expression of identity and motivational drives, through the analysis of sustainable narratives.

In line with theorists who seek to incorporate aspects of both theory building and theory testing in their research (Langley, 1999; Fereday & Muir-

Cochrane, 2006; Harbour & Kisfalvi, 2012; Ravasi & Marchisio, 2013), we present a targeted review of the contemporary subject related literature (in this case related to sustainable living), before providing a more in-depth exploration of the underlying theories that guide the analysis and part of the collection of data in a specific context (in this case an exploration of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation in relation to sustainable living). A wider range of sustainable living related literature is then discussed with reference to the findings and results of this study (which adopts a combined inductive and deductive approach).

Thus, the following chapter reviews two streams of literature, namely: (1) theories of identity; and (2) theories of motivation. The first part of this review focuses on identity theory, and in particular concepts of the self and the self-concept, definitions of personal and social identity, and literature on identity salience. Particular emphasis is given to theories on identity formation and development, with the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) explained in detail. This section concludes with review of literature on identity and sustainable behaviour. The second half of the chapter discusses key theories on motivation, reviewing literature regarding intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, as well as theories on individualism and collectivism which are relevant to this study. Then, the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) is presented and explained. This section concludes with a review of literature on motivations and sustainable behaviour. After reviewing these two bodies of literature and

introducing the two guiding theories for this research, the Dynamic Model of Identity Development and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation are considered together, with the interplay between them in relation to sustainable living proposed.

2.2 Concepts of self and identity

"Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is" (Oyserman, Elmore & Smith, 2003, p. 69). Thus identity is one of the ways we define who we are as persons, how we express it, and how we are seen by others within specific social settings. Aspects of identity influence attitudes and behaviour, and play an important role in individual decision making (Oyserman, 2009a), such as lifestyle choices. In the next sub-sections, concepts of identity relevant to this study are defined, and the link between identity and sustainability is explored.

2.2.1 The self and the self-concept

The *self* is described by Perry (2002) as the set of attributes a person possesses and could not live without. According to Triandis (1989), all aspects of social motivation – such as attitudes, values, roles and intentions – are linked to the 'self', and influence the way individuals sample, process and access information. The self is divided into current selves and possible selves. Current (actual) selves focus on who a person is now, in the present

time (Lee & Oyserman, 2009), while possible selves are future-oriented components of the 'self' (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Possible selves refer to the *ideal selves* individuals would like to become, which derive from past representations of the self and include future representations of the self (Markus & Nurius, 1986). They are different to current selves, although connected to them, as they represent the hopes and intentions of what the person aspires to be in the future. Thus, for instance, a current representation of one's self could be 'non-vegetarian'. However, if the individual is interested in becoming vegetarian and has the intention to do so, the possible/ideal representation of the self could be 'vegetarian'. Both current (actual) and possible (ideal) selves – as well as other possible selves (e.g. 'ought' self) – are considered when analysing the expression of identity of the participants in this study. It is regarded that they might be helpful concepts when unpacking individuals' sense of identity in relation to sustainable living.

The literature suggests that the *self-concept* is the development of the 'self', formed by mental thoughts which answer the question of "who am I?". In the words of Baumeister, "a self-concept is an idea about something; the entity to which the self-concept refers to is the self" (1998, p. 681). As reported by Oyserman (2001), it contains self-knowledge and it shapes experience, guiding what people are interested in and the interpretation we make of those interests. In other words, it defines what an individual is – in terms of values, attitudes, judgements and the role she/he may adopt within a social group or culture. Even though some authors define identity in a similar way to what the

abovementioned authors define as self-concept (e.g. Erikson, 1968), other authors treat identity as some aspect or part of the self-concept of an individual (Abrams, 1994; Hogg, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

According to Oyserman *et al.* (2003), the set of identities defining who an individual is builds up the individual's self-concept, allowing the description of oneself drawing on aspects related to personal characteristics and social interactions. Thus, the self-concept involves two different levels: personal identity and social identity (Cheek,1989; Oyserman *et al.*, 2003). These concepts, are highly relevant for this study and are explained in detail in the next section.

2.2.2 Personal and social identity

Tajfel (1978; 1982) was one of the first to propose a distinction between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour. The former being related to the formation of personal identity. The latter being the basis of social identity. Since then, many scholars in psychology, sociology and management have looked at aspects of personal and social identity (e.g. Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Giddens, 1991; Hitlin, 2003; Korschun, 2015; Reed *et al.,* 2016; Cruwys *et al.,* 2016); and at the distinction and interplay between them (e.g. Haslam, Eggins & Reynolds, 2003; Simon, 2004; Swann *et al.,* 2009; Swann *et al.,* 2012; Bartels & Reinders, 2016; Vignoles, 2017; Thomas *et al.,* 2017). Some of their theories are outlined in the sub-sections that follow.

2.2.2.1 Personal identity. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988, 2004), personal identities are constructed by personal identifications (McCall & Simmons, 1978), or self-descriptions, such as "idiosyncratic descriptions of self which are essentially tied to and emerge from close and enduring interpersonal relationships" (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p.22). In other words, personal identity refers to the descriptions of an individual's personal characteristics and traits, interests, behaviours, ideologies and moral values. In addition, personal identity is defined as the foundation level of self-categorisation (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Brewer, 1991), it is unique and it plays the role of differentiating one individual from another.

In accordance with Hitlin (2003), personal identity – located at the core of the self – is not only formed by role obligations and self-comparisons, but it is also shaped by values. According to Gecas (2000), values are linked to personal identity through concepts of authenticity and are understood as the efforts made by the individual to achieve meaning, coherence and significance. By framing authenticity as something positive, the aforementioned theorists suggest that most people want to see themselves as acting consistently and 'real', and that they pursue congruence between their self-values and behaviour, because incongruence leads to inauthenticity (Erickson, 1995).

Personal identity therefore is defined by the personal characteristics that differentiate one individual from another. Social identity meanwhile focuses on the aspects that one individual shares with other members of the group. Features related to social identity are outlined in the following section.

2.2.2.2 Social identity. Hogg and Abrams (1988) state that social identity relates to a person's awareness of belonging to a particular social category or group. Where a group is formed by a set of individuals with common characteristics, bound by the same cultural norms, ideologies or religion. According to Stets and Burke (2000), a particular social identity refers to: (1) being one of the members of a group, (2) being similar to other members of the group, and (3) looking at the things from the group's point of view.

It is suggested that social identity is constructed in two ways: through self-categorisation and through social comparison. First, social identity is formed by sets of *self-categorisations* (Turner, 1985), understood as the processes by which the self is able to "categorize, classify or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications" (Stets & Burke, 2000). It relates to the way individuals compare themselves with other members of their group, looking not only for similarities but also for differences between them[2]. Second, *social comparison* refers to individual comparisons of one's own group with a different group, highlighting the negative characteristics of the latter. Hogg and Abrams (1988) believe that this process helps individuals categorise themselves within one group or another, depending on the level of consistency between the personal characteristics and the attributes of the group.

The concept of social identity can be related to *symbolic interactionism*, an approach to the study of human behaviour and the interaction between members of a group (Stryker, 1968, 1980; Blumer, 1986). Symbolic

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[2] Self-categorisation is the equivalent to identification in identity or personal identity theory.

interactionism consists of three premises: 1) human beings behave towards things depending on the meaning those things have for them; 2) the meaning given to those things – from physical objects to friends or family – is created by social interaction with other members of the group or community; 3) these meanings are manipulated through interpretative processes carried out by the person. It seems important to consider symbolic interactionism for the study of sustainable lifestyles, as sustainability can be seen as quite an abstract term. The way individuals understand the concept depends on the meanings given to it. For instance, some individuals may see sustainable living as the lifestyle to follow if one wants to be seen as responsible. Conversely, others may understand sustainable living as living in harmony with their neighbours. Thus, it seems essential to analyse the different meanings individuals give to sustainable living.

The features of individual lifestyles are affected by and related to expressions of personal and/or social identity. Therefore, both levels of identity will be explored in this study in relation to sustainable living. In particular, personal and social identity will be unpacked and analysed in detail through the Dynamic Model of Identity Development, which is explained in the next sub-section.

2.2.3 Identity formation and development

According to the literature on identity, the creation of identity is a process which follows different stages, including reflection and observation (Erikson,

1968). During these stages, a person judges not only her/himself, but also how she/he is seen and judged by others in comparison to them and to the characteristics of their social group (Erikson, 1968). Erikson pointed out that this process is mostly unconscious, and that identity formation is a continuing process. During this process, the self-concept evolves both by acquiring common characteristics of the social group and by establishing differences with other members of the group.

Erikson argues that identity is developed by resolving different social crises, and this is how an individual moves from one stage of identity development to another. His Theory of Psychosocial Development (Erikson, 1950) includes eight stages, which start once the person is born. The first crisis human beings have to solve occurs between zero and 18 months of life, when the individual is in a stage of *trust versus mistrust (hope)*. During this period, the maternal relationship is very important, as parents are those who establish specific patterns of basic trust and mistrust. The second stage takes place during early childhood – 18 months to three years – and is related to *autonomy versus shame (will)*. This stage is decisive for feelings such as love and cooperation, as well as their negative associates. *Initiative versus guilt (purpose)* appears as the third stage, which spans from three to five years old and in which individuals start developing a sense of moral responsibility about what to do and what not.

In the next eight years, namely between five and 12 years old, individuals 'enter into life', even at a school level. This stage of *industry versus inferiority (competence)* allows them to adjust to a new world in which they are able to

learn and produce, before they enter one of the most important stages of identity development, *identity versus role confusion (fidelity)*. This period – aged 12 to 18 – involves the integration of all previous identifications, with the purpose of creating an ego or final identity, which will guide future stages. The sixth stage of psychosocial development, *intimacy versus isolation (love)*, occurs during the young adult ages – 18 to 40 –, and it is when individuals are ready to commit and also fuse their identities with that of others. During adulthood – 40 to 65 years old – people develop their identity by guiding future generations (stage of *generativity versus stagnation (care)*), even though not every individual is motivated by this drive, and some dedicate this time to produce and create. The last stage of Erikson's theory is called *ego integrity versus despair (wisdom)*, and takes place once the individual is around 65 until her/his death. This is a period of reflection, as ego integrity involves an emotional integration. Despite being one of the most famous theories of identity formation, the Theory of Psychological Development has received much criticism. For instance, authors critique its lack of attention to cognitive and emotional development (Louw, 1998); and the way it ignores the explanation of the causes of development – from stage to stage – (Shaffer, 2008; Schultz & Schultz, 2016).

Goldstein (1939) – as well as Maslow (1943) – agreed with Erikson's idea of seeing the formation of identity as an evolving process. Goldstein, a German neurologist and psychiatrist, was the first author to present an organismic theory and to employ the term self-actualisation. Goldstein's organismic theory is based on two assumptions. First, that the person is an organised

system and therefore cannot be studied in isolation. Second, that the individual is motivated by only one drive, called self-actualisation. Self-actualisation is driven by the need of developing one's own potential. However, it might be possible that self-actualisation could involve or even be driven by other motives, such as the need of bonding with others or the desire to defend one's own values and beliefs. Goldstein (1939) assumes that the drive of self-actualisation works in different ways depending on the potentialities each individual wants to develop.

Therefore, if, for example, one's purpose is to self-actualise by acquiring more knowledge, it could be that the desire to learn is affecting identity growth in a greater way. But, if another person's aim is, for instance, to work with and for the society in order to satisfy their need of feeling useful and fulfilled (and thinking not only about individual but collective benefits), then the will to defend society and to bond with others could affect more the process. These situations are both part of a process of identity self-actualisation; however, specific motivations may affect this process in different ways depending on the different characteristics of individuals.

More recent studies on identity formation also emphasise the importance of motivations on the development of identities. For instance, Brophy (2009) argues that identities grow and change providing sources of motivation for curiosity, exploration, social and cultural adaptation. These motivations could transform into fundamental values for the individual and, ultimately, into more consolidated identities. These assumptions, again, highlight the importance and need for more research examining motivations using identity-oriented

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frameworks, as occurs in this study. In particular, new theories building upon advances in neuroscience, which suggest that senses of self and identity continue to develop throughout adulthood through the interaction between social and personal identity (Lewis, Amini & Lannon, 2000), are needed. One such model is the Hillenbrand and Money (2015) Dynamic Model of Identity Development, which is presented in the following sub-section.

2.2.3.1 Dynamic Model of Identity Development. In their recent work, Hillenbrand & Money (2015), introduce a model of identity development and present the idea that the self consists of four different layers, which represent the interaction **between the personal and social identities of individuals**. This model sees identity expression and development as an on-going process that can be explored at any stage in adult life. This dynamic model allows a deep exploration of identity expression and identity development at different stages in life.

As shown in Figure 2-1 personal identity is represented by what the authors labelled as the 'core' and 'learned' selves'; while social identity is represented by the 'lived' and 'perceived' selves. Thus, personal and social identities are seen to interact and influence each other through what we learn ('learned' self), and how we live ('lived' self). On one hand, personal identity is partly represented in this model as the **'core' self**. This core self is defined as the past, current and potential working self-concept and as the set of characteristics and personal traits of the individual. In consumption studies, the working or activated self-concept is linked with the idea of individuals

presenting themselves to others differently depending on situations and motives. Therefore, aspects of identity such as ethnicity and gender will become very important for the working self-concept (Arnould, Price & Zinkhan, 2002). For example, when someone moves to a different country – and culture – they may change their food consumption habits, not only because of lack of availability, but possibly for fear of being seen as different.

Judge, Locke and Durham (1997) point out that the 'core' self is evaluated by four traits. These are: (1) Self-esteem, which symbolises the overall value that an individual gives to oneself as a person; (2) generalised self-efficacy, understood as an individual's estimations of her/his capabilities to exercise control in life; (3) neuroticism, which is the negative of self-esteem; lastly (4) locus of control, which refers to whether individuals actually believe they have control over their lives.
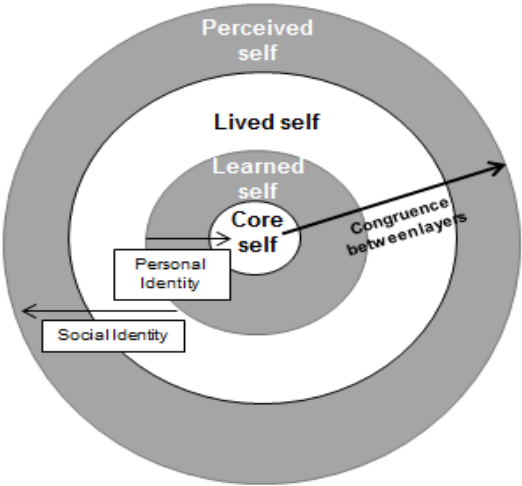
Figure 2-1. Dynamic Model of Identity Development[3]

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[3] Adapted from Hillenbrand and Money (2015).

As can be seen in Figure 2.1 above, after the 'core' self in the Dynamic Model of Identity Development comes the **'learned' self,** which relates to the set of conscious and unconscious rules and roles learned by individuals. Moral rules are suggested to drive individuals to adhere to them and are applicable to every person regardless of their attitudes towards them (Shweder, Turiel & Much, 1981). They serve as the basis to judge whether or not an act is right or wrong. Individuals learn rules from an early age which are transmitted by adults and through social interactions. When moral rules are learned, moral questions arise, not only through witnessing immoral acts, but by perceiving disapproval from others in the group (Dunn & Munn, 1987).

Rules are highly relevant when researching on pro-social behaviours, as individuals may have to decide between satisfying their own needs and the needs of others when behaving (Darley & Shultz, 1990). Furthermore, roles are often defined as a set of rules – and sometimes expectations held by others – which work as a guide to patterns of behaviour (DeLamater, Myers & Collet, 2014).

In the context of sustainable living, it may be that individuals adopt different roles, and for instance represent themselves as 'activists', 'fundamentalists', 'green' or 'carers', amongst others. According to Burke and Stets (2009), a role identity is "the internalised meanings of a role that individuals apply to themselves" (p. 114). For example, the role identity of 'sustainable' could contain the meanings of 'environmentalist' and 'anti-capitalist' that a person adopts when playing the sustainable role. Therefore, the meanings given to role identities are both a result of individuals interpretations (and not

necessarily shared by others), and are influenced by culture and social interactions (McCall & Simmons, 1978; McCall, 2003). It follows then that aspects of personal identity are most often manifested at the level of the 'core' and 'learned' selves.

On the other hand, in Hillenbrand and Money's (2015) model social identity is represented by the 'lived' self and the 'perceived' self, namely how others see you, which is the most external layer of individual identity. The **'lived' self** is formed by experiences and emotions. According to Sneed and Whitbourne (2005), past and present experiences are tied to identity through processes of assimilation and accommodation.

Individuals maintain a sense of self-consistency through *assimilation*, which involves approaching new experiences in a predetermined manner and in consistency with their current identity (Whitbourne, Sneed & Skultety, 2002). Identity assimilation is associated with higher levels of self-esteem, which results in viewing oneself as loving, competent and good, and prevents people from acknowledging changes (Whitbourne, 1996). For instance, individuals who reject the changes produced by ageing on their identity, tend to rely on identity assimilation processes, as it helps them hold on to the youthful identity they desire.

In addition, identity *accommodation* refers to changes the self encounters when facing new experiences (Whitbourne *et al.*, 2002). For those depending highly on accommodation processes, it is probable that they are easily influenced and shaped by new experiences, due to problems related to identity stability and consistency. For example, a person who is not

manifesting sustainability at the 'core' self but who is exposed to sustainable practices, could easily start following a sustainable lifestyle. By self-identifying with a specific social group her/his identity could also be reinforced. However, this expression of identity would be incongruent, as living sustainably would not be aligned with that person's core values.

Furthermore, the 'lived' self is formed by emotions, which are normally experienced through social interactions (Marinetti *et al.*, 2011). Our social identity, and the group we belong to, affect the emotions we feel towards others. Reciprocally, others' emotions also affect our own (Parkinson, 1996). According to Appraisal Theory (Lazarus, 1991), emotions normally arise when individuals are experiencing events which are significant to them, which are linked to their personal concerns. For instance, individuals who are not manifesting sustainability at the level of the 'core' self, feel neutral emotions in regards to sustainable living issues. It might be the case then that sustainability may not be part of their personal concerns, and therefore may not be significant for them.

To complete the process of identity development and in order to express the 'core', 'learned' and 'lived' selves, Hillenbrand and Money (2015) include the **'perceived' self** in their model. This refers to how we are seen by others, and how we establish a sense of interpersonal self when interacting with other individuals. In the words of Neisser (1993), the interpersonal self is "the same individual considered from a different point of view" (p. 4) together with her/his interactions, movements and positions. Individuals reaffirm one another's individuality in many different ways, and this happens in every

relationship exchange (Neisser, 1993). For instance, a person desiring to be seen as sustainable would make the effort to project her/his sustainable self when in a sustainability setting (i.e. when in a sustainable organisation or in a sustainable shop), through communication, gestures and appearance. The rest of the group will perceive that person according to these aspects (i.e. the way the person looks and speaks). At the same time, this person will perceive the rest of the group in a certain way, following a reciprocal process.

This model of identity development is selected as one of the theoretical pillars for this study, due particularly to its dynamic character. Seeing identity expression and development as an on-going process allows for the study of participants' identity regardless of which stage in life they are at. Therefore, the self-concept of sustainable individuals will be studied by analysing the four layers of self, as well as exploring the levels of congruence between those layers.

Congruence and incongruence between layers of the self

Identity congruence refers to the degree of alignment between different parts that make up the self. In the context of this research at a simple level this is the extent of alignment between personal and social identities. According to Hillenbrand and Money (2015), variability in the levels of congruence between the different layers of the self ('core', 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' selves) tends to occur throughout one's life.

In order to measure congruence and incongruence of identity expression, Hillenbrand and Money (2015) suggest three sets of propositions that help analyse identity expression and its manifestation at the level of the individual.

Proposition 1 refers to *the possibility of aspects of one's self being manifested at the four layers of the self*. Aspects of one's self manifested at the level of the 'core' self, allow individuals to express their innermost personal identity. Those aspects manifested at the 'learned' self meanwhile permit individuals to function in accordance with a set of conscious or unconscious rules and roles. In addition, aspects of one's self manifested at the level of the 'lived' self, allow people to live out specific behaviours, emotions and cognitions. Finally, aspects of one's self manifested at the level of the 'perceived' self, help individuals to be seen by others in a certain way. Taking the sustainable self, and the idea that "I am sustainable", as an example manifestation of aspects of the self, it could be argued that sustainability would manifest at the four layers of the self if the following four conditions were met. First, if by living sustainably individuals express their core values in alignment with sustainability values ('core' self). Secondly, they simultaneously also play the role they want to play in life, such as the 'environmentalist', 'activist' or 'green' ('learned' self). Thirdly, if sustainability allows them to live the life they want to live ('lived' self). Finally, if they are seen as sustainable people ('perceived' self). When individuals express their sense of self in a congruent manner, they are expressing their real characteristics, personality traits, emotions and motives.

Proposition 2 relates to the *congruence of identity expression through expressions of aspects of the self*. At the level of the 'core' self, congruence would be achieved in the case of an individual owning a material or non-material target that would allow that person to live their true values and express their core nature (i.e. in this context, the target of ownership would relate to 'being who they really are'). At the level of the 'learned' self, congruence would be achieved if the expression of aspects of the self permits the individual to play a role that reinforces who they really are. Congruence at the level of the 'lived' self would be achieved meanwhile, if owning a target allows the person to live in accordance with whom they really are. Finally, in relation to the 'perceived' self, there would be congruence if the expression of aspects of the self allows the individual to be seen as they really are.

Taking "I am sustainable" and "my sustainable lifestyle" as examples, individuals would express their identity in relation to their sustainable selves in **congruence** when by living sustainably they are being who they really are, playing the roles which are their real 'me', when they are living as their real 'me', and when they are being seen for who they really are. Hence, following a sustainable lifestyle allows them to express their 'core' self. If these two propositions are confirmed and sustainability is manifested at the four layers of the self, which are in turn in congruence, then sustainable living is manifested and expressed in a consistent manner.

Conversely, sustainable living may not be expressed at the four layers of the self and therefore individuals would be expressing their identity in an

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incongruent manner. Incongruence at the level of the self results in negative outcomes. Individuals could for instance experience negative feelings (i.e. emotional labour, stress). This is especially the case, when incongruence appears between the meanings given to identity and the input meanings, understood as reflected appraisals (e.g. 'perceived' self) (Zanna & Cooper, 1976). In terms of sustainable living, this could be the case of individuals who are seen as sustainable, live sustainably and play a sustainable role in life, but who are not manifesting sustainability at the 'core' self, due to their values not being related to sustainability. This takes us to the third proposition proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015).

Proposition 3 refers to the *expression of 'ought' and 'ideal' identities through expressions of aspects of the self*. According to Swann and Bosson (2010), the 'ought' self is described as the individuals' beliefs about their personal obligations and expectations from significant others. In addition, the 'ideal' self is a personal representation of what an individual wants to be and wants to achieve in life. It is a conscious or unconscious psychological component of the self (Baumeister, 1998), developed both individually and through social interaction.

The work of Hillenbrand and Money (2015) suggests that when aspects of one's self are manifested at the four layers of the self in a way that allows the expression of 'ought' and 'ideal' selves, then there is a form of **incongruence** in relation to identity expression (as individuals have a gap between who they are at their core and who 'they want to be' – the 'ideal' self – or who 'they think they should be' – the 'ought' self). Taking sustainable living as an

example, by living sustainably individuals would be expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self in a way they feel they 'ought' or 'want' to. In a different context, theorists have suggested that gaps between possible selves (e.g. 'ought' and 'ideal' selves) and the 'core' self can lead to stress, anxiety and depression (Higgins, 1987; 1989). This has yet to be empirically investigated in the context of sustainable living and so forms another area of contribution in this study.

More generally, levels of congruence and incongruence between the layers of the self lead to positive and negative consequences for behavioural expressions. Hillenbrand and Money's (2015) study therefore provides important insights when exploring the impact of identity expression on behaviour. The implications of alignment and misalignment between the expression of identity and behaviour are explained in the following section.

Congruence, alignment and consistent patterns of behaviour

According to Hillenbrand and Money (2015), congruence between the layers of self (and thus between the expression of personal and social identity) are associated with alignment and consistent patterns of behaviour, while incongruence is associated with misalignment and inconsistent patterns of behaviour. In particular, the authors refer to consistent identities as those expressing identity in congruence, those sharing and witnessing experiences that allow vulnerability, and those which work through acceptance of identity by self and others. Accepting vulnerability implies the expression of basic emotions in a natural and significant manner, since, as pointed out earlier,

individuals will express emotions which are significant to them (Lazarus, 1991).

Congruent senses of self would normally lead to *alignment* between the expression of identity and the final action, which would translate into *consistent patterns of behaviour*. Consistent behaviours allow individuals to function well personally and socially, while at the same time help them to reduce their levels of stress and negative emotions (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015). The way they behave is aligned congruently with the expression of their identity (congruence between layers of the self). Taking sustainable living as an example, a sustainable individual is more likely to behave in a consistent manner when 1) sustainability is manifested at the four layers of the self; 2) the expression of her/his learned, lived and perceived selves are in congruence with the expression of her/his 'core' self; and 3) when living sustainably is aligned with the expression of her/his identity in relation to the sustainable self, as by following this lifestyle the person is expressing her/his 'core' self. Consistent patterns of behaviour lead to positive consequences, which in terms of sustainable living might be related to high levels of awareness and commitment with the cause of sustainability.

In contrast, **incongruence** could result in *misalignment* between identity expression and final behaviours, which often leads to behaviour following *inconsistent patterns.* Incongruence in identity expression and inconsistent behaviour might generate psychological tensions (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015), such as stress and feelings of degradation, both for the person who is acting in this way and for the people with whom they are relating (Harris &

Reynolds, 2003). In addition to this, incongruence could lead to a number of other negative outcomes such as numbing behaviour and the creation of false selves (Brown, 2012; Hillenbrand & Money, 2015), which in the long-term could cause mental health problems (Boorse, 1976; Brown, 2012).

Looking at these issues from the perspective of sustainable living, it may be that individuals expressing their sustainable self in an incongruent manner, and who therefore are expressing behaviour inconsistently (due to the misalignment between identity and behaviour), might also be suffering negative side effects. Even though they self-identify as individuals following sustainable lifestyles, sustainability is not manifested at their 'core' selves. This lack of expression of sustainability at the 'core' self may come at a psychological cost that may include emotional labour and stress. There may also be reason to believe that such stress could lead to lower levels of commitment in other areas of life, such as family or work (see Vandenberghe, Mignonac & Manville, 2015; Fares *et al.*, 2016). This link between incongruence, stress, and commitment remains untested in the field of sustainable living and is another area of investigation for this research (see Section 4.4).

Individuals who are not manifesting aspects of themselves at the four layers of the self, and who are not expressing identity in a congruent manner, may also be expressing their 'ought' or 'ideal' selves at the expense of expressing their real values and beliefs. In this situation there are again likely to be costs for these individuals including stress associated with incongruence (Berger,

1952; Grandey, 2000), as well as emotional labour required to perform and maintain a set of behaviours that may not reflect how they really feel.

The concept of emotional labour was first introduced by Arlie Hochschild (1983), who argued that people working in the service sector express emotions in accordance with what is socially desired or expected from them. From this idea it may be argued that individuals with a strong sense of an 'ought' or 'ideal' self in relation to sustainability, may consequently suffer negative psychological outcomes, if their core values are incongruent with how they feel they ought to behave. For instance, an individual living in an area where people value the conservation of the natural environment may feel the necessity to show interest in this, and may be inclined to join projects in favour of this worthy cause. However, if a person does not have a personal and real interest in the issue they may end up exerting emotional labour in producing a behaviour that suggests one, as there is no alignment with how they really feel.

Recent theorists, however, have suggested that incongruence brought on by the activation of an 'ideal' self may be associated with some positive outcomes, and the development of more coherent and realistic selves that are more in line with possible/ideal ones. For instance, Oyserman and James (2011), suggest that the 'ideal' (or possible, future) self could affect behaviour in the event that the conditions of connection, congruence and interpretation of difficulty, are met.

The first of these conditions refers to feeling a *connection* with the current self, which implies that individuals will be more likely to behave on behalf of their 'ideal' self when this feels connected to their present self. For instance, the results of a study carried out by Peetz, Wilson and Strahan (2009) suggest that college students feel more motivated to do well in their studies when they identify strategies which would help them achieve their 'ideal' self. In the second of these conditions, the 'ideal' self might affect behaviour if there is *congruence* not only with the current self, but with other parts of the self, such as an important social identity e.g. being African-American (Oyserman & James, 2011). Research by Elmore and Oyserman (2012) proposes that gender-identity congruence influences school success, and in fact, students for who gender-identity is important will perform better in academic tasks. Finally, in relation to the third of these conditions, behaviour could be affected by meanings attached to the 'ideal' self depending on the *interpretation of difficulty and uncertainty*. These conditions of connection, congruence, and interpretation of difficulty, are considered in this study as they may be relevant for analysis of participants' sense of 'ideal' self.

Oyserman and James (2011) argue that if there is identity congruence, difficulty might not necessarily mean a decrease in the effort towards achieving the 'ideal' self. It could be the case then, that individuals working towards their 'ideal' sustainable self could meet these three conditions and could achieve their 'ideal' self by expressing sustainable behaviour. Consequently, they would shift from inconsistent to consistent patterns of behaviour and, therefore, alignment between identity expression and

expression of behaviour would emerge. However, some theorists argue that individuals will be inclined to work towards their 'ideal' selves only when feeling they are able to achieve them, because they are easy and certain (Atkinson, 1964; Locke & Latham, 1990).

In terms of the 'ought' self, Bandura (1991) argues that individuals' representations of the 'ought' self might be related to incongruence of identity expression via processes of self-regulation. This self-regulation is understood as the ability to act in accordance with personal beliefs about achievements and life standards. Higgins *et al.* (1994) provide evidence that the outcomes of regulation related to what individuals 'think they should be' might emerge as negative, as they focus on avoiding negative results, instead of focusing their attention on maximising positive ones. For instance, a person willing to stop smoking because of a belief that it is what she/he should do, will tend to act based on what others may think if the goal is not achieved, instead of evaluating the positive outcomes related with the accomplishment (i.e. better health).

Congruence, alignment, and consistent and inconsistent patterns of behaviour are all relevant to consider when looking at identity in the context of sustainable living. Through understanding the links between the 'core' self and possible selves, such as the 'ideal' or 'ought' self. As well as congruence between the 'core' self and the other layers of the self. This study presents a deeper understanding of psychological aspects related to those who self-identify as sustainable, as well as the psychological costs and rewards associated with these choices. In the next section, identity salience is

considered, as a further significant aspect to consider when analysing the expression of identity.

2.2.4 Identity salience

Identity salience is defined by Stryker (1968) as "the probability, for a given person, of a given identity, being invoked on a variety of situations" (p. 560). According to the author, when an identity is activated depends on the situation and the interaction taking place. For example, given the situation of a man picking up his daughter from school, it is probable that his identity as a father is salient, rather than his other identities (e.g. teacher, occasional footballer, English man etc.).

McCall and Simmons (1978) suggest a useful approach to delineate aspects of identity salience in a given situation, which include the concepts of prominence, support, reward and perceived opportunity. *Prominence* refers to the idea that identities which are highly prominent are more likely to be invoked in a situation. In the previous example, the role identity of being a father was more prominent than any other role identity, for this reason the 'father identity' was salient in the given context.

Next, if individuals feel the need for an identity to be *supported*, that identity would be salient. A person who has experienced less support than expected for an identity, will focus attention on another identity that has been supported in the past. Continuing with the same example, his identity as a father might be more supported in the given context than the role identity of

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'occasional footballer', which may lack relevance when picking up his daughter from school.

Another factor inducing identity salience is related to the individual need for *rewards* through the exposure of a specific identity role. Rewards may be intrinsic (e.g. self-esteem) or extrinsic (e.g. power). For instance, the man in the example may invoke his identity as a father in the given situation due to the feeling of pride that he feels for his daughter.

Finally, McCall and Simmons (1978) refer to *perceived opportunity*, understood as the total profit obtained from the rewards of exposing an identity minus the costs of it. The assessment of opportunities available is subjective and not necessarily accurate. In the case of the man of the example, this would relate to his assessment of the rewards (e.g. pride, life satisfaction) and costs (e.g. loss of freedom related to family life, loss of importance of his other identities – teacher) associated with the activation of his identity as a father.

Overall, McCall and Simmons (1978) suggest that the salience of identity would have successful or unsuccessful outcomes depending on the negotiation with others in specific circumstances. For instance, some individuals may enhance their sustainable self when surrounded by other sustainable individuals, but may avoid that expression of identity in settings in which they may feel judged (e.g. when with non-sustainable people). In the context of this research McCall and Simmons' approach may help in understanding the triggers of identity salience in the context of sustainable living.

Stryker (1968, 1980, 2008) further enriched the theory of identity salience by proposing that it may be also a basis for the hierarchical organisation of our identities. In such a hierarchical organisation of identities, the identity situated at the highest position will have more possibilities to be activated. According to Burke (1991), this hierarchical order is based on the meanings individuals give to specific roles and the importance these roles have for them. Meanings are responses to objects or stimulus, which are evoked from symbols. Burke and Stets (2009) suggest that the process of representing symbols works similarly across individuals. Simultaneously, symbols induce the same meaning on the person who experiences them and on the person to whom they are directed.

Identity salience tends to relate to two influential types of behaviours: intragroup and intergroup behaviour. Brewer (1993) suggests that when personal identity is salient, individuals tend to be more concerned with intragroup differences. *Intragroup behaviour* relates to the interaction between individuals with similar social self-categorisations or social identities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), and how the dynamics of the group influence the actions carried out by an individual. Personal identity is activated when people behave and think as individuals (Hogg & Abrams, 1990), which would lead to the prominence of differences between oneself and the in-group, and similarities within oneself (Kawakami & Dion, 1993). In the context of sustainable living, it might be that the salience of personal identity when individuals express their sustainable self, is related to concordance between the personal values of the individuals and the values attached to

sustainability. This would entail individuals aiming to live in accordance with their values and beliefs, regardless of what others around may do. Sustainability may be part of their unique individual characteristics, which does not necessarily mean that they do not think about group membership when they express sustainable behaviour.

Next, the salience of social identity is linked with *intergroup behaviour*, understood by Hogg and Abrams (1988) as "the way in which people behave towards one another as members of different social groups" (p. 27). According to Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), when social identity is salient, individuals enter the process of depersonalisation. Depersonalisation is understood by Turner (1985, 1999, 2011) as a self-stereotyping procedure which enables individuals to see and define themselves more as members of a social category, and less as differing individuals. Through depersonalisation, individuals shift from an individual to a collective version of the self, seeing other members of the group as part of it. For instance, if a person's salient social identity relates to her/his expression of identity in relation to the sustainable self, then the probability of that person behaving under norms associated with sustainability (e.g. low impact on the environment, vegetarianism, recycling, community awareness) are higher than that person behaving according to aspects related to other self-categorisations.

As stated by Oakes, Haslam and Turner (1994), social identity will be engaged depending on the context, and the available social comparison and categories within that context. The availability of categories relies on them

being important aspects of the self-concept that are frequently employed and/or them being perceptually salient (Hogg & Terry, 2000). In terms of sustainable living, for instance, it could be argued that individuals would express their sustainable self when social identity is salient, if: 1) sustainability is manifested at the level of the self-concept, and therefore sustainability values are important for the individual and in alignment with her/his own personal values; and/or 2) a sustainable categorisation as part of a social group is easily adopted (e.g. because of the availability of sustainable organisations in the local community, because of the presence of sustainable people within the individual's social group etc.).

Only recently, have researchers begun to consider identity salience as an important factor driving sustainable behaviour (e.g. Costa Pinto *et al.,* 2016). Identity salience is highly relevant when studying the links between identity expression and the motivations driving sustainable living. This is because of the association between identity salience and the meanings people give to things in life as well as the importance of those meanings for individuals.

Discussions in the previous sub-sections have outlined key literature, theories and concepts on identity (see a summary in Table 2-1), and have introduced the Dynamic Model of Identity Development. This model in particular has served as a guiding theory when collecting and analysing the participants' narratives. In the following sub-section, identity and sustainable behaviour are examined, including discussion of recent work and the current state of the field.

Table 2-1. Key theories used on identity studies including the Dynamic Model of Identity Development

Reference	Theory		Perspective
Hillenbrand & Money (2015)	Dynamic Model of Identity Development	Identity is dynamically formed through the interaction between personal and social identity and the interplay between the four layers of the self.	Personal and social identity
Erikson (1950)	Theory of Psychological Development	Every person develops their personality through eight inter-correlated stages over life.	Personal and social identity
Stryker (1968, 1980, 2008)	Symbolic interactionism	Individuals form their identity from symbolic interactions which are socially constructed	Personal and social identity
McCall & Simmons (1978, 2003)	Role identity theory	The role an individual performs in life will depend on her/his social position.	Personal identity
Tajfel & Turner (1979, 2004)	Social Identity Theory	An individual's sense of self will depend on the groups the person belongs to.	Social identity
Turner (1985, 1999, 2011)	Self-Categorisation Theory	One's self is associated to specific social categories depending on self representations and comparison with others.	Social identity
Hogg & Abrams (1988, 2004)	Social Identity Theory	Sense of identity based on social categories and social identifications.	Social identity

2.2.5 Identity and sustainable behaviour

Various extant studies acknowledge and have examined the interplay between identity and sustainable behaviours (see for example Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2000; Shaw, Shiu & Clarke, 2000; Fielding, McDonald & Louis, 2008; Nigbur, Lyons & Uzzell, 2010; Niinimaki, 2010; Kiesling & Manning, 2010;

Van der Werff, Steg & Keizer, 2013a, 2014; Gatersleben, Murtagh & Abrahamse, 2014; Bartels & Reinders, 2016; Brick, Sherman & Kim, 2017; Newman & Trump, 2017). Shaw and Shiu (2002) for instance demonstrate the usefulness of self-identity as a predictor of intentions to behave sustainably by looking at self-identity and ethical obligations. Van der Werff, Steg and Keizer (2013b) meanwhile, made a significant contribution to the field of sustainable living by suggesting that those with a strong environmental self-identity will be intrinsically motivated to act sustainably, without being influenced by external incentives. In a further work Dermody *et al.* (2015), researching sustainable consumption, argue that pro-environmental self-identity partially or totally mediates the relationship between concern, motivation and behaviour in relation to sustainability.

In another work, Champniss *et al.* (2016) recently demonstrated that the effects of brand attachment on social identity could lead to an increase in sustainable behaviours (i.e. donations to charities). This confirms the results of earlier studies indicating the relationship between social identity and pro-environmental behaviours (see Uzzell, Pol & Badenas, 2002; Dono, Webb & Richardson, 2010; Bartels & Hoogendam, 2011; Hargreaves, 2011; Bartels & Onwezen, 2014; Prati, Albanesi & Pietrantoni, 2017). Carmeli *et al.,* (2017) have also recently proposed that the activation of social identity linked to an organisation, and in particular, the degree of identification attached to that organisation, translates into influence over levels of involvement with sustainable behaviours. These results corroborate those of previous studies which evidenced the existing relationship between identification (i.e. with

sustainability, with an organisation, with a brand) and the adoption of sustainable behaviours (Yin, Qian & Singhapakdi, 2016; Fairfield, 2016).

In a further recent study of particular relevance to this research, Costa Pinto *et al.* (2016) suggest that the salience of either personal or social identity impacts on behavioural intentions in the context of what is labelled 'green consumption'. They argue that self-transcendence intentions – such as values of benevolence, universalism and concern for others (Schwartz, 2010) – are activated when personal identity is salient. This, in turn, helps to achieve the positive effects of congruent intentions. In addition to this, their research suggests that when social identity is salient, self-enhancement intentions – such as values related to power, achievement, and self-interest (Schwartz, 2010) – are more important in driving green consumption intentions.

Overall, it is important to note that the majority of studies exploring relationships between identity and sustainable behaviours have focused on aspects related to social identity. As a consequence, there is significant scope for further enquiry into the interplay between personal identity and sustainable actions. A large number of studies on identity and sustainable behaviour have used the Norm Activation Model (NAM) proposed by Schwartz's in 1977 as a guiding theory. In part because it provides an explanation of altruistic behaviours (Thogersen, 2006; Onwezen, Antonides & Bartels, 2013). Some research on identity and sustainable behaviour has also used as a guiding theory the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB, Ajzen, 1985, 1991), after Sparks and Shepherd (1992) proposed self-identity as an

addition to Ajzen's model. However, to the author's knowledge no study has used the Dynamic Model of Identity Development in an empirical way as occurs in this research.

Returning to the TPB, research has found evidence that self-identification of individuals as 'green consumers', is a predictor of intentions of buying organic products (Sparks & Shepherd, 1992, Shaw, Shiu & Clarke, 2000). For instance, Fielding *et al.*'s (2008) research shows how those strongly self-identifying as environmental activists have higher potential to engage in environmental activism. These results are consistent with those of other studies mentioned earlier in this section.

The results of previous studies have demonstrated that individuals self-identifying as sustainable would have higher intentions to engage in sustainable lifestyles. However, there is little work exploring how individuals engaging in sustainable living may differ in terms of their identity salience, and how this plays out in terms of congruence between identity expression and motivations. Recent research on identity and sustainable living (Table 2-2) has also tended to focus on only one aspect of identity (e.g. social identity, place identity). This study contributes towards filling the theoretical gaps described above by offering a deep understanding of how aspects of personal and social identity (in particular identity salience and identity congruence) influence motivations driving individuals to live sustainably.

Table 2-2. Recent studies on identity and sustainable behaviour

Author	Aim of the study	Underlying theory	Findings
Brick, Sherman & Kim (2017)	To examine how the strength of social identity as predictor of pro-environmental behaviour vary depending on how visible the behaviour is to others.	Social identity theory and social visibility.	Pro-environmental behaviours are more strongly predicted through identity when the behaviour is highly visible.
Newman & Trump (2017)	To understand the impact of moral identity on consumers' attachment to ethical brands	Moral identity importance.	Ethical brands can create strong connections with consumers with high levels of moral identity importance who are trying to relieve their guilt.
Bartels & Reinders (2016)	The study aims to explain the role of social identity in sustainable behaviour looking at the role of multiple consumer identities.	Social identity theory.	The research suggest that multiple social identities play different roles in different sustainable behaviours.
Lee, Yap & Levy (2016)	To explore the relationship between place identity (a self-identity dimension of identity) and sustainable consumption.	Place identity as a dimension to personal identity.	The findings of the study suggest that place identity and the commitment of individuals with their residential area (neighbourhood) are strong motivators of sustainable consumption.

For the purpose of this study, the expression of identity of individuals self-identifying as sustainable is analysed in relation to their sense of sustainable self. The meaning of which is explained in the next section.

2.2.5.1 The sustainable self. According to Zavestoski (2001), only a small portion of the population has developed conscious values regarding environmentalism, and the consequences of human activity on the environment. As mentioned previously in this chapter, identity is always under construction (Erikson, 1968; Hall, 1990). It may therefore be argued that through engaging in pro-sustainable behaviours individuals create and develop their identities with reference to sustainability. For example, the results of a study on non-plastic bag consumption showed that, even though long-term users of this kind of bags defined themselves as vegetarians, green voters or ethical citizens, they admitted that their identity was different before engaging in these practices (see Cherrier, 2006). In fact, one of the participants of the aforementioned study stated that before using sustainable bags, he was aware of the problems caused by the use of plastic ones, but he was not doing anything to help solve it. Only once he started seeing people around his community using this kind of bags, he decided to move from an attitude status to an actual behaviour, which helped him develop and label sustainability as part of his identity.

As reported by Murray (2011), the sustainable self has six attributes: awareness, motivation, empowerment, knowledge, skilful means and practice. Sustainable *awareness* consists of three levels, which are described as: a) being aware of the necessity of change; b) understanding that sustainability matters are complex and interconnected; and c) accepting that what we do as individuals is important. The second of Murray's attributes, *motivation* towards sustainability, can be understood as the will to behave

sustainably, which is influenced by personal attributes of the individual such as attitudes and values (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006; Seyfang, 2006). The third attribute, sustainable *empowerment,* refers to the idea of abrogating our internal barriers in order to change. Those internal barriers are annulled once our self-limiting beliefs are identified and examined. According to Friedmann (1987), if limiting beliefs are rejected, an individuals' inborn wisdom can be tapped. In the context of sustainability, if these self-limiting beliefs are transformed into empowering beliefs, the probability of individuals engaging in pro-sustainable behaviours would increase. The fourth attribute, *knowledge,* plays a key role in sustainability, as a well-informed individual would be more aware of, and therefore have a higher chance to develop a sustainable self. Also, a sustainable individual should have *skilful means*, understood as "promoting positive outcomes through the wise application of knowledge and skills" (Murray, 2011, p. 23). This attribute involves caring for the environment, avoiding making a negative impact on it through wisdom, by using our highly aware capabilities. These five attributes (awareness, motivation, empowerment, knowledge and skilful means) in combination translate into the sixth, sustainable *practice*, which allows individuals to work and live sustainably. Following Murray (2011), in this research the term 'sustainable self' is used more generally to explore how individuals use and express concepts related to sustainability when describing their identities, motivations, feelings, cognitions and behaviours.

Identity expression is therefore analysed in this study in relation to the sustainable self, understood as a sense of identity which possesses

sustainable awareness, motivation, empowerment, knowledge, skilful means and practice (Murray, 2011).

2.2.6 Summary of the section

From this review of extant literature on identity and sustainable living, it is concluded that identity plays an important role when individuals engage in pro-sustainable behaviours. However, more research is needed in order to understand sustainable living more deeply. Psychological concepts such as identity, motivation and congruence offer much promise for this endeavour (e.g. West *et al.,* 2016, Costa Pinto *et al.,* 2016).

In Section 2.2 concepts related to the self and identity relevant for this study have been identified and explained. After reviewing the existing research on identity and sustainable behaviour, it is clear that there is a gap in the literature in relation to the depth of our understanding of the role of identity in sustainable living. Past research has demonstrated the influence of values in the intention of behaving sustainably, but without looking systematically at identity expression and its interplay with motivational drives in this regard. Furthermore, there is need for exploration of identity congruence in the context of sustainability. Extant studies have also largely focused their attention on exploring the antecedents and intentions of sustainable behaviour, using quantitative methods, rather than looking deeply and qualitatively at the identities and motivations of that sub-group of individuals who specifically identify as sustainable.

This thesis contributes towards filling these gaps by exploring how identity expression and motivation interact in sustainable living. In particular, this research explores the salience of personal and social identities when living sustainably, with a further focus on understanding the impact of congruence and incongruence on identity expression. However, since this study looks at how different expressions of identity are linked to specific motivational drives, motivation is explored in the following section.

2.3 The concept of motivation

Motivation has been defined by Park and Mittal (1985) as an inner *drive* – or internal stimulus – that reflects goal-directed arousal. It is an energising force which induces action (Pinder, 1998), and that is normally translated into conscious and unconscious decisions. Traditional classifications of motivations have distinguished between rational and emotional motivations (Copeland, 1924) – the latter depending on human instincts and emotions – with the intention of making motives useful for business management.

Rational motives are those based on logic and the ability to consider different options and so choose the most appropriate. *Emotional* motives, in contrast, are induced by habits and emotional feelings, by desire or ambition. As an example, in the motives driving consumption, rational buying motives would be those linked to attributes of the product such as durability and its

economy, whilst emotional buying motives would include aspects like pleasure of recreation and satisfaction.

In the following sub-sections motivation literature, theories and concepts relevant for this research are reviewed. This includes examination of the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002), which is deployed in this research as a key theory guiding some of the collection and analysis of the data collected in this study.

2.3.1 Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations

Research has demonstrated that behavioural outputs might differ depending on whether one behaves on the basis of intrinsic or extrinsic motivations (Ryan & Deci, 2000). *Intrinsic* motivations are those based on innate needs for competence (looking for challenges) and self-determination. According to White (1959), behaviour driven by intrinsic reasons is related to inherent satisfactions and, therefore, individuals would engage in the behaviour even if it lacks reward.

For instance, intrinsic motivations inform the behaviour of a person who goes to a party expecting just to have fun. *Extrinsic motivations* involve the performance of an activity seeking separable consequences (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2008a) or contingent rewards (Deci & Ryan, 1980).

According to Ryan and Deci (2000), extrinsic motivations should not only be linked to impoverished forms of motivation, as in fact, some extrinsic motivations represent active motivational states.

- External Regulation
- Introjection
- Identification
- Integration
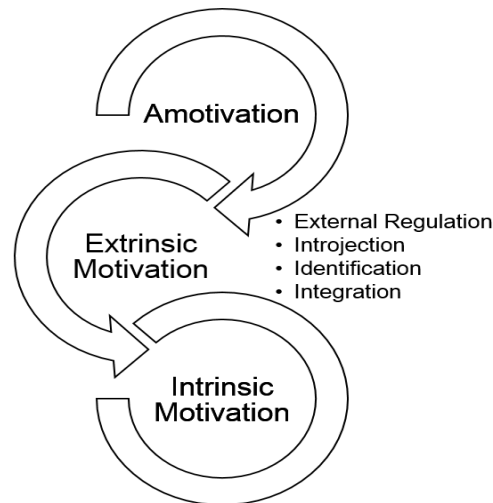
Figure 2-2. Human motivation[4]

As shown in Figure 2-2, extrinsic motivations can be categorised into four groups: external regulation, introjection, identification and integration. Ryan and Deci (2000) refer to *external regulation* as the least autonomous means of being extrinsically motivated. Individuals behaving under these regulations are typically willing to satisfy a demand or are performing this way because of an externally imposed reward exigency (Ryan & Deci, 2000). This would be the case of employees making greater efforts at work in order to receive a bonus.

The second category *introjection* consists of self-controls which regulate the behaviour of an individual in order to avoid feelings like guilt or anxiety. For example, a person attending a neighbourhood meeting seeking personal

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[4] Adapted from Ryan & Deci (2000).

approval and/or because of what others may think, is behaving under introjected regulations. The third category of extrinsic motivations *identification* is a "more autonomous or self-determined form of extrinsic motivation" (Ryan & Deci, 2000). An example of this is if a student is working hard because that will be valuable in achieving the goal of going to University, she/he is motivated by identified regulations.

Lastly, Ryan and Deci (2000) suggest that integration arises once identified regulations *integrate* into the self, through self-examination and by bringing new regulations into congruence with one's own values. An example of this form of motivation – the most autonomous amongst extrinsic motivations – would be the case of a person who goes to church because that act is in alignment with her/his own beliefs and values, without necessarily enjoying it. Finally, at the top of Figure 2.2 is 'amotivation'*,* understood by the authors as the lack of intention to act, derived from absence of value, reward, or because of feeling incompetent to do so (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

With the purpose of explaining the effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivations, Deci and Ryan developed Self-Determination Theory (SDT) (1985). This theory proposes the existence of three human basic needs: *competence*, in terms of being effective when dealing with one's environment; *autonomy,* understood as the need to control the course of one's life; and *relatedness*, related to the desire to have close interactions and relationships with others. The authors assume that the human organism has evolved to be "inherently active, intrinsically motivated and oriented toward developing naturally through integrative processes" (Deci & Ryan,

2011, p. 417). According to the authors, these qualities are not necessarily learned, but are innate in human nature, and change and adapt over time influenced by the social environment.

SDT has been widely applied in empirical work on sustainable behaviour (e.g. Webb *et al.*, 2013; Schösler, de Boer & Boersema, 2014), as it appears to be useful for the understanding of individuals' motivations to behave sustainably. However, this theory has its limits, for example it fails to consider aspects like enjoyment, and also feelings of obligation (Lindenberg, 2001), which could be relevant in the context of sustainable living. Whilst SDT is not used as a guiding theory in this study, it is recognised that the notions of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations may help in understanding the motivations driving sustainable living, and hence the reason for explaining these types of motivations in this section.

2.3.2 Individualism and collectivism as motivation

Individualism and collectivism are constructs used to distinguish between those individuals who are motivated by self-interest (based on individualism) and those who focus on the benefits their behaviour would have in society (collectivism). They have been applied extensively in cross-cultural studies (see Hui & Triandis 1986; Triandis *et al.,* 1988; Oyserman, 2017; Krassner *et al.,* 2017 etc.), often dichotomously. However, it is important to note that the concepts of individualism and collectivism are not conflicting, for instance they could be simultaneously present at the individual level (Singelis, 1994).

As suggested by Earley and Gibson (1998), the self-orientation which drives *individualistic* behaviour – at the personality level – refers to the need of achieving a particular goal by pursuing self-interest, "regardless of its implications for the collective" (p. 268). In the context of sustainable behaviour, this could be translated into individuals joining sustainable organisations with the intention of identifying with a group and/or to build relationships. According to the literature, the structure of motivation in individualism is based on internal needs and capacities, which allow individuals to resist social pressures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and to behave according to self-sufficiency and self-fulfilment (Hofstede, 1980). Self-fulfilment could relate in this case to the acquisition of a status (Schwartz, 1990), guided by individuals' obligations and expectations. Furthermore, Oyserman and Markus (1993) focus on the psychological consequences of individualism, which would relate to a sense of feeling good about oneself. In the case of sustainable behaviour studies this would be linked with the feeling of *'I am doing my bit'* (for the environment and for society).

Conversely, other individuals are motivated by the *collective* good when behaving. In other words, they are taking into account the interest and values of their community when making decisions and performing actions. They try to leave behind personal interests when pursuing the interests of the group (Triandis *et al.,* 1985; Triandis *et al.,* 1988; Triandis, 2001, 2005). Triandis (1995) argues that individuals belonging to collectivistic cultures (or behaving in a way motivated by the common good) are social beings who share

common values and common objectives in life, and view themselves as simply one more member of the group. One of the consequences derived from collectivism is that group membership is a key characteristic of one's identity (Hofstede, 1980), which implies that the different aspects of the individual's identity (e.g. personal traits, rules and roles in life) would be related to collectivistic constructs (Triandis, 1995). In addition, it is suggested that collectivism entails that individuals must carry out social roles and responsibilities in order to achieve life satisfaction (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), through practically contributing to the good of the society.

In the last 20 years, the introduction of neuroscience-based theories has added an interesting counter-point and different perspectives on many well-established theories of motivation, such as those above. One such theory is the Four Drive Theory, first proposed by Lawrence and Nohria (2002). This theory has been applied with much success in organisational studies with regards to better understanding employee and stakeholder engagement and motivations (see Nohria *et al.,* 2008; Abraham *et al.*, 2016; Perryer *et al.*, 2016; Lee, Raschke & Louis, 2016). The Four Drive Theory will be explained in the following section, including its usefulness for this research.

2.3.3 The Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation

A drive is defined as an internal stimulus, and a physical (e.g. hunger, pain) or emotionally (e.g. need of belonging) experienced state. Historically, Drive Theory was largely deployed in behavioural studies. For example, Zajonc

(1965), used drive theory as the basis of his theory of social facilitation, which looks at the consequences of the presence of others on one's behaviour in a social context. According to the author, such presence arouses either negative or positive drives, and whether it is a negative or positive outcome will always depend on what the strongest learned habit is.

The 'Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation' was introduced by Paul Lawrence and Nitin Nohria in 2002. This theory of human motivation posits that "human behaviour is motivated by a small set of *innate, subconscious, brain-based drives*" (p.10) which can be summarised into the 'drive to acquire' (D1), the 'drive to bond' (D2), the 'drive to learn' (D3) and the 'drive to defend' (D4).

The **drive to acquire** is considered the "oldest and most basic human drive" (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002, p. 55). It refers not only to the obtaining of tangible goods, but also to life experiences – negative and positive – which provide us with a sense of ownership. This drive is also status related. Individuals feel the need to acquire regular goods – or Eros – such as food, clothes or entertainment. However, they also seek positional attributes that could be linked to them – Thymos. For example, buyers of luxury cars e.g. Ferrari or Maserati, will not only be driven by the necessity of having a car or by the quality of the vehicle, but by the reward in terms of status that is acquired with the transaction.

However, the drive to acquire has also negative implications such as insatiability. Even though the feeling of happiness invades human beings after acquiring something they strongly desire, that sensation does not last

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long and the need to acquire "returns in full force" (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002, p. 65). It might also happen that this drive generates both positive and negative consequences within one single situation. For example, the ambition of a business' leader to improve the productivity of their company by expanding the capacity of the factory, could lead to benefits for the company in terms of profitability, while at the same time produce a threat or damage to the environment in the area where the plant is situated.

The second *drive to bond* is said to be inborn in every individual. It is a function of the desire to be part of a particular social group and to establish relationships with members of it. It is related to the need for belonging studied by Baumeister and Leary (1995), who researched the existence of a fundamental need to belong and to form interpersonal attachments, a desire that should be found in every individual, regardless of her/his origin or culture. According to Lawrence and Nohria (2002), humans are driven to build relationships and cultivate reciprocal caring commitments. Although, this drive to bond will only be fulfilled once the attachment is mutual.

In the modern world, this drive is linked to terms like love, trust, collaboration, belonging, fairness and respect, and is present in many types of social relationships. However, its intensity tends to decrease once some bonds get well-established (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For instance, a person may join a community group in order to fulfil the drive to bond (by feeling part of the group, satisfying the need for belonging), but once their membership is consolidated the drive to bond may no longer drive the person's behaviour with the same force. In fact, the motivation to continue in the group may

change to a different one (achieve the goal of the cause the group is working towards, for example).

There is also the ***drive to learn*** or comprehend. This is powered by the human need of satisfying curiosity, to know and understand what is around us. It leads individuals to be curious, to look for information and examine their surroundings and make observations. This drive is linked to learning, but also to building collective knowledge. For this reason it plays a key role in the day-to-day operations of many organisations. For instance, when a new member joins an organisation (or team), they acquire knowledge from others, while at the same time sharing her or his knowledge with the rest of the organisation. Thus, collective knowledge is created. This may translate into individuals seeking to satisfy the drive to learn not only by learning, but by *teaching* or transferring their knowledge to others.

According to the Lawrence and Nohria (2002) several human motives and needs derive from the drive to learn. For instance, the needs of competence, achievement, efficacy, mastery and growth, can all be considered derivative of this drive. This would explain why the drive to learn seems to be linked to intrinsic rewards related to work, and to the importance of building good working conditions. In fact, jobs are more gratifying if they allow the fulfilment of the drive to learn (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002).

Finally, Lawrence and Nohria talk about the ***drive to defend***, which relates to the natural feeling of standing up for what is believed – which in turn is part of the culture and ideology of the individual. This drive is activated once humans face mild threats, as a way to resist change, and in situations that

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could cause anxiety. It has a powerful effect as it has the advantage of maintaining accomplishments related to the other three drives. For instance, if the threats against which this drive is defending from turn out to generate positive outcomes for either the drive to acquire, bond or learn, then resistance against these threats tends to disappear. Thus the benefit to the other drives can be achieved. An example of this is a person activating the drive to defend when starting a new job (for instance because of the fear of not performing as expected). This translates into that person working extra hours. If working extra hours means that this person will get paid more and will gain reputation within the company, then working extra hours would generate a positive outcome in relation to the drive to acquire. Thus, the threat (i.e. fear related to performance) will tend to disappear and the activation of the drive to defend will not get triggered.

Lawrence and Nohria (2002) suggest that the drive to defend appears frequently in modern life, as much human activity seems to be motivated by this drive. For instance, it is triggered by perceived threats associated with one's body and mind (including threats to one's environment and self), as well as to individual material and nonmaterial possessions, and to one's bonded relationships. The emotions connected to this drive vary from anger and fear to anxiety, panic, loneliness and depression. Thus, if the mechanisms of resistance against threats are not functioning properly, the individual may reach a chronic defensive condition that might contribute to or generate serious health problems.

However, some questions arise. For example, what is the interplay between these four drives? Do they affect everyone the same way? According to the authors, individuals who satisfy all of them – because they have not only focused their attention on some – will feel fulfilled. However, those who have neglected the *drive to acquire* will feel envious; those who have ignored their *drive to bond* will feel lonely and out of place in life; those who have not paid due attention to the *drive to learn* will not feel curiosity; and those who mute their *drive to defend* will feel victimised (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002).

To date, the Four Drive Theory has been largely used in studies about employee motivations and organisational behaviour. For instance, Nohria, Groysberg and Lee (2008) deploy the Four Drive Theory to study employee motivation in global businesses – focussing on the finance and IT sectors. Their research provides insights to companies on how to motivate their employees by creating tools related to the four drives and their fulfilment. In particular, they suggest organisations should implement reward systems that satisfy the drive to acquire, while at the same time recommending that companies develop a culture that fulfils the drive to bond. In addition, the authors argued that through better job design, employees would express the drive to learn, whilst through effective performance-management and resource-allocation processes people would meet the drive to defend.

However, we argue that this theory can also be successfully applied to lifestyle studies, and in particular to the analysis of sustainable living. For instance, the *drive to acquire* could be linked not only with buying sustainable products or services, but also with the acquisition of status within a social

group, as 'the sustainable', 'the green', or 'the activist' member. While this makes sense intuitively, it is still necessary to explore the expression of these drives in the context of sustainability.

Another potential theme in relation to the *drive to acquire* might emerge when this drive is being expressed in a reverse way by sustainable individuals. This might be a case of individuals who are very aware of the problem of sustainability, and who choose to follow the principles of anti-consumption, arguing that people could live with less, while at the same time could reduce, reuse and recycle more. In the context of sustainable living the *drive to bond* might be related to issues of bonding and identification with particular social groups. For instance, individuals could engage in sustainable behaviours with the aim of feeling accepted by a group.

When looking at typologies of green, ethical or sustainable consumers, it can be seen that some of them – called by McDonald *et al.* (2012) 'exceptors' – spend more time searching for information about sustainability. They are suggested to be more literate, and aim to be more knowledgeable and aware of the negative and positive implications of sustainable practices. If the Four Drive Theory is applied to this situation, it could be argued that they are particularly motivated by the *drive to learn* and comprehend sustainability concerns. They may be people who actively look for information about sustainability issues with the intention of gaining further knowledge and therefore being as sustainable as possible.

Finally, the *drive to defend* might be the one drive that individuals who self-identify as sustainable express most readily. It could manifest in relation to

defence of the environment and society, as well as to the defence of values and beliefs connected to sustainability (allowing individuals to live in alignment with their values). Once again, while this may make intuitive sense, such assertions need empirical investigation and support.

Lawrence and Nohria (2002) have furthermore linked the four drives with specific emotions and cultural traits. These could help in explaining why individuals who self-identify as sustainable behave in different ways. For example those driven in a greater way by the *drive to learn*, would feel curious, hopeful or inquisitive, about the environment, society and sustainability. Meanwhile, those motivated by the *drive to acquire* would feel eagerness or power – in a positive way – or anger or frustration – when associating acquisition with negative terms or anti-consumption practices (understood as sustainable actions). In terms of cultural traits, those motivated by the *drive to bond* could be individuals thoughtful about cooperativeness, ethics or forms of community organising – and very aware of their social group. Finally, those driven by the *drive to defend* could be concerned with laws and sanctions.

The Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation was chosen as a guiding theory for this study over other motivational theories – such as the Theory of Reasoned Action or the Theory of Planned Behaviour – is first because it is a theory that examines actual performance, instead of behavioural intentions. It furthermore allows for understanding of motivations in relation to a set of four drives, which enables us to gain a deeper understanding of what is driving

the expression of particular behaviours. Finally, its validity, usability and applicability was also determined through conducting a pilot study.

The Four Drives working in pairs

According to Lawrence and Nohria (2002) it may be that specific sets of drives work better together. For instance, the *drive to learn* and the *drive to defend* in conjunction seem to help people resolving conflicts. This interpretation is supported by the work of Peterson (1999), who argues that individuals possess skills that help them respond to novelty with a mixture of emotions, usually related to curiosity and anxiety. Facing a novel situation, humans will first feel fear and then, intuitively, curiosity. Fear would make people cautious and cease the behaviour, but through curiosity individuals will become informed and consequently explore and approach the situation.

In addition, the *drive to bond* and the *drive to acquire* might be used together by humans in order to establish relationships. This idea builds upon Fiske's (1991) work on human's skills sets. According to Fiske (1991) "the motivation, planning, production, comprehension, coordination, and evaluation of human social life may be based largely on combinations of four psychological models" (Fiske, 1992, p. 689), which are communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing.

Communal sharing relates to exchange rules, and implies members of a group treating each other in the same way, focusing the attention on the communalities instead of individual identities. This skill is common among family members or when interacting with 'significant others'. *Authority*

ranking, however, refers to relationships which involve inequalities. In this case, interactions between individuals are based on hierarchical social dimensions or ranks. This is the typical case of a relationship occurring in a company between managers and subordinates. Meanwhile, *equality matching* (also known as 'long-term reciprocity'), consists of balance and reciprocation. Every person is entitled to the same amount (of items, for instance) with any other person in the relationship. For example, this would be the relationship occurring amongst members of a cooperative. Finally, *market pricing* relates to proportionality in social relationships, understood as exchange by a ratio (e.g. negotiating the price in a second-hand shop). After all, any relationship between two people would involve competitive elements such as authority ranking and market pricing (linked to the drive to acquire), and cooperative elements, like communal sharing and equality matching (related to the drive to bond), which evidence the optimal relationship between these two drives (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002).

In terms of sustainable behaviour expression, it might be possible that those affected jointly and simultaneously by the drives to learn and defend are more aware of sustainability issues. By being aware and concerned with the problems related to non-sustainable lifestyles, they feel it necessity to respond by living sustainably and by defending, not only the environment and society, but also their values and beliefs. Sustainability may be part of their selves and, therefore, their lifestyles. In the case of those driven by the drives to acquire and bond altogether, the motivations behind the behaviour might be linked to both building meaningful relationships with people with similar

values and acquiring status or a ranked position within the sustainable community.

Criticism of the Four Drive Theory

The Four Drive Theory offers a clear and meaningful explanation of how innate drives motivate human behaviour. However, not everyone is in agreement about theory's full validity. For instance, McShane and Von Glinow (2010) researching employee motivation and organisational behaviour argue that limited guidance is offered on how to convert the four drives into specific behaviours. In another study, Kaufman (2011) argues that the theory is incomplete. He suggests the 'drive to feel' should be included as a fifth drive in the set. Although, if the drive to feel is understood as the necessity of feeling emotionally engaged with someone or something, it could be argued that this drive is inherent in the drive to bond.

Critics furthermore argue that social norms, personal values, and past experiences are not sufficient to describe individual characteristics, and therefore other aspects of the self-concept, such as personality and social identity should be taken into account (McShane & Von Glinow, 2010). They "play a significant role in translating drives into needs and needs into decisions and behaviour" (McShane & Von Glinow, 2010, p. 142). In the research presented in this thesis, this limitation is overcome by analysing motivations through the lens of the interplay between the Four Drives and identity expression, including examination of the role of individuals' personal and social identities. Whilst acknowledging these criticisms, it is viewed that

overall they can be overcome. The appropriateness of the model as a guiding theory for data collection and analysis in this research is therefore justified.

As noted previously, the validity and usefulness of the Four Drive Theory when conducting research in organisational settings on topics like employee motivation has been well established (Nohria *et al.*, 2008). However, its use has also extended to other areas. For instance, Abraham *et al.,* (2013) use it to examine technology acceptance, specifically in how mobile communication technologies were accepted by the workers of a healthcare organisation. Studies like this illustrate the usefulness and adaptability of the Four Drive Theory for other research contexts, and therefore the appropriateness and relevance of its use in the context of studying sustainable living.

In conclusion, through classifying the motivations driving individuals who self-identify as sustainable within the four groups proposed by Lawrence and Nohria (which take into account the role of human nature on behaviour), this study will be able to offer a more complete explanation of the mechanisms behind sustainable lifestyles. To achieve this, an in-depth exploration of human behaviour considering both cognitive and social constructs will be conducted. In addition, Nohria *et al.*, (2008) argue that their theory provides a scientific foundation to many well-established theories.

For instance suggesting their work is a scientific extension of classic theories such as Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943). Therefore, rather than the Four Drive Theory being seen as a theory in conflict with others, it can be understood as a development on previous theories, and so a useful lens through which to explore motivation.

Table 2-3. Key theories used on motivation studies and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation

Reference	Theory		Perspective
Lawrence & Nohria (2002)	The Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation	Human motivation can be classified under four basic innate motivational drives: the drive to acquire, bond, learn and defend.	Basic innate motivational drives
Maslow (1943)	Hierarchy of needs	Individuals are motivated to act in relation to certain needs: physiological, safety, social, esteem, self-actualisation.	Basic and growth needs
Locke (1968, 1990, 1997)	Goal Setting Theory of Motivation	Individuals must believe a goal is achievable in order to be motivated to act.	Goal theories
Fishbein & Ajzen (1975, 1980, 2011)	Theory of Reasoned Action	The intention to behave is motivated by individuals' attitudes and subjective norms.	Attitudes and behaviour
Schwartz (1977)	Norm Activation Model	Pro-social behaviour is triggered by personal norms, which are activated problem awareness, ascription to responsibility, outcome efficacy and relief.	Personal norms and pro-social behaviour
Deci & Ryan (1985, 2000, 2008a, 2011)	Self-Determination Theory	Intrinsic motivations are linked with competence and self-determination. Extrinsic motivations are linked with separable consequences and contingent rewards.	Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations
Ajzen (1985, 1991)	Theory of Planned Behaviour	Extension of the TRA which adds perceived behavioural control (experienced control over the behaviour) as the third aspect shaping one's intention to act.	Beliefs and behaviour
Schwartz (1992, 1990, 2010)	Theory of Basic Values	Behaviour is driven by 10 motivational types of values categorised under four types of goals: openness to change, self-enhancement, self-transcendence and conservation.	Values
Triandis (1995, 2001, 2005)	Individualism and collectivism	Collectivists are motivated by the norms of the collective and see themselves as part of a group. Individualists are motivated by their own preferences.	Individualism and collectivism

In the previous sub-sections, key theories of motivation have been addressed (see also Table 2-3), and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (which

served as a guiding theory in some part of the collection and analysis of participants' sustainability narratives) has been introduced.

In the following sub-section, motivations and sustainable behaviour are addressed together, including consideration of current developments and work in the field.

2.3.4 Motivations and sustainable behaviour

Every human being may feel the desire to protect her/his surrounding environment. However, perception of what a good or a bad environment is varies depending on individual perceptions and the culture of which the individual is a part (Wagner, 2003). As discussed previously, despite awareness about sustainable practices becoming more widespread during the last decades, and people more frequently engaging in sustainable behaviours, researchers still need to better understand the mechanisms driving individuals to act sustainably (see Grunert, Hieke & Wills, 2014; Hedlund-de Witt, De Boer & Boersema, 2014; Antonetti & Maklan, 2014; Knollenberg *et al.,* 2014; Leary *et al.,* 2014; Ozdamar Ertekin & Atik, 2015; Edbring, Lehner & Mont, 2016; Verplanken; 2017; Nuttavuthisit & Thogersen, 2017).

Most common theories/frameworks applied to the study of motivations in sustainable behaviour

The Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) and the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1985, 1991) (successor of the TRA), are two of the most widely employed theories in understanding sustainable and pro-environmental behaviours (Budeanu, 2007). A study by Goldenhar and Connell (1993) for example, using TRA, finds that the interaction between attitudes and subjective norms in relation to recycling behaviour was mediated by intentions to recycle. In a more recent study meanwhile, Mishra, Akman and Mishra (2014) demonstrate the validity of the TRA model when predicting intentions to engage in the use of green technologies, finding that intentions influence actual behaviour in a positive way.

The TPB theory has been also widely used when exploring sustainable behaviour (Swaim *et al.,* 2014; Cowan & Kinley, 2014; Muralidharan & Sheehan, 2016; Longo, Shankar & Nuttall, 2017; Han, Meng & Kim, 2017). For instance, Kaiser and Gutscher (2003) use TPB in their research demonstrating the validity of attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control in predicting intention of sustainable behaviour. More recently, Rex, Lobo and Leckie (2015) applied TPB in a study of sustainable behavioural intentions. Other studies have used the theories in combination (see Bamberg, Rees & Seebauer, 2015; Paul, Modi & Patel, 2016).

Other studies on motivation and sustainable behaviour have focussed their attention on values (see Black & Cherrier, 2010; Gatersleben *et al.,* 2014;

Steg, 2016). According to Schwartz (1992), values are basically motivational, as they act as the link between needs and goals. Another model therefore worth noting, and which have been used in the study of sustainable behaviour, is the 'Norm Activation Model' (NAM; Schwartz, 1977). NAM states that pro-social behaviour is triggered by 'awareness of consequences' and 'denial of responsibility'. Referencing Schwartz's model, Stern *et al.* (1999) developed a Value-Belief-Norm (VBN) theory of environmentalism. This theory claims that values directly affect beliefs, which at the same time directly affect pro-environmental personal norms. These norms are suggested to drive different behaviours, which the authors categorised into four groups of significant environmental behaviour: *committed environmental activism; non-activist public-sphere behaviours* (such as joining environmental groups); *private-sphere behaviours* (like consumer purchase, use and disposal behaviours); and *behaviours in organisations* (influencing the actions of organisations individuals are part of).

Onwezen *et al.* (2013) also use Schwartz's Norm Activation Model as a way to study pro-environmental behaviour. In particular, they applied this model to the functions of anticipated pride and guilt – largely studied in sustainable/environmental behaviour research –, arguing that these emotions drive individuals to behave in accordance with their personal norms. The results of their study provide fresh insights by identifying not only how the association between guilt and pride and Schwartz's model works, but also how they function within the model. According to Onwezen *et al.* (2013), guilt and pride do not only affect behaviour, as these effects are mediated by

intentions. Additionally, Chaisamrej (2006) link Schwartz's theory with the Theory of Reasoned Action, the Theory of Planned Behaviour and the Self-Construal Theory, which are applied in the study of recycling behaviour. It is found that attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control influence behaviour when recycling.

The above discussions illustrate the applicability of Schwartz's theories for the study of sustainable/environmental behaviour. However, whilst Swartz's work has certainly been used extensively in research on sustainable behaviour. It is nevertheless not considered as useful as the Four Drive Theory for the kind of in-depth analysis of the innate motives driving sustainable behaviour undertaken in this research.

Identified motivations in relation to sustainable behaviour

In a further study of motivations and sustainable behaviour, DEFRA (2010) find that individuals will be differently motivated to behave sustainably depending on their identity, social norms and their sense of agency and guilt. In relation to *identity*, their study found that values related aspects, and also reward related to identity and self-esteem, affected the probability of individuals engaging in environmental actions. *Social norms* were also highly significant, as people tend to perform in accordance with the behaviour of their social group (family, friend, local community), so as to feel they are doing the right thing. Furthermore, in terms of *agency*, DEFRA's research suggests that some individuals are motivated by the efficacy of the impact of their actions on the environment. The DEFRA study also corroborated the results of previous studies showing that individuals are more likely to engage

in pro-sustainable behaviours when feeling *guilty*. Overall, this study identifies different triggers of motivation when behaving sustainably, but looks at them in isolation. The research presented in this thesis is therefore a development on such previous research as it looks at sustainable living through the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives.

In general, extant research suggests that many people are focussed on personal benefits when behaving and living sustainably, and also when acquiring sustainable goods. For instance, De Young (1986) demonstrates that in recycling, motives like 'feeling that I am doing something' appear to be very significant. Meanwhile, in another study on consumption conducted by Aertsens *et al.*, (2011), it is demonstrated that people who buy organic food are mainly motivated by not having pesticides in their diets and by a better quality of produce and taste. Thus, once again the main motives behind the behaviour are related to the satisfaction of personal needs. Furthermore, it has been found that people are more likely to engage in sustainable behaviours when there are low costs and high benefits at the level of the individual (Steg, Perlaviciute & van der Werff, 2015). Finally, a recent study on collaborative consumption conducted by Hamari, Sjoklint and Ukkonen (2016) suggests that individuals are motivated to engage in this type of sustainable behaviour by the rewards they consequently obtain in terms of enjoyment and financial gain. These motivations, once again, relate to personal rewards, which vary depending on the context.

Offering a different perspective to the above studies, Freestone and McGoldrick (2008) suggest that on certain occasions individuals find greater

costs than benefits when thinking about shifting to pro-sustainable behaviours, and therefore their motivations to do so may be more negative than positive. This is an important consideration when studying sustainable living, as at first sight the main beneficiary of this kind of lifestyle is either the environment or society (with no direct or immediate benefit for the individuals), which may impair or impede the spread of sustainable practices.

In summary, from the present review of relevant literature it can be concluded that most studies looking at motivations and sustainable behaviour have conceptualised motivation in relation to either TRA, TPB, or NAM or in terms of combinations and extensions of these theories. However, the use of these complex integrated conceptual frameworks has been suggested to add difficulty to the study of sustainable behaviour (Davies, Foxall & Pallister, 2002).

This study aims to contribute to the literature on sustainable living by conceptualising motivation through the lenses of four basic and innate human drives. This approach will offer new insights on what truly motivates individuals to live sustainably, while – when combined with the Dynamic Model of Identity Development – it will also shed light on the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable behaviour. Understanding of this is lacking in existing research (see Table 2-4).

Table 2-4. Recent studies on motivation and sustainable behaviour

Author	Aim of the study	Underlying theory	Findings
Verplanken (2017)	To develop a segmentation model of individual and household behaviour based on motivation, opportunity and habit.	Theories on motivation, opportunity and habit.	Sustainable lifestyles and strong sustainable habits tend to be adopted by consumers with high motivation and high opportunity.
Nuttavuthisit & Thogersen (2017)	To understand how trust influences consumers' ethical decisions.	Theory of Planned Behaviour (extended, including both motivational and volitional influences).	The lack of trust in the control system and in the authenticity of food (when is sold as organic), negatively impacts organic food buying behaviour.
Steg (2016)	To explore factors that motivate or inhibit individuals to behave proenvironmentally.	Theories on hedonic, egoistic, altruistic and biospheric values.	When people endorse biosferic values, they are more likely to behave proenvironmetally due to intrinsic motives. However, values must be supported by context.
Shaw *et al.* (2016)	To examine the role of the motivation to care when consuming ethically.	Theories on care and commitment.	A better understanding of individuals' ethics of care (looking at intensity, morality and articulation) could help understanding ethical behaviour.

2.3.5 Summary of the section

Section 2.3 has reviewed theories of motivation which are significant for this study. From this analysis of existing literature and research on motivations and sustainable behaviour, it is clear that there is now quite a substantial body of literature on motivations driving sustainable behaviour. In particular, scholars have examined how personal values can predict the intentions of individuals to engage in sustainable practices. Whilst recent research has

also explored how individuals may feel motivated to follow sustainable behaviours because of personal reward.

However, there is little evidence of research examining the interplay between the expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living. Specifically, and to the author's knowledge, there has been no study looking at how identity congruence and identity salience interact with the different motivations driving sustainable individuals. This study therefore contributes towards addressing this gap. Specifically, this research explores in-depth the different motivations driving the expression of sustainable behaviour, and examines how these different motivations influence different individuals (and expressions of identity) in different ways. Reflecting this, identity and motivations are jointly explored in the section that follows.

2.4 Linking identity and motivations

According to Leary and Tangney (2002), "self and identity are predicted to influence what people are motivated to do" (p. 70), as well as the way they think, act or make sense of themselves and others. Therefore, when aiming to understand behaviour, it is important to consider identity and motivation together. In this section, the 'Identity-Based Motivation' model (IBM) is introduced – which explains the influence of identity on motivations. This model helps us to understand why sometimes choices are identity-based.

Daphna Oyserman (2009a) developed the IBM, which claims that individuals act – and therefore are motivated – in congruence with their identities. According to the author, people understand situations in different ways depending on the congruence between their salient identities and a specific situation (Oyserman & Destin, 2010). They suggest any kind of choice is identity-based and identity-congruent.

The model consists of three basic postulates: action readiness, dynamic construction and interpretation of difficulty. *Action readiness* supports the idea that identities will act in accordance to their values and moral norms, but always influenced by the content of the identity, which is dynamically constructed. *Dynamic construction* predicts which identity will come to mind in a given context, taking into account that the meaning attached to it, and the behaviour driving the action, will be always dynamically context-constructed. The third postulate is the *interpretation of difficulty*, which supports the idea that when behaviour is identity congruent, the difficulty added to that behaviour will mean the action is important and meaningful. This sense of difficulty will influence judgement and choice (Oyserman & Destin, 2010).

The IBM model is based on the premise that what individuals think depends on the context, and the way they make sense of it – as identity is dynamically constructed in context. According to this model, identity congruent choices are more likely to happen than identity incongruent ones, regardless how these choices are perceived.

In the context of sustainable living, it is likely that individuals whose expression of identity is in congruence with the expression of sustainable behaviour would be more concerned about sustainability. Sustainable values are theirs (and of themselves), and they are more likely to behave sustainably in the long term. In contrast, those with identity incongruence might be less concerned about sustainability, which could imply shifting to a different behaviour in the future. Oyserman (2009b) states that when an identity is salient, identity-consistent processes are activated. Following this idea, this study analyses identity salience in relation to motivations, with the aim of understanding how identity salience influences the expression of sustainable behaviours.

In addition, the IBM model states that what an identity means is not only shaped by aspects appreciable in salient moments, but by features noticeable in any immediate situation (Oyserman, 2009b). For instance, people who are not engaged in recycling could perceive a person who normally recycles as 'green'. However, this act might not be seen as highly important by someone who not only recycles, but who takes sustainability into account in every daily decision. Everything depends on the context in which the interaction takes place, and the participants of that interaction.

Whilst the validity of the IBM model in explaining when one's identity will trigger the motivation to act is recognised, this model fails to unpack further the expression of identity and how it relates to specific motivational drives. By not only looking at levels of congruence and salience, but unpacking individuals' identities through the analysis of

the layers which form them, a deeper understanding of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives is therefore offered by the research presented in thesis. In the following final section the guiding theoretical framework of the study is presented.

2.5 Guiding theories

The present study uses the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) to guide part of the data collection and the data analysis. The use of existing frameworks during the coding process, namely 'theory-driven code development' (Glaser, 1978; Boyatzis, 1998), is a common approach in social sciences. Using a guiding theoretical framework during the analysis of the narratives allowed interpretation of both inductively collected data, and guided the analysis of the data collected deductively.

Drawing upon these two theories and the interplay proposed between them, this study suggests that the sustainable practices of individuals who self-identify as following sustainable lifestyles are driven in different ways by different motivational drives; and that the way these drives work will depend on the expression of identity of the individuals.

In particular, identity is being explored based on whether sustainability is salient in personal or social identities, and on the degree of congruence between the 'core' self and the rest of the layers of the self which form identities. Each motivational drive will be fulfilled in different ways and to

different degrees depending on how individuals express their identity in relation to their sustainable self, and on the innate motivations causing their behavioural expression.

Overall, these two theories interact in a dynamic process through which individuals form, develop and live their sustainable identities. The four different drives motivate people to follow a sustainable lifestyle, they reinforce their sense of self, and are integral in how others perceive them. These relationships are illustrated in Figure 2-3.

The identities of the individuals under study are analysed by looking at congruence between the layers which form their selves – using the Dynamic Model of Identity Development – and by examining identity congruence and salience. In addition, the motivations driving individuals to live sustainably are examined in terms of the Four Drives of Human Motivation. In order to do so, 35 semi-structured interviews with individuals who self-identify as people following sustainable lifestyles were conducted between October and December 2015 (after ensuring the validity of the framework through a pilot study).
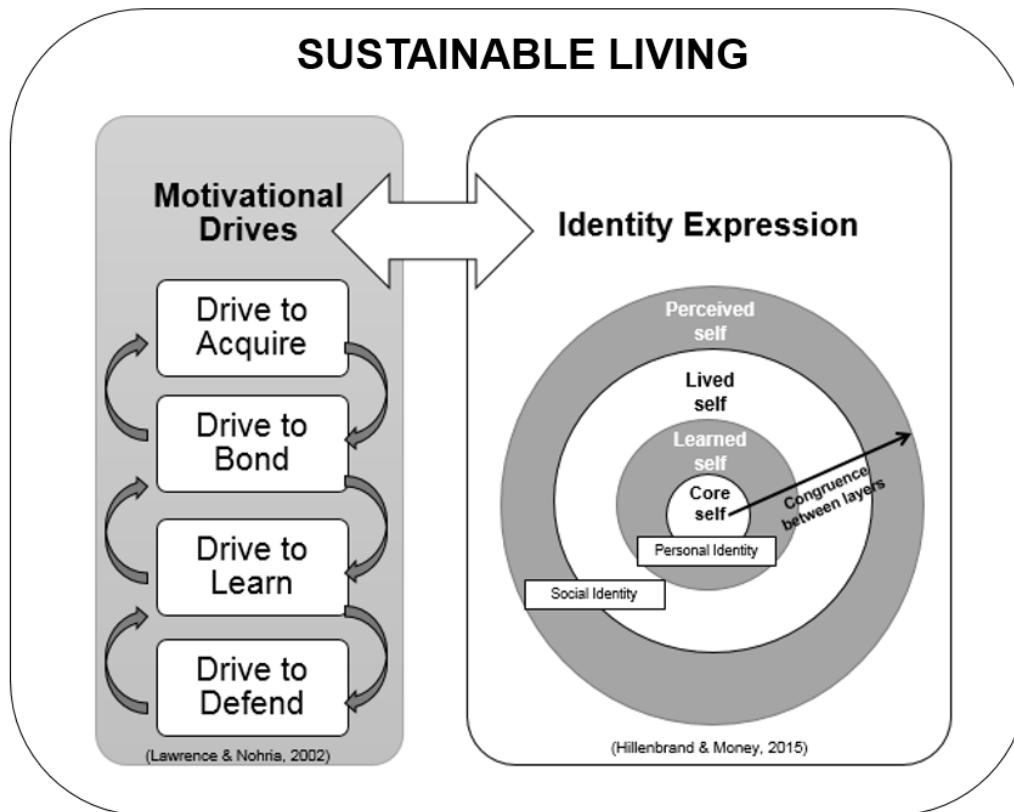
Figure 2-3. Proposed interplay between motivational drives, identity expression and sustainable living

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review chapter has focussed on two streams of literature. First, literature and theories of identity. Secondly, extant work and theorising on motivations. More specifically, two theories – the Dynamic Model of Identity Development, and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation – have been introduced. These theories guide part of the data collection for this study, and the data analysis. Together they constitute the guiding theoretical framework for this research, which has also been explained. Throughout this chapter various gaps, limitations and areas for further enquiry in the literature have

been identified, alongside identification of where and how the research in this thesis contributes towards addressing them. In particular it has been stressed that this research provides a much deeper and richer understanding of the interplay between identity and motivations in sustainable living than has been achieved in scholarship to date. In the next chapter the methodology employed in this research is fully explained and justified.

This chapter has explored literature on identity, theories on motivation and studies related to sustainable living, while it has also introduced the underlying theories that guide the analysis and part of the collection of data in this study. In Chapter 3, the methodological approach of this research is discussed.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines and explains the methodology adopted in this study. First, the research aim and objectives are introduced (Section 3.2) followed by a discussion of the research epistemological grounds (Section 3.3). This chapter also explains the results of the pilot study conducted during the first year of the PhD (Section 3.4). This pilot study helped in developing and confirming the conceptual and methodological approach adopted in the main study. Next, research design and data collection method (Section 3.5) are explained, and the research parameters (Section 3.6) and an explanation of the context of the study – sustainable living (Section 3.6.1) – are also identified. The sampling strategy is also explained (Section 3.6.3) as well as the approach adopted in data analysis (Section 3.7). The chapter concludes with discussion and reflection around ethical considerations in the study, and how ethical concerns were addressed (Section 3.8).

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter offered a review of literature on identity and motivations in relation to sustainable living, introduced the two theories guiding the analysis and part of the data collection of this study, and positioned this research in the context of extant work. The present chapter presents the methodological considerations of the research, adopted and designed in order to answer three main research questions (RQs):

- RQ1: Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?

- RQ2: Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?

- RQ3: What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?

With the purpose of addressing these three gaps, a qualitative empirical investigation with 35 individuals self-identifying as following sustainable lifestyles has been conducted. In the following sections, the methodological approach followed in the research is outlined.

3.2 Research aim

The purpose of this research is to explore sustainable living by analysing sustainable narratives through the lenses of identity expression and motivational drives. In particular, qualitative methods were used in order to gain a perspective in the identity of the participants, looking at aspects of identity salience and identity congruence with the aim of understanding how individuals engage in sustainable lifestyles. Further, the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives is explored.

This doctoral study seeks to contribute to theory by developing a new typology of sustainable individuals and by conducting empirical research with individuals self-identifying as sustainable. Furthermore, the study also

contributes to practice, as the results can be used by policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when trying to understand how to target sustainable behaviours. By answering the following research questions, a deeper understanding of the interplay between the expression of identity of those self-identifying as living sustainably and the motivational drives which drive them to do so will be presented.

RQ1: Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?

In order to answer the first research question of this study, an analysis of the degree of congruence between the layers of the self ('core' self, 'learned' self, 'lived' self, 'perceived' self) which form the identity of sustainable individuals has been conducted. Furthermore, the salience of personal and social identities triggered by the expression of the sustainable self and sustainable practices have been examined.

RQ2: Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?

With the purpose of answering the second research question, the motivations encouraging the expression of sustainable behaviour have been analysed and compared among groups of sustainable individuals. All the motives driving individuals to live sustainably have been categorised in four groups: acquire, bond, learn and defend (as the Four Drive Theory was guiding the analysis of participants' narratives).

RQ3: What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?

In order to answer the last research question, the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives has been analysed. The narratives of each one of the participants have been carefully examined with the aim of analysing what specific motivational drives affect in a greater or lesser way different individuals (identities). In addition, different kinds of identities have been linked with specific motivations.

In order to answer the preceding questions, a qualitative approach has been followed. Table 3-1 offers an overview of the research philosophy, research design, research parameters and methods of data collection and analysis chosen for this doctoral study, which are explained throughout this chapter.

Table 3-1. Overview of the research methodology

	Design	Choice	Justification
Research philosophy	Epistemology	Interpretivism	This study aims to understand identity and the motivations behind sustainable living.
	Ontology	Constructivism	Sustainable living is a social construct created by those following a sustainable lifestyle.
Research approach	Approach	Qualitative	This study aims to get a deep understanding of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living.
	Inquiry logic	Inductive and deductive	In this study, a combination between inductive and deductive approaches has been adopted. An inductive approach allows to explore sustainable living (social reality) from the subjective meanings those self-identifying as living sustainably give to it and from the relationships between those meanings and the individuals' sense of identity. A deductive approach was followed in the second part of the interview in order to test the theories used as a guide.
	Guiding theory	Dynamic Model of Identity Development and Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (figure 2-3)	By combining the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation and the Dynamic Model of Identity Development, the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living is explored. These two theories have guided both the analysis and part of the collection of data.
Methods for data collection	Data collection technique	Semi-structured interviews, combined with projective techniques	They enable the exploration of individuals' identities (values, personal characteristics, emotions), motivations and real-life experiences in relation to sustainable living. Projective techniques allow the investigation of subjective meanings related to identity and motivations.
Research parameters	Context	Sustainable living	Individuals are becoming more aware about sustainable living, a lifestyle which is spreading among societies. However, researchers have mainly focused on understanding intentions in relation to sustainable consumption and the consequences of sustainable behaviour.
	Unit of analysis	Individuals	Individuals who self-identify as living sustainable lifestyles.
	Sample	Non-probabilistic; homogeneous purposive (followed by snowballing)	Sample based on individuals sharing some characteristics related to their everyday sustainable practices. 1/3 of participants recruited through snowballing.
Methods for data analysis	Data analysis technique	Narrative thematic analysis (using NVivo version 10 software)	Technique that allows the identification of common 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes across the stories participants tell about themselves and their lives in relation to sustainable living.

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3.3 Research philosophy

The epistemological position of a piece of research consists of the conscious and unconscious assumptions about human knowledge (epistemological considerations), and about reality (ontological considerations), adopted by the researcher (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). According to Crotty (1998), researchers should acknowledge these assumptions at very early stage, as they shape the direction and nature of the investigation not only in terms of objectives and methods, but also in terms of influencing the interpretation of the data collected. This study applies an interpretivist – and both inductive and deductive approaches – in order to explore the identities and motivations of those who self-identify as sustainable. In this case, the purpose of the study is to understand the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives (which contributes to theory building in the context of sustainable living) and refining existing theories through empirical work (which involves in a certain way testing those theories). This approach will help understand sustainable living in all its complexity, and therefore relies on a qualitative methodology. In the following two sub-sections, epistemological and ontological considerations in this study are explained.

3.3.1 Epistemological considerations

Bryman (2012) states that epistemology relates to the study of what constitutes acceptable knowledge. Two epistemological traditions inform

research, namely positivism and interpretivism. The *positivist* approach proposes that only what can be seen or measured really exists. It consists of applying methods of the natural sciences to the study of social phenomena (Bryman, 2012), with the aim of gathering facts, testing hypothesis and giving explanations. Many *interpretivist* theories, however, state that meanings should be understood by looking at how social actors make sense of them (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). Therefore, researchers should search for understanding of why individuals act the way they do, play the roles they play, and interpret reality in a particular manner, instead of looking for explanations of their actions.

The present research has adopted an interpretivist approach in an effort to understand identity and human behaviour instead of explaining it (as a positivist approach would try to do, following a natural science epistemology). According to Bryman (2012), "a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (p. 30). Hence, this study is based on the analysis of sustainable living from a subjective point of view, instead of hypothesis testing. By looking at the narratives of individuals living sustainably and through a phenomenological lens, the present study aspires to make sense of the sustainable life they have chosen to live, as well as understand how living this way helps them create or develop their identity as sustainable human beings. Furthermore, this approach may allow the researcher to more fully understand the psychological aspects behind sustainable living.

The research methods most commonly used when following an interpretative approach are observation and interviews, as they are able to reveal participants' own interpretations of the issue under study, from a subjective angle. This is one of the reasons why semi-structured interviews were decided to be the most appropriate method to use in this research, as narratives allow a better understanding of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives. However, taking an interpretive approach also carries some risk, as the researcher does not only look at the evidence, but gets involved in the investigation through human relationships – by for example talking face to face with the participants or observing patterns of behaviour. It could be that the researcher loses critical distance by becoming implicated in the subject under study (Mackay, Maples & Reynolds, 2013). It is therefore imperative that the researcher steps back and be emotionally disengaged, by following an objective approach and by avoiding giving personal opinions. This was the stance adopted in this research.

3.3.2 Ontological considerations

According to Saunders *et al.* (2009), ontology refers to the nature of reality, to the study of the being. Specifically, it tries to establish whether social entities need to be considered objective (objectivism) or subjective entities (constructionism) which are socially constructed (Bryman, 2012). The *objectivist* position states that social units should be considered objective, as they have a reality external to social actors and they are independent. *Constructionism*, however, argues that social phenomena is constructed and

constantly revised by the perceptions and behaviour of social actors (Bryman, 2012), and therefore should not be treated as something external. Furthermore, recent theories on constructionism argue that the term also includes researchers' own perceptions of the social world and their personal versions of the realities under study (Bryman, 2012).

Due to the nature of this study, a constructivist approach has been followed, as lifestyles are social constructs which are not created, and therefore cannot be studied, in isolation. Social constructs (such as sustainable living) are affected by the way social actors think and communicate about them (Elder-Vass, 2012). In the particular case of this study, the way individuals think and communicate about sustainable living will vary. There will be differences in terms of both their personal and social identities, the common characteristics which make them identify themselves with a particular social group, and the culture and motivations driving them to follow this lifestyle. By adopting a constructivist position, the researcher has been able "to explore the subjective meanings motivating the actions of social actors" (Saunders *et al.,* 2009, p. 111) and therefore get a deeper understanding of the reasons behind sustainable living and the aspects which affect and influence the relationship between identity and motivations among individuals living sustainably.

In the next section, the pilot study conducted during the first stage of this doctoral research is presented, including the context and sample chosen, methods of data collection and analysis and findings.

3.4 Pilot study

During autumn 2014, a pilot study was conducted with the aim of clarifying the validity of the guiding theoretical framework proposed, the research questions identified, and the methods of data collection and analysis chosen.

3.4.1 Context and sample

In the first place, the context of the pilot study was sustainable consumption, understood as *"the use of goods and services that respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimizing the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardize the needs of future generations"* (Norwegian Ministry of Environment, 1994). However, after the first two interviews were conducted, the researcher noticed interviewees were talking about their behaviour in a broader manner, and their answers were referring closely to the issue of sustainable living. Sustainable consumption is highly relevant when studying sustainable lifestyles, as it is a major cause of environmental problems (Cohen & Murphy, 2001), but it is not the only issue to look at when analysing every day sustainable practices.

In terms of sample, all the participants were students or staff at the University of Reading, and in particular, participants were recruited by contacting sustainability-oriented organisations (groups that position themselves as sustainable).

Table 3-2. Participants' pilot study demographics

	Gender	Age	Occupation
Participant 1	Female	22	Undergraduate Student
Participant 2	Female	18	Undergraduate Student
Participant 3	Female	23	Undergraduate Student
Participant 4	Male	23	Postgraduate Student
Participant 5	Female	31	Postgraduate Student
Participant 6	Female	20	Undergraduate Student
Participant 7	Female	22	Undergraduate Student
Participant 8	Male	30	Research Fellow
Participant 9	Male	45	Postgraduate Student
Participant 10	Male	26	Research Fellow

The researcher engaged with two student societies with the aim of recruiting participants for a pilot study, but also to broaden understanding of how sustainable behaviour is expressed in practice. The societies chosen were the Reading University Fairtrade Society and Reading University People and Planet Society, whose members often identify themselves as activist against unsustainable practices. Interviewees were also recruited by contacting the Technologies for Sustainable Built Environments Centre (TSBE) at the University. In total 10 individuals were interviewed, six females and four males, all between 18 and 45 years old (the average age was 26 years old). Eight of them were students and two of them were research fellows with less than five years of working experience (see Table 3-2 for demographic details).

3.4.2 Methods of data collection and analysis

In alignment with the main study, the methods of data collection chosen were semi-structured interviews, with the aim of testing the validity of the use of this technique in this particular project. The interviews were carried out face to face either at Henley Business School or at the place of work of the interviewees between October and December 2014. The length thereof was between 40 and 80 minutes and all of them were audio-recorded after the participants' consent.

Data was analysed following both inductive and deductive approaches using thematic analysis, as according to Braun and Clarke (2006) this method helps researchers "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 6). The interviews were first transcribed and then coded thematically (using the software NVivo version 10), entailing a process of moving back and forth between the data collected and the existing literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

3.4.3 Findings

The results of the pilot study suggest that individuals are differently motivated to live sustainably depending on the way they create or develop their sustainable selves. This would depend on their personal characteristics, beliefs and values; what they have learned both at school and from their family; and the life they have chosen to live. Based on the analysis, albeit drawing upon only a small number of interviews, there is a clear distinction

between those who behave sustainably because sustainability is part of their 'core' self (and, therefore, their personal identity), and those who follow a sustainable lifestyle with the aim of identifying themselves with a particular social group and the benefits associated with that. Furthermore, it seems that for those individuals who are part of the former group sustainability is a key part of their identities, and 'who they are'. They seem to be motivated to engage in sustainable activities by their desire to defend the environment and society. In the case of members of the latter group, however, sustainability is 'something they do', and the reasons they behave the way they do are related to personal benefits such as belonging to a desirable social group.

The findings of the pilot study show systematic differences between two types of individuals and the motivations driving them to follow sustainable practices, which sheds light upon exploring further aspects related to expression of identity and motivational drives in the main study.

3.4.4 Conclusions and key insights from the pilot study

By conducting this pilot study, the research design of the main study was validated and enhanced, and the adequacy of the methods of data collection and analysis. The findings of this study revealed that the mechanisms behind the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living can be unpacked through the analysis of individuals' narratives (collected through semi-structured interviews). It also contributed to the justification of the two theories proposed as the guide for the analysis

and part of the data collection from this study. By analysing the narratives of the 10 participants of the study, the researcher was able to verify that identity expression can be examined based on the ideas of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development introduced by Hillenbrand and Money (2015). The validity of the use of the Four Drive Theory of Lawrence and Nohria (2002) in the setting of sustainable living was also corroborated, as the researcher was able to classify the motivations driving the behaviour of the interviewees into the Four Drives which form the model.

In addition, the results of this pilot study have been helpful when deciding the characteristics of the sample to be recruited. For instance, the highly homogeneous character of part the group of interviewees participating in the pilot study contributed to aiming to recruit a more varied sample for the main study. In fact, it was considered important to find participants from different age groups. Even though demographics are not particularly considered when analysing the data, it is believed the insights obtained from people who are at different stages in life would complete the findings and add value to them.

Overall, the pilot study guided the researcher in developing an appropriate approach when conducting the main study of this doctoral research, whose design and method is explained in the next section.

3.5 Research design and method

According to de Vaus and de Vaus (2001), a research design is a logical organisation of enquiry which helps justify how data is collected and how research questions will be answered. Furthermore, method refers to how the data is collected (ibid.). In this sub-section, the research design and method adopted in this study are described and explained.

3.5.1 Research approach: a qualitative study

This study has followed a qualitative approach in order to be in accordance with the philosophical position adopted – *interpretivist* and *constructivist* – and the aim of the research, which is the analysis of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives of those living sustainably.

Qualitative research permits the analysis of the relationship between theory and research, which allows seeing social reality as something constructed by the meanings given by individuals (Bryman, 2012). Thus, qualitative researchers aim to understand the way individuals interpret their social world (ibid.), with the aim of building theory – instead of just testing it, as the focus for quantitative research. Furthermore, this approach permits seeing reality through the eyes of the participants of the study – or 'taking the role of the other' –, that contributes to the acquisition of social knowledge (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). In this study, however, inductive and deductive approaches have been combined and, therefore, theory testing was conducted by means of analyse the usability and applicability of two existing frameworks in the

context of sustainable living. As explained by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), the combination of inductive and deductive approaches is appropriate when studying subjective meanings using qualitative methods; as this approach allows the interpretation of the phenomena under study and the understanding and generation of guides which could lead that interpretation.

Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011) suggest that qualitative methods provide a better understanding of the lived experiences of individuals, their beliefs and values. For this reason, they seem to be the most appropriate tools to understand social psychological phenomena – such as the antecedents of sustainable living. Furthermore, qualitative approaches allow the development of theory from the data (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). This is pertinent in this study where a new typology of sustainable individuals is developed from the analysis (through the lens of two guiding theories) of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives.

According to Hauber (1983), qualitative methods are also appropriate when researching identity as they facilitate the understanding of the subjective importance of experience which is crucial for identity development. Those aspects might not be taken into account if a quantitative approach is followed, as readymade narrowly focused tools may ignore those meanings. In this particular study, a quantitative approach would imply lack of information about the participants' personal characteristics as well as life experiences. However, through dialogue, the researcher has been able to unpack the participants' identities and explore how the development of their identities has influenced – but has also been affected – by the consequent

behaviour (sustainable behaviour). In addition, the use of a qualitative approach is also suitable when researching motivations, as it allows a more precise understanding of this dynamic construct and the subjective interpretations of individuals' personal experiences and motives (Ueltzhoffer & Ascheberg, 1999).

3.5.2 Methods of data collection: semi-structured interviews

The empirical part of the research consisted of 35 semi-structured interviews with individuals who self-identity as living sustainably. Semi-structured interviews have been frequently used in the study of identity (Marcia, 1966; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Kraus, 2000), and sustainable behaviour (Connolly & Prothero, 2008; Young *et al.*, 2010; Griskevicius, Tybur & Van den Bergh, 2010), as they allow access to individuals' aspects of identity, values, beliefs, morals, emotions and real-life experiences. According to Patton (1990), this method enables a deep exploration of the meanings people give to their own world without the need of observing their everyday life behaviour. Interviewees are free to talk about the issues under study from their own point of view and using their own words. Interviews also allow the emergence of concepts or themes that might have been ignored during the research design, as well as it permits the interviewee to delve into topics through the dynamic dialogue with the interviewer (Mason, 2002).

The interview guide of this study consisted of open-ended questions related to identity expression, motivational drives and the interplay between them in

relation to sustainable living. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) serve as guiding theories for the collection and analysis of data of this study. Therefore, some of the questions asked during the interviews (in the deductive part of the interview) were designed through the lens of these two guiding theories.

The conversation started inductively with questions about identity (not necessarily related with sustainability). In particular, the first task for the participants was to answer 20 times the question *'who am I?'* using different words or sentences and avoiding repetition. This technique is known as the Twenty Statements Test (TST) and was developed by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) with the aim of getting information about individuals own sense of self, in order to analyse their self-concept.

Responses normally vary depending on age, gender and occupation and according to the authors most of the answers could be categorised into four groups: physical descriptions, social roles, personal traits and existential statements. The TST has provided rich and relevant data related to the 'core' self of the individuals under study, and the level of concordance between sustainability values and the participants' own values.

Projective techniques were also used during the interviews based upon research by Colman (2009) which suggests that respondents unconsciously show subjective aspects of their personality in their responses. In particular, story-telling (participants were asked to explain their journey to sustainable

living), and photo elicitation were used in order to get a better understanding of the innate motivations driving individuals to follow sustainable lifestyles and how identity interplays with them. Participants were able to be more spontaneous by commenting on the pictures and talking more deeply or in different ways about emotions, feelings, meaning or thoughts. Photographs have been successfully used in previous research on the self-concept (e.g. Ziller, 1990).

In this case, two different sets of pictures were shown to the interviewees (in two different questions). During the first question including pictures, participants were asked to think about the last decision they took taking into account sustainability. A set of seven pictures[5] displaying seven different emotional expressions – neutral, happy, angry, upset, sad, disgusted and surprised – were shown to them and they were asked to describe which of those emotions they were feeling (if any) when taking that decision and explain why. Then they had to compare that decision with another (sustainable) decision and explain the differences in terms of feelings and emotions, if any.

The Karolinska Directed Emotional Faces were chosen for this question due to their adequacy when doing psychological research, as they were designed to be suitable for the study of perceptions, emotions and attention (Lundqvist, Flykt & Ohman, 1998). The results obtained in this part of the interview helped when understanding the personal values of those living sustainably,

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[5] In order to help participants to identify as much as possible with the person in the pictures, females were shown pictures in which the facial expression was represented by a female and male were shown pictures in which the facial expression was represented by a male.

their emotions in relation to sustainable living and how they affect decisions related to sustainability that are taken in everyday life, as pictures allow individuals to position themselves as the person in the image (Butler *et al.*, 2014) and offer more subjective answers. The second question involving pictures consisted of 10 pictures related to actions which are considered sustainable. In particular, the photos showed activities related to transport (bicycle, public transport and electric car), consumer goods (farmers and second-hand markets), energy consumption at home (solar panels, low-energy bulbs, the action of turning off the lights), activism and recycling. In this case, participants first had to choose the three pictures that best represented for them what sustainable living is.

Then they had to explain their decision, and the motivations behind carrying out those actions. More specifically, they were asked to explain the differences between the motivations driving each of the activities, with the aim of relating types of behaviours with motivations (to ultimately group them in terms of the Four Drives of Human Motivation). Finally, they were asked about similarities and differences between the three images chosen. Thanks to their answers, a better understanding of what living sustainably means to them and the reasons driving their behaviour was gained.

Overall, the questions used during the interview aimed to answer the three research questions proposed in this study. Table 3-3 shows some examples of questions asked to the participants during the interview and how these help answering RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3.

Table 3-3. Examples of questions from the interview guide and their link to the RQs

Research Questions	Questions from the interview guide
RQ1: Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?	*"Could you please answer the question "who I am?" twenty times? Please, do not repeat answers".* The 'Twenty Statements Test' (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) allows the understanding of individuals' sense of self. It also helps examining manifestations of sustainability at the level of the 'core' self.
	"Do you think people see you as you really are? Do you think people see you as a sustainable person? Would you like to be seen in a different way by others? Do you see yourself becoming even more sustainable with the pass of the years?" Questions like these help understanding how participants think they are perceived by others while at the same time they allow the understanding of the interaction between individuals' sense of 'core' self and sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves.
RQ2: Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?	*"How do you think living this way (sustainably) can be achieved? Is there a difference between how sustainable you are at home and when you are out – at work, University, with friends?"* Depending on the sustainable activities they follow, and on when and where they do it, the researcher is able to understand what specific motivational drives link with sustainable behaviours (and with either the salience of personal or social identity, which helps answering RQ3).
	"Each of these pictures represents a human emotion. Think about a recent instance in which you had to make decision related to sustainability – or sustainable living – (when buying, deciding which transport you will use, etc.). Which pictures best represent how you felt during that instance? Why? Do you always feel this way when taking sustainability into account when making a decision? Or there is a difference between how you feel when buying organic food for example, than when thinking about recycling?" Through photo elicitation, the researcher has been able to explore how feelings and emotions relate to specific motivational drives (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) and sustainable behaviours.

	"What do you think that motivates a person like you to live sustainably? What five benefits do you get by living sustainably? Does living this way negatively affect your daily life in any way?" By examining the real motivations driving participants to live sustainably, together with their sense of sustainable self, the interplay between motivational drives and expression of identity among individuals self-identifying as sustainable has been analysed.
RQ3: What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?	*"When did you consciously start living sustainably? Please explain this moment in detail, explaining your feelings about it, where it took place, who were you with and why did you do it. Was someone else involved in the decision process? What was your main motivation to start living sustainably?"* Through the analysis of participants' narratives and by examining their sustainable journey, the researcher has been able to better understand the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living. The interviewees were asked to explain actions that happened in the past (including what motivated them) as according to Klein and Nichols (2012), memories provide a sense of personal identity. Thus, questions like these allow a better understanding of the interplay between identity and motivations.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out face to face either at Henley Business School, local cafes or at the home or place of work of the interviewees, between October and December 2015. The length thereof was between 45 and 120 minutes and all of them were audio-recorded with prior consent of the participants, in order to facilitate the subsequent transcription and analysis.

This section has clarified the research design of the study and the methods of data collection, including an explanation of aspects covered in the interview guide. In the next section, the research parameters are described.

3.6 Research parameters

This section presents a summary of the characteristics of the data collected for this study, including the context of the main study, as well as unit of analysis and sampling.

3.6.1 Context of the study

As explained throughout this thesis, the aim of this study is to explore the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living.

As mentioned before, sustainable lifestyles have been defined as:

"patterns of action and consumption, used by people to affiliate and differentiate themselves from other people, which: meet basic needs, provide a better quality of life, minimise the use of natural resources and emissions of waste and pollutants over the lifecycle and do not jeopardise the needs of future generations" (Bedford *et al.,* 2004)

Individuals who choose to live sustainably are those aiming to reduce the impact of their actions on the environment and in order to achieve this goal they modify their everyday practices.

The selection of sustainable living[6] as the context for this study is justified by the following considerations:

- Sustainable living is now a widespread phenomenon in the UK and globally, with consumer awareness and concern regarding social and environmental issues entering the mainstream (Ethical Consumer Research Association, 2016). For instance, almost 80% of Europeans declared that environmental problems cause a direct impact on their lifestyles, while 85% of them believe that the way they behave is important for the protection of the environment (Eurobarometer, 2014). Furthermore, in another study, 84% of respondents declared they actively seek to support producers in developing countries, by buying fair trade products for instance (DEFRA, 2011). Yet despite a growing trend towards sustainable lifestyles and sustainable living, substantial progress still needs to be made before such practices are fully adopted and accepted, with researchers also often identifying gaps

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[6] Contextualisation of the study is explained in more detail in Section 1.2.

Table 3-4. Review of research in sustainable behaviour

Reference	Aim of the study	Context	Methods
Thogersen & Olander (2002) "Human values and the emergence of a sustainable consumption pattern: A panel study" Journal of Economic Psychology, 23(5), 605-630	The aim of the study is to test the hypothesis that sustainable consumption patterns emerge influenced by values. The sample are Danish consumers.	Environmentally friendly behaviour (17 items)	Two waves survey: 112 + 408 telephone interviews
Vermeir & Verbeke (2006) "Sustainable food consumption: Exploring the consumer "attitude-behavioral intention" gap" Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics, 19(2), 169-194	The aim of this study is to explore the attitude-behaviour gap in the consumption of sustainable food products	Sustainable food products (diary)	Survey with 456 young consumers
Cherrier (2006) "Consumer identity and moral obligations in non-plastic bag consumption: a dialectical perspective" International Journal of Consumer Studies, 30(5), 515-523	This study takes on a third approach and considers consumers both as subjects of moral obligations (the conservative view) and as actors of their life (the liberal view).	Non-plastic bags used for grocery shopping	Nine existential phenomenological interviews
Seyfang (2006) "Ecological citizenship and sustainable consumption: Examining local organic food networks" Journal of rural studies, 22(4), 383-395	The study aims to investigate theories of sustainable consumption and ecological citizenship through the lenses of organic food consumption.	Sustainable food products (organic)	Mixed-methods: surveys, interviews, observation
Connolly & Prothero (2008) "Green Consumption Life-politics, risk and contradictions" Journal of Consumer Culture, 8(1), 117-145	The study examines the interaction green consumers have with environmental issues on an everyday basis.	Green consumer behaviour	14 in-depth interviews with individuals who considered themselves green consumers
Webb, Mohr & Harris (2008) "A re-examination of socially responsible consumption and its measurement" Journal of Business Research, 61(2), 91-98	The aim of this study is to explore the implications of socially responsible consumption, both for theory and practice.	Four dimensions: consumer recycling behaviour, traditional purchase criteria (quality and price), environmental impact of purchase and use and CSR performance of the company they are buying from	Survey with 590 students

Pepper, Jackson & Uzzell (2009) "An examination of the values that motivate socially conscious and frugal consumer behaviours" International Journal of Consumer Studies, 33(2), 126-136	This study explores the internal motivations driving socially conscious and frugal consumer behaviour, taking as a sample individuals with different socio-economic backgrounds.	Not specifically about sustainability. Respondents were informed that they were taking part in an anonymous survey study about lifestyles and values	Survey with 2000 participants
Griskevicius, Tybur & Van den Bergh (2010) "Going green to be seen: status, reputation, and conspicuous conservation" Journal of personality and social psychology, 98(3), 392	The study examines how the activation of status motives influences product choice in regards to relatively luxurious non-green products and less luxurious green products.	Experiment 1: car, household cleaner, dishwasher Experiment 2: backpack, batteries and table lamp bought online Experiment 3: cars, backpacks, dishwasher	Three experiments: 1) 168 students; 2) 93 students; 3) 156 students
Young, Hwang, McDonald & Oates (2010) "Sustainable consumption: green consumer behaviour when purchasing products" Sustainable Development, 18 (1), pp. 20-31	This study looks at the gap between consumer's values and sustainable behaviour in relation to the decision-making processes when buying technology products.	Technology-based products	In-depth interviews with 81 self-declared green consumers
Costa Pinto, Herter, Rossi & Borges (2014) "Going green for self or for others? Gender and identity salience effects on sustainable consumption" International Journal of Consumer Studies, 38(5), 540-549	This study explores the influence of gender and identity salience on sustainable consumption.	Green consumer behaviour in Germany, one of the world's most environmentally responsible countries	Experimental study with 215 participants
Thogersen (2017) "Sustainable food consumption in the nexus between national context and private lifestyle: A multi-level study" Food Quality and Preference, 55, 16-25.	This study looks at how the country of residence and the food-related lifestyle influences sustainable food consumption patterns	Sustainable food products	Online survey in 10 countries (around 335 participants per country)

between individuals stated sustainable preferences and their actual behaviours (Eckhardt *et al.,* 2010; Prothero *et al.,* 2011). By unpacking the mechanisms behind the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living, an exploration of the psychological factors informing this lifestyle developed. The results obtained from this exploration could be helpful when trying to engage society in pro-sustainable behaviours, reason why sustainable living seems to be the most appropriate setting in which to base this study.

- A large part of the literature and the most well-known studies on sustainable behaviour focus on sustainable consumption (see table 3-4), offering insides on intentions of buying, purchase patterns and post-consumption behaviours. Despite the fact that engaging in sustainable consumption might lead to other pro-sustainable behaviours (Gilg, *et al.*, 2005), consumption practices are not essential to follow a sustainable lifestyle (Black & Cherrier, 2010), and therefore other aspects of everyday life must be taken into account when researching about sustainable behaviour. The setting of the present study is sustainable living, as by looking at sustainable behaviour from a wider point of view (namely, beyond consumption), a deeper understanding of the personal and social characteristics of those living sustainably and of the motivations driving them to follow this lifestyle can be developed.

3.6.2 Unit of analysis

According to Bryman (2012), the unit of analysis in research is the 'who' or the 'what' that is the focus of attention of the study and which is dictated by the research questions. Babbie (2011) defines units of analysis as "those things we examine in order to create summary descriptions of all such units and to explain differences among them" (p. 98). Common units of analysis in social research are individuals, groups, organisations, social interactions (e.g. a wedding or a divorce) and social artefacts (e.g. books, photos or songs) (Babbie, 2011).

For the purpose of this research, the unit of analysis is *individuals who self-identify as living sustainable lifestyles*. Even though the results of this study offer an exploration of how different groups of individuals who self-identify as sustainable are and behave, the unit of analysis has to be the individual instead of the group, as descriptions and explanations have to be based on characteristics of their members at an individual level. 'Individuals' is the most common unit of analysis in social research, as it allows researchers to explain social groups and their relationships and make generalisations by aggregating information about the description of individuals (Babbie, 2011).

3.6.3 Sampling strategy

The participants of this study were recruited following a *non-probabilistic* sampling approach. In particular, the sampling was *purposive* or *judgemental*, as this kind of technique allows the researcher to use her/his

judgement in order to select individuals whose narratives could help answer the research questions raised (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). In order to get a deep understanding of how individuals who follow a sustainable lifestyle are, and why they decide to live this way, a *homogeneous* sampling strategy has been followed, as the participants were sharing some characteristics which are highly important in their everyday life.

The sample was identified by looking at sustainable activities taking place in Reading and in specific groups, which could work towards sustainability. Two well-known local organisations were chosen to gain access to groups of sustainable people. The first was the Reading International Solidarity Centre (RISC), a Development Education Centre which promotes action in terms of sustainability, human rights and social justice and has a long history in the town. The second organisation was True Food Co-operative. This organisation was chosen because of its popularity among those interested in consuming food and household products, which are environmentally friendly. They have a shop in the Caversham area of Reading, which sells an extensive range of local and organic food and environmentally friendly products. By visiting the offices and shops, and getting to know members of staff and volunteers, it was established that those involved in those organisations could be individuals who in different ways could be considered as following sustainable lifestyles. Access to members, staff, volunteers and clients of the charities was approved in both organisations and information about the project was sent to members of these organisations via email[7].

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[7] See Appendix 5.

Posters were also placed in their premises[8] and a Facebook event was created so participants were able to join the event and share it with their contacts.

With the aim of establishing patterns of similarity, potential participants were presented with the following questions: *DO YOU CONSIDER YOU FOLLOW A SUSTAINABLE LIFESTYLE? For instance: Do you consume sustainable food and goods? Do you try to cycle or walk instead of driving a car? Do you attempt to reduce your waste, recycle and re-use products?*. If they answered 'yes' to all of the qualifying questions, then they were chosen to participate in the study. These questions are related to the four key areas of a sustainable lifestyle identified by the SPREAD Sustainable Lifestyles 2050 European project (explained in Section 1.2.1), and which are: *consuming*: which consists of efficient, different and sufficient consumption practices; *living*: involving more efficient housing and infrastructure practices, as well as efficient users of buildings and appliances; *moving*: in terms of shifting from individual car use to more sustainable modes of transports such as car sharing, using public transport, cycling or walking; and *health and society*: related to diet and social inequality (Mont *et al.,* 2014).

At the end, two thirds of the participants of the study were somehow connected to these two organisations (RISC and True Food Co-operative), and volunteered to participate in the study after self-identifying as following a sustainable lifestyle. The other third of the sample was recruited through *snowballing* when individuals were made aware of the study by members of

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[8] See Appendix 6.

these organisations. Most of these participants are non-active members of any sustainable organisation. This adds a different perspective to the study, and allows comparison between individuals based on whether or not they are actively involved in sustainable groups.

Worth noting that the name of sustainable organisations and charities in which the participants are collaborating have been hidden in the interview transcripts, in order to preserve individuals' anonymity.

3.6.4 Sample

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals self-identifying as people following sustainable lifestyles. Letting participants decide whether or not they are sustainable (through self-identification) enriches both the nature of the sample and that of the study, as previous studies on sustainable behaviour have demonstrated (e.g. Young *et al.,* 2010; Shaw *et al.,* 2016). By exploring how different individuals interpret sustainable living, the meanings they give to it and how they describe their sustainable behaviour; a deeper understanding of the different mechanisms behind this lifestyle is reached. In particular, 35 individuals who self-identified as sustainable were interviewed. According to Saunders and Townsend (2016), between 15 and 60 qualitative interviews are considered enough in management studies. However, this is relative, and the appropriate number will depend on the research purpose and salience of the data. In this study, the sample size may be a limitation (e.g. problems of generalisation), although the data collection phase ended

once data saturation was reached. Data saturation is understood by Glasser and Strauss (1967) as the stage achieved in data collection in which new insights that would help answering the research questions are not found. This phenomenon is likely to emerge on research following a homogeneous sampling strategy, (Saunders & Townsend, 2016) as it is the case of this study.

Between the respondents, 17 of them were females and 18 were males, being all aged between 23 and 68 years old (average age was 41). All the respondents were residents of Reading or surrounding areas, 24 of them were British, three were Spanish, three Italian, two German, one Dutch, one Portuguese and one was French[9]. Being the entire sample based on a particular geographical location in the UK may lead again to limitations in terms of generalisation, of which the researcher must remain aware.

As mentioned in the previous section, around two thirds of the participants were active members of sustainable organisations. In this way, ten of them were members of RISC, nine were members of True Food and five were active members of other organisations such as Greenpeace. The rest of the interviewees (11) were non-active members of any organisation, however some of them declared to give money to charities and sign petitions online.

This section has explained the research parameters of the study, addressing context, unit of analysis and sampling. In the next section, methods of data analysis are explained.

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[9] More detailed information about the participants of the study can be found in Appendix 3.

3.7 Methods of data analysis

The data from the interviews was first transcribed, and then a *narrative analysis* was undertaken. Narrative methods allow individuals to tell stories in order to organise their ideas and make sense of their lives (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). According to Smith (2000), narrative analysis "permits a holistic approach to discourse that preserves context and particularity" (p. 327), and therefore gives access to data that could not be reached through other methods.

Riessman (1993, 2005) suggests that there are four models of narrative analysis which are particularly appropriate for oral narratives of personal experiences. The *thematic analysis*, which involves looking at what is said instead of how it is said; *structural analysis*, which looks at the way a story is related; *interactional analysis*, looking at the dialogue between the participant and the interviewer; and *performative analysis*, considering the words and gestures used when telling the story. This study follows a thematic analysis approach. Even though individuals' narratives were the key output of the interviews, aspects like the emphasis used when talking – e.g. pauses, laughs and repetitions – were also taken into account when analysing the data.

Thematic analysis has been extensively used in the study of identity (Williams, 1984; Cain, 1991), as it allows the identification of common themes across the stories participants tell about themselves and the events they experience (Riessman, 1993, 2005). Moreover, thematic analysis is a

common technique used in the study of sustainable behaviour (Moisander & Pesonen, 2002; Carrete *et al.*, 2012), as by looking at recurrent themes the researcher is able to establish patterns of behaviour.

Figure 3-1 summarised the process followed by the researcher when conducting the thematic analysis of this study. Following, the procedure adopted when codifying the data is explained.

STAGE 1	STAGE 2	STAGE 3	STAGE 4
Data immersion	**1st- order concepts**	**2nd-order themes**	**Aggregate dimensions**
- Read interview transcripts	- Selection of 1st-order concepts coming from the participants' quotes and terms	- Theory-driven selection of relevant themes related to identity and motivations	Development of aggregate dimensions from the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes in relation to the guiding theories
- Identification of first possible concepts and themes (highlighting them by hand in hard copy)	- Classification of 1st-order concepts (identity/motivation/interplay)	- Name the emerged themes and classification (identity/motivation/interplay)	

Figure 3-1. Thematic analysis process

Codification of the data

The traditional approach when looking at qualitative data has focused on construct elaboration, whereby constructs are terms used to describe observable and unobservable phenomena, such as attitudes or beliefs (Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). However, according to Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013), constructs are frequently framed so they can be measured, ignoring the importance of concept development. The authors define a concept as "a more general, less well-specified notion capturing qualities that describe or explain a phenomenon of theoretical interest" (Gioia *et al.,* 2013, p. 16).

It is thus essential to first identify relevant concepts when aiming to understand the meaning of words and to build theory, as concepts are the antecedents of constructs. These authors have developed a 'systematic inductive approach' to concept development, also known as the *Gioia Methodology*, which enables the achievement of high standards of rigour in qualitative research. It also helps the reader see how the data is linked to the insights gained. This technique consists of the organisation of the data into *1st-order concepts* and *2nd-order themes*. The 1st-order analysis involves analysing the quotes or terms used by the interviewees during the interview, which could result in hundreds of 1st-order concepts.

The researcher then needs to look for similarities and differences across those concepts and start giving labels. The purpose of the 2nd-order analysis is to relate those concepts to theory. In order to achieve this goal the researcher should find emergent themes and dimensions coming from those concepts and which are relevant to the literature.

Once a set of concepts (1st-order analysis) and themes (2nd-order analysis) is established, the researcher should assess whether is possible to develop those emergent themes into *aggregate dimensions*, which are the last part needed when building a data structure. The *data structure* allows a visual representation of the steps followed during the data analysis, while at the same time helps the researcher to "begin thinking about the data theoretically, not just methodologically" (Gioia *et al.,* 2013, p. 21).

This methodology (or variations of it) has been successfully applied in a wide range of studies in management and organisational studies (see Maitlis,

2005; Maguire & Phillips, 2008; Dacin, Munir & Tracey, 2010; Rindova, Dalpiaz & Ravasi, 2011), including those looking at identity (Nag, Corley & Gioia, 2007; Ravasi & Phillips, 2011).

This widespread adoption is attributable to its usefulness for presenting qualitative data in an organised, systematic and rigorous way. This approach has been followed when analysing the data for this study, as the example of data structure (Figure 3-2) shows.

The software used to organise, codify and analyse the data collected through the interviews was NVivo version 10. Transcripts of the interviews were first imported to the NVivo software, which is designed to aid in analysis of qualitative data. Following Gioia's approach, a 1st-order analysis was conducted looking for relevant concepts among participants' responses. The consequent 2nd-order analysis led to emergent themes, and finally to the main (aggregate) dimensions which link back to the relevant literature.

Figure 3-3 illustrates an example of how the data was organised, categorised and analysed using NVivo.
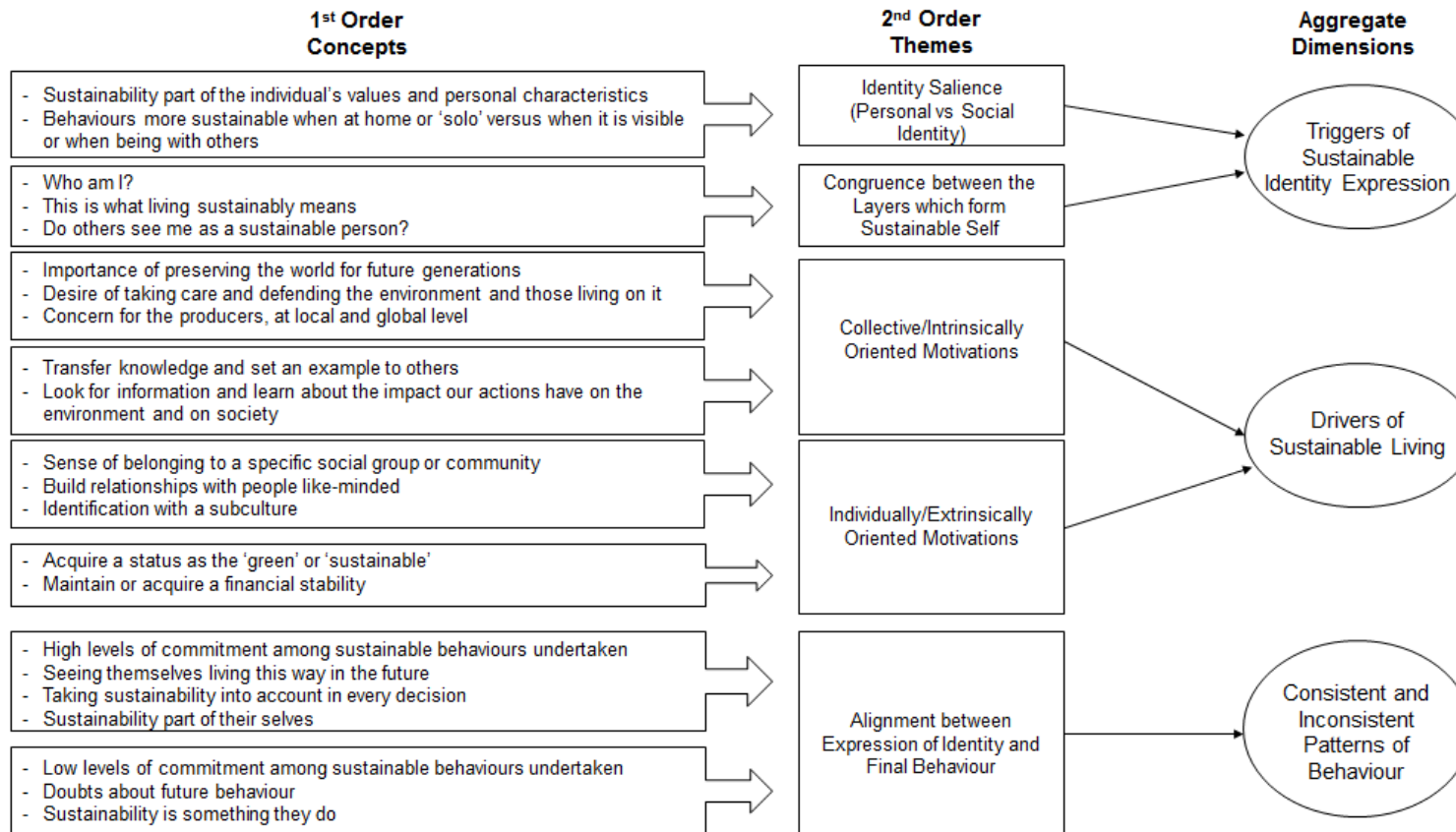
Figure 3-2. Data structure of the research[10]

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[10] Based on Gioia Methodology (Gioia *et al.*, 2013).

How do individuals express their identity through sustainable living	0	0	04/12/2016 17:3
Identity	0	0	11/02/2016 11:5
Sustainable self	0	0	19/02/2016 10:3
Salience of identity	0	0	03/08/2016 15:0
Social Identity salient	26	27	05/08/2016 15:2
Personal Identity salient	27	46	03/08/2016 15:3
Layers of the self. Congruence	0	0	03/08/2016 15:0
Perceived self	35	39	09/06/2016 13:5
Lived self	0	0	11/02/2016 11:5
Repeated behaviours and routines	30	31	09/06/2016 14:4
Proud	34	36	09/06/2016 14:4
Hobbies	21	32	09/06/2016 14:4
Emotions	0	0	19/02/2016 16:5
DIY and fix attitude	8	15	07/06/2016 12:1
Learned self	0	0	11/02/2016 11:5
Values and beliefs	32	54	09/06/2016 14:5
Rules	3	3	16/03/2016 10:2
Roles	1	1	15/03/2016 10:3
Ideal self	35	45	03/08/2016 15:1
Themselves in the future	35	35	09/06/2016 14:4
Core self	0	0	11/02/2016 11:5
Self concept	35	47	09/06/2016 13:4

Figure 3-3. Data in NVivo 10

3.7.1 Reliability of the data

Reliability relates to whether or not the methods of data collection and analysis selected for the study will lead to consistent findings (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). It is essential to look at reliability issues in qualitative research, and in particular when conducting semi-structured interviews, as the lack of standardisation of such interviews could lead to different researchers obtaining different information (Silverman, 2007). Furthermore, the researcher has to take into account issues of bias. *Interviewer bias* are related to comments, tones or facial expressions the interviewer makes during the conversation and that could influence the response given by the interviewee (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). That is why the interviewer should step

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back and avoid imposing her/his own views about the topic so the interviewees could express their beliefs and opinions freely. Interviewer bias also comes in the form of the interpretation the researcher gives to participants' responses (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson. 2008). *Interviewee or response bias* has to also be considered, as despite the interviewee has agreed to participate in the study, the topic of the research or her/his personal beliefs and experiences may complicate the course of the conversation. This type of bias may relate to perceptions about the interviewer, problems of confidence or shame to share experiences, or simply the interviewee feeling the interview is being intrusive (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). These biases result into interviewees giving half-truths or incomplete answers.

In recognition of these issues, in this study the researcher discussed the topic of sustainable living with participants in an open and relaxed way, with the aim of building trust and rapport. This was also considered appropriate given the personal nature of the topic, and the fact that some of the interviews were conducted at the homes of interviewees. Nevertheless, the researcher remained cognisant of the need for her comments and gestures to be neutral so the interviewees' answers would not be compromised. In addition, the structure of the interviews and the manner in which questions were asked were designed so the interviewee would feel comfortable when answering, as personal questions about their identity and the way they live could seem far too personal or be difficult to answer. All the interviews were conducted by a single researcher, which according to May (1989) helps to

avoid problems of 'consistency' between interviews. During the analysis of the data, the researcher looked for equivalence of meaning between the responses given by the participants, which helps the standardisation of the semi-structured interviews and allows for making comparisons (Barriball & While, 1994).

3.8 Ethical considerations

In accordance with the rules of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Reading, ethical approval was requested and gained prior to the collection of data for this study. This research examines the expression of identity and motivational drives of individuals living sustainably, and because the data is coming from human subjects, ethical considerations are paramount concerns.

After obtaining ethical approval, a consent form was developed in order to gain written agreement from the participants (see Appendix 4). This form included statements such as "I am happy for the interview to be audio recorded", which the interviewee had to tick and sign. Explanation of the purposes of the research was explained to the participants during the first moment of contact and also before the beginning of the interview to ensure informed consent. The conversations taking place during the interviews were audio recorded, but always after approval of the participant. Participants were also informed about the anonymity of the study and their identity has been kept confidential. A number and a small demographic description – including

gender, age and occupation – was assigned to every individual, avoiding this way the use of their names at any time.

This chapter has described, explained and justified the methodology chosen for this study. In the following chapter, the data collected through the semi-structured interviews is presented in discussion of the findings of this research. These discussions provide the reader(s) with a description of themes and concepts emerged from the data, which once linked to the relevant literature (in Chapter 5) have enabled the achievement of this study's aim, and the answering of its research questions.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

After the introduction of the chapter (Section 4.1), the analysis of the results of this research is divided and presented into four blocks. Section 4.2 offers an explanation of the identity characteristics of individuals who self-identify as following sustainable lifestyles. The section includes a description of the differences between individuals who exhibit a salient personal or social identity, when describing their sustainable selves (Section 4.2.1), as well as an analysis of the congruence between the layers of the self which form the identity of those individuals (Section 4.2.2). Section 4.3 explores individual justifications of sustainable living, and how different expressions of the drives to acquire, bond, learn and/or defend can lead to different expressions of sustainable living. At the end of the chapter, identity and motivations are then considered together (Section 4.4) and a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable is introduced (Section 4.5).

4.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter 3, the sampling and recruiting processes followed in this study involved selecting individuals who self-identify as people following sustainable lifestyles. This self-identification status denotes the salience of the expression of their identity in relation to the sustainable self among all the interviewees. Through conversation with these individuals and through the

analysis of their personal narratives, differences in identity expression and motivational drives driving these people to live sustainably were highlighted. The first conclusion drawn from the analysis of the results is that individuals engage differently in sustainable living depending on the expression of their identity in relation to the sustainable self. In particular, systematic differences were found in relation to identity salience and identity congruence.

Furthermore, differences were also traced in the motivations driving the behaviour of individuals who see themselves as sustainable. Those expressing their sustainable self when personal identity is salient, also tend to express higher levels of congruence between the layers of the self – and are mainly driven by the drives to learn and defend. Whereas those expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient, also tend to be those with lower levels of congruence between the layers of the self, and are primarily driven by the drives to acquire and bond.

After an analysis of the participants' narratives and by means of the two guiding theories used as lens for this analysis, it is suggested that identity and motivations closely interplay in terms of the expression of sustainable living. The main contribution of this chapter, then, and consequently of this study is the presentation of a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable, based on the assumptions stated above (which are explained in Section 4.5).

4.2. Exploring identity in sustainable living

The data suggests that the level of commitment and engagement with the issue of sustainability varies depending on at which level participants express their sustainable self (personal vs. social identity salience). Furthermore, these distinctions are also supported by differences in terms of congruence and incongruence between the layers which form the sustainable self of the participants of the study. By analysing how sustainable living is manifested and expressed at the four layers ('core', 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' selves), individual levels of commitment and engagement were corroborated. These aspects are explained in the following sub-sections.

4.2.1 Identity salience

Identity salience indicates the probability that a specific identity is activated during a particular situation (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Previous studies tended to use quantitative methods in order to analyse identity salience most frequently employing the scale introduced by Callero (1985), which focuses on personal identity. In this study, identity salience was not established as a measure of identity prior to the data collection, only after the analysis of individual narratives, was it decided that this aspect would be taken into account. Since a qualitative approach was taken in this study, identity salience was defined by carefully analysing the conversations with the interviewees. For instance, questions such as "*answer to the question 'who am I?' 20 times*" have helped during the analysis of personal identity salience when expressing the sustainable self. By analysing the answers to this

question – related to the participant's personal characteristics –, the researcher has been able to establish whether or not sustainability issues were being manifested at the level of the 'core' self. In addition, social identity salience was identified through questions related to group membership and 'perceived' self (e.g. *"do you think people see you as a sustainable person? do you like being seen this way?"*).

The results show the distinction in how individuals describe their sustainable behaviours depending on whether they express their sustainable self when personal identity is primarily salient or when social identity is primarily activated. The specific characteristics attached to each of these situations are explained in the following sub-sections.

4.2.1.1 Expression of the sustainable self when personal identity is salient. A great part of the participants of this study bring into play their sustainable self in every aspect of their lives, which implies that sustainability issues are present in the formation of both their personal and social identity. As can be seen in Appendix 1, the first question participants were asked to answer was *'who am I?'*. By responding to this question, they were expected to offer an image of their own sense of 'self', through the explanation of the features and characteristics they take into account when defining themselves as a person.

The results show that a great number of individuals who self-identify as sustainable (or people living sustainably) refer to aspects related to

sustainability when giving a description of their personal characteristics, values and preferences in life. The aspects of sustainability that could be aligned with their self-concept could be summarised in three 2nd-order themes: *connection to the natural environment, animal welfare* and *social justice.* Some of them mentioned their **connection to the natural environment**, to their roots and the importance of being in harmony with it. For example, the following participant explained:

> *"I think my identity comes through my connection with trees and natural surroundings, and my understanding with the context that I am part of, an organic universe which I am like a small part of humanity, and this humanity is just the tiny part of the organic universe, so that is who I am* […] *I… am organic, natural, spiritual, social, minute"* (int_02[11], male, 46)

Some of the participants strongly connected with the natural environment tended to be individuals who have grown up in rural areas or in the countryside. They have learnt how to love and respect the environment from their parents or grandparents and because they know how it is to live away from pollution, they really care about the damage being done to the planet.

Others do not necessarily talk about a spiritual connection, but rather part of their identity consists of caring for the environment and thinking about the impact their decisions and actions have on it. This is the case of the interviewee quoted below, who mentioned how important conscious decisions are for her:

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[11] Interviewee number 02.

> *"I like to do things consciously, I like to think about the consequences of what we do in life and… I try to be a good person, maybe a person who tries to do a little difference in the world"* (int_04, female, 33)

Another common characteristic of sustainable individuals with personal identity salience, is related to the concern for **animal welfare**. Many participants in this category are vegetarians or vegans, something that they reported when defining themselves. However, some of them declared that their diet preferences are related as much to animal welfare as to their concern for the environment, since, for instance, the production of meat has a great impact on the latter (e.g. pollution through fossil fuel usage, water and land consumption):

> *"(answering the question 'who am I?') The first one that comes to my mind now is vegan, because that is sort of a big way that I live my life […] I just don't like the fact that it is… animals, dead animals, and I love animals, I don't wanna eat them so… and it is not good for the environment and I don't think it is good for our bodies either"* (int_14, female, 23)

In addition, other individuals define themselves in relation to the social aspect of sustainability, and therefore are people who really care about **social justice** and human rights. This kind of people (as the interviewee quoted below) appears to be actively supporting social issues and tend to be caring in nature. The following interviewee stated:

>*"I strongly support human rights, sustainable development,
>social justice and the promotion of fair trade as a positive
>way forward... I am loyal I think, I am a generous person"*
>(int_01, female, 59)

Consistently, another interviewee also mentioned social justice when defining herself:

>*"I am a community member and a social justice campaigner"*
>(int_16, female, 59)

As shown above, these individuals or identities are greatly community oriented and, in fact, most of them are involved in organisations which promote sustainability in different ways. Even though some of the interviewees might be clearly focused on either the environmental or the social aspect of sustainability, it is worth mentioning that most of the interviewees referred to more than one aspect when explaining who they are. Figure 4-1 summarises the 2nd-order themes attached to salience of personal identity and the 1st-order concepts related to them.

Figure 4-1. Summary of the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the salience of personal identity when expressing the sustainable self

4.2.1.2 Expression of the sustainable self when social identity is salient.

Some individuals on the other hand, have their social identity salient when describing their sustainable selves. Many of these people identify themselves as sustainable based on the role they play within the group they belong to (e.g. family, friends, work, and local community).

The results suggest it would be useful to sub-categorise social identity salience based on two 2nd-order themes, which in themselves have nuances. Some of them base the expression of their sustainable social identity on *sustainable practices or behaviours* that exist in the public domain (and may

be perceived positively in society), while others are more concerned about the *example they are setting to others*.

Those who see themselves as sustainable because of their **sustainable practices and behaviours**, are often positive about the sustainable impact of their behaviour, while at the same time they are recognising that this particular behaviour may help others perceive them as sustainable. This is the case of the participant quoted below, who related being seen as sustainable to the fact he owns a car, which tends to be considered sustainable:

> *"… we've got a car, but we brought a Prius rather than a you know… a gasser* [laughs], *so yes I guess so, yes"* (int_20, male, 68)

A difference emerges between individuals when communicating their social identity through specific sustainable actions. Some participants like the idea of being seen as sustainable by others; when looking at their behaviour because they are proud of it, it makes them feel good. Therefore, it could be the case that they express their sustainable self when in public and like being seen this way driven by the desire of acquire a status as the 'sustainable' or the 'green' within their social group.

Others, however, recognise that their social group see them as sustainable because of the actions, but they say that they do not really care about being seen this way, as they are just living this way because it is in accordance with their values. When asked if he likes the idea of being seen as sustainable this interviewee replied:

> *"No, I would like to be a more sustainable person, rather than people seeing me as more sustainable. I don't really… mind how people look at me"* (int_27, male, 32)

It appears that this type of individuals (such as the interviewee quoted above) are people who express their sustainable self both in terms of personal and social identity – although at different degrees.

Others, however, are expressing their sustainable self when social identity salient because they believe they could **set an example to others**. This might happen simply by showing their sustainable actions or by directly trying to encourage a change in behaviour, which is the case of the interviewee quoted next:

> *"I break the balls of everybody* [laughs], *I say 'you should do this', 'you shouldn't do that', especially to my boyfriend, I try to… you know, I am not a weirdo you know? I don't go around preaching* […] *I try to do my best, yes, sometimes I tell my friends, you know? 'why are you doing this?', 'try not to waste this', or… 'try to reuse', but yes"* (int_07, female, 50)

This group sets very high standards and is often concerned with changing their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. In this context, it is worth mentioning that some of the interviewees declared that they do not think 'others' should see them as sustainable people, this is due to a feeling of guilt, as they reported that they believe they are not doing enough or are not as sustainable as other people they know. This is the case of this interviewee, who thought about how sustainable his mum is in comparison with her:

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> *"No, not necessarily, absolutely not. Like my mother she wouldn't think I was sustainable"* (int_02, male, 46)

Consistently, several interviewees mentioned that they are sustainable compared to the average population. For instance, this interviewee mentions the different perceptions people who are sustainable versus people who are not may have about her. When asked if she thinks people see her as a sustainable person she answered:

> *"Yes, I think so, but who are they? those who do nothing* [smiles]*, you know? someone who does something, won't see me like that, but those who don't do anything, who don't care, yes…"* (int_06, female, 28)

Furthermore, a couple of interviewees seem to be avoiding to express their sustainable self when in certain situations, as this may have negative implications for them. For instance, they believe some people may not understand their way of life and will therefore either criticise it or feel uncomfortable and try to justify their non-sustainable behaviour. When asked whether or not she likes to be seen as a sustainable person, one of the interviewees replied:

> *"Yes and no, I do in a way because I think it's something good and something to be proud of… but it also depends what it means to them* […] *you are that person who is ever reminding them of you know, what they should be doing better or what they can be doing wrong, and all of these things. And it can also encourage people to criticise you?* […] *it just makes people aware of some of the things they are doing or some of the impact and then they feel bad about it,*

and then they come up with all these arguments" (int_35, female, 25)

Interestingly, those individuals who express a wide range of deeply embedded sustainable behaviour (and express their sustainable self through example setting – often with both social identity and personal identity salient) are often those who are most critical of themselves in terms of being sustainable. Perhaps it is a higher level of the issues related to sustainability, perhaps it is the burden of setting an example, but these individuals often think they are quite sustainable, but they could do more. Whereas those more concerned with particular behaviours and positive feelings associated with being perceived as sustainable, often seem quite satisfied with their sustainable activities and are more likely to describe themselves as sustainable, even though they often express a much narrower set of behaviours.

Figure 4-2 offers a summary of the 2nd-order themes attached to salience of social identity in relation to the sustainable self, and the 1st-order concepts related to those themes.
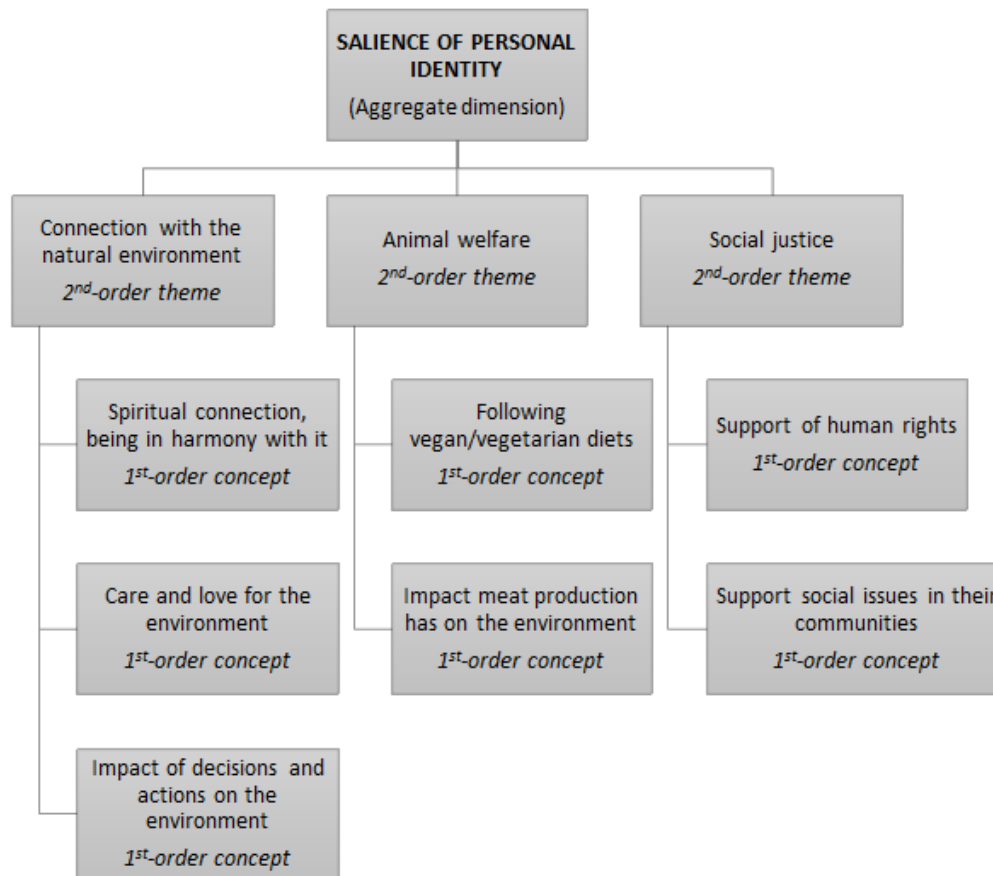
Figure 4-2. Summary of the 1ˢᵗ-order concepts and 2ⁿᵈ-order themes emerged in relation to the salience of social identity when expressing the sustainable self

In summary, there seems to be a systematic difference in the types of behaviours people refer to between those who express their sustainable self when their personal identity is salient and those who do it when their social identity is salient. This distinction is of real interest, as those coming from the first group of individuals seem to be more engaged with the problem of sustainability and sustainable living. Salience of personal identity can be identified in statements such as the one that follows, in which the participant self-described herself in terms of aspects related to sustainability:

> *"I'm a mother, a grandmother, a woman* [laughs]*... should have said that first, an environmentalist, a peace campaigner, a permaculture teacher, a permaculture student* [smiles]*, a vegetarian… ... and I eat a gluten free diet...* […] *I am a community member and a social justice campaigner, a walker and... ... another thing... a thinker"* (int_16, female, 59)

Conversely, salience of social identity can be recognised when interviewees make comments such as the one below, which denote the importance of group identification and membership:

> *"… on the whole everybody knows that we are, my partner and I are into organic food, usually everybody knows that we are quite... yeah... quite sensitive in the recycling and all the things* [Interviewer: do you care? do you like to be seen that way? do you care people see you as a sustainable person?] *Oh yeah! absolutely, yeah it is important, definitely"* (int_09, female, 33)

It should be noted that **those who express their sustainable self when personal identity is salient tend sometimes to also express sustainability when their social identity is salient**, as we have seen with the example setters. Nevertheless, **those who have their social identity salient when expressing sustainability recognise that they may not behave (or want to behave) sustainably in private**. It could be said many act sustainably when within a group or in terms of group membership, but sustainability is not manifesting highly in their personal identities and they, therefore, sometimes do not take sustainability issues into account when behaving individually or privately. This leads us to explore the notion of

primary and secondary identity salience, which is explored in the next sub-section.

4.2.1.3 Primary and secondary identity salience. Drawing on the research findings of this study, it is useful to discuss the expression of personal and social identities in two ways, which we refer to in this thesis as either a primary or secondary expression. As such, the results suggest that some individuals could activate both their personal and social identities when aiming to express their sustainable self, but the salience of one is stronger than the other. In this case, identity salience is referred to as *primary*, while the other – although being also activated – will be considered *secondary*[12].

When analysing how the participants of this study activate identity salience in relation to sustainable living, it is found that some of them are expressing personal identity primarily and social identity secondarily; whereas others are activating social identity in a primary way and personal identity secondarily. Interestingly, some of those who activate their identity in a secondary way, they do so in relation to their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, motivated by what they think they want or should do in relation to sustainability. It should be noted that some individuals only seem to activate one identity (either personal or social) when expressing their sustainable self/sustainable behaviour.

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[12] Primary/secondary concepts have been used in previous studies when aiming to distinguish between two types of identity and/or behaviours (e.g. Spanos *et al.,* 1991; MacMillan *et al.,* 2014).

This finding allows a deeper understanding of the role of identity in sustainable living and its influence on the expression of sustainable behaviour. Arguments around primary and secondary identity salience are developed further in Section 4.5, in which salience is explored in relation to the typology proposed.

4.2.2 Level of congruence between the layers of the sustainable self

The results of the study suggest that individuals who self-identify as sustainable could also be categorised into two groups depending on the congruence between the layers which form their identity. The findings are consistent with the results explained in Section 4.2.1, as it appears to be a systematic difference between individuals who express their sustainable self in congruence and those who express it in an incongruent way, which is related to identity salience.

4.2.2.1 Congruence between layers of the self. Referring to the 'Dynamic Model of Identity Development' (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) as a guiding theory for the analysis of the data collected in this study – where congruence and incongruence between the expression of the four layers of self are associated with different outcomes for individuals – this section explores the **congruence on identity expression in relation to sustainability**.

First and foremost, it has been found that when identity is expressed in congruence, <u>aspects related to sustainable living are manifested at all the four layers proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015)</u>. Sustainable living is manifested at the *'core' self* by individuals who express their innermost personal identity by aiming to follow a sustainable lifestyle. This manifestation implies individuals expressing sustainability as part of their personal values. For instance, they refer to sustainability and aspects related to it (i.e. respect for nature, the environment and others) when defining who they are and what are the things they like or care for in life. Furthermore, they explain they follow a sustainable lifestyle in order to live in accordance with their values and with what they believe is right.

In addition, sustainable living present at the *'learned' self* allows individuals to function in accordance to a set of conscious and unconscious rules and roles. For instance, some interviewees play the role of the 'environmentalist', while others are the 'activists' of their social group and some take the role of 'carers'; caring for their community and for those who live far away and produce the goods they buy. This is the case of the interviewee mentioned below, who declared to care about those who produce the food she eats:

> *"… for me* (sustainable living) *tied in with that is the fact that I want to make sure that people who grow what I eat, are paid fairly for it, you know be that in the UK or be that elsewhere, that people working in food production are treated fairly"*
> (int_24, female, 41)

Furthermore, sustainable living manifested at the *'lived' self* allows individuals to live out certain behaviours, emotions and cognitions. Following this

lifestyle generally generates a feeling of happiness, as individuals live the life they want to live and feel satisfied. However, some of the interviewees mentioned they feel either sad or angry sometimes. The reasons they feel this way may be injustice or seeing the damage humanity is doing to the environment. But also, some of the interviewees feel these negative emotions due to aspects related to their personal efforts. Some of these feelings are related to transport, and the fact that because of cycling or taking public transport to go to work, they may have to wake up earlier than those driving a car or they may need to cycle in bad weather or rain. Others feel angry or sad when consuming, as sometimes their personal budget does not allow them to be as sustainable as they would like to be or because the lack of availability of sustainable products stops them buying the way they would like to buy. For instance, the participant quoted below admitted he gets both angry and sad because of the problems vegetarian people face when eating out:

> *"I don't think I feel any other thing than being happy, because... you can get annoyed, yes, if you go... when I lived in Austria you could get annoyed because every time that you go out you have to eat the f**king Käsepätzle, which is cheese with pasta because there is nothing else without meat. There you can get annoyed, and ok obviously if you want something that is organic or locally produced is more expensive, so you can get a bit sad, annoyed or something like that* (int_08, male, 33)

It is worth mentioning that some interviewees do also tend to feel sad or angry because their commitment to live this way makes them renounce some of the things they like in life.

Lastly, sustainable living expressed at the *'perceived' self* allows individuals to be seen by others as sustainable individuals, which may have, as explained before, different connotations to different people. For instance, some like the idea of being perceived as sustainable because that way they could set an example to others and promote pro-sustainable behaviours. Others, however, tend to uncover their sustainable self only when feeling they will not be judged or attacked by those who think this lifestyle is extreme or who feel bad about themselves and try to justify their behaviour.

Exploring the manifestations of sustainable living in the four layers of the sustainable self, congruence between aspects of the self might be determined. In the case of this group of sustainable individuals (who are expressing sustainable living at the four layers of the self), we could say there is congruence of identity expression, if sustainable living is expressed in a non-contradictory way at all four levels.

In the context of sustainable living, this should (1) allow individuals to express their core values, desires and beliefs (*'core' self*); (2) to play roles in life which are in accordance with these core values (*'learned' self*); (3) to live out behaviours that reflect these core values (*'lived' self*) and (4) to be seen by others to be living in line with their core values (*'perceived' self*).

As a whole, they may be individuals whose core values and beliefs are aligned with those promoted by sustainability. From the data collected, it could be said that the personal values of sustainable individuals are often linked to the concern and care for the environment and the community, and the recognition of human rights. One of the main reasons to live sustainably (as it is explained later in this chapter) is to live in accordance with their own beliefs and values:

> *"I love the environment, I love life so I think it is incoherent to not respect it* […] *coherence, I don't know it is like... ... coherence with myself, when you feel you are doing things well"* (int_13, female, 31)

Consistently, another interviewee mentioned:

> *"… sustainability... (is) believing in what my heart tells me, and try to find the pragmatism to go with that and then take a direction* […] *So the motivation is my conscience, what makes me feel good, feel happy, reduces the stress of thinking and worrying and... anxiety about... is this a right decision?* […] *how much do I compromise my beliefs to being accepted in this industrialised society?* […] *I think the thing about maturity or adulthood is... this potential to be able to sift through all about... in sort of daily living, and start to find triggers that make us take a direction which is true to ourselves"* (int_21, male, 56)

It seems then that for many people in this group, not living sustainably would be against their core principles and everything they care about in life.

By living sustainably, they reduce their stress and increase their happiness because this allows them to live in accordance with their values. They take sustainability into account in every aspect of their lives, even though it may mean renouncing to something they would like to do. Sustainability is a way of life, part of who they are, as this participant explained:

> *"… my conscious tell me I don't want to feel... I feel guilty if I don't think enough, careless feel, you can help it a bit of course, but keep it to a minimum... I don't want to, I do care, I don't want to just do whatever I like and... not bother about it* […] *I'm conscious of the effects of what I'm doing"* (int_05, female, 38)

Overall, it could be said that for individuals in this group (**who express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient**, but in some cases also when social identity is salient – secondarily) **sustainable living is manifested in all four layers of their self and there is congruency of identity expression**.

These people manifest and express their identity in relation to the sustainable self in a consistent manner (as there is congruence between their own sense of sustainable self), which will influence their final behavioural expression. This often leads this group to make sacrifices (e.g. cycling in the rain) in order to serve their core values. This argument is elaborated later on in this chapter.

4.2.2.2 Incongruence between the layers of the self. In contrast with what happens with the previous group, for some individuals sustainability is not manifested at the four layers of the self, which leads to incongruence on identity expression (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015).

First, it is clear that for this group aspects related to sustainable living are not manifested at the four layers which form their identity. Sustainable living is often manifested at the level of the *'perceived' self,* as following a sustainable lifestyle allows these individuals to be seen as sustainable. It also allows them to live out certain behaviours (*'lived' self*), often related to their personal benefit (e.g. live sustainably because of saving money). It also often, lets them play a specific role within their social group (*'learned' self*) as 'green', 'sustainable' or 'caring', which is the role the interviewee quoted below plays:

> *"I'm caring, I'm caring about both… the environment, my environment and a better world, and other people"* (int_10, female, 60)

However, sustainable living is not often manifested at the level of the 'core' self, as people in this group do not describe sustainability as one of their personal characteristics, traits or values.

When asked about being perceived as a sustainable person, this interviewee referred to his sustainable behaviour. One might think he does not have a car or buy a lot of things in order to reduce pollution and unnecessary production, but later on in the interview he admits he lives sustainably because of saving money. A clear example of sustainable living manifested at the 'learned',

'lived' and 'perceived' self, but not at the level of the self-concept of the individual:

> *"… if they thought about the fact that I don't own a car, that I don't buy a lot of things they would say that I was sustainable"* (int_03, male, 25)

The absence of manifestation of sustainable living at all the four layers of the self leads to some form of incongruence. For the participants categorised in this group, sustainability is not part of their 'core' selves, but rather something that they do for different reasons. As explained later on in this chapter, some people live this way because they are forced to do it, mainly because living sustainably allows them to save money (by reusing things, no wasting, no buying if not necessary). This situation often implies that they would live other way if they would have the resources to do so, and therefore their commitment to sustainability is often expressed in terms of a shorter timescale. Some others who are also incongruent in the expression of their sustainable self, on the other hand, live sustainably because it is the lifestyle they would like to achieve or they think they should achieve. Thus, living sustainably would help them develop their sustainable identities – as identities are socially constructed. When asked about how she imagines herself in ten years this interviewee replied:

> *"Hopefully working full-time for a charity… ... and... ... ten years? let me think how long away that is... quite a long way, isn't it? yes just doing more to help, you know, the bigger cause... that's the aim anyway, which is why I sort of gave up a corporate job, so that I could sort of work more on...*

> *working for True Food as well, it's gradually working more*
> *towards being a full-time thing"* (int_25, female, 41)

This leads to the next level of propositions proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015), which refer to the *'ought' self* and the *'ideal' self*. As stated above, the lack of manifestation of sustainable living in all four layers seems to prevent this type of sustainable individuals to express their 'core' self. However, this manifestation being present at some of the layers allows individuals to express their 'ought' and 'ideal' selves. In other words, by living sustainably individuals can be seen by others as sustainable *('perceived' self)*, the way they want to be seen or they think they should be seen. This also allows them to live as they want to live *('lived' self)* and play the roles they want to play *('learned' self)* in life. Again, sustainable living is not manifested at the 'core' self, as these individuals recognise that their true characteristics are different from their 'ideal' or 'ought' characteristics. According to Hillenbrand and Money (2015), "a person's belief that they ought to or want to be certain things can easily lead to incongruence between layers" (p. 157). This appears to be the case of some members of this group, who are being driven to live sustainably due to societal pressure or family influence. For instance, the interviewee quoted below behaves sustainably in private (when, probably, personal identity is salient) because of motives related to his 'ought' self:

> *"I recycle because* (name of the partner) *recycles to be*
> *honest"* (int_03, male, 25)

Therefore, it could be said that even though this type of individuals self-identify as sustainable, they may not be as sustainable as they think they

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should (*'ought' self*) or as they would like to be (*'ideal' self*). Many of the participants in this study with incongruence related to an 'ideal' or 'ought' self are actively involved in sustainable organisations, as expressing their behaviour in public allows them to reinforce their desired identity and work towards a self-concept which is closer to the one they aspire to have. In some cases, it is noticeable how their lives and identities are changing towards a more sustainable life, as a significant number of participants reported that they had changed their lifestyle and even career path and moved towards a more sustainable life. For instance, this interviewee stated that she started thinking about sustainability and decided to change her lifestyle because of the corporate world. She left her job at an oil and gas company and founded her small sustainable company:

> *"I used to work for* (name of the company) *in oil and gas... ... what an extreme... and then I said, that won't be happening. It was either my job or my partner and I was 'ok, let's make this quick decision about my work'. And then I set up my little tea company, selling organic and fair trade teas, it was a massive gap* […] *I just felt bad going to work, I just felt 'oh, I don't have any friends at work', were just... I didn't feel like I belong"* (int_09, female, 33)

This is a good example of an individual driven to live sustainably by expectations coming from outside the self (although some internal factors may be influencing her behaviour: *"I didn't feel like I belong"*). First, her partner – who is very sustainable – was trying to encourage her to make a change in her life and then she felt the social pressure stemming from criticisms to the company she was working for after acting unethically.

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Consistently, this interviewee left his job in IT and decided to start living in a boat[13]. He mentioned he did it because of boredom but later on in the interview, he mentioned he spent his time now volunteering for charities, which help society and the environment. Specifically, he stated:

> *"I used to work, you know, I used to work with* (name of his neighbour) *years ago... 1998 I think and... I had a nice job you know, earned loads of money... but after a while you know, you don't enjoy the work, you have to travel around the world to get to do this work… I was giving loads of money away, I wore the same clothes as I do now back then* [smiles] *so it wasn't for personal gain... and so... with the rest of it I was just paying mortgages and tax, and bills. I sold my house and bought the boat, I don't have any of those bills at all now, that's why I don't need to work* […] *Yes, I just got bored of it, I got bored of it so I stopped"* (int_31, male, 41)

Interestingly, the relationship between living sustainably and working less (or not working at all, as it is the case of this interviewee) was mentioned by some other interviewees. Sustainability values are seen to encourage a reduction in consumption, and if individuals consume less, they would therefore need less money to live and would not need to work as much as those not living sustainably. When asked about benefits of living sustainably another interviewee replied:

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[13] Three out of the 35 interviewees live in a boat and refer to living on a boat as a sustainable practice, due to low energy expenditure (their boats are moored most of the time).

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> *"I don't have to work as much, literally I pretty much... for three months of the year I pretty much have to work full-time, for the rest of the nine months of the year, like I'm doing like 8 or 10 hours a week, so it's like... I don't have to work as much"* (int_02, male, 46)

It seems then that by living sustainably and working towards their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, individuals are often adopting anti-capitalist values which help them live the life they want to live.

In conclusion, participants who express their sustainable **self primarily when social identity is salient, often do not manifest sustainability at the four layers of the self**. This layer of self which is often under-expressed by this group is that which relates to the 'core' self (where personal identities are salient). Hence, **there is incongruence in terms of identity expression** in relation to the sustainable self (living sustainably is in some way incongruent with some aspects of their core values and self). However, by living sustainably some of these individuals are developing their sustainable self and working towards their 'ought' or 'ideal' self.

The lack of manifestation of sustainable living in the four layers and the incongruence when expressing their sustainable self, led these individuals who self-identify as sustainable to behave following inconsistent patterns of behaviour (as there is not alignment between expression of identity and final expression of behaviour). This might ultimately influence the way they describe their behavioural expression – living sustainably. There was also some evidence that this group encountered stress and emotional labour as a

result of the tensions between their different selves. This argument, again, is elaborated later on in this chapter.

Overall, it could be said there is a systematic distinction between two types of individuals who could be categorised as group 1 and group 2. On the one hand, for individuals belonging to **<u>group 1</u>**, those who express their sustainable self primarily when **personal (and sometimes social in a secondary way) identity is salient**, sustainable living is manifested at the four layers of the self. Also, there is **congruence** between these layers when expressing their sustainable self, as behaving sustainably is congruent with the individuals' core identity. On the other hand, for individuals belonging to **<u>group 2</u>**, who are primarily expressing their sustainable self when **social identity salient, but personal identity is not manifested or is manifested secondarily,** sustainability is not manifested at the four layers. In addition, there is **incongruence** between these layers, as the roles they play, the way they live and the way they are seen by others are not in congruence with their core values and self. In this case, some participants refer to themselves as sustainable in relation to their 'ought' or 'ideal' self, in that they would like to live sustainably, but they are not sure if they have the characteristics (e.g. determination, ability to make sacrifices) to achieve this. Others in this group simply recognise that being seen as sustainable has a number of benefits in terms of social acceptance and status, and are willing to engage in these behaviours for these benefits, even if they are not intrinsically motivated. Table 4-1 offers a summary of the characteristics attached to these two groups.

Table 4-1. Categorisation of sustainable individuals based on salience and congruence on expression of identity

Group 1	Group 2
Expression of sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient. In some cases, salience of social identity (secondarily)	Expression of sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient. In some cases, salience of personal identity (secondarily) in relation to the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves
Sustainable living manifested at the four layers of the self	Sustainable living manifested at the learned, lived and perceived selves, but not at the 'core' self
Congruence between layers of the self and therefore congruence on identity expression	Incongruence between layers of the self and therefore incongruence on identity expression

Section 4.2 has presented the findings in relation to the expression of identity of individuals self-identifying as following sustainable lifestyles. In summary, it could be concluded that systematic differences have been found in terms of identity salience and identity congruence when expressing an identity in relation to the sustainable self. This has led to the division of participants between two groups: group 1, whose members express their sustainable self in congruence and primarily when personal identity is salient; and group 2, formed by individuals who express their identity in incongruence and primarily when social identity is salient. In the next section, the results related to motivational drives are examined.

4.3 Motivational drives leading to sustainable living (drivers of sustainable living)

The second section of this chapter considered the differences between two groups of individuals based on identity salience and on the levels of congruence of identity expression. In this section, motivations driving the expression of sustainability of these individuals are analysed and explained, by linking the data collected to the four drives which form the base of human behaviour.

As explained in the literature review of this thesis, Lawrence and Nohria (2002) suggest that human behaviour is motivated by a small set of innate, subconscious, brain-based drives, which are the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend. As their theory has been selected as one of the guiding theories for the analysis and part of the data collection of this thesis, the narratives collected in this study were analysed through a lens of these four drives. By conducting an inductive and deductive analysis of the conversations with individuals who self-identify as sustainable, different concepts and themes have emerged, which are explained in the forthcoming sub-sections.

4.3.1 Drive to acquire

As explained in the literature review, the drive to acquire can manifest in various manners, and should not be exclusively linked to the need of

acquiring material goods. For instance, individuals who self-identify as sustainable satisfy this drive motivated by the acquisition of intangible needs or desires. The ways individuals express the drive to acquire in terms of sustainability could be summarised in three 2nd-order themes: acquire a *sustainable status*, acquire *financial security* and expressing an *anti-consumerist attitude*. Some sustainable individuals start living sustainably – or at least behave as if they do – in order to **acquire a status** as 'sustainable', 'green' or 'environmentally-friendly' within their community or social group. In fact, some of the individuals interviewed strongly affirmed they like to be seen as sustainable people. However, the reasons may vary between personal satisfaction and the common good. When referring to personal satisfaction, this could be driven by the desire of self-identification with a social group and/or because a feeling of 'I am doing my bit'. This is quite common among the people interviewed, who by showing that they are living sustainably they minimise their guilt. When asked if she likes to be seen as a sustainable person, this interviewee replied:

> *"I do it in a way because I think it's something good and something to be proud of"* (int_35, female, 25)

Nevertheless, the majority of participants like to be seen as sustainable individuals when believing that would help others understand the problems of sustainability and perhaps change their behaviour. This is the case of the interviewee quoted below, who declared he would feel pleased if his actions would challenge others to be more sustainable:

> *"Well... yes I'm pleased if the fact challenges them to do something, changing their way of living. I'm not too fast about my own reputation is more a face of... how other people can be challenged"* (int_20, male, 68)

In general, however, those individuals expressing the drive to acquire in terms of acquiring a status are doing it both because of personal need (i.e. satisfaction, avoid guilt, self-identification) and a common interest:

> *"I suppose I do as much for me as for anything around me, it is what I feel it's right. I just... set a good example for others"* (int_22, male, 56)

In addition, the drive to acquire is occasionally expressed by the need of maintaining or acquiring a **financial security** or stability. Some of the interviewees live sustainably due to habits, as their families were living in austerity (e.g. after post-war period or due to economic problems) at the time they were children and this is the way they learnt how to live:

> *"… coming from a family where money was not a lot, I have always been taught to use and reuse and if I don't need something anymore we don't throw it out, we just pass it on to somebody who may need it. So I think that a lot comes from the environment where you grow in"* (int_07, female, 50)

Other participants appear to also start living sustainably because of economic difficulties. In this case, they did not necessarily started living sustainably at an early age but after having experienced problems of unemployment, which have forced them to follow a zero waste and austere attitude. It could be argued that this kind of individuals would give up

behaving sustainably if their budget would allow them to do so, as this participant admitted:

> *"Well I mean I'm very sorry, it is mainly because for long time I had no money and no work… on the other hand it has to be said if I get a reasonable amount of money I'd probably spend it on things like education or maybe doing my house up"* (int_23, male, 56)

Furthermore, some participants are not suffering financial instability but they just like the idea of not wasting money, and through living sustainably they believe they are saving money, which they could spend in other things. The following participant explained:

> *"Saving money motivates me sometimes, but ends up making me more sustainable, I mean that is maybe the reason I don't want a car, I don't want to spend the money so… probably I'm sustainable more because I am tight than because I'm... you know"* (int_03, male, 25)

The third 2nd-order theme which has emerged in relation to the drive to acquire is linked with an **anti-consumerist attitude**. First, participants seem to be seeking to acquire a status as the 'anti' (i.e. consumption, mainstream/consumer culture). In addition, it could be said that in this case the drive to acquire is also expressed in a negative way, as individuals expressing this drive in this manner are completely against the current consumer culture and any kind of avoidable materialism.

For example, the interviewee mentioned below explained the thinking process she follows when making a purchase:

"… we've gone too far, in terms of... making, consuming, having, and we could actually go back to something little less individual focused […] *I don't buy stuff, always think very carefully before I buy something, I think very much 'do I need it?' because I wanted... 'do I need it?'* […] *it's just not to have more than you need"* (int_19, female, 47)

This feeling is closely related to the intention of supporting the local community and its independent and sustainable businesses. When asked what sustainable living meant to her, one of the interviewees answered:

"(sustainable living is) *trying to recycle, trying to reduce waste, to reduce stuff and trying to not support the big corporations, trying to shop in local shops, charity shops, instead of getting new things*" (int_04, female, 33)

It is important to emphasise that all three 2nd-order themes are somehow related to intangible acquisitions. Figure 4-3 shows these three themes and the 1st-order concepts related to them.
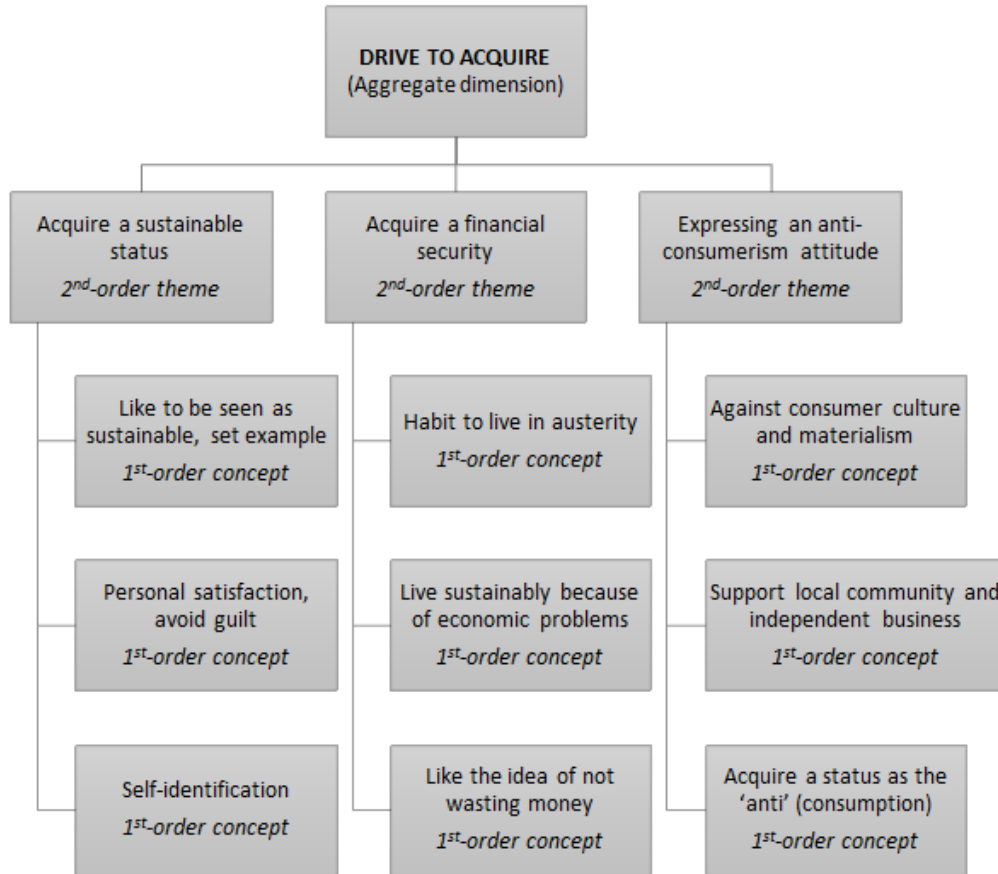
Figure 4-3. Summary of the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the drive to acquire

4.3.2 Drive to bond

Drawing on the findings, it can be concluded that the drive to bond is expressed by sustainable individuals in three different ways (three 2nd-order themes): motivated by *family influence,* by the desire to *build friendships* and by the *sense of belonging to a community or social group.* Those who live sustainably because of **family influence** tend to have been living this way since childhood, which implies they were unconsciously living sustainably. This is the case of the following interviewee, who explained how she learnt to live this way through the love to nature instilled by her parents:

"my parents... they usually taught me how to love nature, not to destroy nature, we used to go for walks in the... hiking in the mountains, and they taught me to appreciate what we have. […] *I have always been taught to use and reuse and if I don't need something anymore we don't throw it out, we just pass it on to somebody who may need it. So I think that a lot comes from the environment where you grow in* […] *I have always lived that way because of my parents"* (int_07, female, 50)

For this type of individuals, sustainable living is the only lifestyle they know and they may have difficulty living any other way, as sustainable practices are deeply engrained in their habits. People from this group who have children also try to influence them to live sustainably, teaching them to love nature and the environment from an early age. For example, the following participant explained:

"… my children obviously... they don't even know I spent the whole time teaching them the names of the plants and things […] *I don't know, but all my children have gone on to do something... something... my daughter did psychology, my son is a Green Party councillor, he is living sustainably, my other son is not living that sustainably but he is involved in... peace, the peace movement"* (int_16, female, 59)

However, not every individual who lives sustainably because of family influence has learnt about sustainability during childhood. For instance, a great number of participants moved towards pro-social and pro-environmental behaviours after being persuaded or educated by their partners. The following interviewee stated:

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"Erm I think probably I am more like this because of my partner […] *she* (her partner) *used to be continually challenging me and I really liked that, she still does"* (int_01, female, 59)

It seems 'partners' not only try to inform or educate, but to challenge their significant other by creating a feeling of guilt, as it is the case of the interviewee mentioned below:

"My girlfriend definitely influenced me […] *she tells me off when I am brushing my teeth if I am keeping the tap open, she is really careful about what I eat, and she always tells me off when I buy something she thinks is not particularly healthy. So she is a huge help and she also introduced me for example to permaculture, so even more extreme forms of sustainability which I was not aware before"* (int_27, male, 32)

Furthermore, some of the interviewees are motivated to live sustainably by the drive to bond expressed in terms of **building friendships**. For instance, some started living this way after meeting people who were already sustainable and who influenced them to follow this lifestyle. When asked one of the interviewees about the moment she consciously started living sustainably and what influenced her at the time, she replied:

"… so gradually meeting more and more people […] *perhaps moving towards finding more people who were like that* (against greed and consumerism) *as I found the life I wanted, then you start finding the people who reflect that life, and I think that's how it goes really"* (int_19, female, 47)

In some cases, sustainability means so much to them that it seems they

would not be able to build relationships with people who were not living in a similar way. The participant quoted below stated:

> *"People I'm gonna be meeting tonight, they are all vegetarians you know, so they in a way... they are living a sustainable life* […] *so I would rather be around people that are eating in that way, rather than people that are eating in a non-sustainable way"* (int_02, male, 46)

The same occurs when meeting new people, as this kind of individuals would choose who to socialise with based on their values regarding sustainability. This aspect does not only refer to the friendship itself, but to what it implies. Sustainable individuals fulfilling greatly the drive to bond tend to create relationships with people who think alike in order to spend time in harmony, but also with the intention of learning from others and sharing knowledge and experiences.

However, this kind of attitude could have negative effects in the long term. It appeared that being that strict and only socialise with sustainable people prevents seeing social reality and in a certain way facilitates social isolation, as could be understood from statements such as the one below:

> *"… you are in the end in a circle of sort of... system of people with similar beliefs that in fact you get... sort of incorrect ideas of society and what people generally think, because most people you know think similar... have similar views to you, then that's not what actually the majority of people... they don't have those views"* (int_29, male, 41)

Furthermore, some individuals are expressing the drive to bond when living sustainably driven by the need of **belonging to a community or social group.** Individuals in this group care about the local community and seek identification with it. That is the reason why some of them actively participate in sustainable organisations across Reading, where they get to meet people similar to them. During the interview, the researcher asked about benefits of living sustainably and one of the interviewees responded:

> *"… being part of a community of people who are living sustainably* […] *meeting like-minded people and feeling you're part of that community, so that gives you a sense of identity in a way"* (int_27, male, 32)

For them, it is important to connect with the natural environment but also with those around them. By joining groups and organisations in their local area, they are able to benefit at a personal level – by means of identification, socialisation, realisation –, but also at a societal level, as by joining forces the cause these groups are fighting for becomes more popular and powerful.

The findings suggest two main 1st-order concepts are related to this 2nd-order theme. The sense of belonging might be motivated by the will for *helping and caring for others and society*, as it is the case of the interviewee quoted next:

> *"I care, I care about people, about the world* […] *I think I'm helping society or the world* […] *it's knowing that I'm helping somebody, helping future generations, and helping the world* […] *I care too much about other people"* (int_05, female, 38)

Also, some participants wish to belong to a sustainable group in order to *share knowledge and resources*, which could help them improve their quality

of life but also the life of others or the performance of the group. This could be translated into sharing of ideas, experiences, dietary proceedings or even waste avoidance. For example, this participant argued:

> *"My mum's got a friend whose got loads of fruit on their tree right now, and they asked if I wanted it, if I could use it for a project I'm working on, I said 'definitely', I can't just go and take that fruit, I go and talk to them, I meet them, I suddenly create another part of this sort of community, sustainable community"* (int_02, male, 46)

Overall, it could be said that the drive to bond plays a great role in developing sustainable living, as it appears to be dominant among a significant number of individuals. However, it seems this drive is expressed differently by participants, and while some may be thinking about the common good when satisfying the drive to bond, others may be focused on personal rewards. Figure 4-4 shows the 2nd-order themes and the 1st-order concepts related to this drive.

Figure 4-4. Summary of the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the drive to bond

4.3.3 Drive to learn

The results of this study suggest that individuals who self-identify as sustainable and who are expressing the drive to learn, are mainly driven by the will of *setting an example* to others and/or the need of *questioning everything* (2nd-order themes).

Those interested in **setting an example**, believe that people around them might look at the sustainable actions they perform and start changing their behaviour or at least becoming aware of the problems the environment and

society are facing. This interviewee, for instance, explained how he hopes his actions could inspire others to live more sustainably:

> *"I hope that I... by my actions can talk to other people and can show other people that the consumer culture in which we live is not the only way to survive"* (int_34, male, 57)

It is worth mentioning here that a great number of participants who declared liking to be seen as a sustainable person, associate this perception to setting an example to others. When asked 'do you like to be seen as a person who is sustainable?' one of the interviewees replied:

> *"… what is more important is that I hope to set an example and so I'd to be seen that way because of that, not so much because I care about what they think"* (int_10, female, 60)

As mentioned earlier, another 2nd-order theme related to the drive to learn is the need of **questioning**. Several 1st-order concepts have arisen in connection with the issue of questioning everything, and for instance some sustainable individuals base living a sustainable lifestyle with this concern. The interviewee quoted below, for example, explained that for her 'questioning' is the base of being sustainable:

> *"To me, a sustainable person is that kind of person who always questions everything, in everything the person does… if you don't question everything, what kind of impact are you having in your environment?"* (int_06, female, 28)

Some of them refer to every aspect of their life – e.g. impact of transportation, buying goods, type of jobs carried out –, although it is true that their main concern is related to food. Individuals motivated by the drive to

learn (the need of questioning and knowing, the will to being informed) are highly interested in knowing where the food they eat is coming from, who is producing it, what are the working and living conditions of the producers and how that food is being transported from the place it is produced to their homes.

Individuals satisfying the drive to learn actively look for information about sustainable living, what has helped them becoming more aware of sustainability issues. This translates into improvement of their lifestyles and the fact that they become more knowledgeable. For instance, for the interviewee quoted below, information is key when deciding to live in a sustainable way:

> *"… all comes from the information, as much informed as we are... the information is the main thing here, to look for sustainability and to find out how the actions you carry everyday can be more respectful with the environment and with us who are inside the environment. And that is part of everyday life"* (int_13, female, 31)

Overall, it is important to underline that a great number of interviewees fulfilling greatly the drive to learn, have either studied a degree related to sustainability (either environmental, social or economic sustainability) – e.g. Agriculture or Environmental Sciences; Social Work; Sustainable Development – or have developed a career somehow connected to it – e.g. Lecturer in Sustainability, Charity Worker, Environment Lab Technician. Most individuals have started their 'sustainable journey' after a learning process during their time at school or University, which in some cases has been so

influential that has guided first their career paths and then their lives. In addition, it seems this kind of individuals do not only care about their own learning but about transmitting their knowledge to others in order to inform and possibly persuade them towards a more pro-sustainable behaviour. Also, the results suggest that they may want to create a great impact on sustainability through their work, by researching or directly helping others.

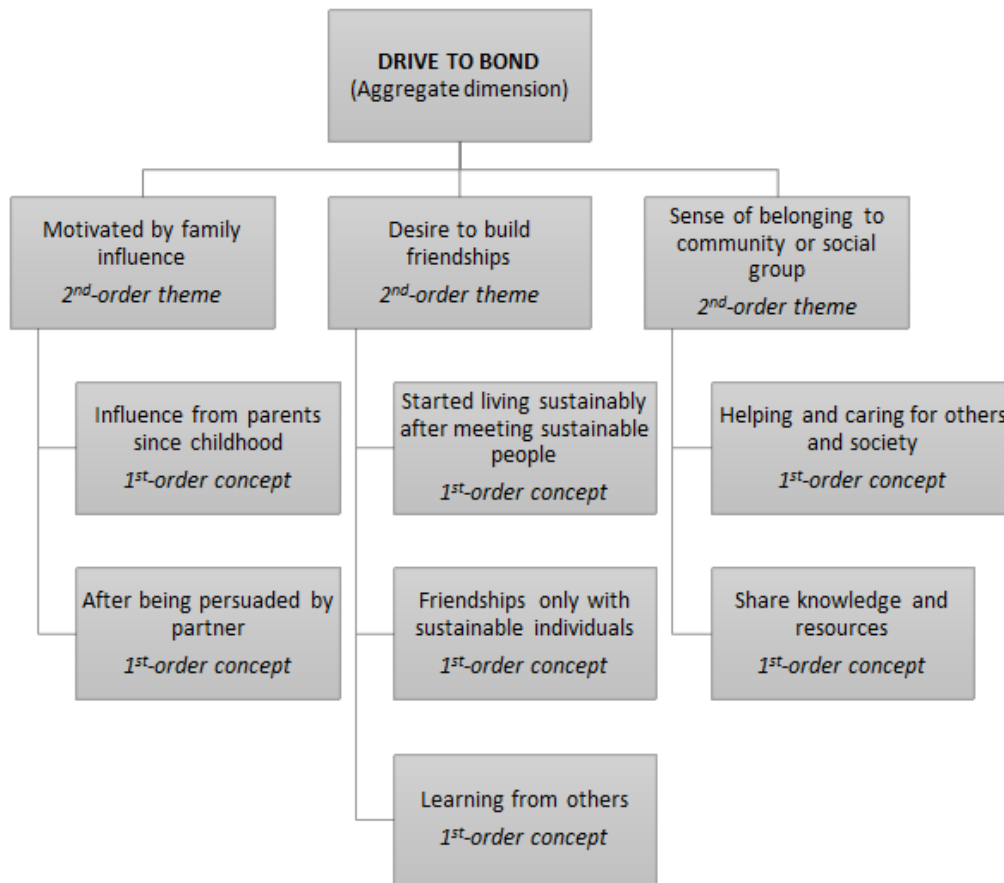Figure 4-5 offers a summary of the themes and concepts which emerged in relation to the drive to learn.
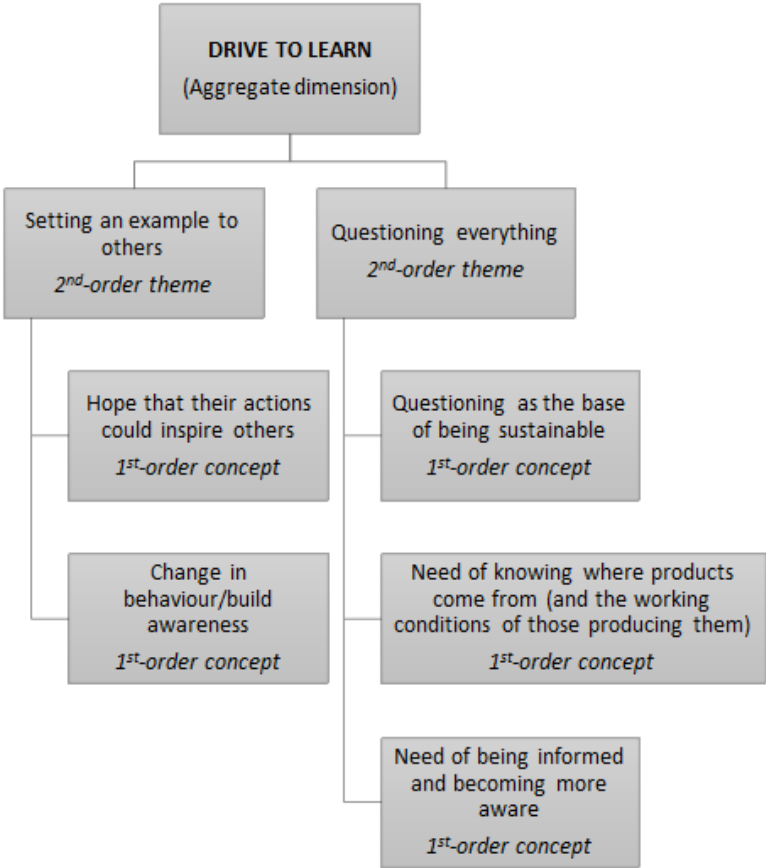
Figure 4-5. Summary of the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the drive to learn

4.3.4 Drive to defend

After conducting narrative analysis, several concepts and themes related to the drive to defend arose, as this drive seems to be somehow expressed among most of the participants of this study and, therefore, its analysis is highly interesting. This drive is expressed in three different ways (three 2nd-order themes): *drive to defend my values and beliefs, drive to defend the planet* and *drive to defend my health*.

Between those individuals who expressed the drive to defend when talking about sustainable living, the majority referred to **defend their values and beliefs**. For these individuals, sustainable living means living in consistency with what they believe in. In fact, living other way might cause them to feel guilty or bad, as this interviewee explained:

> *"I like to be consistent with what I believe in, and every time I am not consistent I feel... really bad things inside"* (int_06, female, 28)

It seems for them it is 'common sense' to live this way as it is the 'right thing to do', what they have learned from their family and/or social group, or from teachers at school. In the words of the interviewee quoted below, a 'moral structure' is driving them to live in a sustainable way:

> *"… that's a question about your personal values and beliefs isn't it... […] I do believe that there's some moral structure behind everything, and I believe there is some structure, which even if it disadvantages ourselves we need to do the right thing"* (int_32, male, 34)

Furthermore, a great part of the participants referred to this drive in terms of **defence of the planet**, meaning both defending the environment and defending those living on it, as it is well explained by the interviewee quoted below:

> *"… (living sustainably means to me) trying to be concerned of the effects of what you do, in the environment and in your society, not just in the environment, the natural environment, even in your city, or in your neighbourhood, where you live"*
> (int_04, female, 33)

This 2nd-order theme is also related to other 1st-order concepts. For instance, some of the participants were really concerned about *animal welfare* (see quote below), and that was the first reason why they became vegetarians and started changing their patterns of behaviour towards a more sustainable life:

> *"… because to be sustainable, in my opinion, you also have to take into account animal exploitation, it is super important, and thinking about it... it is very important..."* (int_06, female, 28)

In addition, this group of individuals do not only care about our society today, but in alignment with the definition of sustainable living, they are really aware and worried about the world we are leaving to *future generations*. This interviewee, for instance, explained how our behaviour today impacts on the lives of those coming after us:

> *"I would like to have a house with two kids, and actually I would like those kids to have a house with two kids, and if we don't do this* (living sustainably)*..."* (int_08, male, 33)

However, some of the interviewees expressed the drive to defend in a more individualistic way. Those who did so are individuals who live sustainably because they want to **defend their health**, and that is the main reason why they cycle and eat organic food, for instance, as the interviewee quoted below mentioned:

> *"I don't use my car and I walk because I want to keep fit, basically... it's part of my exercise regime, so it's actually quite selfish motivation* [smiles]*, and then the second in the order of thoughts is 'oh, I haven't used the car for a week, great!', you know no emissions, no petrol, saving money… so at first it's always quite a selfish motivation, in the... 'oh yeah I'm keeping fit, my heart pumping' whatever, and then it's the 'oh great'"* (int_26, female, 32)

This group of individuals seem to care mainly about the food they eat and about keeping fit.

Overall, the narrative analysis shows how each of the four drives is expressed by individuals who self-identify as sustainable. However, in general terms, these drives may be associated in greater ways to either collective or individual reasons to live sustainably depending on who is satisfying them and how they are being fulfilled, as it is explained in detail later on in this section.

Figure 4-6 summarises the three 2nd-order themes in relation to the drive to defend, as well as the 1st-order concepts related to them.
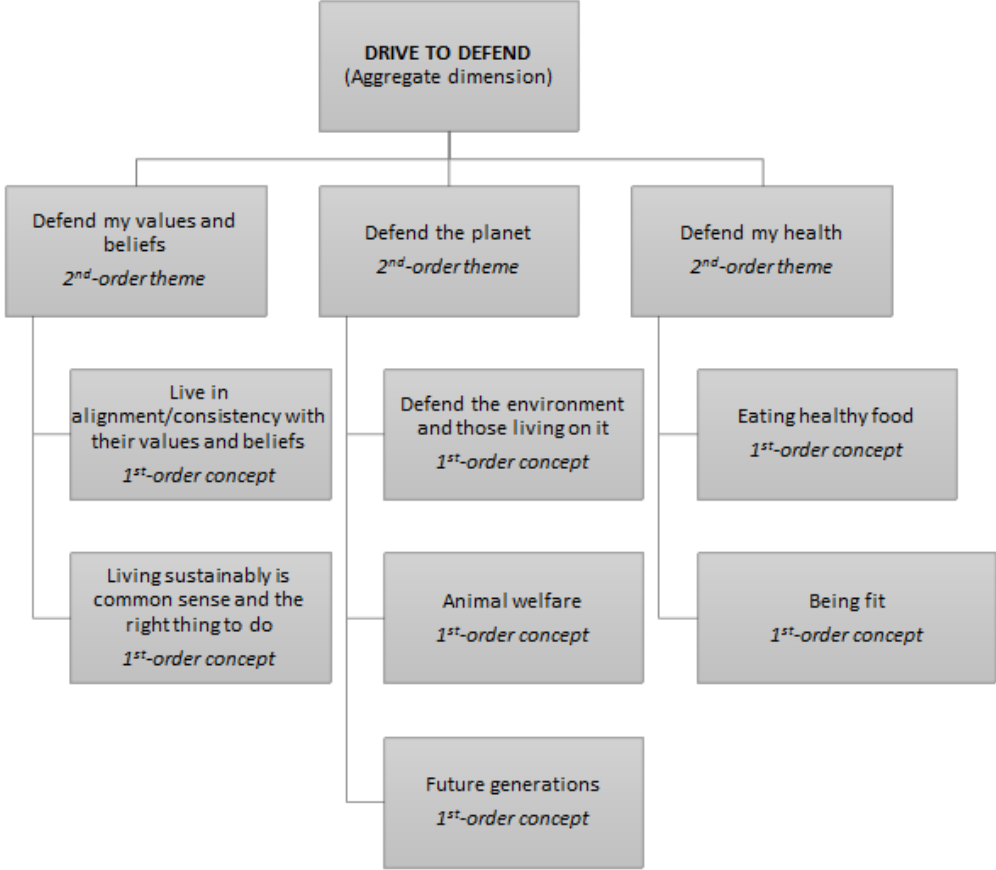
Figure 4-6. Summary of the 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes emerged in relation to the drive to defend

4.3.5 The Four Drives working in pairs

Lawrence and Nohria (2002) agree with the idea that drives could be fulfilled simultaneously when working in pairs. For instance, they argue that the drives to *learn* and *defend* tend to reconcile together, while the same happens in regard to the drives to *acquire* and *bond*. The narrative analysis

conducted in this study corroborates these assumptions, and therefore, it could be concluded that these drives might also work better in pairs in terms of sustainable living. This argument is developed in the following sub-sections.

4.3.5.1 Reconciling the drive to learn and the drive to defend. According to Peterson (1999), humans tend to mix the emotions linked to curiosity and anxiety in order to respond to novelty. In terms of the Four Drives, this relates to the idea of approaching and learning about the situation (drive to learn), while at the same time being ready to retreat or attack (drive to defend) (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). With regard to sustainable living and those self-identifying as sustainable, it could be argued that this assumption is linked with the idea that knowledge is the best weapon in the fight against unsustainable lifestyles. In other words, the greater the knowledge and awareness about issues related to sustainability is, the greater the possibilities to defend the environment and society will be. As one of the interviewees mentioned, if individuals lack knowledge, it would be impossible for them to care enough:

> *"… we are completely disconnected with... you know, where the food comes from, how the food is produced, what do you actually need to produce that food, how many inputs do you need... […] we don't know that anymore, even if you know we don't know the source of that food, if that food comes from South America, if you needed to destroy half of the forest to plant soya to feed the animals with high source of energy,*

> *energy crops. We don't know, and if we don't know that, it is*
> *impossible to care about it"* (int_08, male, 33)

Furthermore, from the analysis of the data it could be concluded that those individuals who self-identify as sustainable and who are expressing in a greater way the drives to learn and defend when living sustainably, tend to be motivated to live this way by collective and intrinsic reasons. <u>Collective and intrinsic reasons</u> to live sustainably are expressed through the **drive to learn** in relation to both *setting an example* to others and *questioning everything*. The consequences of both expressions of sustainable behaviour have a positive effect on the collective – either in terms of society or the environment. By setting an example, pro-sustainable behaviours might diffuse and become known. In addition, by questioning where goods come from and how they are produced, or what companies and consumption practices are more sustainable, for example, individuals become well informed and are able to teach others about it and work towards a sustainable society. As mentioned before, for some of the interviewees information is key when pursuing a sustainable lifestyle, as the interviewee quoted above explains. Consistently, another interviewee also mentioned how through knowledge he got motivated to live this way, and therefore defend the planet:

> *"I went back to more Greenpeace meetings and then there*
> *were more and more campaigns and you just start to see all*
> *the problems* […] *I wasn't really aware of before that, so I*
> *suppose that's probably... it's just knowledge and once you*
> *know the problems there, then I think that motivates you"*
> (int_29, male, 41)

When looking at the expression of the **drive to defend**, it appears that those who live sustainably in order to *defend the planet* are doing it with the intention of helping the collective. Participants who really care about the defence of the planet are concerned about several aspects such as animal welfare, climate change, poverty, the situation of producers in developing countries and the world we are leaving to future generations. As it is the case of this interviewee (see quote below), some individuals might even renounce personal desires if these imply damaging the collective or the environment:

> *"If I know that my actions will harm the world then I will try not to do it. I even stopped smoking"* (int_07, female, 50)

In general terms, individuals expressing this pair of drives together appear to care a lot about the good of the community. They feel it is necessary to help *society*, whether this translates to their social group and local community or to the wider social good (help the world or help those suffering). Moreover, they care about *future generations* and believe in the idea of preserving the world, so that next generations do not suffer the consequences of current unsustainable behaviours. As this interviewee explained:

> *"I think I'm helping society or the world* […] *it's knowing that I'm helping somebody is the main... hope... helping future generations, and helping the world, helping natural resources... ... ... other people I have said as well"* (int_05, female, 38)

In terms of environmental sustainability, these individuals take every day and life decisions considering the impact of their actions on natural resources and the *environment*, and are driven to live sustainably by the intention of

damaging the planet as little as possible. This interviewee described her motivations to live sustainably in relation to giving back to nature, as thanks to it we are alive and we have what we have:

> *"*(what motivates me to live sustainably is) *the intention to preserve the world, trying to not lose what we have, the little we have, the natural resources, what at the end of the day is what is giving us quality of life* […] *what is also what we depend on, and also I think... thanks to that we are alive, so it is like a... if nature... if nature is allowing us to stay in earth, and what you enjoy the most is the earth itself"* (int_06, female, 28)

Most of the individuals who are really concerned about the environment and preserving it have grown up or lived for a long time in rural areas. They care about nature because they feel part of it, as it is their natural environment and what makes them feel comfortable.

In summary, this section highlighted that the drives to learn and defend tend to work together when expressing sustainable living. The 2nd-order themes and 1st-order concepts emerging from these two drives suggest that individuals that express these two drives significantly are motivated to live sustainably by **collective reasons** and **intrinsic motives**. This is because they live sustainably in order to help the environment and society while living in accordance with their life values and not in pursuit of a reward.

4.3.5.2 Reconciling the drive to acquire and the drive to bond. As mentioned in the literature review, according to Fiske (1991) humans use a

four-skill set when relating to one another. This set links to the drives to acquire and bond, as they tend to be connected to the development of social relations. For instance, any relationship between individuals will always imply some competitive elements (*drive to acquire*) and some cooperative features (*drive to bond*) (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002), and that is the main reason these two drives tend to reconcile. Taking this into consideration and after analysing the motivations driving individuals to live sustainably, it can be argued that the drives to acquire and bond seem to also work better together in terms of sustainable living.

A clear example of this synergy is found when looking at the active membership of sustainable organisations. The data suggests that some individuals join and participate in this type of institutions driven by the desire of bonding with others, self-identifying with the group and acquiring a status – e.g. sustainable, green – within their community. This is the case of the interviewee quoted below who, when explaining her volunteering role, discussed how she gets to know people (instead of explaining how she helps with sustainability, for example). Thus, it could be argued she volunteers mainly with the aim of creating relationships, while at the same time being seen as sustainable (as her volunteering role involves public exposure). Specifically, she stated:

> *"It's nice because you meet some really interesting people there, so you can always have a natter* […] *so yes it's nice because you feel like you are doing something nice and you are meeting new people"* (int_14, female, 23)

Furthermore, and in contrast to the argument presented in the previous sub-section, those individuals who self-identify as sustainable and who tend to express the drives to acquire and bond more saliently are mainly driven by <u>individual and extrinsic reasons</u> when deciding to follow a sustainable lifestyle. For instance, the interviewee quoted above only mentions personal benefits of volunteering, in particular the sense of feeling better and the opportunity of meeting new people.

In particular, the **drive to acquire** is driven by individualistic intentions when it comes to living sustainably with the aim of pursuing a *financial security* or when trying to acquire the *status* of *sustainable/anti.* As it is the case of this interviewee (see quote below), some participants only live sustainably or started living sustainably in the first place because of their financial situation. They adopted this lifestyle because of necessity instead of desire. Therefore, the main beneficiaries of their behaviour are themselves, and society and the environment only come as a secondary consequence. As the interviewee quoted below explained, she learnt to live this way due to financial problems:

> *"We never had a lot of money and I haven't had money for a long time* […] *So you become quite resourceful and I think sustainability is just a fact of life, when your... when you can cook and you are good at it, but you can't spend a lot of money on food, I think you learn to just live with what you need"* (int_25, female, 41)

In the case of individual reasons expressed through the **drive to bond**, it seems that one of the motives driving some participants to live this way are linked to the idea of *building friendships*. For them, communicating and

connecting with individuals similar to themselves on a daily basis is extremely important, and that is one of the reasons why they get involved in social and environmental projects. For instance, this interviewee mentioned that he talks several times a day to people similar to himself:

> *"So at some point during the day I'd probably make two or three phone calls or in the morning, or face to face communication with somebody similar, with similar ideas to me, so guiding along a project either sort of spiritual or sustainable or growing or something like that"* (int_02, male, 46)

Although the direct consequence of that involvement with others is related to the good of the community or the environment, the person also benefits, as she/he is fulfilling their need to bond and belong.

Individual reasons to live sustainably could be grouped into two categories: those which incite personal satisfaction and those which contribute to a better health. When talking about *personal satisfaction* (benefit of helping and caring for others and society), individuals refer to issues such as learning, having a clear conscience, feeling they are doing their bit, feeling happy or feeling better with themselves. For instance, a great number of individuals try to fulfil the needs associated with their 'ought' and 'ideal' selves. In other cases, behaviour is often driven by the intention of dealing with feelings of guilt, as living in another way would make them feel bad. Furthermore, some individuals get satisfaction because this lifestyle allows them to connect and socialise with others and therefore fulfil their need to bond. When asked about benefits of living sustainably one of the interviewees responded:

> *"I suppose friends with like-minded people, connections with like-minded people and organisations"* (int_22, male, 56)

In addition, for some individuals this personal satisfaction translates into their ability to work towards their 'ideal' or 'ought' self and therefore develop their sustainable self and find congruence on identity expression.

Pursuing a *better health* do also influence individuals when deciding to follow a sustainable lifestyle, and for instance, those who decide to cycle or walk to work instead of taking the car are doing it as much for themselves (i.e. keeping fit) as for the environment. A similar situation is encountered when analysing the consumption of sustainable food, as interviewees pointed out more facts related to their own health – better quality or taste – than to the benefits organic, fair trade or local food have on the environment and those producing and commercialising these produce. When asked about benefits of living sustainably one of the interviewees admitted the only benefits she could think about were personal, and in particular those explained above:

> *"it makes you feel positive about yourself, as far as you know you are doing your bit* […] *I mean it's kind of hard to say, because I mean a lot of it is how you feel about yourself and whether you are living by your own values* […] *I feel it's better for me because I'm eating more nutritious stuff, and the other is I feel I'm doing my bit, and I think that's it"* (int_24, female, 41)

Several interviewees mentioned the idea of being in harmony with nature and with their environment, what would relate sustainable living to not only physical but also mental health. The following interviewee explained:

> *"The best thing is for your heart, I think you can be more calm and in harmony with the things that are around you, with the people… and then of course there is other part related with health, and it is good also for your brain, because you have to use more your hands to live like this so... you have to improve your skills constantly yes"* (int_12, female, 31)

In conclusion, the results of this research suggest that the drives to acquire and bond seem to reconcile in terms of sustainable living. In addition, from the analysis of the 2nd-order themes and 1st-order concepts related to these two drives, it can be concluded that individuals fulfilling greatly the drives to acquire and bond tend to be mainly motivated to follow a sustainable lifestyle by **individualistic reasons** and **extrinsic motives.** Even though they help society and the environment by engaging in sustainable actions, it appears that the main reasons behind their behaviour link with personal benefits.

Overall, it could be concluded that the Four Drives work better in pairs regarding sustainable living. For instance, those individuals expressing the drive to learn tend to also express the drive to defend in a great manner. Similarly, participants expressing the drive to acquire when living sustainably usually also express the drive to bond. Furthermore, the data suggests that, even though the Four Drives could be associated to both individual and collective reasons to live sustainably, each set of drives tend to be connected to either individual or collective motives. Hence, when behaviour is expressed through the drives to learn and defend the reasons behind the behaviour appears to be collective and intrinsic, linked to benefits for either society, the environment or both. Contrastingly, the expression of the drives

to acquire and bond is more often than not linked to individual rewards and extrinsic motives. In any case, most participants in this study are both driven by collective and individual reasons, but it is clear that for different individuals one option is dominant over the other.

4.4. Linking identity salience and congruence in identity expression to motivation

This section brings together the 2nd-order themes and 1st-order concepts analysed earlier in this chapter. By looking at the interplay between expression of identity and the motivational drives leading to sustainable living, the alignment between the expression of the sustainable self and the final expression of behaviour is analysed and presented in the subsequent sub-sections. As stated earlier in this chapter and in the literature review, congruence between layers of the self leads to more consistent patterns of behaviour, while incongruence between these layers influence individuals to behave in a less consistent manner. After carefully analysing the expression of identity in relation to the sustainable self of the participants in this study, and examining their expression of sustainable behaviour (what they do and why they do it), it can be concluded that this assumption is confirmed when studying individuals self-identifying as sustainable.

4.4.1 Consistent patterns

People belonging to **group 1** (see table 4-1), namely the individuals who express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient (sometimes social identity is activated secondarily), and who also express their 'core' self through living sustainably, express sustainability by describing patterns of behaviour that are consistent with each level of their identity.

It could be said that sustainable living is manifested and expressed in a consistent manner, regardless of the goal pursued or the motivation behind the behaviour. People belonging to group 1 seem to be living sustainably mainly because they want to defend their beliefs and values, which are in accordance with those of sustainability. In some cases, they secondarily follow this lifestyle achieving a sense of belonging to a community or social group; but one way or another, they express their identity, emotions and sustainable behaviour in a healthy manner:

> *"there is an alternative, less materialistic, more authentic, real, connected, connected to nature, connected to each other sort of way of living our lives* […] *The primary motive is to... I don't know, just live a life that is less... ... about conspicuous consumption and more about... being able to be yourself"* (int_28, male, 58)

As the interviewee quoted above mentioned, living sustainably allows him to live in accordance with his 'core' self and allows him to be himself. He therefore accepts his identity by sharing it (namely, through interaction between personal and social identity), as he talks about the importance of connecting with nature and with others.

Individuals behaving in a consistent manner are also able to express vulnerability and, therefore, seem more willing to share their emotions. For instance, participants categorised in this group tend to share their feelings of guilt, normally related to situations in which they are not able to be as sustainable, as they would like to be. This interviewee, for example, felt guilty after failing to fix his glasses, because buying a new pair would mean using material and human resources:

> *"My glasses are completely broken and I have been trying to fix them like... twenty times with different things and it is like 'this is not going to work'* [laughs] *and keep falling from my face, although I do… maybe I have to buy them* […] *It does* (makes him feel guilty)*, yeah because I just think you know, there must be a way that I can use the lenses and put them in a new glasses, but I have to… I guess looking at the whole cycle of like... ok, economic resources, human resources, go into that as well"* (int_02, male, 46)

It appears though that feeling guilty is part of the process of becoming or living sustainably, as it involves a learning process during which individuals have to make an effort to question everything before making the most sustainable decision, as the interviewee quoted below explained:

> *"… this makes you adapt and learn... makes you have a new motivation to... learn* […] *everything I buy I torture myself if I buy it from the supermarket, and I think why?"* (int_06, female, 28)

The consequences consistent patterns of behaviour have on sustainable living can be summarised into **high levels of *commitment* and *continuity***

of the behavioural expression. Participants belonging to group 1 appear to be very committed to the cause of sustainability, whether it is in relation to the environmental and/or the social aspect of it. They tend to take up as many sustainable practices as possible, considering sustainability in every decision they take in their lives. This links to the idea of *questioning everything* which is the base of living sustainably for some participants. When talking about buying food, this interviewee also mentioned that is not enough to find something sustainable; the levels of sustainability should also be assessed. This type of behaviour shows a high level of commitment with the cause of sustainable living. As they summarised:

> *"I'm trying to way up the pros and contras of... because it's a... depending of what it is about, whether it's... how many food miles are on it, whether is organic, something like that... a balance on the earth... there is also a discussion about which is more sustainable"* (int_22, male, 56)

When asked about their sustainable behaviour in the future, a great number of participants showed their will to achieve a more sustainable life, which reveals their intention to continue living (even more) sustainably:

> *"I would love to build my own house, eco-house, so... that idea behind that... it is going to be an eco-house made of wood, sustainable wood and have all the technology needed to off grade and things like that* […] *We will be doing it with about six other people that's the plan, so you have a community"* (int_01, female, 59)

Another interviewee also mentioned living in a community (understood as a small sustainable community) when asked what she would change in her life

if she had a superpower. It seems then that this way of living is the final goal in terms of sustainability for some of the interviewees, or at least their idea of the most sustainable life they could have. Specifically, they stated:

> *"I'd like to be living in a happy extended family community off grid somewhere, making things, playing, doing art, music and growing food"* (int_16, female, 59)

Consistently, when asked if he would like to be more sustainable, another interviewee explained what more he would like to do and how his behaviour has changed over the years:

> *"Build an eco-home, have a garden, where you grow your own... ... and... like sort of encourage an exchange of ideas and goods, to make this... to make an available alternative to the kind of supermarket and shopping mall experience, and all the waste and mindless consumerism that it entails […] I think as the knowledge increases, then... the... out of date comes to understanding so if we have the knowledge to actually do things to make a difference then some time we can take time to work them out […] I used to just jump on a plane when I was a teenager I just jumped on a plane, I wouldn't even think. Now I would have to very strongly think, I haven't flown for 5 years or more, I wouldn't..."* (int_11, male, 29)

According to Hillenbrand and Money (2015), individuals expressing their identity in a consistent manner and behaving accordingly, reach a 'healthy sense of self'. It could be said that in the case of sustainable living, this healthy sense of self results in authenticity. They are authentic because by living sustainably they express their 'core' self, and are able to live in

accordance with their life values. They are committed to this way of living and they believe society could move towards more pro-sustainable behaviours, because sustainability is part of who they are.

4.4.2 Inconsistent patterns

Those participants belonging to **group 2** – individuals expressing their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient and who (in some cases) are expressing their 'ought' or 'ideal' self through living sustainably (secondary salience of personal identity) – describe behaviours that are inconsistent with some aspects of their identity.

As inconsistent patterns often result in contradictory representations of the self, they can lead to negative consequences for the individual. For example, emotional labour is often required in order to maintain a certain behaviour or attitude when a person's real attitudes may be different. In terms of sustainable living, participants of this study show partial expression of identity by self-identifying as sustainable and then admit their real motivation to live sustainably is related to personal benefits such as saving money or being healthy. That is the case of two interviewees (quoted previously in this chapter) who live sustainably because they are miserly in financial terms (int_03, male, 25) or because they have financial problems (int_23, male, 56).

This partial expression of the self is also visible when this type of individuals talks about the sustainable practices they follow. For instance, one

interviewee stated that when she is not able (or probably not willing) to do something in a sustainable way "it is not the end of the world". This statement shows less concern or commitment to sustainable living in comparison with people from group 1, who would do whatever is possible to choose the sustainable alternative:

> *"I think sometimes I don't put so much pressure on myself to try and live like that. If I can't it is not the end of the world"*
> (int_18, female, 36)

Inconsistent patterns of behaviour in terms of sustainability lead to **low levels of *commitment* and lack of *continuity* in terms of how they describe their behavioural expressions in relation to sustainability.** For instance, the incongruence between the roles participants play in life, how they live and are perceived, and their real sense of self translates into individuals not getting exceptionally involved in sustainable practices and mainly doing the 'easy' things or what could be considered social norms (e.g. recycling). The following interviewee, for example, considers himself sustainable but then he admitted he is not doing enough, not because he cannot, but because he does not want to spend much time looking for sustainable alternatives:

> *"I think I could be more sustainable* […] *it's easy to shop in a non-sustainable way... and it gets harder and harder with the dominance of supermarkets to choose not to have things… in... ... plastic or whatever, and that can deal to a real problem... ... so.. I would like to be more sustainable but I think it gets more and more difficult and... I ask myself, at the moment I don't really got the time to be as sustainable as I would like to be"* (int_34, male, 57)

This lack of commitment leads to short-term expressions of sustainable behaviour. Short-term behaviours might be the cause of not completed engagements or the fact that sustainability is not as important for them as other aspects of their lives. In the case of the latter, they may stop behaving sustainably, if their preferences in life or their current situation change. Some of the participants, for instance, declared they might not be more sustainable in the future, either because they believe they cannot do more or because they think their personal situation may change and they will be worrying about other things. When asked, whether she sees herself becoming more sustainable in time this interviewee replied:

> *"... ... ... Pro... probably not, probably not more sustainable I don't think we are gonna become more sustainable* [laughs]. *I think we do quite a lot already"* (int_14, female, 23)

This answer is completely opposite to that given by individuals following consistent patterns of behaviour, who believe much more has to be done and are always pursuing an improvement in their commitment towards a sustainable life.

Consistently, another interviewee also mentioned she would not probably be more sustainable than she is now, as she is not willing to renounce certain things in her life. Therefore, a strongly sustainable lifestyle (in which she cannot fly, for instance) is not the life she would like to live. In this case, it seems that this individual is partially living sustainably because of a need to fulfil her 'ought' self and, for instance, she is engaging in sustainable actions because she thinks that this is what she should do:

> *"Probably not (would become more sustainable) so I will still fly on holiday, because I really enjoy going on holiday and I probably wouldn't sacrifice that, and cycling in the evening if it is cold I'd get in the car, I'd drive somewhere rather than cycle, even though I know it is better for the environment"* (int_18, female, 36)

Pressure from family and/or society might impede individual expression of identity in a congruent way and behave consistently. One interviewee, for instance, mentioned she started living sustainably and in accordance with her values in life after leaving her family and moving to a different place:

> *"I think different people see different parts of me, so I would say... in my particular case I'm one of those people who moved away from their family in order to become what they wanted to be, and probably the people around me now see me as I am, more than my family, who probably still see me as they used to see me […] I think they (her family) still see me as the person they saw a long time ago, so I kind of let them to it really, and I concentrate on the kind I want to be in my own world"* (int_19, female, 47)

This is a clear example of identity development and a shift from inconsistent to consistent expression of identity and behaviour. It could be said that by living sustainably this individual moved from group 2 to group 1, in order to fulfil the needs associated with her 'ideal' self, to find congruency in identity and to find happiness in life. Therefore, it appears that those who express their 'ought' or 'ideal' self by following a sustainable lifestyle could move to healthy patterns of behaviour, but only when their sustainable identities have

developed enough that sustainability is expressed at the level of the 'core' self, and consequently congruency of identity is finally expressed.

This seems to be the only way this type of individuals could become real sustainable, as inconsistent patterns of behaviour do not tend to work in the long term. However, those expressing their 'ought' self when living sustainably may find out overtime that a sustainable life is not the life they would like to live. In this case, they would need to abandon this lifestyle in order to achieve congruency in identity expression and consistency in expression of behaviour.

4.4.3 Linking groups 1 and 2 with the Four Drives

The identities of these two groups of people interact with motivational drives in different ways. By analysing the interplay between the expression of identity and the motivations individuals describe to drive their sustainable living, it could be seen that specific motivational drives work better for certain types of identities.

For instance, those expressing the **drive to learn** and the **drive to defend** in a prominent way – which could be associated more strongly with *collective reasons* to live sustainably and *intrinsic motives* – are individuals coming from **group 1**. Therefore, it is argued that individuals from group 1 are motivated to live sustainably mainly due to their desire to help the collective, either in terms of the environment, society or both. This may translate into

high levels of commitment to the cause of sustainability and to long-term behaviours.

Furthermore, the **drive to acquire** and the **drive to bond** – motivational drives which are often linked to *individual reasons* to live sustainably and *extrinsic motives* – appear to be expressed in a more apparent way by individuals categorised in **group 2**. Therefore, it appears that participants belonging to group 2 are motivated to follow a sustainable lifestyle principally because of the personal benefits this way of life offers them. This may imply short-term behaviours and low levels of commitment to the issue, what could either result into an upgrade to a more sustainable lifestyle (if their sustainable self develops from their 'ought' or 'ideal' self), or the abandonment of this lifestyle.

However, the level of expression of each of these drives does also differ across identities belonging to the same group (either groups 1 or 2). Hence, different subgroups have emerged from these two groups. This allows the presentation of a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable which consists of four groups of people and which is presented in the next section.

Table 4-2 summarises the characteristics of groups 1 and 2 in relation to the expression of identity and the motivational drives leading to sustainable living. In the next section, the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives is examined further, leading to the new typology of sustainable individuals formed by the emergence of four groups.

Table 4-2. Categorisation of sustainable individuals based on expression of identity and motivation to live sustainably

		Group 1	Group 2
Expression of identity		Expression of sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient. In some cases, salience of social identity (secondarily)	Expression of sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient. In some cases, salience of personal identity (secondarily) in relation to the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves
		Sustainable living manifested at the four layers of the self	Sustainable living manifested at the 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' selves, but not at the 'core' self
		Congruence between layers of the self	Incongruence between layers of the self
Motivational drives		Higher levels of commitment and long-term behaviours	Lower levels of commitment and short-term behaviours
		Alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour – Consistent patterns of behaviour	Misalignment between expression of identity and final behaviour – Inconsistent patterns of behaviour
		Individuals mainly fulfilling the drive to learn and the drive to defend through sustainable living	Individuals mainly fulfilling the drive to acquire and the drive to bond through sustainable living
		Motives to live sustainably associated to collective reasons and intrinsic motives	Motives to live sustainably associated to individualistic reasons and extrinsic motives

4.5 Introduction of a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable

For the purpose of this study, 35 individuals who self-identified as sustainable were interviewed. Based on the interplay between the expression of their identity and motivational drives (from what they described as sustainable behaviours on their narratives), a new typology of individuals following sustainable lifestyles is introduced. According to the results of this study,

individuals who self-identify as sustainable could be sub-categorised from groups 1 and 2 based on the different motivational drives affecting their behaviour and the level of expression of their identity. The categories proposed are outlined and explained in the sub-sections which follow.

4.5.1 Sub-categories coming from group 1

As stated in the previous section, participants belonging to group 1 are expressing their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient, and in some cases, also when social identity (secondarily) is prominent. Their 'core' self is manifested by living sustainably, as there is congruence between the layers which form their identity (and, therefore, congruence between their personal and social identities) and alignment between the expression of identity and the final expression of behaviour. In addition, they also express the drives to learn and defend in terms of sustainable living (mostly related to collective reasons and intrinsic motives) greatly. However, not all individuals part of this group should be treated the same, as their reasons to live sustainably and aspects of their identity vary. Therefore, it could be argued that two sub-groups emerge from group 1 namely the 'Holistically Sustainable' and the 'Privately Sustainable'.

'Holistically Sustainable' are those individuals who are more authentic in terms of sustainable living. They have been called 'holistically' because they behave sustainably as a whole, as sustainability is part of who they are and therefore they take sustainable issues into account in every decision they

make in their lives. They may also be fulfilling the four drives simultaneously, as the expression of the drives seems to be linked. They are fulfilling the *drive to defend*, as they are following the need of defending their values and beliefs (aligned with the values promoted by sustainability) and living in accordance to them. Through living sustainably and joining sustainable organisations they have learned more about the problem of sustainability and they have developed awareness (*drive to learn*), and have become members of the sustainable community, together with people who think alike them (*drive to bond*). All together has given them either their desired status of 'sustainable individual' or has helped them develop their 'anti-consumerist attitude', whereby they have fulfilled the *drive to acquire*. This is the case of this interviewee, who clearly related living sustainably with consuming less and changing her behaviour in order to do so and live in accordance with her values[14]:

> "(a sustainable lifestyle is) *a lifestyle which is not based in the exacerbated consumption which is promoted by the economic system. That the actions of everyday life respect the environment to the fullest within what is possible and within your own possibilities* […] *I have forbidden things in my life because of my values... the clothes since a long time ago I try to buy it second-hand, unless an exceptional case, I always go for second-hand or something recycled, recycled shoes that are not made in China* […] *of course it is a continuous, you have to think and look for the way to fit more with your values, to be more coherent"* (int_13, female, 33)

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[14] Which at the same time implies defending her values and beliefs while defending the environment and society.

The drives to defend followed by the drive to bond though seem to be dominant in this group because, as mentioned before, individuals in this group do not only care about themselves and defending their values and beliefs, but their community, the environment and future generations. This is the case of one of the respondents who related living sustainably with caring for the planet and those who live on it, while at the same time living sustainable means to him connecting with others by sharing knowledge:

> *"I think I would just define sustainable living as having a very light global footprint I think, trying to live in a way that has a lower impact on the earth resources as much as possible* […] *yes, to live in a way that has the least amount of violence on natural resources and... and human resources, like so include that in the human resources* […] *sustainable living is me passing on that information to the younger generations"*
> (int_02, male, 46)

When talking about themselves and their motivations in life, individuals of this group talked about the collective, the consequences of unsustainable practices on the environment, their local community, and society in general. When one of the participants of this group was to describe himself, he referred to his concern over the environment and society. He stated how sustainability is part of his identity which showed how intrinsic motives and collective reasons linked to the drive to defend (caring for the environment and for people), are expressed by this individual through sustainable living.

Specifically, he stated:

> *"(I am) community facilitator… ... I like nature and to be free*
> *from pollution, so... ... world citizen* […] *you know caring for*
> *the planet and the people"* (int_11, male, 29)

A description of a participant belonging to this group is presented below, with the aim of making this argument more concrete.

Interviewee number 21 is 56 years old and is a person who has lived in a boat for nine years and who has not flown for about 20 years. Really aware and diligent, he appears to be an introvert, a really sensible and spiritual human being, who feels so affected by whatever problems surround him or the people around him. It seems that this way of being causes him sometimes to suffer a state of apathy towards those who do not care enough about others. He speaks in a lovely way about his partner, as he is so grateful to have met her. Therefore, love seems to be an important part of his life, both love for human beings and for nature. He is a clear example of a young and successful person (he started living sustainably in his 20s) with a well-paid job who decided to move his life away from materialism in order to live in accordance with his principles.

He expresses his sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient, while at the same time he expresses his sustainable self in congruency. Sustainability is manifested at the 'core' self, as he believes in equality of anything existing in earth and he is a very spiritual human being. It is also expressed at the 'learned' self, as he plays the activist role by being and having been involved in a lot of sustainable projects around Reading, as he

explained. This fact relates to the activation of his social identity (in a secondary way) when expressing sustainable behaviour, which coherently complements the salience of his personal identity. As the aforementioned interviewee explained:

> *"I want a proactive life, and I love this* (pointing a picture showing a protest)*, this is somebody using their brain to try and get across a point and obviously there is a social situation here, I don't know what it is, it may be a campaign but... this is using creativity and not being afraid to stand up and make it. And I have done all these things, so I have confronted people and being prepared for the arresting and that kind of thing"* (int_21, male, 56)

This participant also lives a very sustainable life – as mentioned earlier he has lived in a boat for 9 years and he has not flown for about 20 years in order to reduce his carbon footprint – with the aim of being in accordance with his principles ('lived' self). Additionally, he thinks he may be seen as sustainable because all of the above, even though he would like to be influenced by people he knows who are more sustainable than him ('perceived' self). The results suggest that personal identity is salient and primary in the case of this interviewee and this group, since individuals belonging to this category are highly influenced by the values attached to sustainability at the level of the 'core' self. Even though they also care about their membership to a sustainable group and how they are perceived within that group, this activation of their social identity could be seen as secondary, since the main trigger associated with the activation of their sustainable self

is related to what their personal characteristics as individuals are and with what they value in life, all part of their 'core' self.

In terms of motivations to live sustainably, he expresses the *drive to acquire* (in a negative way), as he has an anti-consumerist attitude. In fact, he ran away from a materialistic life when he was 20, as he realised that was not the life he wanted to live. He considers himself a social animal, as he believes in interacting with others in order to build a better society. Therefore, the *drive to bond* seems to be also expressed, as by joining organisations in order to combine strengths and fight for a better world, this individual is also bonding. Nonetheless, the *drive to learn* is motivating this participant in a great way, as his transition towards a sustainable lifestyle was influenced by the organisations he joined at the time (e.g. Greenpeace, Oxfam) and by what he learned from them. The *drive to defend* is also expressed by this individual, as he believes in being in harmony with nature and other human beings and fights as much as he can to achieve this goal. When asked about the motivations to start living sustainably this interviewee replied:

> *"I think it was a degree of shock, I think I was shocked into realising that... this lifestyle, the tendency of the industrialised lifestyle* […] *so I thought 'what am I doing?' I have the signs, I have this brain, and what am I doing with it? so then I took a direction change and did loss of spur at the moment, things at the time, like trying to raise loads of money for the local Oxfam shop, got involved in some Greenpeace campaigns and... we got a bit angry as well, lot of anger came out and... but also a lot of realisation that if I wanted to I could feed my*

> *mind with some truths about the world I was living in, society*
> *I'm living in"* (int_21, male, 56)

In summary, this individual is a great example of a person who is 'Holistically Sustainable'. He expresses his sustainable self primarily when his personal identity is salient, as sustainability is manifested at the level of the 'core' self, being his personal values in accordance with those of sustainability. Also, he expresses sustainability when social identity is salient (in a secondary way) as he has learned from others and shared knowledge through joining organisations and bonding.

Overall, he expresses his identity in congruence, as issues related to sustainability are manifested at the four layers of the self, demonstrating also congruency between personal ('core' and 'learned' selves) and social ('lived' and 'perceived' selves) identities. In addition, he seems to be fulfilling the Four Drives, as he possesses an anti-consumerism attitude (D1), he fights towards a better world by joining others who think alike (D2), he becomes aware by learning from others and sharing experiences (D3) and he lives sustainably in order to live in accordance with his values and beliefs, while at the same time with the intention to defend nature (D4); motivations mainly driven by collective reasons and intrinsic motives to live sustainably.

The analysis of the participants' narratives reveals two sub-groups emerging from the 'Holistically Sustainable'. The first one relates to individuals really involved in direct action and *activism*, who are ready to fight for sustainability and for what they believe in. The second group would include individuals who, although being active members of sustainable groups, are very *spiritual*

in character and believe harmony in nature could be achieved through peaceful processes.

The *'Privately Sustainable'* have been termed this way because this kind of people know the problems related to sustainability, have the will to find real solutions for them, but they are not necessarily pursuing group acceptance or identification when living sustainably, and in fact they behave sustainably in a more individualistic manner. Their career paths tend to be related to environmental, social or economic sustainability, as their work and logical thinking lead to constructive, measurable and substantial results.

In this case, the four drives do not seem to be fulfilled, as the drive to bond is not highly expressed in this group – they do not aspire to build friendships with sustainable people or identify themselves with a sustainable group. The drives to defend and learn (and teach) are expressed in a greater way in this case, as individuals are really concerned about defending the environment and society and learn as well as teach others about the issue – in most cases their career paths are linked to sustainable development or social work (working in Universities or the public sector).

When asked about his understanding of sustainable living one of the interviewees replied:

> *"I am an environmental fundamentalist basically, it's just sort of the environment comes first, without protecting the environment we won't be able to have social justice, we won't be able to have some form of economy… so... it's basically* (sustainable living)*... minimising your impacts on the*

> *environment to a practicable degree considering the society*
> *that we are living in"* (int_30, male, 46)

Similarly, when this other interviewee was asked about her motivations to live sustainably she explained:

> *"Seeing the damage, what is done to the environment, and...*
> *perhaps the view of humans as being a bit like low cost, so*
> *you just descend on resources and use them all up on the*
> *expense of other species.* […] *Feeling perhaps that we've*
> *gone too far, in terms of… making, consuming, having, and*
> *we could actually go back to something little less individual*
> *focused. Feeling yes, that the sense of community needs to*
> *grow again, and move away from the individual, and the*
> *factorised stuff from the 80's. Erm... ... and I think caring and*
> *valuing my environment"* (int_19, female, 47)

It could be argued that this type of individuals follows a sustainable life in a more individualistic way. They are really concerned about the problem of sustainability and they are dedicated to help the environment or society, but even though they may join sustainable organisations, they do not seem to look for approval or identification (again, they do not seem to highly express the drive to bond in terms of living sustainably).

As an example, the case of interviewee number 35, a 25 year-old PhD student researching about sustainability. She seems to be very aware of climate change and demonstrates that, not only with her research but in her personal life, by supporting campaigns, groups and going to marches when possible. She talks passionately about the topic and seems to be a bit angry with that big part of the world that is not caring as much as she does. She

does not seem to worry much about group membership, but about big changes works like the one she is doing could make in the environment and society.

She expresses her sustainable self when personal identity is salient. In her case, there is also congruence in the expression of her identity in relation to the sustainable self, as her core values relate to sustainability and social justice – sustainability manifested at the 'core' self. In addition, she plays the role of caring – for others and the environment – ('learned' self); she follows a lifestyle which implies always thinking about the impact her actions have both on the environment and society ('lived' self); lastly, she thinks she may be seen as sustainable because of her actions and her career path ('perceived' self). It is important to note that the social identity of this interviewee – and of individuals belonging to this group – does not seem to be clearly activated when expressing their sustainable self, although it could be argued that sometimes it gets triggered by the characteristics of these individuals' sense of 'ought' self. The analysis of their narratives suggests that the social identity of some of them gets activated when they feel they should be or behave more sustainably, mainly because of the focus of their career. For instance, the lady of the example (researching about sustainability) might have the impression that society expects her to be sustainable, as "leading with example" could be considered a social norm.

Referring again to the example, when looking at the motivations which drive her behaviour, fist it could be seen that the *drive to acquire* is not really expressed in terms of sustainability, as she does not have a really anti-

consumerist attitude and she is not looking to achieve a status by living this way. In addition, the *drive to bond* is not highly expressed, because she cares a lot about relationships and about what happens to others, but she is not necessarily living sustainably in order to bond with others or self-identify with a specific social group. However, she is prominently expressing the *drive to learn*, as the awareness about the issue of sustainability is what motivates her to follow this lifestyle (see quote below). In the same way, she is highly expressing the *drive to defend*, as defending the environment and society are related to her way of seeing life:

> *"In everything that you do in your life, you think about what the impact of that is, what the environmental and what the social impact of those activities is, and that's from... you know that's from you eating, that's from you living in a house, but that's also from you making certain choices and how they affect other people in you know, in your neighbourhood, in the UK, in your country, but also maybe in the other side of the world. So really thinking about what is the impact of that and... is that impact ok? is that a positive, is it a negative impact? especially if it's a negative impact, can it be... is it being managed? and can it be managed? can you avoid it? how can you minimise it?"* (int_35, female, 25)

This interviewee is a clear example of those belonging to the 'Privately Sustainable'. She expresses her sustainable self primarily when her personal identity is activated and she manifests aspects of sustainability at the four layers of the self (therefore, identity is expressed in congruency). However, in some settings her social identity might be also activated (in a secondary way) because of the way she thinks she should behave (which relates to her

sense of 'ought' self). She does not seem to be expressing much the drives to acquire and bond through sustainable living, as her main motivations to live sustainably are driven by the need of being aware and teach others about the problems of sustainability (D3) and by defending her values and defending those who are suffering – i.e. the environment and society – (D4). Again, collective reasons and intrinsic motives seem to be driven the sustainable behaviour

Overall, it appears to be that two different sub-groups could emerge from the Privately Sustainable. Firstly, there are some individuals more focused on *finding big and valuable answers for the problem* of sustainability and through the drive to learn are willing to get knowledgeable and offer relevant solutions. Secondly, others may be more driven by the desire to learn as much as possible and *transfer that knowledge* to others, either by teaching modules related to sustainability or by carrying out social work.

It is important to note that in some occasions the 'Privately Sustainable' may be unpacking their sense of 'ought' selves, what to persistently occur could lead to incongruence on identity expression, due to incongruence between their 'core' and 'ought' selves. In any case, they might feel the need of expressing their 'ought' self, what is systematically related to the activation of their social identity (secondarily).

In summary, individuals belonging to the two sub-categories coming from group 1 ('Holistically Sustainable' and 'Privately Sustainable') are expressing their sustainable identities in similar ways and are both motivated to live sustainably by intrinsic and collective motives.

However, the 'Holistically Sustainable' are more social in character and are highly motivated by the drive to defend, while the 'Privately Sustainable' are more individualistic in terms of performing the behaviour and through sustainable living are mainly fulfilling the drive to learn.

4.5.2 Sub-categories coming from group 2

As explained throughout this chapter, individuals belonging to group 2 express their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient, although some members of this group activate their personal identity in a secondary way. There is not congruence in the expression of their identity as the sustainable role they play in life ('learned' self), the sustainable lifestyle they follow ('lived' self) and how they are perceived by others ('perceived' self) are not congruent with their real sense of self (sustainability is not manifested at the 'core' self). This often translates into misalignment between the expression of identity and the final expression of behaviour, which, as a consequence, could result in psychological costs (i.e. emotional labour and stress).

It has been argued that the principal reasons driven this type of individuals to live sustainably seem to be closely linked with personal benefits for the person (individualistic and extrinsic motives), and in particular, these motives are mainly expressed through the drives to acquire and bond. Depending on which drive is affecting in a greater way the expression of identity and the

behaviour of participants who are part of this group, two sub-categories have been established: the 'Publicly Sustainable' and the 'Accidentally Sustainable'. Individuals who could be considered **'Publicly Sustainable'** are those who seem to live sustainably in a partial way and mainly when their behaviour is public, as they are not committed to this lifestyle as much as they could. The reasons why relate to lack of sustainability manifestations at the level of the 'core' self and lack of commitment or awareness with the cause. They seem to be expressing the drives to bond and acquire in a greater way, as they get involved into sustainable practices with the aim of identifying themselves with a specific social group – and being accepted by it – and acquire the status of 'sustainable' or 'green' within their community. Some of them do also wish to get involved with the 'sustainable community' existing in Reading, which contributes to fill their sense of belonging (*drive to bond*) while helps them acquire their desired sustainable status (*drive to acquire*). That is the case of this interviewee, who after leaving his job in IT devotes his time to himself, his partner and local organisations. When asked about his daily routine he answered:

> *"If it is a Thursday I will be volunteering at* (name of sustainable organisation)*, at the office there, if Friday I would be volunteering at the shop, if it is a Tuesday then I'm at* (name of charity) *and if it is Wednesday then I go to the allotments. Saturday I go to the allotments and then* (name of sustainable organisation)*"* (int_31, male, 47)

The drive to bond seems to be also expressed in terms of family bonding as those who have children tend to talk about them when explaining reasons to

live sustainably (instead of taking about future generations in general). When asked about the moment she started living sustainably one of the interviewees replied:

> *"I think it was probably... ... ... it started when I was pregnant with my son..* […] *I suppose* (the motive was) *his well-being and his future* […] *a private midwife whom suggested that I went to see a homeopaths so I wanted to... alternative medicine I suppose you call it. And I suppose that is when it started"* (int_10, female, 60)

Furthermore, personal rewards are not only related to bonding and status, but to personal satisfaction (people who have a 'Do It Yourself' attitude and like to have an alternative lifestyle) and well-being, in terms of keeping healthy and saving money. One of the interviewees, for instance, enjoys building and fixing as many things as possible, while at the same time he would like to grow his own food. However, he does not necessarily behave this way because of sustainability, but because of his desire of living isolated from society and being able to be self-sufficient:

> *"I guess what drives me* (to live sustainably) *is more or less getting as far away from other people as possible, if that's possible* [laughs] *and I can go and live literally in the wildness by myself, or with one or two other people, and probably a Collie or some dog"* (int_15, male, 28)

Consistently, when asked about her understanding of living sustainably one of the interviewees also mentioned personal benefits:

> *"So... living in a way that doesn't have a huge impact on the environment, but it is also socially better for you and for your community and economically as well I think"* (int_18, female, 36)

Accordingly, when she was asked about the ways to achieve this lifestyle and the motives driven her to follow it, she first mentioned individual rewards. In this case, it seems she is caring about her wellbeing, both in terms of health and saving money:

> *"So through you know cycling to work for example, you are saving money, you are getting exercise and you are also helping the environment and... erm… eating healthy, because it is better for you but also for the environment and if you could cook of more your own things generally can be cheaper so..."* (int_18, female, 36)

The results of this study reveal that some members of this group are primarily making their social identity salient, but they are activating their personal identity in a secondary way (in relation to the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves). Then, three sub-groups would emerge from the 'Publicly Sustainable': one formed by individuals who are only activating their social identity and thinking about *measurable rewards* (i.e. save money, build friendships); another group whose members are expressing both their social and personal identity (in a secondary way) and who are working towards achieving their sense of 'ideal self', in which case they may be *developing their sustainable self*.

The third group relates to individuals who are also activating social and personal identity. In this case, the salience of personal identity relates to the individuals' sense of 'ought' self, which seems to be related to personal

benefits (i.e. *health and saving money, identifying with a social group*). Although, they are not expressing their concern for sustainability at the 'core' self yet and their main reason (at the moment of the interview) to live and behave sustainably is still related to individual benefits.

They are ambivalent because they are still developing their sustainable self and therefore sometimes their personal interests overcome the good of the collective. Nevertheless, most of them express their concern about the planet and mention the beneficial impact their behaviour has on the environment and society. Some have made big changes in their lives in order to become more sustainable (see quote below), like changing career path for instance – from big corporations or corporate jobs to work in charities or developing sustainable businesses:

> *"I worked doing the marketing for a private equity company in Reading, so doing their marketing... very small company, and it was like a family, but it was you know essentially making... men richer* [laughs]*, men being the operative word, so I decided that I would leave, we wanted to go travelling and… come back and trying to do something more worthy"* (int_25, female, 41)

Furthermore, other members of this group activate their personal identity in order to fulfil the necessities attached to their 'ought' self. In this case, the personal identity of these individuals becomes salient (in a secondary way) when expressing sustainable behaviour as a result of the ways they think or society thinks they should behave, or because of current trends in their social group or community. For instance, some participants of this study follow a

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sustainable lifestyle believing that this is the life they want to live or others want them to live.

Following, a description of an individual belonging to this group is illustrated. Interviewee 26 is a very smiley young lady (32 years old) who seems to be very happy, mainly because she has her own business and she is expecting a baby. Really easy going, was not afraid to explain her personal life, admitting sustainability is very important for her as she owns a sustainable business. However, she would not stop doing things she likes because of being sustainable.

She expresses her sustainable self primarily when her social identity is salient, although sometimes her personal identity is also activated when expressing her sustainable self, as it is expected of her by the fact she owns a sustainable business. The case of this interviewee clearly shows an activation of the personal identity (in a secondary way) in relation to the expectations associated with her 'ought' self. Furthermore, there is no congruence between the layers which form her sustainable self, as even though she plays a sustainable role within her social group and community ('learned' self); she follows a fairly sustainable lifestyle – mainly for her own benefit, in terms of health and saving money – ('lived' self); and she thinks people see her as sustainable ('perceived' self), sustainability is not manifested at the 'core' self.

The *drive to acquire* plays an important role in this case, in the sense of acquiring financial security, as she likes to save money by living sustainably.

Further status also plays a role, as even though she declared not to be concerned about being seen as sustainable, the fact that she owns a sustainable business probably makes her be perceived as sustainable among her community.

Although when asked about the reasons to start this business she admitted sustainability was not the motive:

> *"Erm... because it's the way commercially, with my commercial head on, it's the way the world... the fashion world is gonna go... ... high streets... will always be there, but people are becoming more conscious and more aware of the impact of fashion. So actually if I'm really honest I saw a commercial opportunity"* (int_26, female, 32)

The *drive to bond* is expressed in terms of the relationships she likes to build through her business, that again benefit her more than benefit the environment or society. The *drive to learn* does not seem to be fulfilled, although she declares she is becoming more sustainable through awareness. Furthermore, the *drive to defend* seems to be only expressed in terms of defending her health, because even though she declares she has always lived a sustainable life, what she learnt from her family was to waste less. In her words, by not wasting she is able to save money and be more creative and healthy when cooking (the environment would come next). When asked about the five benefits of following a sustainable lifestyle she responded:

> *"Erm... save money... I feel quite empowered I suppose, I keep fit… the walking side... ... you get quite creative! having to make a meal out of nothing* [smiles] […] *that is so satisfying* [smiles] *it is so… and it's quite creative, it's quite fun. And then probably... … probably just knowing that... that I can't do loads, I am just doing what I can, I suppose"*
> (int_26, female, 32)

In conclusion, this member of the 'Publicly Sustainable' expresses her sustainable self primarily when her social identity is salient and in incongruence, as sustainability is not manifested at the level of the 'core' self. However, she sometimes expresses her identity in relation to the sustainable self also when personal identity is salient (in a secondary way), as she thinks this is the way she should behave or others expect her to behave (which is related to her sense of 'ought' self). Overall, she expresses her identity in incongruence, what in the long term could have psychological costs (i.e. emotional labour or stress). In addition, she does not fulfil the Four Drives by living sustainably, as she lives sustainably mainly because of saving money and acquiring a sustainable status (D1) and building friendships around the sustainable community (D2). She also expresses the drive to defend, as she cares about her health and the health of her family. Overall, her motivations to live sustainably are linked to individualistic reasons and extrinsic motives.

In summary, it can be said that within this group, three different subgroups emerge, two of which in relation to the salience of personal identity (in a secondary way). Some of the 'Publicly Sustainable' live sustainably with the aim of achieving *measurable rewards* (i.e. save money, build friendships) and would swap to a different lifestyle if it was convenient. Others, however,

secondarily activate their personal identity in order to follow trends or live like others want them to live (aspects associated to their 'ought' self). In this case, they follow a sustainable lifestyle mainly because they want to be *healthy or save money* (and they achieve this through diet and transport) and/or because following this lifestyle allows them to *identify with a specific social group,* and therefore fulfil their needs to bond and belong.

In other cases, they activate their personal identity because they are experiencing a process of *sustainable self development.* Their 'ideal' self would be somehow close to those considered 'Holistically Sustainable', and they are building awareness and commitment through learning processes and social interactions in order to achieve their goal. However, in the case of the two last groups their social identity is primarily salient when expressing their sustainable self. In order to reach congruence on identity expression and avoid the psychological costs associated with incongruence, they should either favour the development of their sustainable self through knowledge and awareness (in which case their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves would become their 'core' selves) or abandon this lifestyle and engage in a way of living which aligns better with their core values and personal characteristics.

The **'Accidentally Sustainable',** however, may be living sustainably by force, because they may not have the necessary resources to live in a different way or because they did not at some point in their lives and as a consequence live this way by habit. They are sustainable 'by default', as one of the interviewees mentioned. They would swap to a different lifestyle (less sustainable) if it was more appropriate for them or if they have more money.

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Hence, the drive to acquire a financial stability is being expressed by this type of individuals in a great way. Sustainability is not part of their 'core' or even 'ideal'/'ought' identity, but something 'they do' temporarily or by habit. Therefore, the main difference with the other three groups is that they live (or started living) sustainably because of reasons not linked with the issue of sustainability. When asked about the moment and motive he started living sustainably one of the interviewees replied:

> *"I'm not sure there was really... I mean I've never… my parents never had more than... I mean they were perfectly ok and they were perfectly happy with all they had, but they never had more than enough... so people I went to school with were largely better off* (rich) *than I was, so I've to learn fairly early on not to spend… be careful with money, so that became a habit if you like, which… you get to appreciate after a while… something you have to live with* [laughs] *so... it's normal"* (int_20, male, 68)

Even though these individuals are following a sustainable life due to life circumstances or habits, they self-identify as sustainable and therefore they may also express the *drive to acquire* in terms of obtaining the sustainable status. Individuals categorised in this group do tend to sometimes join sustainable organisations across Reading in order to make their sustainable behaviour visible and because living this way has somehow made them aware of the problems of sustainability. However, it appears that they have become members of these groups mainly because of their need to socialise or fill up their free time (e.g. while being unemployed), which shows how

participants belonging to this group are also expressing the *drive to bond* by living sustainably.

As an example of a member of this category it is the case of interviewee 23, a very sociable and outgoing 56-year-old individual who emphasises the fact that he lives this way because of monetary reasons. However, he has been part of most of Reading's sustainable groups or charities, mainly because he was unemployed, he said. He sees life very negatively in some aspects, but he has hope about the future.

He expresses his sustainable self only when his social identity is salient, as, although he behaves sustainably in private, his personal identity does not become activated – he follows this lifestyle because he has to. He plays the role of 'austere' ('learned' self) but not due to an anti-consumerist and/or no waste attitude, but because he was out of work for a long period of time and he learnt how to live with almost nothing. Hence, he lives sustainably because of his economic situation more than because of his awareness of the issue ('lived' self). Also, he believes he is perceived as sustainable, because of his lifestyle – even though he is forced by the circumstances to follow this. His involvement in a number of different sustainable organisations around Reading ('perceived' self) also evidences that. Nonetheless, sustainability is not manifested at the 'core' self and there is therefore no congruence in the expression of his identity in relation to the sustainable self.

In terms of motivations to live sustainably, it seems the *drive to acquire* is highly expressed by this individual, who follows this lifestyle in order to

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acquire a financial security. He explained during the interview he walks everywhere, does not turn the heating on and eats mainly vegetarian food because those actions help him save a lot of money:

> *"I think at the moment for some years I have a minimal carbon footprint but… it is not because I'm a novel person* […] *it would be really difficult to mistake me for anything else* (when asked if he thinks he is seen as sustainable)*, as I said it has happened more by accident than desire. If I had a good job with a good salary... I suspect things would be a bit different, I'm afraid to say* […] *I'm sustainable mainly by default, not entirely obviously, but I am mainly sustainable by default"* (int_23, male, 56)

The *drive to bond* seems to be also highly influencing this participant, because even though he declares to have a civic commitment, he first joined sustainable organisations due to the amount of free time he had at the time. By becoming a member of these groups, he has been able to socialise and make friends, and in fact most of his friends now follow sustainable lifestyles (he might have met them through these organisations). When asked about sustainable organisations he is involved with he replied:

> *"All the ones in Reading I'm involved with, I mean again it is partly because when I wasn't working I had the time, but I don't anymore"* (int_23, male, 56)

The *drive to learn* does not seem to be expressed in terms of sustainability in this case, although his transition to a more austere and sustainable lifestyle may have involved some kind of learning process. The *drive to defend* is

somehow expressed by this individual – but not in a prominent way – if taking into account his intention to defend his well-being.

In summary, this individual is a perfect example of a person living sustainably 'by default' and who, therefore, could be categorised as 'Accidentally Sustainable'. He expresses his sustainable self only when his social identity is salient and is not expressing sustainability at the level of the 'core' self. Therefore, he is not expressing his sustainable self in congruence, which in the long term could lead to psychological costs (i.e. emotional labour or stress). Furthermore, he lives sustainably mainly motivated by the need to acquire financial security or stability (D1) and because of his intention to bond with others (D2); reasons linked to individual rewards and are therefore motivated by extrinsic motives.

From the participants' narratives it seems to sub-groups could emerge from the 'Accidentally Sustainable'. The first group would relate to individuals *suffering of financial problems* who live this way because there is not another option for them, and who would easily swap to a different lifestyle if possible. The second group, however, would be formed by people who have suffered – or whose family suffered – financial problems in the past and who now live an austere life by *habit*.

The presentation of these four categories reveals how individuals who self-identity as sustainable seem to be differently motivated to live sustainably depending on the salience and the congruence when expressing their sustainable identities, which answers the main research question established in this thesis (RQ3).

Overall, participants belonging to the 'Publicly Sustainable' and 'Accidentally Sustainable' are expressing their sustainable self in similar ways, although some members of the former seem to have a sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' self in relation to sustainable living. These two groups are motivated to live sustainably mainly due to extrinsic and individualistic motives. However, the 'Publicly Sustainable' tend to highly satisfy the drive to bond through their sustainable behaviour, while the 'Accidentally Sustainable' are mainly motivated to live sustainably by the drive to acquire. In the next sub-sections, additional differences between the four groups are presented, as well as a visual summary of the typology.

4.5.3 Types of sustainable practices followed

In terms of the sustainable practices carried out by the participants of this study, some differences have been found between groups in terms of 1) individual vs. collective reasons behind the behaviour and 2) behavioural expression of the action (private vs. public). At different points during the conversation participants referred to the expression of their sustainable behaviour, but in particular, one question asked the interviewees to choose three images (from a total of ten) which for them best represented living sustainably (see Appendix 1). These ten pictures included activities that are carried out both at home (privately) and in public, and interviewees were asked to explain their decision with the aim of relating their choice with particular types of behaviours. In the case of individuals belonging to group 1

– including both 'Holistically Sustainable' and 'Privately Sustainable' – it comes as no surprise that they choose actions whose consequences directly benefit the collective.

For those who could be considered 'Holistically Sustainable', the selection of pictures combines actions both happening at home and when out, what could be explained by the high level of commitment of this type of individuals with the cause of sustainability. Also, it seems to be related to the expression of their sustainable self through sustainable living, what implies taking sustainability into account in every aspect of their lives. When asked about the reasons for choosing those specific pictures they mentioned the benefits those actions have on the collective, and in particular to the environment and society. For instance, one of the interviewees belonging to this group chose buying from a local market, having solar panels at home and cycling as the three activities which for her are most sustainable (between the ten proposed). When asked about the motivation to choose them and carry them out, she mentioned the benefit for the planet, but also the importance of collective action. She explained:

> *"Yeah, save the planet I think... I mean it's energy and it's food, two of the main corporates with current methods* […] *they are all things that can be done locally and... local action can make a big difference globally"* (int_16, female, 59)

In terms of motivational drives, it could be argued that the sustainable practices followed by this individual are related to the drive to acquire in terms of an anti-consumerist attitude (she referred to corporations), the drive to bond (as she talked about social action) and drive to defend (the planet).

Again, this type of individual is fulfilling the four motivational drives also in terms of the specific sustainable practices they follow, as she also mentioned in the interview her level of involvement with sustainable causes, which has helped her getting well informed (drive to learn).

The 'Privately Sustainable' tend to mainly perform actions they carry out at home or 'solo' and therefore they do not necessarily exhibit visible behaviour (although such behaviour could be seen by family/flatmates). This aspect once again proves the primary salience of personal identity when expressing their sustainable self and the idea that they behave sustainably in an individualistic manner which also corroborates the fact that they live sustainably because they believe in it (intrinsic motives). They desire to live in accordance with their values, but they are not pursuing social acceptance – neither by behaving sustainably when in public or by joining sustainable organisations.

This interviewee, for instance, explained the importance his chosen activities (cycling, using public transport and installing solar panels) have in terms of energy use:

> *"What I am thinking of is the things that would have the biggest impact... so and I think the cycling has really the biggest impact, because you have less cars, so that means the huge amounts of resources needed to make a car have gone. Making a bicycle is nothing compared with making a car... ... but then you are not burning the fossil fuels, so you are not creating CO2. But also, as well as the global issue of... carbon dioxide, there is also the local issue of the*

> *particular matter and the… carbon monoxide and other sort*
> *of air quality issues"* (int_29, male, 41)

As stated before in this chapter, the 'Privately Sustainable' seem to be expressing in a greater manner the drives to defend and learn, which is clearly observable also in terms of specific types of expression of behaviour. The interviewee quoted above showed his concern about the problems today's society is causing on the environment (drive to defend), while at the same time he demonstrated his knowledge about the issue (drive to learn).

In addition, participants belonging to group 2 – 'Publicly Sustainable' and 'Accidentally Sustainable' – do normally perform sustainable activities which result in a personal benefit for them. The 'Publicly Sustainable', for instance, have a tendency to select activities which are performed in public and therefore in presence of others. This is the case of the interviewee quoted below, who chose buying food from local markets, buying second-hand goods in street markets and cycling as the three activities which best represent for her what living sustainably means. When asked about the reasons for choosing those images she said that those were the ones who best reflect who she is, even though she thinks she should be doing more of the others (e.g. saving energy at home or using public transport), which would be related to her sense of 'ought' self and would activate the salience of her personal identity. In terms of motivations to carry out those activities, it could be understood from her answer that the personal benefit often comes first, while sustainability only comes as a consequence:

> *"Second-hand shopping is something that I enjoy doing, I'm not very good at shopping anyway, so... it is sustainable but it wouldn't be a conscious sustainable decision, it would be actually... that is something I like on a Saturday, I would happily walk down to the charity shop or go to the market* […] *healthy eating would probably be different, yes that is more... I feel more strongly about that, but that is more about health and then sustainability"* (int_18, female, 36)

By visiting markets, which could be included in the sphere of sustainable consumption, she expresses the drive to acquire (as attending those markets could entail being sustainable, which favours her status) as well as the drive to bond, as she is able to connect with like-minded people. Drive to defend (her health) is also expressed in this case, as the first reason for her consumption of local food and for cycling is related to health issues.

As stated before in this chapter, the 'Accidentally Sustainable' live sustainably mainly because of current financial problems or because they learnt to live this way by habit due to the financial situation of their parents. Accordingly, they mostly carry out sustainable activities which could help them saving money and which are, again, mainly performed at home or in an individual way. For example, one of the interviewees who could be categorised within this group chose recycling, using public transport and the picture showing a street protest as the actions, which for him best represent sustainable living. When asked about the reasons behind his choice he explained that he recycled because his partner also does it. In terms of the reasons driving him to use public transport and to get involved in activism he replied:

> *"I use public transport because I don't have a choice and this (activism) is the only one I probably do for unselfish reasons, I do that because I think it is just a good thing to do […] I do it because it is easy and it makes... I think it makes difference"*
> (int_03, male, 25)

Consistently, another interviewee also talked about the personal benefits of the three sustainable practices chosen (solar panels – even though he does not have them at home –, local food market and second-hand street market). When asked about differences between these activities he said:

> *"… in the case of solar you are kind of saving money, so it is giving a bit more spending power… here* (food market) *you have the potential of cook nice food and here* (second-hand) *you have the potential to get interesting clothes"* (int_23, male, 56)

Overall, it is clear that participants belonging to group 1 – 'Holistically Sustainable' and 'Privately Sustainable' – are often pursuing the good of the collective when expressing specific sustainable behaviours (as it happens in general terms) and are motivated by intrinsic motives. 'Holistically Sustainable' tend to carry out a great mix of sustainable actions, combining those which involve others as well as activities taking place at home. However, the 'Privately Sustainable' are more likely to focus on practices which can be performed individually and with no interaction with others (e.g. saving energy at home or cycling). Furthermore, individuals who are members of group 2 – 'Publicly Sustainable' and 'Accidentally Sustainable' – are again mainly driven by individual reasons (and extrinsic motives) when behaving sustainably at levels that are more specific. The 'Publicly

Sustainable' would often tend to publicly display their sustainable behaviour by attending markets where they can socialise and be seen, while the 'Accidentally Sustainable' would carry out activities which could help them saving money.

By looking at the specific sustainable practices they follow, it could be seen that participants belonging to the 'Holistically Sustainable' and 'Publicly Sustainable' tend to behave sustainably when in public, as they are highly influenced by the drive to bond. Meanwhile, 'Privately Sustainable' and 'Accidentally Sustainable' usually behave sustainably when in private, as in the case of the former social acceptance is not important; while in the case of the latter the sustainable activities they perform are related to saving money and therefore are carried out at home or when solo.

4.5.4 Summary

After an exhaustive analysis and explanation of the typology presented, below (Table 4-3), a summary of the specific characteristics related to each of the four groups.

Table 4-3. New typology of sustainable individuals based on the interplay between the expression of identity and the motivational drives driving them to live sustainably

		Holistically Sustainable	Privately Sustainable	Publicly Sustainable	Accidentally Sustainable
Expression of identity	Identity salience	Expression of sustainable self when personal (primarily) and social (secondarily) identities are salient	Expression of sustainable self when personal identity is salient. Activation of social identity (secondarily) in relation to 'ought' self	Expression of sustainable self when social (primarily) and personal (secondarily) identities are salient, in relation to 'ideal' or 'ought' selves	Expression of sustainable self when social identity is salient
	Identity congruence	Sustainable living manifested at the four layers of the self		Sustainable living manifested at the 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' selves, but not at the 'core' self	
		Congruence between layers of the self		Incongruence between layers of the self	
	Alignment	Alignment between expression of identity and final expression of sustainable behaviour – Consistent patterns of behaviour		Misalignment between expression of identity and final expression of sustainable behaviour – Inconsistent patterns of behaviour	
Motivational drives	Four Drives	Somehow fulfilling the 4D, drives to defend and bond are dominant (being 'defend' the main motivation)	Drives to learn and defend dominant (being 'learn' the main motivation)	Drives to bond and to acquire dominant (being 'bond' the main motivation)	Drive to acquire dominant (being 'acquire' the main motivation)
		• Acquire a sustainable status and/or anti-consumption status/attitude • Bond with like-minded	• Learn as much as possible (experienced knowledge) and teach others • Defend values and	• Acquire a status as the sustainable or green • Bond with others and self-identify with a group	• Acquire a financial stability • Bond with others

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		people • Learn by sharing knowledge • Defend values and beliefs • Defend the environment and society	beliefs • Defend the environment and society		
	Motives	Motivated to live sustainably mainly by collective reasons and intrinsic motives		Motivated to live sustainably mainly by individual reasons and extrinsic motives	
Sustainable practices	Exposure of behaviour	Expression of sustainable behaviour both in private and public	Expression of sustainable behaviour mainly in private	Expression of sustainable behaviour mainly in public	Expression of sustainable behaviour mainly in private (although expressing sustainable self when social identity is salient)
	Actions followed	Into social action, taking sustainability into account in every aspect of their lives	Looking for big solutions for the problem of sustainability	Pursuing group membership and identification, in some cases working towards 'ideal' self	Sustainable by default
	Membership to sustainable organisations	Active members of sustainable organisations	Non-active members of sustainable organisations	Active members of sustainable organisations	Temporary active members of sustainable organisations

Primary salience of personal identity

Congruence between layers of the self

Alignment between expression of identity and expression of behaviour

Collective and intrinsic motives

Primary salience of social identity

Incongruence between layers of the self

Misalignment between expression of identity and expression of behaviour

Individual and extrinsic motives

Holistically Sustainable

A B **D** L

Defend values and beliefs / **Defend** the environment and Society
Bond with like-minded people
Acquire a sustainable status and/or anti-consumption status/attitude
Learn by sharing knowledge

Privately Sustainable

A B D **L**

Learn as much as possible (experienced knowledge) and teach others
Defend values and beliefs/
Defend the environment and

Publicly Sustainable

A **B** D L

Bond with others and self-identify with a group
Acquire a status as the sustainable or green

Accidentally Sustainable

A B D L

Acquire a financial stability
Bond with others

Behaviour typically publicly visible

Behaviour often more privately displayed

Figure 4-7. Representation of the new typology looking at expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living

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To summarise, Figure 4-7 (diagram) shows how these four groups work differently in terms of identity expression in relation to the sustainable self. However, it is worth mentioning none of these categories is exclusive. For instance, those expressing their sustainable self when personal identity is salient are also sometimes expressing it when social identity is prominent (in a secondary way). The same happens with individuals expressing their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient, but who in particular situations – and in relation to their 'ought' or 'ideal' selves – activate their personal identity in relation to sustainability (in a secondary way). In addition, it should be noted that other groups could emerge if more data was collected (some sub-groups have already been proposed). For instance, it might be the case that some individuals are incongruent in terms of identity, but differently from those belonging to the 'Publicly Sustainable' or 'Accidentally Sustainable'. This would be the case of those manifesting sustainability at the 'core' self but not manifesting it at the other layers of the self because of problems of accessibility or because of social norms (for example).

This chapter provided an analysis of the 2nd-order themes and 1st-order concepts that emerged from the narrative analysis of the 35 semi-structured interviews conducted in this study. First, two groups of individuals have been established (group 1 and group 2), based upon the salience of personal or social identity in the expression of the sustainable self. After this, an analysis of the congruence between the layers which form their identity, the level of expression of their sustainable self and the alignment between the expression of their identity and the final expression of behaviour (living

sustainably) was conducted. Following this, an exploration of the different motivational drives described by the participants of this research through their narratives has been presented, offering a deeper understanding of the broader sets of motivations driving individuals who self-identify as sustainable to follow a sustainable lifestyle. Finally, aspects of identity and motivation in the context of sustainable living and a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable is presented.

In the next chapter, a discussion of this research is presented, linking the analysis of results with relevant literature on identity and motivations in relation to sustainable living.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings and its implications for theory on identity and motivations in sustainable living. Specifically, Section 5.2 offers a discussion of findings in relation to each of the four groups forming the new typology presented in the previous chapter. In Section 5.3 findings in relation to identity are discussed. Section 5.4, addresses how motivational drives influence sustainable living. The chapter ends with a summary of the key findings of this study (Section 5.5) in relation to the research questions (Section 5.6).

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented an analysis of the results of this study. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of these results, including how they connect with extant literature in the field, and how they contribute towards filling gaps in the literature. In addition, it shows how the two theories proposed as guiding the data analysis and part of the data collection, offer (additional) insights about the role of identity and motivations in sustainable living.

The first part of the chapter (Section 5.2) discusses the key contribution of this study, namely the generation of a new typology of sustainable individuals. Through an examination of the empirical evidence on the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living, four groups of individuals self-identifying as sustainable emerged.

In the following section, findings related to these four groups are analysed in relation to literature on identity and motivations. First, the results related to identity salience and its implications for theory on sustainable behaviour are outlined (5.3.1). Then, findings associated with congruence and incongruence in identity expression, are discussed from a theoretical perspective (5.3.2). Finally, findings related to motivations and in particular to the Four Drives are discussed (5.4).

5.2 Discussing the typology of sustainable living based upon the interplay of identity expression and motivational drives

Chapter 4 concluded with the introduction of a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable. The characteristics and positioning of individuals within the typology are defined in terms of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives when living sustainably.

In the following section, findings related to each of the four groups forming the typology ('Holistically', 'Privately', 'Publicly' and 'Accidentally Sustainable') are discussed and linked to the relevant literature on identity and motivations.

5.2.1 The 'Holistically Sustainable'
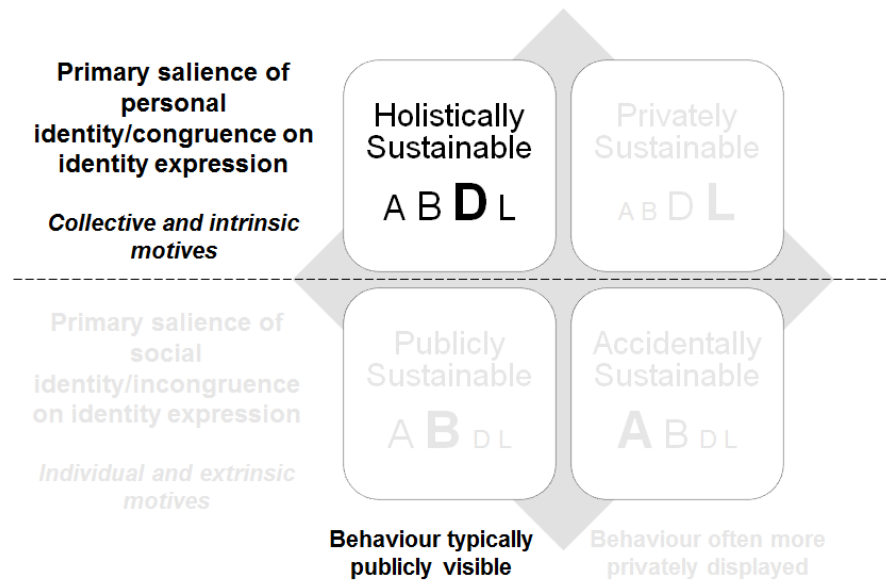
Figure 5-1. Representation of the 'Holistically Sustainable'

As stated earlier in the thesis, the 'Holistically Sustainable' can be considered as individuals who are more congruent with their sustainable living. They consider sustainability, and seek to behave sustainably, in every aspect of their lives. Thus, it could be said sustainability is part of who they are as persons (i.e. part of their 'core' self). To guide the reader, Figure 5-1 above identifies the 'Holistically Sustainable' in terms of expression of identity and motivational drives.

Participants belonging to this group tend to activate sustainable living both when their personal and their social identities are salient (being personal identity activated primarily). According to Deaux (1992), personal and social identities might be linked, as aspects of social identity could be expressed through personal beliefs, values and attitudes. In the case of the 'Holistically Sustainable', this could relate to them expressing their 'core' self by living

sustainably, and this is the reason why their personal and social identities are linked to personal and social categorisations.

In addition, they express sustainability in a congruent manner. Sustainability is manifested at all four layers that Hillenbrand and Money (2015) propose as critical to identity expression. They appear to be taking on roles in congruence with their 'core' self, which in these circumstances are related to sustainability (e.g. being green, an activist, caring about sustainable issues passionately). They, also, appear to be living their daily lives in a way that takes account of these issues. For instance, they make an effort to limit their environmental footprint through activities related to travel, heating and consumption. Lastly, they appear to be perceived by others as they would perceive themselves (e.g. in this case, behaving sustainability and having this as an authentic motivation). Congruence between identity expression at these different levels is seen to be associated with individuals expressing a functional sense of self (Bagozzi *et al.,* 2012; Hillenbrand & Money, 2015). Furthermore, high levels of identity congruence are seen to lead to greater degrees of members' identification with a specific group (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). For the 'Holistically Sustainable' in this study this is translated into 1) living in alignment with their own values and beliefs, which are in accordance with those attached to sustainability; and 2) feeling part of and identifying with a local and/or global community that works towards a more sustainable world, which relates back to these individuals' life values.

Identity congruence facilitates the alignment between identity expression and the expression of final behaviour (in this case living sustainably), which

according to Hillenbrand and Money (2015) favours the performance of consistent patterns of behaviour. As explained in the analysis chapter, this consistency results in high levels of commitment with the cause of sustainability and behaviours with a long-term focus. Previous research on sustainable behaviour suggests that commitment relates to a sense of interest and 'care about' (Shaw *et al.,* 2016). The present findings add to this idea by providing empirical evidence that long-term commitment to sustainable living can only be achieved through congruence in identity expression and the consequent alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour (living sustainably). In the case of the 'Holistically Sustainable', consistent behaviour is motivated by each of the Four Drives (acquire, bond, learn, defend), although the drive to defend, followed by the drive to bond, is the most referred to by members of this group.

Lawrence and Nohria (2002) suggest that the fulfilment of the Four Drives implies feeling more fulfilled than others who have focused only on some. As explained earlier in this thesis, the 'Holistically Sustainable' satisfy the four drives through sustainable living as this lifestyle allows them to acquire a sustainable status (which often favours an anti-consumption attitude), to bond with people who think alike, to learn and share knowledge and to defend both their values, beliefs and the planet. A key tenant of drive theory is that the fulfilment of these basic human drives through actions permits people to be more effective and successful in these actions. Behaving in an effective and successful way could positively impact individuals' well-being and the fulfilment of their potentials, which would help them live in a

profoundly satisfying way (Deci & Ryan, 2008b)[15]. In terms of sustainable living and, in particular, considering the motivations of the 'Holistically Sustainable', this implies living in balance with the environment and other members of society, while living in accordance with their own principles. According to Lawrence and Nohria (2002), "true engagement requires a four-drive approach" (p. 6), which would help explain why the 'Holistically Sustainable' are the group most engaged with sustainable living. Drawing on the assumption that the drives to acquire and bond are linked to extrinsic motives, and the drives to learn and defend are associated with intrinsic motives, it could be said then that the 'Holistically Sustainable' are motivated to live sustainably both by intrinsic and extrinsic reasons (although intrinsic motives are more significant). This finding is consistent with previous research arguing that sustainable behaviours might be motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations (e.g. Cecere, Mancinelli & Mazzanti, 2014; Hamari *et al.,* 2016).

However, the dominant drive(s) are often linked with the main motive leading to the action (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). Therefore, for the 'Holistically Sustainable' in this sample, the drive to defend followed by the drive to bond are often behind their fundamental motivations to live sustainably. On the one hand, the drive to defend is seen to be the most common driver of human activity, as defending manifests in various ways in everyday life (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). Its activation derives from threats to one's body and possessions, relationships and representations of one's environment, all

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[15] This idea relates to the concept of 'eudaimonia', understood as living in a full and satisfying way (Deci & Ryan, 2008b).

aspects linked to the other three drives. Individuals react with defence mechanisms (Cramer, 1987) such as resistance to change and anxiety, which after reconsideration of the threats' outcomes could develop in mechanisms leading to gains (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). For instance, during the interviews, participants belonging to this group stated that the emotion they felt when seeing unsustainable practices was anger, which then translated into realisation (e.g. that something could be done and they could help). Thus, it could be argued that even though anger is associated with negative consequences (Averill, 1983), in the case of the 'Holistically Sustainable' this emotion works as the antecedent of a beneficial output. In fact, it helps individuals to realise the scope of the problem and the actions that could be carried out in order to reduce it. This finding is consistent with a well-cited study suggesting that anger, fear, sadness and pain are strong triggers of sustainable behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). As mentioned earlier, participants belonging to this category satisfy the drive to defend through 1) defending their values and beliefs, while at the same time 2) defending the environment and society (both at local and global levels). This defensive attitude makes them get actively involved in organisations promoting sustainability, where they are able to learn, share knowledge and take part in direct action.

The 'Holistically Sustainable' often perform activism towards a more sustainable world after some kind of revelation (e.g. watching a video, attending a talk, reading an article, etc. which made them aware). It is then through these activist actions, which they often go on to develop, that they

express a collective identity. These aspects align with theory on activist identity (Tourain, 1981; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004), which relates to personal transformation and altruistic morals directed to the benefit of the common good (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004).

On the other hand, the drive to bond is often associated to compassion, friendship, fairness, caring, partnership and belonging (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). As mentioned before in this thesis, the drive to bond in the case of this type of individual is connected with bonding with like-minded people, who share psychological processes (Sneddon, 2011) and who share the goal of fighting for a fairer and more sustainable society. Furthermore, the fulfilment of this drive allows the 'Holistically Sustainable' to identify themselves with the sustainable community and satisfy their needs of belonging, which ultimately helps them build and preserve positive and important personal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

According to Lawrence and Nohria (2002), the drive to defend interacts with the drive to bond at the level of the individual in the sense of threats related to bonded relationships. In the case of the 'Holistically Sustainable' this could be associated with interconnectivity with the natural environment, as some of the interviewees mentioned they feel closely connected to nature. In addition, they care for society and for other members of the group they identify with, which makes them act against threats. This finding supports Fritsche and Hafner (2012), who suggest that if individuals were aware of the positive impacts of pro-environmental actions on society, the influence of threats on their motivations would be eliminated.

Overall, it could be said that these kind of individuals are driven to live sustainably mainly because of collective reasons – defending both society and nature, to which they feel a strong bond – and intrinsic motives. They live this way in order to be consistent with their own values, but those values are connected to the common good. Therefore, the 'Holistically Sustainable' are motivated to express sustainable behaviour mainly by intrinsic motives, as they engage in behaviours that are sustainable even if the action does not translate into an individual and immediate reward (White, 1959). This finding corroborates the results of previous studies suggesting that individuals with a high sense of environmental self-identity will be intrinsically motivated to act sustainably (Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010; Van der Werff *et al.,* 2013b). However, although self-identifying as sustainable and being a more 'authentic' group in terms of sustainable living, members of this group believe they could do more and therefore be more sustainable. A feeling which could affect negatively their sense of environmental self-identity.

The fact that this group of individuals expresses their sustainable self both when personal and social identity are salient, and fulfil the Four Drives by living sustainably, implies that the 'Holistically Sustainable' could be considered the most authentic (congruent) among the four groups which form this new typology. It is important to mention that individuals belonging to this group – who are innately aware of the problems related to sustainability –, have frequently grown up or lived for a long time in rural areas. This finding supports the results of previous studies which suggest that the exposure to

nature may increase the possibility of behaving sustainably (Zelenski, Dopko & Capaldi, 2015).

In summary, the 'Holistically Sustainable' express their sustainable self congruently, both when their personal and their social identities are salient[16]. They are satisfying the Four Drives by living sustainably, however, the main motivations of this group to following this lifestyle relate to the drive to defend (their values and beliefs; the environment and society) followed by the drive to bond (with like-minded people). In general terms, it could be said that they are expressing sustainable behaviour motivated by collective and intrinsic motives. They are driven by the positive consequences their actions would have in the collective, by the necessity of living in accordance with their values and beliefs, as well as by the benefits at the level of the individual (e.g. status, friendships). Finally, due to the alignment between the expression of their identity and the final expression of behaviour, they behave following consistent patterns, which translate into high levels of commitment (more positive emotions and less emotional labour) and a longer-term focus in their behaviours.

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[16] Being the activation of personal identity primary.

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Table 5-1. Summary of the 'Holistically Sustainable'

Characteristics of this group	What does this group have in common with other groups?	How is this group different from other groups?	Implications for theory/literature	Implications for practice
• Expression of sustainable self when personal identity is salient (primary) and social identity is salient (secondary). • Manifestation of sustainability at the four layers of the self. • Congruence between the four layers of the self. • Alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. • Fulfilment of the four motivational drives through sustainable living. • Motivations to live sustainably are collective and intrinsic.	• In common with the 'Privately Sustainable': - Both groups express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient. - Both groups manifest sustainability at the four layers of the self and express their identity in congruence. - Both groups follow consistent patterns of behaviour, as a consequence of alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. - Both groups are motivated to live sustainably by collective and intrinsic reasons • In common with the 'Publicly Sustainable': - Behaviour typically publicly visible. - Both groups are greatly motivated by the drive to bond.	• This group of people express their sustainable self often when both personal identity (primary) and social identity (secondary) are salient. This contrasts with the other groups that express their sustainable self in a secondary way (personal or social identity) only in relation to their 'ideal'/ 'ought' selves. • Key difference with other groups is that the 'Holistically Sustainable' fulfil the Four Drives by living sustainably. - Acquire a sustainable status and/or anti-consumption status/attitude - Bond with like-minded people - Learn by sharing knowledge - Defend values and beliefs/ Defend the environment and society. • Drive to defend and bond dominant ('defend' being the main motivation).	• Identity: The results associated to the 'Holistically Sustainable' contribute to literature on identity and sustainable living by demonstrating sustainability can be manifested at the four layers of the self. - When expressing sustainable self, the four layers of the self are in congruence. • Motivation: The results associated to this group show the Four Drives could be fulfilled through sustainable living. - In terms of sustainable living, the drive to acquire (dominant for this group) is often related to collective and intrinsic motives to live sustainably.	• The characteristics associated to this group (both in terms of identity and motivations and the interplay between the two) suggest those who are considered 'Holistically Sustainable' are the most authentic (congruent) in terms of sustainable living. • The concordance between their own values and the values of sustainability, together with their level of awareness and commitment make them take sustainability into account in every aspect of their lives. • These findings could help policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting the most sustainable individuals in society.

5.2.2 The 'Privately Sustainable'
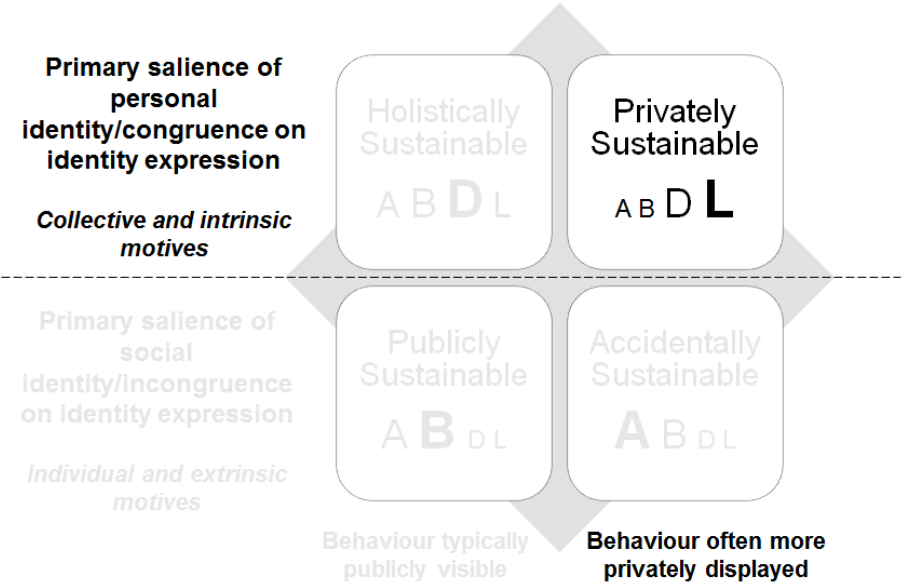
Figure 5-2. Representation of the 'Privately Sustainable'

As explained in the analysis chapter, the 'Privately Sustainable' are individuals who are highly aware of sustainability related problems, but who express sustainable behaviour mainly when in private settings. Therefore, they might not be pursuing wider group acceptance and/or identification when deciding to live sustainably. Their main characteristic is that their high level of consciousness and knowledge about sustainability issues drives them to look for substantial (in a sense that they could make a big difference) and relevant solutions to sustainability challenges, which often translates into them dedicating their careers to achieve those. To guide the reader, Figure 5-2 above shows a representation of the 'Privately Sustainable' in terms of expression of identity and motivational drives.

As their private expression of behaviour might predict, they activate their identity in relation to the sustainable self primarily when personal identity is

salient. As will be explained later in this chapter, this finding finds support from, and reaffirms, previous studies that link the salience of personal identity in terms of sustainable behaviour and self-transcendence intentions (Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2016). Schwartz (1991, 1990, 2010) defined self-transcendence intentions as those related to values of benevolence and universalism. In the case of the 'Privately Sustainable', this would relate to values at the level of the 'core' self associated with care for others and the environment, achievement and responsibility. These individuals are aware of the problem and certain they will do something valuable about it. These results are consistent with those of Shaw *et al.* (2016), who indicate that care is often related to a sense of responsibility or obligation in terms of sustainable behaviour. For instance, participants in Shaw *et al.*'s study refer to responsibility not only in relation to their own actions, but those carried out by others (who they need to teach or make aware). This sense of care and responsibility could be somehow related to the drive to learn in the case of the 'Privately Sustainable', who are willing to share their knowledge with others, while assuming responsibility for the issue of sustainability.

According to Hogg and Abrams (1990) the salience of personal identity is connected to acting and thinking as individuals, without necessarily acting as members of a group. This idea would explain why the 'Privately Sustainable' often work independently towards big solutions to the problem of sustainability. Furthermore, it may help to explain why they do not necessarily get actively involved in sustainable organisations, as they are not pursuing identification with these specific groups. However, the findings of

this study reveal that some members of the 'Privately Sustainable' secondarily activate their social identity when expressing their sustainable self. For instance, the salience of social identity is triggered by these individuals' sense of 'ought' self, which is linked to their feeling that they should behave sustainably also in public as a consequence of devoting their professional life to sustainability. This result could be explained by the findings of previous studies on sustainable behaviour suggesting that individuals' desire to behave according to their self-standards encourages them to behave more sustainably (Peloza, White & Shang, 2013).

As with the 'Holistically Sustainable', the 'Privately Sustainable' also express their sustainable self in a congruent manner. Therefore, sustainability is manifested at the four layers of the self (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015). By living sustainably, they express aspects of their 'core' self, play roles in life, live and are perceived in ways which support sustainability. Again, congruency in identity expression leads to alignment between identity and the final expression of behaviour, which at the same time favours the presence of consistent patterns of behaviour. In the case of the 'Privately Sustainable', this consistency also translates into high commitment and long-term behaviours. For these individuals this may appear in the form of professional careers dedicated to sustainable development and/or the care for society and the environment. This finding could be explained by Stryker and Serpe's (1982) notion that when an identity is important for individuals, they will spend more time trying to satisfy that identity. More particularly, their behaviour is driven by the satisfaction of the drives to learn and defend

combined. Again, these results confirm those of Shaw *et al.* (2016), who suggest that care and commitment are strongly linked in terms of sustainable behaviour.

The drive to learn, to satisfy curiosity and create knowledge, influences individuals to look for information, observe and analyse their environment, and maintain a continuous dialogue around their issues of interest (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). Following the ideas of Colquitt and Simmering (1998), the motivation to learn is positively related to conscientiousness and learning orientation. According to McCrae and Costa (1987), conscientiousness relates to aspects such as reliability, hard work, self-discipline and perseverance. These qualities are possessed by participants belonging to this category, and usually associated with the personal characteristics of academics. Furthermore, Dweck and Leggett (1988) suggest that individuals with high levels of learning orientation will more likely engage in problem solving tasks. This helps explaining why the 'Privately Sustainable' in this sample often seek to make an impact on sustainable development, both in academic and practical terms. In fact, the great level of expression of the drive to learn in terms of sustainability leads them to dedicate their career to this cause. This is common among individuals driven by collectivistic motives, who tend to carry out social roles and take responsibility in relation to society in order to find life satisfaction (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

As is the case with the 'Holistically Sustainable', the drive to defend is being satisfied by these individuals because of their desire to: 1) defend their values and beliefs; and 2) defend the environment and society. In this case,

however, the defensive attitude does not translate into activism or active membership of sustainable groups, but in the search for tangible solutions primarily through investigation, and sometimes community-oriented work that seeks to provide solutions to issues such as community transport or waste disposal. These findings – linked again to these individuals' sense of responsibility – support the results of previous studies on motivation. For instance, De Cremer and Van Lange (2001) suggest that people driven by prosocial motivations – understood as those driven by the social impact actions will have on the collective (Grand, 2007) –, tend to feel a stronger sense of responsibility and desire to contribute to the cause they care about, which in this study relates to sustainable living.

As explained both in the literature review and analysis chapter of this thesis, the drives to learn and defend tend to work well together, as individuals tend to respond to threats with curiosity or anxiety (Peterson, 1999). At the level of the individual, the drive to defend is activated when individuals seek to protect their beliefs about their own role and purpose in life, as well as the roles played by others. By adopting a belief system, people are able to answer fundamental questions (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002; Homer-Dixon *et al.*, 2013). In other words, the drive to defend triggers the enquiry process, which through the exploratory characteristics associated with the drive to learn, help individuals give meaning to their concerns. Thus, for the 'Privately Sustainable', the mechanisms behind the expression of sustainable behaviour and the consequent adoption of a sustainable lifestyle would be first driven by the awareness of the problems related to sustainability, which

are activated by their own values and beliefs (in accordance with those of sustainability). This finding supports previous studies suggesting that high levels of awareness lead to engage in sustainable behaviours (e.g. Poortinga, Steg & Vlek, 2004). Such awareness develops as a response to those identified problems and in order to protect their values and beliefs and, consequently, defend the environment and society. This ultimately motivates them to fulfil the drive to learn, through enquiry and acquisition of the necessary knowledge to create valuable and tangible solutions (e.g. through research, teaching, social work).

The findings of this study suggest that the 'Privately Sustainable' are not greatly fulfilling the other two drives through their sustainable actions. Reflecting the importance given to balance between drives in the theory this may thus result in some negative consequences for those involved. For instance, Lawrence and Nohria (2002) suggest that people who obviate the satisfaction of the drive to acquire are often expected to feel envy of others' achievements and lack of self-esteem. People with low self-esteem will be less likely to speak up in groups, take initiative and be critical (Baumeister, 2005). This might help explain why one of the participants belonging to this group sometimes avoids expressing her sustainable self when in public. The insecurity she experiences due to people in the past judging her behaviour (probably due to feeling guilty themselves for not following sustainable practices); together with the way she replies to that insecurity (by avoiding expressing her sustainable self when surrounded by these people), might be a consequence of low self-esteem (Baumeister *et al.*, 2003).

Furthermore, Lawrence and Nohria (2002) argue that those ignoring the fulfilment of the drive to bond might feel empty and separated from life. In terms of the 'Privately Sustainable', this could relate to separation from actively participate in sustainable organisations (although they tend to help them through monthly donations) and from public expressions of behaviour. As mentioned in the literature review chapter, Stern *et al*. (1999) propose four groups of environmental behaviour, which are *environmental activism, non-activist public-sphere behaviours, private-sphere behaviours* and *behaviours in organisations*. It could be argued that the empirical results of this thesis contribute to this categorisation by adding new aspects to one of the categories. For instance, when Stern *et al.* explain private-sphere behaviours they refer to behaviours related to the household (e.g. green consumerism, waste disposal). However, they do not mention behaviours occurring in other private situations, such as when conducting independent research. The private character of the 'Privately Sustainable', together with their research activities on sustainable and environmental issues, could develop Stern *et al.*'s (1999) category of significant environmental behaviour carried out in private spheres.

In conclusion, the 'Privately Sustainable' express their sustainable self congruently, and primarily when their personal identity is prominent (although some individuals activate their social identity in relation to their sense of 'ought' self). Through sustainable living, they are satisfying the drive to learn by seeking and developing new knowledge to find solutions to significant sustainability problems, and/or through

teaching others. They also fulfil the drive to defend, by defending their values and beliefs and by reducing the negative impact of their actions on the environment and society. Overall, they express sustainable behaviour motivated by the challenge of making a valuable impact in terms of sustainable development, while at the same time pursuing the protection of their own values and beliefs (in accordance with those of sustainability). As with the 'Holistically Sustainable', they follow consistent patterns of behaviour, which reflect high levels of commitment and a long-term perspective.

Table 5-2. Summary of the 'Privately Sustainable'

Characteristics of this group	What does this group have in common with other groups?	How is this group different from other groups?	Implications for theory/literature	Implications for practice
• Expression of sustainable self when personal identity is salient (primary) and sometimes when social identity is salient (secondary), in relation to their 'ought' self. • Manifestation of sustainability at the four layers of the self. • Congruence between the four layers of the self. • Alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. • Motivated to live sustainably by the drives to learn and defend, while the drives to acquire and bond are not really satisfied. • Motivations to live sustainably are collective and intrinsic.	• In common with the 'Holistically Sustainable': - Both groups express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient. - Both groups manifest sustainability at the four layers of the self and express their identity in congruence. - Both groups follow consistent patterns of behaviour, as a consequence of alignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. - Both groups are motivated to live sustainably by collective and intrinsic reasons • In common with the 'Accidentally Sustainable': - Behaviour often more privately displayed.	• This group of people express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient. However, in some cases they express their sustainable self when social identity is salient (in a secondary way). The salience of social identity relates to their sense of 'ought' self, to what they believe others think they should do. • Drive to learn and defend dominant (being 'learn' the main motivation). • Key difference with other groups is that although they have the awareness and the commitment to live sustainably, they tend to behave sustainably in a more private and individual way. They devote their lives to sustainability through their career choices, often associated with education and research (about sustainability issues).	• Identity: The results associated to the 'Privately Sustainable' contribute to literature on identity and sustainable living by demonstrating sustainability can be manifested at the four layers of the self. Also, these findings show that although identity is expressed in congruence, individuals may still have an 'ought' sense of self. • Motivation: The results associated to this group corroborate Lawrence and Nohria's idea of drives working in pairs, as for this group the drives to learn and defend seem to be working better together. - In terms of sustainable living, the drive to learn (dominant for this group) is often related to collective and intrinsic motives to live sustainably.	• The findings associated to this group could help policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting individuals who are aware and committed to sustainable issues, but who behave mainly in private and motivated by the need of finding real solutions to these problems (e.g. climate change).

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5.2.3 The 'Publicly Sustainable'

	Primary salience of personal identity/congruence on identity expression *Collective and intrinsic motives*	Holistically Sustainable A B **D** L	Privately Sustainable A B D **L**	
	Primary salience of social identity/incongruence on identity expression *Individual and extrinsic motives*	Publicly Sustainable A **B** D L	Accidentally Sustainable **A** B D L	
		Behaviour typically publicly visible	Behaviour often more privately displayed	

Figure 5-3. Representation of the 'Publicly Sustainable'

As explained in the analysis chapter, the 'Publicly Sustainable' are individuals who express their sustainable behaviour mainly when in public through, for instance, active membership of sustainable organisations. To guide the reader, Figure 5-3 above provides a representation of the 'Publicly Sustainable' in terms of expression of identity and motivational drives.

The reasons underpinning their behaviour relate often to the needs of identification and belonging (e.g. being part of a sustainability-focussed club or organisation). However, narratives in this research suggest that some individuals who are part of this group appear to be evolving in terms of sustainability, with sustainability becoming more important in their personal identity as they engage in further social activity. According to the literature, identities are developed through identifications (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, 2004; McCall & Simmons, 1978). Some members of this group may therefore seek

to identify with specific groups with the aim of developing their sustainable self. There is a sense that some in this group at least work towards living more in line with their 'ideal' or 'ought' sense of self – in which sustainability is expressed congruently in terms of personal and social identity. This is the reason why some individuals belonging to this group secondarily activate their personal identity when expressing their sustainable self, as a way of satisfying the needs attached to their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves.

In contrast to the 'Privately Sustainable', this type of sustainable individual behave sustainably principally when in public which helps explain why their sustainable self is activated primarily when social identity is salient. For instance, commitment to behaviours are likely to be more persistent when in public rather than in private (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). This could help explain the behaviour of this type of participant, who are not highly committed with the cause of sustainability. Refocusing back on identity salience, according to Costa Pinto *et al.* (2016), when social identity is salient both self-transcendence and self-enhancement intentions often have an effect on green consumption. It can be argued that in terms of sustainable living the same is happening. For instance, the 'Holistically Sustainable' (who express their sustainable self both when personal and social identities are salient), are influenced by values that relate to their own interest (e.g. live in accordance with their values and beliefs) and the benefit of the community. In the case of the 'Publicly Sustainable', self-enhancement intentions are influencing in a greater manner the salience of identity and consequent behaviour of these individuals. According to Schwartz (1992, 1990, 2010),

self-enhancement intentions are linked with personal benefits, for instance success and wealth. Previous research has established the negative relationship between self-enhancement values and environmentalism (Schultz *et al.*, 2005), as when self-enhancement values are high, the intention to behave in a sustainable way decreases (Urien & Kilbourne, 2011).

In addition, participants categorised as 'Publicly Sustainable' often express their sustainable self in a relatively incongruent manner, which could lead them to feel distressed (Burke, 1991). Thus, there is misalignment between identity expression and the expression of final behaviour (living sustainably). This finding can help explain results from previous studies which suggest that even self-declared sustainable or green consumers are not motivated or sufficiently equipped to make sustainable decisions (e.g. Young *et al.,* 2010). Next, the narratives suggest that by living sustainably they may be playing roles that build their social identity by being seen as they want to be seen, thus expressing sustainability at what Hillenbrand and Money (2015) call the 'lived' and 'perceived' selves. This group are aware, however, that they may not be expressing a true reflection of their personal identity, and so not fully expressing what Hillenbrand and Money (2015) called the 'core' and 'learned' selves. Instead, this group often describe themselves as who they 'ought' or 'want' to be through their sustainable actions, which is related to the secondary salience of their personal identities. This finding agrees with previous studies suggesting that, in some cases, individuals will act sustainably if thinking others would approve of their behaviour (Kastner &

Stern, 2015). For the 'Publicly Sustainable' the lack of sustainability manifestations at the level of the 'core' self leads to incongruence and misalignment between identity expression and behaviour expression, which consequently leads to a more inconsistent expression of sustainable behaviour. When individuals behave inconsistently, defence mechanisms such as the creation of false/pretentious selves are sometimes established to compensate for this (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015). Research on false-self behaviour among adolescents suggests that the creation of false-selves is either related to one's devaluation of oneself, or the intent to please or impress and win approval; false selves are also linked to the need of experimenting in a role (Harter *et al.*, 1996).

Drawing on the narratives of participants in this study, it can be argued that individuals belonging to this group sometimes pretend to be someone they are not (create some form of false self) in order to fit in with the sustainable community and gain acceptance from others, whilst at the same time working towards their sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' self. Interestingly, during the interviews they firmly and rapidly affirmed themselves as sustainable individuals and believed that others also see them as sustainable. These statements contrast with those expressed by members of the 'Holistically Sustainable' who, although being more aware and committed with sustainability issues, tend to think they are not doing enough, and doubt whether or not to consider themselves as sustainable individuals. This finding challenges the results of previous studies suggesting that people with strong biospheric values (which make individuals focus on the consequences their

actions have on the environment – something the 'Holistically Sustainable' do) are more inclined to see themselves as sustainable (Van der Werff *et al.,* 2013b). For instance, in this study, those who care less about the environment and more about their own interests (e.g. acquire a sustainable status) are more likely to self-identify as sustainable. This, again, challenges the results of previous studies suggesting that individuals with high sense of environmental self-identity will behave sustainably motivated by intrinsic reasons (Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010; Van der Werff *et al.,* 2013b).

In addition, some of the 'Publicly Sustainable' are aware of the effort that they extend in creating an image of themselves in order to feel closer to a notion of their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, in which they care for sustainability and act more sustainably than is actually the case (i.e. they were more aware and committed). Although such cases represent examples of people not expressing their identity in a congruent manner, thinking about how they want to be (or they think others want them to be); in the future this may translate into benefits for these individuals, as considering a future identity may influence how an individual sees her/himself and her/his future (Oyserman *et al.*, 2004). As explained in Chapter 2, Oyserman and James (2011) suggest that the notion of working towards the 'ideal' self may affect present behaviour if the conditions of connection, congruence and interpretation of difficulty are met. This occurs within a subgroup of the 'Publicly Sustainable'. First, they feel connected with their 'ideal' self when self-identifying and behaving sustainably, as they believe that by following a more sustainable lifestyle they have greater potential to achieve their 'ideal' sense of self.

Furthermore, they express congruency between their 'ideal' self and some parts of their current self. For instance, the sustainable characteristics attached to their social identities seem to align closely with those parts of who they would like to be. Lastly, they also meet the third condition proposed by Oyserman and James (2011), as they appear to have confidence in reaching their 'ideal' self, which pushes them to keep working towards it.

Based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that these individuals' sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves might solve the conflict between their sense of 'core' and 'perceived' selves. Between who they are at the level of the individual and how they are perceived by others. By expressing their identity in relation to their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, participants might be dealing with emotional ambivalence, understood by Fong (2006) as the "simultaneous experience of positive and negative emotions" (p. 1016). In this study, these positive and negative emotions would relate to the different layers of individual identity. Emotional ambivalence related to one's identity and sustainable behaviour have been jointly examined in previous studies. For instance, Valor (2007) already addressed emotional ambivalence in relation to ethical consumption, suggesting that this type of ambivalence gets triggered when a dimension of one's identity conflicts with other dimensions. The results of her study suggest that emotional ambivalence arises when individuals' decisions of buying ethical clothes alter their personality. Drawing on the results of the present research it can be concluded that participants try to resolve this conflict through their sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, as a way to reconcile the distance between their 'core' and 'perceived' selves.

This study adds to the literature on identity by addressing individuals' strategies to tackle ambivalence through the expression of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, with the aim of achieving congruence when expressing their identity in relation to a sustainable self.

Furthermore, the main reasons behind the expression of sustainable behaviour in the case of these individuals seem to relate to personal rewards. In particular, through sustainable living they are satisfying the drives to acquire and bond, which, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, when satisfied together can be linked to individual reasons and extrinsic motives. The drive to acquire refers to seeking, taking, controlling and retaining tangible goods, experiences or a sense of status (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). According to theory on pro-social behaviour, individuals seek to retain positive social identities, and get involved in helping, in order to develop status relationships (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). Considering that sustainable living is a lifestyle that helps diminish the impact human actions have on the environment and society, the findings of this study support this assumption. For instance, some of the 'Publicly Sustainable' fulfil this drive mainly through their desire to acquire the status of (or being seen as) sustainable. According to Steg (2016), those who engage in sustainable behaviours because of acquiring relevant status tend to have hedonic and egoistic values. *Hedonic values* are those linked to ways of reducing effort and making people feel good with themselves; while *egoistic values* relate to an increase in resources (e.g. money, status). These values relate to personal benefits and, therefore, to extrinsic and individualistic reasons to engage in sustainable behaviours. The

present study adds to Steg's ideas by suggesting that those motivated to act sustainably driven by the desire of acquiring a status are actually driven by the drive to acquire, an innate and basic human drive. Furthermore, some of those interested in acquiring the status of sustainable may be now motivated by individual and extrinsic reasons, but may be also trying to cope with the conflict between their 'core' and 'perceived' selves. With the aim of achieving congruence, they express their sustainable self in relation to their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, which could translate into them being motivated by intrinsic and collective motives in the future.

In order to acquire their desired status, these individuals actively join sustainable organisations across their community and engage in sustainable practices which are carried out in public, such as volunteering for these organisations or visiting local markets and second-hand charity shops. This finding adds to the results of previous studies suggesting that individuals will be more inclined to buy sustainable products when status motives are activated and when the behaviour is carried out in public (Griskevicius *et al.,* 2010). Furthermore, the individuals belonging to this group also express the drive to acquire in terms of acquiring financial security, as some of them following this lifestyle partly because they want to save money. This finding supports the results of previous studies suggesting that saving money is one of the main motivators when engaging in sustainable behaviours (e.g. Evans *et al.,* 2013; Steg *et al.,* 2014a; Hamari *et al.,* 2016).

Next, individuals in this category fulfil the drive to bond by living sustainably. As explained before, the drive to bond is connected to belonging, which in

the case of the 'Publicly Sustainable' helps them fit in the group they identify with. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), identification is a form of extrinsic motivation that occurs when the individual identifies with a type of behaviour which they deem personally important. For instance, the 'Publicly Sustainable' may engage in sustainable living because they find it relevant to their goals, such as feeling part of a sustainable community and/or being seen as sustainable. As these ends are highly valuable to them, they identify with the value attached to following a sustainable lifestyle. In general, high levels of social identification lead to a change in motivations. Brewer (1979) suggests that, in particular, individuals may shift from behaviours motivated by personal benefits (extrinsic) to those driven by the common good (intrinsic). For some participants categorised in this group, this happens in the process of development of sustainability expression in the different layers of the self. For example, an individual in this group may first desire to identify with a sustainable group in order to fit in (personal reward), but when they achieve a strong sense of identification with the collective the motivation behind it may evolve to relate to the defence of the environment and society (general welfare).

As mentioned previously in this thesis, the drives to acquire and bond are often satisfied together, as individuals use them to build relationships (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). According to the authors, every relationship combines competitiveness (related to the drive to acquire) and cooperativeness (associated with the drive to bond). For the 'Publicly Sustainable' this could link to the acquisition of a 'sustainable' status through

active membership to sustainable organisations, which, although driven mainly by personal interest, produces a direct impact on the beneficiaries of those organisations. Overall, the way the 'Publicly Sustainable' satisfy the drives to acquire and bond in terms of sustainable living is mainly related to extrinsic motivations and/or self-enhancement values. Thus, the character of these motivational drives, together with their consequences in terms of expression of sustainable behaviour (e.g. low levels of commitment), support the results of well-known studies in the field of sustainable behaviour. These studies proposed that when individuals are driven by their own benefit the level of engagement with sustainable practices is lower (e.g. Kilbourne *et al.*, 1998).

It is worth noting that according to Lawrence and Nohria (2002), individuals underplaying the drive to learn may face problems related to personal development. This explains the relatively low levels of commitment this group showed to exploring the concept of sustainability and adapting its meaning to their own understandings and feelings. In addition, Lawrence and Nohria (2002) suggest that lack of fulfilment of the drive to defend can often result in people feeling a sense of hopelessness or abandonment. Reflecting on this, it is therefore unsurprising that many in this group seem to be on a journey towards a more congruent sense of sustainability (through the expression of their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, which trigger the salience of personal identity when expressing their sustainable self). Without genuinely expressing learning and defending values through their environmental actions, often individuals in this group felt a sense of hopelessness when it came to

sustainability. Hopelessness is understood by McLaughlin, Miller and Warwick (1996) as a set of negative expectations about one's self and future life, which in the case of this type of individual translates into a lower commitment to action (Kaplan, 2000). For instance, some participants mentioned during the interviews that they would not abandon the things that give them pleasure in life because of their commitment to sustainability. This confirms results of previous studies suggesting that even strong awareness and concern about sustainability (which some members of this group aim to achieve) can be in some situations overcome by other desires and needs (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002).

In summary, the 'Publicly Sustainable' express sustainability incongruently and primarily when their social identity is salient (although personal identity could be activated in relation to the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves). By following a sustainable lifestyle, they are satisfying the drives to bond (identification; belonging) and acquire (relevant status; financial stability – saving money), being bond dominant. Their main motivations to live sustainably are linked to personal rewards and extrinsic motives, although some members of this category seem to be developing their sustainable self, and shifting from their 'ideal' or 'ought' to their 'core' self. In this case, their motivations are changing from personal to both individually and collectively oriented. The misalignment between the expression of their sustainable self and the final expression of behaviour (living sustainably), makes them function inconsistently, which entails low

levels of commitment with the cause of sustainability and short-term behaviours. For instance, as they do not express a core sense of self through sustainable living, they may easily switch to other behaviours if these behaviours were in accordance with the values at the level of the core self.

Table 5-3. Summary of the 'Publicly Sustainable'

Characteristics of this group	What does this group have in common with other groups?	How is this group different from other groups?	Implications for theory/literature	Implications for practice
• Expression of sustainable self when social identity is salient (primary) and sometimes when personal identity is salient (secondary), in relation to their 'ideal'/'ought' selves. • Manifestation of sustainability at the 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' layers of self, but not at the 'core' self. • Incongruence between the four layers of the self. • Misalignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. • Motivated to live sustainably by the drives to acquire and bond, while the drive to learn is not really satisfied and the drive to defend is fulfilled in relation to health. • Motivations to live sustainably are individualistic and extrinsic.	• In common with the 'Accidentally Sustainable': - Both groups express their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient. - Both groups do not manifest sustainability at the level of the 'core' self and express their identity in incongruence. - Both groups follow inconsistent patterns of behaviour, as a consequence of misalignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. - Both groups are motivated to live sustainably by individualistic and extrinsic reasons • In common with the 'Holistically Sustainable': - Behaviour typically publicly visible. - Both groups are greatly motivated by the drive to bond.	• This group of people express their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient, but often also when personal identity is salient. Interestingly, the salience of personal identity relates to these individuals' sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, to what they 'want' to be/do or they think they 'should' be/do. - Key difference with other groups is that some of the 'Publicly Sustainable' seem to be developing their sustainable self, reason why they express their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves when personal identity is salient. For some, their aim seems to be becoming 'Holistically Sustainable'. • Drive to bond and acquire dominant (being 'bond' the main motivation). - Their main motivation to live sustainably relates to their desire to belong and feel identified with a group.	• Identity: The results associated to the 'Publicly Sustainable' show that incongruence on identity expression and misalignment between identity expression and final behaviour lead to lower levels of awareness and commitment with sustainable living. • Motivation: The results associated to this group corroborate Lawrence and Nohria's idea of drives working in pairs, as for this group the drives to acquire and bond seem to be working better together. - In terms of sustainable living, the drive to bond (dominant for this group) is often related to individualistic and extrinsic motives to live sustainably.	• The results suggest sustainability is not manifested at the 'core' self, but it is in some cases manifested at the level of the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves. It could be argued that a great number of participants of this study belong to the 'Publicly Sustainable'. • The findings associated to this group could help policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting individuals who are in the transition to becoming more aware, more committed and more sustainable (it is possible that a great part of society is in this process).

5.2.4 The 'Accidentally Sustainable'
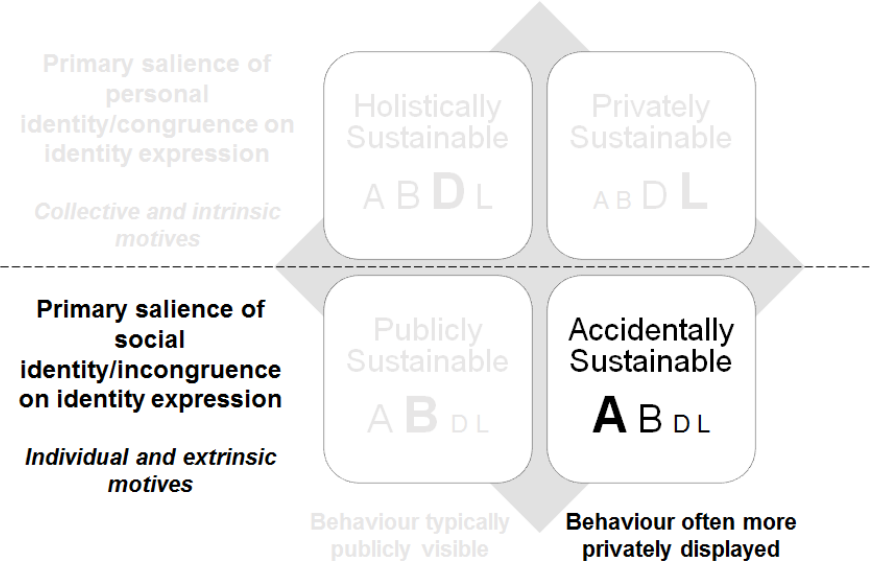
Figure 5-4. Representation of the 'Accidentally Sustainable'

As outlined in the analysis chapter, the 'Accidentally Sustainable' are individuals who express sustainable behaviours often by default. Frequently they follow this lifestyle because of lack of financial resources, or due to past economic problems, which forced them to live in an austere manner and, consequently, they report that they currently live sustainably by habit. To guide the reader, Figure 5-4 above shows a representation of the 'Accidentally Sustainable' in terms of expression of identity and motivational drives.

Like the 'Publicly Sustainable', these individuals primarily express their sustainable self when social identity is salient. Although they do not seem to ever activate their personal identity in relation to sustainability. Even though the sustainable practices they follow are mainly carried out at home, the importance of sustainability to their sense of self is activated principally when

surrounded by others. According to social identity theory, social identity will be activated depending on the context and the comparisons and categories within that context (Oakes *et al.,* 1994). In the case of the 'Accidentally Sustainable', it can be argued that their sustainable self is manifested when their social identity is salient especially when there are sustainable groups available in the area with which they may want to identify. Access to these groups entails greater awareness for these individuals of problems related to sustainability. This, together with the perception of others' behaviour (Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996) and with the sustainable/saver character of the activities they execute at home, make them self-identify as sustainable.

Furthermore, this group often express their identity in relation to the sustainable self in an incongruent manner, as sustainability is often incorporated into the behaviours of this group on an ad-hoc basis often driven by external factors and financial necessity. Incongruence between the four layers of the self results in them not expressing a sense of 'core' self through sustainable living. According to the literature, incongruence in identity expression may occur when individuals rely highly on identity accommodation processes, i.e. changes the self faces when facing new experiences (Whitbourne *et al.,* 2002). As explained earlier in this thesis, individuals depending greatly on accommodation processes are more likely to be easily influenced and shaped by new experiences or situations, because of identity instability and identity inconsistency (ibid.). This could be the case of the 'Accidentally Sustainable', as some of them mentioned they had joined sustainable organisations due to being unemployed and the

resulting free time they had. They got into something new which allowed them to become aware of what living sustainably meant. Because of possible problems of identity consistency, they might have easily adapted and accommodated these new practices, which favour their self-identification as sustainable individuals.

The narratives of the participants belonging to this group denote that the main motivation behind their behaviour is linked to maintaining financial stability, which is fulfilled through the satisfaction of the drive to acquire. As mentioned before, this drive relates to retaining material goods, among others things (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). In the case of the 'Accidentally Sustainable' this refers to saving in terms of household consumption and diet, which helps them cope with low budgeting. Previous studies have also shown that saving money drives sustainable behaviour. As mentioned earlier, saving money has been found as one of the two main factors motivating people to engage in recycling practices (Czajkowski, Hanley & Nyborg, 2014), and one of the two extrinsic motives to engage in collaborative consumption (Hamari *et al.,* 2016). Although the drive to acquire is dominant in the case of these participants, they also fulfil the drive to bond through sustainable living. By self-identifying as sustainable and joining sustainable organisations in their area, they socialise and build relationships, which motivates them to attend meetings and collaborate with others. As it is well known, financial difficulties (understood as a stressful life event) may cause individuals to suffer mental health problems, such as depression, stress or anxiety (Kendler, Karkowski & Prescott, 1999). In addition, research has

shown that these illnesses caused by negative life situations could be mitigated or avoided, if appropriate social support is received (Gore, 1978). Social support is understood by Cohen and Wills (1985) as the group of resources, which helps a person handle a situation that may cause her/him stress. From the results of this study, it could be concluded that the 'Accidentally Sustainable' desire to self-identify as sustainable, and belong to sustainable groups, with the aim of feeling supported, accepted and needed. By joining sustainable organisations, they become informed and aware of the problems related to sustainability, while at the same time they feel valuable.

It is important to note that the narratives produced by this group often neglect the drives to learn and defend when expressing their sustainable self and describing sustainable behaviour through sustainable living. This, as explained before, may have negative consequences since disbelief in finding solutions and effectively defending the world from the consequences of unsustainable practices may lead to a sense of hopelessness and apathy (Kaplan, 2000; Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). For the 'Accidentally Sustainable' these aspects may result in them not fulfilling their own personal curiosities and they may also feel miserable or unhappy because of previous experiences of being forced to live on low resources (and, as a consequence, sustainably). This creates a group who are lower on awareness and commitment, but ironically present narratives that, through frugality, may be seen to be very sustainable in terms of reported behaviour. However, the lack of congruence in the expression of sustainable self suggests that changes in external circumstances (such as positive changes in prosperity)

could have a large and possibly negative impact on how this group expresses sustainable living.

To conclude, the 'Accidentally Sustainable' express sustainability in an incongruent way with reference to the layers of the self. For this group, social identity is more prominent than personal identity with reference to expressions of sustainability which, for instance, entails that they do not activate their personal identity when expressing their sustainable self. This group often say they live sustainably out of necessity, often because of current or past financial problems. Therefore, the main motive driving their behaviour is linked to the drive to acquire (financial stability) and to personal rewards and extrinsic motives. This group of individuals often satisfies the drive to bond, although this is less significant. By expressing sustainable behaviour, they build relationships with members of sustainable communities. The misalignment between identity expression and final expression of behaviour leads in this case once more to low levels of commitment, which in the case of the 'Accidentally Sustainable' would mean moving to a different (and less sustainable) lifestyle if their financial circumstances improved.

Table 5-4. Summary of the 'Accidentally Sustainable'

Characteristics of this group	What does this group have in common with other groups?	How is this group different from other groups?	Implications for theory/literature	Implications for practice
• Expression of sustainable self when social identity is salient (primary and only). • Manifestation of sustainability at the 'learned', 'lived' and 'perceived' layers of the self, but not at the 'core' self. • Incongruence between the four layers of the self. • Misalignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. • Motivated to live sustainably by the drive to acquire. The drive to bond seems to be sometimes fulfilled. The drives to learn and defend are not really satisfied. • Motivations to live sustainably are individualistic and extrinsic.	• <u>In common with the 'Publicly Sustainable'</u>: - Both groups express their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient. - Both groups do not manifest sustainability at the level of the 'core' self and express their identity in incongruence. - Both groups follow inconsistent patterns of behaviour, as a consequence of misalignment between expression of identity and final behaviour. - Both groups are motivated to live sustainably by individualistic and extrinsic reasons • <u>In common with the 'Privately Sustainable'</u>: - Behaviour often more privately displayed.	• This group of people express their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient. Although most of the sustainable activities they carry out are done at home, they almost never express their sustainable self when personal identity is salient. They do not manifest sustainability at the level of the 'ideal' or 'ought' selves as they live sustainably by default. • Drive to acquire dominant ('acquire' being the main motivation). • Key difference with other groups is that they do not show any intentions of becoming more aware or committed with the cause of sustainability, as they are living sustainably mainly because of financial problems.	• <u>Identity</u>: The results associated to the 'Accidentally Sustainable' show that incongruence on identity expression and misalignment between identity expression and final behaviour lead to lower levels of awareness and commitment with sustainable living. • <u>Motivation</u>: The results associated to this group confirm that some individuals live sustainably by default, being motivated just by financial reasons. - In terms of sustainable living, the drive to acquire (dominant for this group) is often related to individualistic and extrinsic motives to live sustainably.	• The findings associated to this group can help policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting individuals who are not really committed to sustainable living, in an attempt to encourage them to continue following sustainable lifestyles even when their financial situation changes.

5.3 Discussion of findings related to identity

The findings of this study are consistent with the broader assertion within the management literature that aspects related to personal and social identity impact the sustainable practices of stakeholders (e.g. Bartels, & Hoogendam, 2011; Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2016). In particular, the outcomes of this research contribute to the current literature on sustainable living by offering insights on how identity congruence and identity salience influence the expression of sustainable behaviour. Theoretical implications related to these two main aggregate dimensions are discussed in the next sub-sections.

5.3.1 Identity salience

The salience of personal or social identity in a particular context is said to activate a range of mechanisms that maintain the consistency or coherence of one's identity (Oyserman, 2009a). Therefore, the expression of sustainability, when personal or social identity is salient, also varies. Data drawn from this research revealed systematic differences between individuals expressing their sustainable self when personal identity is salient and those expressing their sustainable self mainly when social identity is salient. These results contribute to theory on identity and sustainable living, and add to previous research looking at identity salience in the field of sustainable behaviour (e.g. Costa Pinto *et al.,* 2016).

The results suggest that in the case of individuals who activate their sustainable self in relation to their **personal identity**, identity salience is

associated to high levels of commitment when expressing sustainable behaviour. According to the literature, identity salience relates to identity commitment (Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Morris, 2013), understood as the motivation driving individuals to keep congruence between their own sense of self and the perception of others (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). This explains why participants expressing their sustainable self when personal identity is salient also express their identity in a congruent manner. It could be argued then that this level of commitment and congruence with their self-concept influences the degree of their commitment with the cause of sustainable living.

Participants expressing their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient, refer to aspects related to sustainability when describing their personal characteristics. This denotes concordance between sustainability values and their own values as individuals. In particular, three key values emerged from the data: connection to the natural environment, animal welfare and social justice. Based these concepts and the meanings behind them individuals in this group appear to be community oriented, whilst the salience of their personal identity is connected to a sense of the common good. This finding aligns with the results of the study by Costa Pinto *et al.* (2016) on green consumption, which suggest that self-transcendence intentions – related to the concern for others (Schwartz, 1992, 1990, 2010) –, influence consumption in a greater way when personal identity is salient. However, the present study offers greater insights on the motives driving the expression of sustainable behaviour, as the analysis of participants'

narratives provides more detailed explanation around identity and motivation. Furthermore, the results of this study are of relevance to those planning to target sustainable individuals, as actual expressions of behaviour have been analysed (against the *intentions[17]* of behaviour often analysed in studies in the field of sustainable behaviour).

In contrast, those participants expressing their sustainable self mainly when **social identity** is salient tend to express sustainable living in a less committed manner, with less reference to common good and with more to self-interest. It is interesting, therefore, that they refer to themselves as sustainable more at a societal level (e.g. they are active members of sustainable organisations; they care about others seeing them as sustainable), than at a personal one. Sustainability does not appear to be manifested at the level of the 'core' self. For instance, and drawing upon the assumptions of Turner, Wetherell and Hogg (1989), they may abandon behaviours, which are supportive of their personal identity, in the intent of avoiding disloyalty their social identity. Hence, the actions of this group are often social – the rewards of this are increased recognition or acceptance by a group – and it seems, therefore, that issues related to sustainability are not critical to their self-definition or self-concept (Baumeister, 1998).

Specifically, they talk about themselves being sustainable in relation to the sustainable practices they carry out and the idea that by making their behaviour visible they could set an example to others. These actions could be understood in relation to the common good. However, the public character

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[17] Intentions of behaviour can change before the behaviour takes place (Ajzen, 1985, 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, 2011).

of their activities may also be related to a desire of self-identifying or being seen as sustainable (Schlenker, 1986). Which relates to the formation of their social identity by creating self-categorisations (Turner, 1985). This aspiration is connected to individual reasons to express sustainable behaviour.

Interestingly, the findings suggest that when social identity is activated in terms of sustainable living, individuals occasionally behave on behalf of both themselves and the common good. This adds weight to the finding by Costa Pinto *et al.* (2016) that social identity was associated with both self-transcendence and self-enhancement motives in green consumption. However, a deeper analysis of participants' narratives in this study looking at the broader subject of sustainable living, suggests that there are two sub-groups of people expressing their sustainable self when social identity is salient. Those who only or mainly express their sustainable self when social identity is salient, and those who do it when both personal and social identities are prominent. Even though both groups of people are influenced by both personal and collective motives, members of the former are more inclined to behave in their own interest, while those of the latter seem inclined to act considering both about their own lives and the common benefit.

These findings could significantly contribute to the targeting of sustainable individuals (e.g. when developing policy or pro-sustainability marketing campaigns), as the analysis of the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives allows in this case the exploration of habitual or actual sustainable behavioural expressions. As mentioned before, most studies in sustainable behaviour have used the TPB, TRA and/or the NAM,

which look at intentions of behaviour and according to Steg and Vlek (2009) may not be suitable when aiming to explore actual sustainability behaviour.

As explained in the previous chapter, the findings of this study suggest personal and social identity is expressed by those self-identifying as sustainable in two ways: primarily and secondarily. Drawing upon identity theory, identity salience depends on one's commitment to a role. According to Stryker (1980), commitment can be 1) *interactional*, related to the quantity of roles associated with one's identity, and 2) *affective*, which refers to the importance of the relationships connected to this identity. Higher levels of commitment (both in terms of interaction and affection) lead to higher likelihood of an identity to be salient.

Thus, it can be argued that in the present study primary salience of identity is related to a higher level of commitment with that identity – and with what it entails. For instance, those expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient may be committed to the values of sustainability, which are aligned to their own values. On the other hand, individuals expressing their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient might be committed to their need of belonging to a sustainable group or community and their desire to be seen as sustainable. In this case, commitment to the values of sustainability (and to live in accordance to them) might be secondary.

These findings contribute to the current literature on identity and sustainability by evidencing the systematic differences in terms of motivation and behaviour between those expressing their sustainable self when

personal identity is salient and those expressing their sustainable self when social identity is activated.

5.3.2 Identity congruence

As explained in the previous chapter, the results of this research revealed also systematic differences between those expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self in a congruent manner and those identity-incongruent.

According to the analysis of the narratives, individuals who express their sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient are expressing identity in a **congruent** manner. As stated before, congruence has been analysed by looking at the manifestation of sustainable living at the four layers of the self. Narratives in this study suggest that following a sustainable lifestyle allows individuals to express aspects of who they think they really are (i.e. to express aspects of their 'core' self), play the roles they want to play in life, in accordance with their real 'me' ('learned' self), live as their real 'me' ('lived' self) and to be seen for who they really are ('perceived' self).

This manifestation of sustainability across the four levels denotes identity congruence (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) when expressing aspects of their identity through sustainable living. It is therefore argued that congruent expressions of identity are also linked to congruent narratives and congruent expressions of behaviours therein (Oyserman, 2009a). This result supports previous research propositions showing that the salience of personal identity

leads to congruent green behaviours (Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2016). However, the present study offers a more detailed examination of the relationship between the activation of personal identity and congruent expressions of identity and behaviour.

Furthermore, identity congruence favours alignment between identity expression and the final expression of behaviour, which in this study relates to following a sustainable lifestyle. Alignment, in turn, leads to consistent patterns of behaviour and, ultimately, allows individuals to function well both at a personal and at a social level (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015). In the case of people self-identifying as sustainable, this is translated into the expression of sustainability issues in the individuals' sense of self at many levels in a congruent way. Furthermore, alignment and consistency entails high levels of commitment with the cause of sustainability (e.g. taking sustainability into account in every aspect of one's life) and long-term expression of behaviour (e.g. individuals are sustainable now and will continue being (even more) sustainable in the future). These results add to the literature on identity by offering empirical evidence that those expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self in congruence, experience more positive emotions, as they live in accordance with their own values and life aspirations (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

In addition, the findings suggest that those expressing their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient are expressing identity in an **incongruent** way. Drawing upon Hillenbrand and Money (2015), this would entail lack of manifestation of sustainable living at all four layers of the self. In

fact, the expression of sustainable living by individuals in these group(s) is often seen to help them be what they think they 'ought' or 'want' to be, to play the roles they 'ought' or 'want' to play in life, to live as they 'ought' or 'want' to be, and to be seen as they 'ought' or 'want' to be seen.

However, what individuals belonging to this group have in common is some form of incongruence between who they think they 'ought' and 'want' to be; and who they believe they really are. For most people in this group, the misalignments are greatest between the 'core' and the 'lived' levels of the self. This suggests a desire to have sustainability at the 'core' self, in which case they would achieve their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves. As explained earlier, individuals in this situation may experience emotional ambivalence (Fong, 2006), and may be trying to reconcile existing conflicts between different aspects of their sense of self. Through commitment and processes of adaptation and learning, individuals expressing identity in incongruence could potentially adopt values of sustainability at the most personal level (concordance between own personal values and values attached to sustainability) and ultimately find alignment in identity expression.

Incongruence in the expression of identity tends to lead to misalignment between the expression of identity and the final expression of behaviour (living sustainably). As mentioned earlier in the literature review, misalignment can result in psychological tensions (Harris & Reynolds, 2003), such as cognitive dissonance, namely when attitudes and behaviours are out of sync, and problems of inauthenticity (Erickson, 1995). In the case of this study, individuals report that trying to follow and sometimes failing to live

sustainable lifestyles can be stressful, as there is often a gap between how an individual would like to behave with regards to sustainability and their actual behaviours.

Thus, the findings of this study add to the literature on identity by demonstrating that expressing an identity in relation to the sustainable self in incongruence could have negative psychological consequences such as emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and stress (Higgins, 1987; 1989). For instance, those who express their sustainable self in an incongruent manner often report that living entirely sustainably would require them to make sacrifices and efforts that are too great. This finding agrees with previous studies proposing that people may be put off to follow more sustainable lifestyles as a consequence of the image of sacrifice attached to it (Levitt & Moses, 2010). It also suggests that changes to make sustainable choices less costly for individuals in terms of effort, costs and time could have a significant impact on encouraging sustainable behaviours from this group. This could be explained by the fact that identity incongruence relates to lack of commitment between one's own sense of identity and evaluations from the social setting. According to Burke and Reitzes (1991), individuals would only engage in behaviours that would change this state if those were easy, temporary and implied behaving that way only on occasion. Thus, in terms of sustainable living, strong behavioural engagement would be even more difficult to achieve, unless the costs of such actions are reduced.

According to Soron (2010), more identity-oriented initiatives related to sustainable behaviour (he refers to consumption in his article) need to be

adopted, as other strategies to change behaviour (e.g. information, price, incentives, etc.) have not been successful. Therefore, more research on identity and sustainable behaviour is needed. The results of this study contribute towards addressing this gap by offering insights on how individuals variously express their sustainable self depending on the activation of their personal and social identities, and on the level of congruence between the different aspects that form them.

Overall, the findings of this study contribute to identity theory by offering insights on how identity salience and identity congruence can influence the alignment between identity expression and final behaviour, which in turn tends to lead to either consistent or inconsistent patterns of behaviour. In addition, this research offers empirical evidence on how the four layers of the self, proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015), work in a real context, through the lenses of a qualitative study. Finally, by examining the identity of individuals who self-identify as sustainable this study contributes to the literature in sustainable behaviour, which to date has mainly focused on values, attitudes and intentions (Stern & Dietz, 1994; Kaiser & Gutscher, 2003; Black & Cherrier, 2010; Steg et al., 2014b). By deeply analysing the identity of those self-identifying as sustainable, motivational drives leading to sustainable behaviours can be examined through a different lens, which offers a more detailed understanding of these practices and about those who engage in them.

5.4 Discussion of findings related to motivations

The motivations driving individuals who self-identify as sustainable to follow a sustainable lifestyle have been analysed through the lens of the Four Drives of Human Motivation (acquire, bond, learn and defend) proposed by Lawrence and Nohria in 2002. In the next sub-sections, an exploration of how each of the drives relates to the concept of sustainable living, as described by participants of this study, is undertaken with reference to the theoretical contributions of the study.

5.4.1 The drive to acquire

As explained in Chapter 4, drawing on the analysis of the participants' narratives it is concluded that the drive to acquire is satisfied by individuals who live sustainably in three ways: by (1) acquiring a sustainable status, by (2) gaining financial benefits, namely saving money and achieving financial security or stability; and by (3) having an anti-establishment/consumerism attitude, which could imply acquiring a status as the 'anti'. Thus, the satisfaction of the drive to acquire through sustainable living is both motivated by individualistic and extrinsic reasons (i.e. when aiming to acquire a sustainable status or financial stability), and by collectivistic and intrinsic motives (i.e. when possessing an anti-consumerist attitude. This is the case even though they are willing to acquire the 'anti' status, indeed they are primarily acting on behalf of the common good).

Those who aspire to **acquire a 'sustainable' status** within their community or social group are mainly driven by the need to gain personal satisfaction and/or to set an example to others. *Satisfaction* may be achieved through acquisition of this sustainable status. This finding adds to previous studies suggesting that those seeking to gain reputation through sustainable practices tend to be extrinsically motivated (Hamari *et al.*, 2016).

In addition, satisfaction may be also related to the desire to be seen as more 'pro-social' (Griskevicius *et al.,* 2010), to the need of 'doing my bit' or to individuals avoiding feeling guilty. For instance, Self-Determination Theory (SDT) states that people experience the highest levels of satisfaction once they have overcome guilt (Deci & Ryan, 2000, 2008a, 2011). This may be the reason why some individuals aim to follow a sustainable lifestyle and be seen as sustainable, as social norms may be making them feel guilty. According to this theory, individuals motivated by the desire of acquiring a status may be driven by extrinsic motivations and, in particular, introjection, which implies avoiding guiltiness (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In the case of this study, individuals sometimes indicated that they sought approval from others in the sustainable community, with the intention to re-affirm their identification as sustainable people. Consequently, they might stop feeling guilty and start feeling satisfied. This then results in them continuing to behave sustainably as, according to Bandura (1991), self-satisfaction entails engagement with the practices causing it. This, ultimately, would give them their desired 'sustainable' status. This finding supports previous studies (DEFRA, 2010; Gillani, 2014) proposing that individuals who feel guilty are more likely to

engage in sustainable behaviours, both those carried out individually (e.g. saving energy at home) or collectively (e.g. actively support sustainable groups) (Ferguson, & Branscombe, 2010).

Furthermore, some participants are willing to acquire a 'sustainable' status with the purpose of *setting an example* to others. Setting an example is related more to the drive to learn, and its implications are explained in detail later on in this chapter (Section 5.4.3). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in some cases – as may be the case of those highly satisfying the drive to acquire through sustainable living – setting an example to others is closely related to the need of acquiring status. In fact, drawing upon Wasko and Faraj's (2005) ideas, individuals share knowledge (understood in this case as part of setting an example to others) in order to achieve personal reputation.

Acquiring **financial security or stability** is also driving the fulfilment of the drive to acquire in terms of sustainable living. Engaging in sustainable practices is closely connected with saving money, through the reduction of goods and energy consumption, and by following reusing and recycling initiatives, among others. However, for some sustainable individuals this is the primary motive to behave sustainably. This result, is consistent with those of previous studies identifying 'saving money' as one of the principal motivations to engage in sustainable behaviours (e.g. Evans *et al.,* 2013; Steg *et al.,* 2014a; Hamari *et al.,* 2016). For instance, the results of this study suggest that acquiring financial security is the main motive driving the expression of behaviour of individuals categorised as the 'Accidentally

Sustainable'. Some of them are currently facing financial problems and therefore live only with what they need.

Others are motivated to live sustainably because they save money, and they try to save money as a habit, due to low-budget situations experienced in the past (either by themselves or their parents). In some instances, the reason behind the motivation to save money is explained by the fact that people who grew up with the Second World War, are more inclined to follow practices which would help them save (Hallin, 1995). This would explain why some participants in this study had difficulties explaining why they live sustainably (even though the categorisation of 'sustainable lifestyle' is quite recent), as this is the only way of living they know.

However, many people in this group recognised that self-interest was a key driver and outcome of their behaviour. Therefore, the drive to acquire, once again, appears to be linked with extrinsic motives to live sustainably. This result is consistent with previous studies suggesting that individuals seeking to get economic rewards through sustainable practices are often motivated by extrinsic motivations (Hamari *et al.,* 2016). According to Steg (2016), behaviours, which help individuals save money (e.g. using energy saving light bulbs, buying second-hand clothes) as a consequence, are performed by people with strong egoistic values. This explains the lack of manifestation of sustainability at the 'core' self of individuals who are 'Accidentally Sustainable', as they may lack the altruistic values needed to be aware and concerned with problems related to sustainability.

The third concept emerging in this section is related to the expression of an **anti-consumerist attitude (acquiring the status of 'anti')**. Which makes individuals satisfy the drive to acquire through sustainable living. It is argued that the drive to acquire is satisfied in two ways in this case. First, individuals adopt anti-consumption attitudes with the aim of acquiring an 'anti' status. Furthermore, they may want to be seen as anti-consumerist in order to dis-identify from what could be considered a threat (Osborne, 1997), i.e. the mainstream or consumer society in which we live nowadays. Their identities may be in conflict with the ways of consuming and living embedded in our culture and which cause damage to the environment. As a consequence, they engage in sustainable lifestyles in order to separate themselves from these practices. Furthermore, the drive to acquire is satisfied in a negative manner in this case, as the motivation is not related to the acquisition of tangible goods, but its avoidance. This finding adds to the results of previous studies suggesting that anti-consumption is an essential part of following a sustainable lifestyle (Black & Cherrier, 2010).

In this case, individuals develop and communicate their identities in relation to anti-consumerism principles. This contrasts with common assumptions in consumer behaviour literature; namely that people often create and communicate their identities through the acquisition of possessions and the meanings attached to them (Giddens, 1991; Dittmar, 1992; Elliot, 1997; Arnould *et al.,* 2002; Solomon, 2002; Solomon, Russell-Bennett & Previte, 2012). Avoiding consumption is closely related to sustainability, as individuals interested in behaving sustainably tend to be concerned about the impact

their consumption practices have on others and on the environment (Harrison, Newholm & Shaw, 2005). In this study, participants expressing anti-consumption concerns normally try to waste as little as possible, while at the same time try to recycle and reuse.

Some of the participants of the study also mentioned that they tend to borrow resources from family, friends or neighbours instead of buying them. This can be related to the notion of the sharing economy and collaborative consumption, understood by Botsman and Rogers (2010) as a resource system in which consumers interact with each other with the aim of obtaining and providing goods or services. Participants of this study gave examples of this type of shared use, mentioning regulated initiatives such as the 'Car Club' as well as more traditional and common practices, like asking for resources around their neighbourhood (e.g. when needing tools). This finding supports the idea that sharing economies offer a pathway to sustainability, in particular in terms of environmental and social sustainability (Heinrichs, 2013; Hamari *et al.,* 2016). In the context of this study, these anti-consumerist practices (i.e. share resources) could also relate to the fulfilment of the drive to bond, as by engaging in these initiatives individuals form bonds with others and re-affirm the status of the group.

Furthermore, it could be argued that those participants with an anti-consumerist attitude are not only willing to reduce consumption as a whole. In fact, they may also try to switch from consuming goods and services produced by big corporations to buying products coming from independent and local businesses. This form of anti-consumption is described by

Penaloza and Price (1993) as 'consumer resistance', understood as resistance against existing consumer culture, and the brands, organisations, marketing images and norms which support it. For instance, some participants in this study mentioned they never go to shopping malls and they only buy from supermarket chains (e.g. Tesco) if they are not able to find the products they need somewhere else.

This type of behaviour can be explained by theories on consumer boycotting. Which are understood as efforts made by individuals or collectives with the purpose of achieving certain targets and encourage consumers to avoid making purchases in the marketplace (Friedman, 1985). Boycotts are normally focused on social, political and ethical issues, and are largely adopted among sustainable individuals and organisations. In the case of this study, boycotting practices help participants satisfy the drive to acquire, not only in terms of anti-consumption, but also from the point of view of acquiring the status of the 'anti'. For instance, according to Kozinets and Handelman (1998), individuals use boycotting as a way of expressing themselves. Furthermore, boycotts favour the fulfilment of the drive to defend, as by boycotting businesses, individuals are defending their values and beliefs.

In conclusion, the results of this study suggest that a proportion of individuals who self-identify as sustainable satisfy the drive to acquire by living sustainably. Three 2nd- order themes emerged in relation to this theme: acquiring status, acquiring financial security and having an anti-consumerist attitude (including acquiring status as the 'anti'). The aspects related to each

of these concepts support findings from previous studies on sustainable behaviour and consumer practices.

In particular, this study contributes to research on guilt and pro-sustainable behaviours (e.g. Guillani, 2014, Antonetti & Maklan, 2014; Lundblad & Davies, 2016; Kraus & Emontspool, 2017), as well as theories on anti-consumption and boycotting, and how these are particular expressions of sustainable behaviour (e.g. Lavorata, 2014; Seegebarth *et al.,* 2016). Even though those with an anti-consumerist attitude think collectively when behaving sustainably, individuals mainly driven by the drive to acquire are motivated by: (1) the acquisition of a sustainable or (2) 'anti' status and/or (3) the acquisition of financial security, namely motives whose consequences benefit the individual.

5.4.2 The drive to bond

The results of this study suggest that the drive to bond is highly important when researching the motivations driving the expression of behaviour of sustainable individuals. Three 2nd-order themes related to this drive emerged from the narrative analysis: (1) Some individuals fulfil the drive to bond because of family influence; (2) others satisfy it due to their desire to build friendships; and (3) others express this drive because of the need of belonging to a community/ formal group.

In the case of those satisfying the drive to bond motivated by **family influence**, the main cause of such behaviour is the habit learned from

parents and/or grandparents. This finding agrees with classic sociological theory (Bourdieu, 1977), claiming that individuals are not completely free when making choices, as their decisions are consciously and unconsciously influenced by attitudes learnt from parents (as well as by the characteristics of their social group and by their class). Participants in this study fulfil the drive to bond through sustainable living by reflecting what they have learnt at home since childhood. They live sustainably because it is the life they want to live, while and at the same time by living sustainably they strengthen family ties and bonds between parent and child. They are driven by the fundamental motive of caring for family (Griskevicius & Kenrick, 2013) and their interest in maintaining their relationship with their families. This is the nucleus where the drive to bond is generated for humans (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002).

A variant of this concept is found among individuals who do not necessarily learn sustainable habits from childhood, but who started behaving sustainably through the influence of partners. According to Kelley *et al.* (1983), the lives of partners are connected emotionally, socially and physically. Therefore, it could be argued that a sustainable individual cohabiting with a partner may impact on their partner's daily behaviour. Consequently, this person might start expressing sustainable behaviour and self-identifying as sustainable. This was the case for some of the interviewees in this study, who mentioned that they learnt about sustainability and started living sustainably because of what their partners taught them.

Building long-term mutually caring relationships is related to the primary expression of the drive to bond (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). This is the

reason why some individuals express highly the drive to bond. They become sustainable due to their desire to **build friendships**. In particular, narratives show that participants of this study tend to actively join sustainable organisations around their community with the aim of both supporting the organisations, and importantly meeting like-minded people with whom to share experiences (Sneddon, 2011) and build friendships. This finding adds to previous studies suggesting that individuals might engage in sustainable behaviours aiming to achieve emotional affiliation or, in other words, pursue emotional connections by being recognised and recognising other individuals as behaving sustainably (Cherrier, 2006).

Even though the desire of making friends may denote an egoistic motivation, friendships among sustainable individuals could in fact help spread sustainable behaviours. According to Simmel (1950), friendships involve faithfulness and gratitude, emotions which favour the creation of strong bonds between people and which support the continuity of institutions and the stability of societies. In addition, friendships influence individuals when making choices – in particular among young people (Dibley & Baker, 2001) – and help maintain a sense of identity stability (Greco, Holmes, & McKenzie, 2015). In the case of individuals expressing their sustainable self in an incongruent manner, friendships are beneficial in the sense of working towards identity consistency. This would be particularly valuable for some of the 'Publicly Sustainable', namely those who pursue their 'ideal' or 'ought' self through sustainable living. By building friendships with sustainable individuals they become more aware of and concerned with the cause of

sustainability. At the same time, they acquire values related to sustainability, which help them achieve congruence in identity expression and develop their sustainable sense of self (Marcia, 1980; Jones *et al.,* 2014).

Furthermore, the drive to bond is expressed in terms of sustainable living by individuals who feel the need of satisfying the **sense of belonging to a community or a social group.** Participants' narratives reveal that one of the reasons individuals follow a sustainable lifestyle is to feel part of a community and get, in one participant's words, a "sense of identity". Therefore, the fulfilment of the drive to bond in this case does not only relate to a feeling of 'fitting' in, but to the creation or maintenance of the individuals' social identity through self-categorisations (Turner, 1985).

Furthermore, by belonging to a group, people not only develop social contacts, but avoid social isolation and loneliness and help maintain psychological health (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). By becoming members of a sustainable organisation or group, individuals become identified with it, which helps them achieve their need for belonging (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), social identification favours individuals engaging in activities which are congruent with their identities and supporting organisations that represent their sense of identity. This would explain why individuals who are part of the 'Holistically Sustainable' and the 'Publicly Sustainable' fulfil greatly the drive to bond in terms of sustainable living. Their social character, together with the expression of their sustainable self when social identity is salient, encourages them to actively join sustainable organisations which they feel part of.

Group belonging and the emotions attached to it are a very important part of an individual's self-concept (Tajfel, 1982), while at the same time it helps shape behaviour (Reed, 2002). This may be the reason why most sustainable practices by the 'Publicly Sustainable' are carried out when within the group. In some cases, this leads to building friendships, although belonging to a sustainable community is more related to a sense of feeling part of a group in which one is listened to and accepted. The 'Publicly Sustainable' – who in some cases develop a sense of sustainable self – might join sustainable groups because they look for approval. As by engaging in behaviours accepted by others, one becomes approved of (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Furthermore, they may become part of these sustainable groups with the aim of gaining experience in relation to sustainable issues, as according to the literature, lived experiences help the construction of the self (Thompson, 1990; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000),.

The sense of belonging motivates a great number of sustainable individuals who, in fact, believe fully sustainable societies would only exist once people start living in sustainable communities (e.g. cohousing, cooperatives, eco-villages). This helps explain the character of the two 1st-order concepts emerging from this 2nd-order theme. For instance, individuals motivated to fulfil the drive to bond through belonging do not only think about their own benefit, but also the good of the community. By belonging to a sustainable group they feel they are able to *help and care for others and society*, which helps reinforce their sense of membership. Furthermore, they *share knowledge and resources* with other members of the group, which helps

them in terms of learning and awareness (related to the drive to learn); while at the same time contributes to the development and success of the collective.

Overall, the findings of this study expose that the drive to bond is highly expressed in terms of sustainable living. In particular, the satisfaction of this drive is motivated by family influence, the desire to build friendships, and the need to belong. These results support previous studies which argue that individuals tend to behave sustainably motivated by social norms (e.g. DEFRA, 2010; Huijts, Molin & Steg, 2012; Demarque *et al.*, 2015), but also go beyond these by exploring a wide range of situations and mechanisms by which social norms may develop and act as levers for sustainable behaviours.

In addition, this study contributes to the literature on motivations in sustainable behaviour by offering evidence on how individuals follow sustainable lifestyles with the purpose of fitting in and making friends. From the narrative analysis, it is concluded that this happens due to a desire to socialise with like-minded people or is linked to the intention of converting the 'ideal' or 'ought' self into the 'core' self through a process of learning and identity development.

In summary, it is concluded that participants expressing in a great manner the drive to bond may be motivated by extrinsic reasons, as the consequence of their behaviour is personal benefit. However, it could be argued that those who care about others and join organisations in order to share knowledge and support the cause are motivated by collective reasons and intrinsic

motives. This assumption agrees with those of previous studies suggesting that care in terms of sustainable behaviour is motivated intrinsically (Shaw *et al.,* 2016).

5.4.3 The drive to learn

As stated in the analysis chapter, the results of this study reveal that the drive to learn is fulfilled by people who live sustainably in two different ways. First, some individuals satisfy the drive to learn by following a sustainable lifestyle because of their desire to set an example to others. In addition, this drive is fulfilled through curiosity, by questioning everything and developing solutions.

Setting an example to others and future generations is a motivation that helps satisfy both the drive to learn and the drive to acquire (as explained in Section 5.4.1) – in the case of the latter, through the acquisition of a sustainable status. However, in this section this aspect is more deeply explored, and connected with the fulfilment of the drive to learn. Participants of this study declared they would like others to be inspired by their actions, through which they could learn and which could potentially favour the adoption of a pro-sustainable behaviour. Therefore, the drive to learn is expressed in this case in the teaching of others.

Nevertheless, according to knowledge theory, the sharing of knowledge between two or more people, both visually and/or verbally, is not only motivated by the acquisition of knowledge itself. In fact, people who share knowledge with others are sometimes motivated by a desire of self-

actualisation (Stott & Walker, 1995; Tampoe, 1996). As explained in the literature review chapter, self-actualisation (understood as the need to develop one's potential) works differently depending on the type of capacities or aptitudes the individual wants to develop (Goldstein, 1939). Drawing on participants' narratives, it can be concluded that individuals motivated by the desire to set an example to others by sharing knowledge, are driven to act by both the will to help others and society, and the aspiration to favour their own professional development.

Furthermore, the narratives of this study revealed that people expressing in a great manner the drive to learn seem to be questioners in nature and, therefore, tend to **question everything** around them. The motivations behind this behaviour vary, from knowing where the products come from to being aware of the conditions those producing them are facing. Overall, individuals try to both become informed and to satisfy their curiosity, elements forming the basic and most innate expression of the drive to learn (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002). It should be noted that participants expressing sustainable behaviour mainly through the drive to learn – as it is the case of the 'Privately Sustainable' – tend to dedicate their professional lives to sustainability.

In particular, they seek big solutions to sustainability problems. This could be explained by the work of Simon (1991), who argues that scientists work under the motivation to mitigate the curiosity that invades them constantly. Satisfying that curiosity would make individuals perform better. It could also lead them to sustainable well-being (Kashdan & Steger, 2007), which could help individuals reinforce identity congruence. The direction of their

professional careers could also be explained, as mentioned earlier, by the ideas of Shaw *et al.* (2016), who argue that those who care feel a sense of responsibility or obligation (i.e. dedicate their career to find a solution to the problem of sustainability or focus their career on caring for others). Therefore, some of the individuals who self-identify as sustainable tend to question everything around them with both the intention to help and be sustainable; and with the aim of satisfying their curiosity.

It could be concluded that through sustainable living individuals satisfy the drive to learn motivated by an awareness of the impact of their actions. Both by setting an example to others and by questioning everything, people activate their sense of agency, which according to Marcel (2003) entails responsibility over one's own actions and, therefore, the consequences of it. In terms of sustainable living, this would relate to the impact daily behaviours have on the environment and society.

In addition, from the point of view of the drive to learn, a sense of agency could be linked to the impact of research and work on sustainability and sustainable development. This explains why the 'Privately Sustainable', who mainly express the drive to learn through sustainable living, are individuals highly responsible and committed to the cause of sustainability, to the extent that they are devoting their lives to it. This finding supports previous research suggesting that sustainable behaviour is sometimes motivated by agency, or individuals' disposition to behave following their belief in their capacity to carry out an action (Marcel, 2003), and achieve the desired results (e.g. DEFRA, 2010; Spaargaren, 2011; Cotton *et al.,* 2016). The 'Privately

Sustainable' believe that their research and work could bring big solutions to the problems related to sustainability, which drives them to behave and live in a sustainable way.

Furthermore, perceptions of responsibility and control are highly important when encouraging pro-sustainable behaviours (Shaw *et al.,* 2016), as the lack of them would lead to lower levels of action (Banfield *et al.*, 2013). Overall, the drive to learn is associated with intrinsic reasons to live sustainably, as even though individuals act because of a sense of responsibility, they are very aware and concerned about sustainability.

5.4.4 The drive to defend

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the drive to defend is expressed through sustainable living in one way or another by most of the participants in this study. The narratives revealed that this drive is satisfied by means of three different motivations, which are: (1) the motivation to defend my values and beliefs; (2) the drive to defend the planet; and (3) the desire of defending my health.

A great number of participants, mainly those belonging to the 'Holistically Sustainable' and the 'Privately Sustainable' groups live sustainably in order to live in accordance with and, therefore **defend, their values and beliefs**. As stated in the literature review chapter, values are great predictors of motivations, as they serve as the bridge between needs and goals (Schwartz, 1992). In fact, individuals satisfying the drive to defend in terms of

values and beliefs manifest sustainability at the level of the 'core' self. In other words, sustainability values are part of their personal characteristics, and they are motivated to live sustainably in order to defend what they believe in.

This motive is directly related to aspects of identity and, in fact, helps in identifying the alignment between values and purposes, between identity expression and the expression of sustainable behaviour. Values have been largely used as forecasters of sustainable behaviour (e.g. Onwezen *et al.,* 2013; Steg *et al.,* 2014; Sharma & Jha, 2017). For instance, previous research has demonstrated that individuals are more likely to make choices that support their values in life, while, at the same time, people are inclined to evaluate the different options available to them in regards to the impact the final decision is going to have on their values (Steg, 2016). In fact, when values are related to sustainability and are part of an individual's sense of identity, then values may guide the motivation to follow a sustainable lifestyle (Thogersen & Olander, 2002; Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010).

However, as far as it is known, there is no evidence showing the defence of one's values motivates this type of behavioural expression. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature on values, motivations and sustainable behaviour by offering evidence on how the desire of living in accordance with one's own values and beliefs motivates one to defend them and drive individuals to start/maintain a sustainable lifestyle.

Furthermore, people express the drive to defend in terms of sustainability when motivated to **defend the planet** and those living on it. In fact,

defending the planet (i.e. the environment, society) and the resources stemming from it, is understood by several authors as one of the main aims of following a sustainable lifestyle (e.g. Bedford *et al.*, 2004; Hamari *et al.,* 2016).

This motive is prominent in most participants of this study. However, those who practice it more systematically are most committed to the cause of sustainability (again, individuals classified as 'Holistically Sustainable' and 'Privately Sustainable). This phenomenon is explained by individuals' high levels of knowledge about sustainability, as well as the fact that their values are in accordance with the values associated to sustainability. This supports the general assumption that knowledge and positive attitudes towards the environment favour sustainable behaviours (e.g. Pelletier *et al.*, 1998; Mostafa, 2007; Kumar, Manrai & Manrai, 2017).

Furthermore, two 1st-order concepts emerged as precedents of this 2nd-order theme, as individuals aim to defend the planet not only in general terms, but also consider animal welfare and/or the wellbeing of future generations*.* Those really concerned about *animal welfare* tend to be individuals following vegan or vegetarian diets. Initially, one could think about behaviour driven by intrinsic motivations, as they may be aware of the conditions animals live in farms and wish to contribute to a change in those. However, previous studies have shown that people who seem to care about animal welfare may also be thinking about personal rewards. For instance, a study on organic food production carried out by Harper and Makatouni (2002) revealed that consumers use animal welfare as an indicator of the quality of the product

and, therefore, are thinking about their own health and safety when purchasing these products.

Furthermore, some individuals are motivated to defend the planet because they care about the *wellbeing of future generations*, which is a key aspect of sustainable development (Dobson, 2007). Participants are concerned about future generations being able to satisfy their needs, which would relate to one of the motivations to adopt pro-sustainable behaviours proposed by Oskamp (2000). The author talks about a war against the 'common enemy of an uninhabitable Earth' and calls for nations and people to share a common goal of achieving sustainable living patterns.

Those concerned about future generations could, for instance, be encouraged to defend the planet by joining 'the war', or joining others who think alike. In this case, the drive to bond would also be a motivator of behaviour, as the way others act influences our own behaviour (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Especially when those with whom we share experiences and who share our ideology (Wilson & Sherrell, 1993). This could help explaining why individuals satisfying the drive to bond through sustainable living tend to be active members of sustainable organisations.

Finally, some individuals who self-identify as sustainable satisfy the drive to defend through sustainable living motivated by the desire to **defend their health**. This is the reason why a great number of interviewees cycle to work, for example. Furthermore, health was one of the first reported benefits of living sustainably by some participants. This result supports previous research linking sustainable behaviour with health issues. For instance, the

consumption of organic food may be motivated by its lack of pesticides (Aertsens *et al.*, 2011), and by the energy it purportedly provides to the body (Seyfang, 2006).

In conclusion, from the narratives collected in this study it seems evident the drive to defend is expressed among almost all those individuals who self-identify as following a sustainable lifestyle. This drive is satisfied by the will to defend one's values and beliefs, as well as the desires to defend the planet and be healthy. In general terms, the drive to defend appears to be associated to intrinsic motivations, although those motivated by defending their health are pursuing personal benefits when expressing sustainable behaviour. The drive to defend is, therefore, established in this study as the foundational drive in sustainability. But precisely, what is defended, and the level of commitment to this differs in relation to other factors such as identity salience and congruence, as well as the personal experiences of individuals in the sample.

Overall, the findings of this study contribute to the literature on motivation and sustainable behaviour by providing empirical evidence suggesting that the motivations driving individuals to live sustainably can be categorised by means of four innate motivational drives, as presented in Table 5-5 and explained throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 5-5. Motivations to live sustainably explained by the Four Drives

Four Drives	Motivations (2nd-order themes)
Drive to acquire	• Acquire a sustainable status • Acquire a financial security • Expressing an anti-consumerism attitude
Drive to bond	• Motivated by family influence • Desire to build friendships • Sense of belonging to community or social group
Drive to learn	• Setting an example to others • Questioning everything
Drive to defend	• Defend their values and beliefs • Defend the planet • Defend their health

In conclusion, this study contributes to the theory on sustainability and motivations by suggesting that drives and motivations play a significant part in explaining differences in the expression of sustainable living. It also offers new insights on what drives individuals to express sustainable behaviour by providing a detailed explanation of how the motivations driving sustainable living can be classified in terms of the Four Drives of human behaviour proposed by Lawrence and Nohria (2002). This research adds to the theory of motivations in sustainable behaviour by suggesting that people satisfy the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend through sustainable living. More importantly, the results of this research suggest that individuals fulfil these drives differently depending on the way they express their identity and, in particular, depending on identity salience and identity congruence.

Overall, this study reveals how the drives to _learn and defend_ are satisfied in terms of sustainable living mainly motivated by _intrinsic motivations and collective reasons_, like setting an example to others or

the desire to defend the planet. This research also exposes how the drives to _acquire and bond_ are fulfilled through sustainable living by the means of _extrinsic motivations and individualistic reasons_, such as the acquisition of the status of 'sustainable' or the need to belong to a sustainable group or organisation. Furthermore, this study reveals that those drives linked to _intrinsic motivations_ (learn and defend), when expressed in a consistent manner (when there is alignment between identity expression and behaviour) _lead to more committed sustainable behaviours_. On the contrary, the drives connected to _extrinsic motivations_ (acquire and bond) tend to lead to _less committed and short-term behaviour,_ as a consequence of the behaviour being expressed in an inconsistent way (misalignment between identity expression and behaviour).

5.5 Summary of key findings

This research has shown, through the analysis of sustainable narratives, that identity and motivation are important factors in the sense-making processes and expression of sustainable living. The key findings of this thesis could be summarised as follows:

- **Individuals express aspects of sustainability as a function of whether sustainability issues are salient at the level of personal and/or social identity. Congruence between the four layers of the self also plays a key role in explaining levels of commitment to**

sustainable living. Those activating their sustainable behaviour primarily when personal identity is salient, often express identity in a congruent manner. This is due to sustainability being manifested at the four layers of the self (congruence between the four layers leads to congruence between personal and social identity). This means that by living sustainably they are being who they really are, playing the roles they want to play in life, living the life they want to live and being perceived as they really are. By living sustainably, they express their 'core' self, which contributes to an alignment between identity expression and the expression of behaviour (which leads to consistent patterns of behaviour). On the contrary, individuals expressing their sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient, often express their identity in an incongruent way. Thus, they are playing the roles, living and being perceived as they 'want' or 'ought' to be, but sustainability is not manifested at the level of the 'core' self. The implications of this lack of congruence relate to a misalignment between identity expression and expression of behaviour, which entails inconsistent patterns of behaviour (i.e. short-term behaviour, low levels of commitment).

- **Individuals satisfy the four motivational drives (acquire, bond, learn, defend) through sustainable living.** The expression of sustainability is a function of different motivational drives – with the drive to defend being established as a common or foundational drive present to some extent in many of the sustainable living narratives. The results of the study validate Lawrence and Nohria's idea that drives often work better in pairs. For

instance, the drive to learn and defend seem to be often working as one pair associated with intrinsic and collective reasons to live sustainably; and the drive to acquire and bond often as another pair associated with extrinsic and individualistic motives. These findings contribute to the literature on motivation and sustainable behaviour by offering empirical evidence that the motivations driving individuals to follow sustainable lifestyles could be categorised by means of the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend.

- **Individuals are differently motivated to live sustainably depending on how they express their identity.** By exploring the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives, a new typology of individuals self-identifying as sustainable is presented. The interplay between identity expression (in terms of the salience of personal/social identity and subsequent congruence) and the motivational drives (acquire, bond, learn, defend) driving sustainable living allows the presentation of a typology of individuals self-identifying as sustainable. As such, four groups are proposed with the aim of offering insights on how identity and motivations work differently among different types of individuals. Participants of this study have been categorised as 'Holistically Sustainable', 'Privately Sustainable', 'Publicly Sustainable' and 'Accidentally Sustainable'. The characteristics associated with each of these four groups have been explained throughout this chapter and also in Section 4.5 of the previous chapter. This new typology contributes to the existing literature by offering an alternative way of categorising

sustainable individuals from the point of view of the individuals' own expression of identity and behaviour. Furthermore, by looking at the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living, we can achieve understanding of the psychological aspects behind sustainable behaviour and of how identity moderates the expression of sustainable behaviour if favoured.

5.6 Findings in relation to the research questions

As explained in Chapter 1, the concept of sustainable living is attracting attention globally and is seen to be becoming more widespread as a practice (OECD, 2008; European Commission, 2013; Eurobarometer, 2014), particularly in the UK (Ethical Consumer Research Association, 2016). Sustainability has been studied from varied perspectives and across multiple academic disciplines, from environmental science and economics to management, sociology and psychology.

This doctoral study is firmly rooted in the latter managerial, sociological and psychological schools of thought, which seek to understand the concept of sustainability as a function of human perception, sense-making and behaviour. While some of the existing work studying sustainable behaviours may see it as a function of individual values, or has focused on the marketing activities of organisations and entailed some exploration of individual-organisation fit, less is known about the identity motivational mechanisms that may be at play – especially amongst those proclaiming to be sustainable.

Previous research has often looked at those following sustainable lifestyles as a homogenous group to be compared to those identified as less sustainable. This research makes its contribution by closing this gap through the presentation of a new typology of individuals who have different identity expressions and motivational drives, but all claim to be living sustainably. Therefore this study evidences the importance of the interplay between identity expression (i.e. identity congruence, identity salience – specifically personal and/or social identity) and different types of motivational drives in explaining different expressions of sustainable living. Hence, this as well as the subsequent development of the typology are the key contributions of this research.

The purpose of this research was to explore sustainable living by analysing sustainable narratives through the lenses of identity expression and motivational drives. For this purpose, three main research questions have guided the data collection and analysis. In the paragraphs below the key conclusions in relation to each of the research questions are outlined.

RQ1: Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?

One of the main aggregate dimensions which emerged from the analysis of the data was identity salience. Participants' narratives revealed that individuals who self-identify as sustainable express their sustainable self in different ways depending on whether their personal or their social identity is salient. The findings suggest that individuals expressing sustainability related aspects primarily when personal identity is salient, express aspects of their

identity in a mostly congruent manner. Namely, there are high levels of congruency in the expression of sustainability across the layers of self, as proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015).

On the other hand, those who activate sustainability primarily when social identity is salient express sustainable living in a less congruent way – since there is less congruency in expression between the layers of self proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015). There is some interesting evidence that many members of this group are on a journey towards being more sustainable, namely (those who activate their social identity secondarily and in relation to their sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' self). But it should be noted that some of this group suffer from disillusionment and a lack commitment. There is often a difference between how they believe they ought to be behaving and how they really behave (i.e. they live sustainably because is the lifestyle they would like to follow or believe they should follow).

RQ2: Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?

The findings of this study suggest that the motivations driving individuals to live sustainably could be categorised under the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend. The way participants satisfy the four drives varies depending on whether the reasons driving their behaviour are intrinsic and collective, or extrinsic and individualistic. Those individuals who are mainly motivated by intrinsic and collective reasons tend to fulfil the drives to learn and defend through sustainable living. By following a sustainable lifestyle, they aim to live in alignment with their beliefs and values in life and defend the planet and those living on it.

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Conversely, participants motivated by extrinsic and individualistic reasons are inclined to fulfil the drives to acquire and bond through their sustainable actions. In this case, their main motivation to live sustainably is related to personal rewards (e.g. financial stability, sense of belonging, acquiring a status).

RQ3: What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?

The analysis of the participants' narratives revealed that different motivations are associated with the salience of personal or social identity in sustainable living. This, combined with the finding that social identity salience was associated with less congruent expressions of sustainable living and personal identity salience associated with more congruent expressions, makes for some interesting findings. For example, those whose personal identity is salient in relation to sustainability are not only more congruent, but are more likely to be motivated by the drive to learn and defend working in tandem. In addition, these narratives are generally associated with intrinsic motivations, as individuals are concerned about the planet and those living on it.

On the other hand, those whose social identity was prominent when referring to sustainable living were motivated more by the drive to acquire and bond working jointly. Their narratives were linked more to extrinsic motives such as acquiring financial security or achieving a sense of belonging and status from being part of a sustainable community or group.

By analysing the interplay between identity expression – in terms of salience of personal or social identity and subsequent congruence of identity – and different motivational drives (categorised through the lenses of the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend), a new typology of individuals who self-identify as sustainable is suggested. Four groups of sustainable individuals are proposed. First, the 'Holistically Sustainable', which refers to those individuals expressing their sustainable self both when personal (primarily) and social identity are salient and are doing so in a largely congruent way, often signalling both collective and individualistic reasons for their actions. The individuals in this group activate all of the Four Drives through their sustainable living activities, although two drives seem to be expressed more frequently. These are: the drive to defend (their values and beliefs, the planet – main motivations for this group) followed by the drive to bond (with others who think alike).

The second group are the 'Privately Sustainable', this group of individuals tends to express their sustainable self when personal identity is activated and tend to be more individualistically motivated than the holistically sustainable. They do not express all of the drives through their sustainable living activities. Rather, they often express the drive to learn very frequently and to a deep level. This group contained a number of individuals who have dedicated their professional lives to find solutions to the problems associated with sustainability.

The third group, namely the 'Publicly Sustainable', is made up of individuals who tend to express their sustainable self primarily when their social identity

is prominent and who are motivated to live sustainably mainly by the drive to bond with others (and in this context primarily to gain status through group membership and to satisfy the sense of belonging). Lastly, the fourth group are the 'Accidentally Sustainable', which is made up of individuals who engage in sustainable living because of their circumstances, namely as a result of financial difficulties or habit. They tend to express their sustainable self when social identity is salient and often seem to live sustainably with the aim of acquiring a financial security (drive to acquire), often as a result of monetary problems.

This chapter presented a discussion of the key findings emerged from this study in relation to the existing literature and research in the fields of identity and motivations in the context of sustainable living and sustainable behaviour. In Chapter 6, the conclusion of this thesis is offered, including the contributions and implications of the study and limitations thereof; suggestions for future research are also outlined.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this chapter, the conclusions of the present study are presented. Section 6.2 outlines the contributions of this research in relation to theory, methodology and empirical evidence. Then, the limitations of the study (Section 6.3) are discussed and future research questions and areas for further study are identified (Section 6.4). Finally, Section 6.5 offers concluding remarks.

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presented the discussion of results of this research, linking the key findings of the study with the appropriate literature on identity, motivations and sustainable behaviour. The chapter concluded with the explanation of how the results address the research questions proposed at the beginning of this doctoral study. As the reader can see in Table 6-1 below, the findings reveal that individuals express their identity through sustainable living in different ways depending on identity expression (i.e. identity salience and identity congruence), which helps addressing RQ1. In particular, the results demonstrate that those individuals expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self primarily when personal identity is salient, tend to express their identity in congruence.

Conversely, individuals expressing their identity in relation to the sustainable self primarily when social identity is salient express their identity in incongruence (due to lack of manifestation of sustainability at the level of the 'core' self). In some cases, this type of individuals are activating their personal identity in a secondary way and in connection with their own sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' selves, in means of behaving as they would like to or think they should do.

Table 6-1. Summary of findings in relation to the RQs

Research question	Finding
RQ1: Do individuals express their identity through sustainable living, and if so, how?	Individuals express aspects of sustainability as a function of the salience of sustainability at the level of personal and/or social identity. Congruence between the four layers of the self also plays a key role in explaining motivational drives and levels of commitment to sustainable living.
RQ2: Why and how are individuals motivated to live sustainably?	Individuals satisfy differently the drives to acquire, bond, learn and defend through living sustainably. The drives are fulfilled differently depending on the motives driving individual behaviour: namely individualistic/collective reasons and by intrinsic/extrinsic motivations.
RQ3: What is the interplay between expressions of identity and motivational drives in sustainable narratives and what are the implications thereof?	Individuals satisfy different motivational drives through sustainable living depending on how they express their identity (depending on identity salience and identity congruence). By exploring the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives, a new typology of individuals self-identifying as sustainable is presented.

In addition, the findings of this study suggest that the motivations driving sustainable living can be categorised in terms of the drives to acquire, bond,

learn and defend. In particular, the drives to learn and defend appear to be satisfied better together, while at the same time, these drives seem to be associated to collectivistic and intrinsic motives to live sustainably. In contrast, the drives to acquire and bond (which also work better as a pair), are linked with individualistic and intrinsic motives. These results serve to address RQ2. The four drives are fulfilled differently by individuals self-identifying as sustainable depending on the expression of their identities and on the levels of salience and congruence when expressing their sustainable self. The results outlined above help address RQ3 and are the base of the new typology of sustainable individuals proposed in this study, which categorises individuals by means of the interplay between identity expression and the motivational drives driving sustainable living. The contributions these findings add to both theory and practice are explained in the following sections.

6.2 Contributions of the research

This study contributes to knowledge about the concept of sustainable living from the perspective of individuals and the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives. As such, it moves the study of sustainability on from exploring narrow aspects (e.g. sustainable consumption, energy usage) to the study of individual lifestyles – that encompass many of these aspects – and the connected nature of which is at the heart of recent definitions of sustainability (e.g. Kajikawa, 2008; Dempsey

et al., 2011). In theoretical terms, this study offers a much needed in-depth exploration of the concepts of identity and motivation and the relationship between them in individuals self-identifying as sustainable. In essence, it applies a range of previously under-explored psychological theories, to an under-investigated group to provide new insights into and develop a new typology of individuals self-identifying as following sustainable lifestyles.

According to Summers (2001), research contributions to knowledge should be made explicit and cover three different areas: theory, methods and empirical evidence. The *conceptual (theoretical) contributions* refer to contributions to theory, which may involve the development or improvement of concepts and definitions. In addition, every study should address *methodological contributions*, which usually entails the deployment of new methods or techniques or the application of existing methodologies to an unexplored field of study. Finally, *empirical contributions* must be also considered, acknowledging in this case the identification of supplementary constructs (i.e. interplay between concepts) either for the first time or when applied to a new field.

6.2.1 Conceptual contributions

This study aims to offer a better understanding of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living. Thus, the conceptual contributions of this thesis aim to add to the existing literature in the fields of identity, motivations and sustainable behaviour. Importantly,

through the development of a novel typology of sustainable individuals, this thesis contributes to theory building in the field of sustainable living. Following, this key contribution is explained in detail, together with the other two conceptual contributions.

1. Novel typology of sustainable living

The main conceptual contribution of this study is the presentation of a novel typology of individuals self-identifying as sustainable based on the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives. The analysis of the narratives of individuals who self-identify as living sustainably has allowed a deep exploration of the interplay abovementioned, as according to Riessman (1993, 2005), narratives report real stories and behaviours, providing the researcher with participants' own interpretation of reality.

This new typology (formed by the 'Holistically', the 'Privately', the 'Publicly' and the 'Accidentally Sustainable') contributes to theory building in the field of sustainable living, offering a classification which helps understand the psychological aspects behind this type of behaviour.

In addition, the typology offers opportunities to future researchers aiming to empirically test the typology in different contexts (e.g. different types of sustainable behaviours, different geographical areas) and with different groups of individuals (e.g. people living in rural areas, people not self-identifying as sustainable).

2. Applicability and relevance of existing frameworks to the context of sustainable living

The relationship between identity and sustainable living is unpacked through the application of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development proposed by Hillenbrand and Money (2015). This study offers, for the first time, empirical evidence of how different layers of the self can be analysed and how the level of congruence or incongruence between these layers affects identity salience and identity expression.

In particular, it offers new important evidence on how identity expression affects the expression of the narrative and the associated motivational drives in relation to sustainable living. The authors proposed this model as a route to explore societal change. Considering sustainable living a vital and needed change in society, the results of this study not only prove the validity of the model, but its application when tackling social change.

Regarding the empirical study of motivations, this thesis offers evidence of how the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) can be successfully applied to lifestyle studies and, in particular, to the study of the motivations driving the expression of sustainable living. As mentioned in the literature review, this theory has only been applied to date to employee/stakeholder motivation and organisational studies (Nohria *et al.,* 2008, Abraham *et al.*, 2016; Perryer *et al.*, 2016; Lee, Raschke & Louis, 2016). This study adds to the development of this theory by validating its application to the fields of consumer behaviour and sustainable living, and adding new meanings to the four proposed human drives.

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This research adds to the abovementioned theories and contributes to theory on identity and motivation by testing two existing frameworks in relation to sustainable living.

3. Analysis of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living

This study contributes to existing literature on identity, motivation and sustainable living by analysing the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives.

The concept of identity is established as important to sustainable living in two ways: first in terms of identity salience and second in terms of identity congruence. Indeed, this research establishes an interesting link between salience and congruence, with personal identity salience being linked with higher levels of congruence and social identity salience with lower levels of congruence. As stated earlier in this thesis, only recently have researchers started looking at identity salience with reference to sustainable consumption as a starting point. In one of the few existing studies Costa Pinto *et al.* (2016) find that personal identity salience is linked to more committed green intentions amongst consumers than social identity salience.

The findings in this doctoral research are therefore consistent with these findings, but crucially also explain how and why greater commitment may result from personal identity salience. Interestingly, this study contributes to current research in identity and sustainable behaviour by suggesting that when expressing their sustainable self, individuals tend to activate both their

personal and social identity. For instance, some people primarily activate their personal identity (being their social identity secondary), while others trigger their social identity in a primary way (being their personal identity secondary). Furthermore, certain groups of sustainable individuals seem to activate their secondary identity as a consequence of the influence exerted by their 'ideal' or 'ought' selves. These findings offer a deeper understanding of individuals who self-identify as sustainable, and also highlight the importance of 'ideal' or 'ought' drivers in identity salience. This sense of 'ideal' or 'ought' self in relation to sustainable living might drive individuals to strive to be even more sustainable, while it could also leave them feeling stressed, disillusioned and less committed to sustainability because they feel they can never achieve their desired end state.

Importantly, the salience of personal identity, together with congruence in identity expression, is associated with the satisfaction of the drives to learn and defend, collective and intrinsic in character. The interplay between personal identity salience, congruence on identity expression and the drives to learn and defend contribute to individuals being more aware and committed with the cause of sustainability. On the other hand, incongruence and the expression of the sustainable self when social identity is activated seems to be associated with the drives to acquire and bond. The interplay between social identity salience, incongruence on identity expression and the drives to acquire and bond translate into people being less committed to what sustainable living entails.

Table 6-2. Summary of the conceptual contributions

Theory/Research	Contribution	Extent of contribution
Sustainable living/sustainable behaviour (e.g. Moisander & Pesonen, 2002; Black & Cherrier, 2010; Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010; Hayles & Dean, 2015; Longo, Shankar & Nuttall, 2017)	Novel typology of sustainable living	The development of this typology adds to theory building in the field of sustainable living and sustainable behaviour by offering a classification of behaviour in relation to psychological aspects (interplay between identity expression and motivational drives).
Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) **Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation** (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002)	Applicability and relevance of existing frameworks to the context of sustainable living	This study adds to the Dynamic Model of Identity Development by offering empirical evidence of its application and validating its use in the context of sustainable living. Also, this study adds and extends understanding of the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation by extending the argument on how the drives work better in pairs. For instance, the findings suggest that the drives to learn and defend are linked to collectivistic and intrinsic motives to live sustainably. At the same time, the drives to acquire and bond seem to be related to individualistic and extrinsic motives. In addition, this research adds to the Four Drive Theory by validating its application to the context of sustainable living.
Identity and sustainable behaviour (e.g. Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2014, 2016; Champniss *et al.*, 2016; Bartels & Reinders, 2016) **Motivation and sustainable behaviour** (e.g. ; Steg, 2016; Hamari, Sjoklint & Ukkonen, 2016; Nuttavuthisit & Thogersen, 2017)	Analysis of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living	This study adds and extends understanding to theory on sustainable living by analysis the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives through the combination of two existing frameworks. This guiding theoretical framework allows a deep exploration of the psychological aspects behind the adoption of a sustainable lifestyle.

In summary, this study conceptually contributes to the theory on sustainability and sustainable living in the following three ways: 1) offering a novel typology of sustainable living; 2) testing the applicability and relevance of two established frameworks in the context of sustainable living; and 3) examining,

for the first time, the interplay between aspects of identity expression (researched here as salience and congruence through the lens of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development) and human motivation (researched here through the Four Drive Theory) in the narratives and associated behaviours of those claiming to engage in sustainable living. A summary of the conceptual contributions is offered in Table 6-2.

6.2.2 Methodological contributions

The main methodological contribution of this research is the successful application of projective techniques to the study of sustainable living and, in particular, to the analysis of the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives.

1. Application of imaginative and projective qualitative techniques to sustainable narratives

By asking participants to define themselves using 20 words or statements (TST), it is possible to get a better idea of the participants' sense of self and the roles attached to it (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). Projective techniques (i.e. story-telling and photo elicitation) were also used during the semi-structured interviews, which enabled a better understanding of those self-identifying as sustainable by offering insights into more subjective aspects of their expressions identity and the motivational drives leading their behaviour.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, by using these interactive methods participants were able to unconsciously explain in more detail aspects related

to their emotions, feelings and thoughts towards sustainable living. These insights add value to the results of the research, while at the same time evidence the validity and relevance of the use of these methods. This offers opportunity to future researchers interested in further unpacking the psychological aspects behind behaviour, either in terms of sustainability or in any other context.

2. Usability and applicability of projective qualitative methodologies to the wider business context

This study contributes methodologically to knowledge by following a pure qualitative approach, in contrast with previous studies in the field often using quantitative methods such as surveys (e.g. Niinimaki, 2010; Forsyth *et al.,* 2015) and experiments (e.g. Griskevicius *et al.,* 2010; Costa Pinto *et al.,* 2014).

In addition, this study explores psychological aspects behind sustainable living by applying projective techniques. These methods (i.e. story-telling and photo elicitation) have been increasingly applied in marketing and consumer behaviour studies (Vidal, Ares & Gimenez, 2013), although they are not as widespread in academic business research. The successful application of imaginative and projective techniques to this study contributes to future research by offering insights of their usability and applicability.

Overall, this study methodologically contributes to theory and research by 1) applying imaginative and projective techniques to the study of sustainable narratives; and by 2) demonstrating the usability and applicability of

qualitative projective techniques to the business context. Table 6-3 offers a summary of the methodological contributions of the study.

Table 6-3. Summary of the methodological contributions

Theory/Research	Contribution	Extent of contribution
Identity and sustainable behaviour (e.g. Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2014, 2016; Champniss *et al.*, 2016; Bartels & Reinders, 2016) **Motivation and sustainable behaviour** (e.g. Steg, 2016; Hamari, Sjoklint & Ukkonen, 2016; Nuttavuthisit & Thogersen, 2017)	Application of imaginative and projective qualitative techniques to sustainable narratives	This study <u>contributes to the study of sustainable behaviour</u> by applying imaginative and projective techniques (story-telling and photo elicitation) to the study of identity and motivations. Projective techniques have allowed a better understanding of the interplay between identity and motivations through the exploration of unconscious and subjective meanings related to the individual's expression of identity and motivations driving everyday life sustainable practices.
Research on stakeholder behaviour in management (e.g. Nag *et al.*, 2007; West *et al.*, 2016; Perryer *et al.,* 2016; Fairfield, 2016)	Usability and applicability of projective qualitative methodologies to the wider business context	This study methodologically <u>contributes to research in the business context</u> by offering empirical evidence of the successful application of projective qualitative methodologies. This gives opportunity of exploration for future research on stakeholder behaviour.

6.2.3 Empirical contributions

Finally, this study contributes empirically to knowledge by offering empirical evidence of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives, which leads to the consequent novel typology of individuals self-identifying as sustainable.

1. New light on explaining systematic differences: when, why and how people choose to follow sustainable lifestyles

As explained throughout Chapters 4 and 5, the analysis of the data revealed systematic differences between participants in terms of identity expression and motivational drives. For instance, sustainable living is manifested in different ways *depending on how individuals express their identity* and, in particular, depending on identity salience and identity congruence. This research contributes to the empirical study of identity by offering a deeper analysis of identity salience, and demonstrating that behavioural expression is not only conditioned by either the activation of personal or social identity – as Costal Pinto *et al.* (2016) proposed. Conversely, the findings of this study suggest that when expressing sustainable identities and sustainable behaviours, some individuals appear to be activating both their personal and social identities, although one of them is always the primary (while the other being secondary).

In addition, this study empirically contributes to identity theory by offering evidence that individuals who primarily activate personal identity when expressing their sustainable self, often express their identity in congruence; as sustainability is manifested at the four layers of the self. Contrariwise, those primarily activating social identity in relation to their sustainable self tend to express their identity in incongruence, due to a lack of manifestation of sustainability at the level of the 'core' self.

Furthermore, this study empirically contributes to the field of motivation by *categorising motivations driving sustainable living under the drives to acquire,*

bond, learn and defend as proposed by Lawrence and Nohria (2002). According to the narrative analysis, there are systematic differences in terms of motivations between individuals driven by the drives to learn and defend and individuals driven by the drives to acquire and bond.

Those individuals satisfying the drives to learn and defend through sustainable living are often motivated to express sustainable behaviour by collective and intrinsic motives (i.e. set an example to others, defend the planet). This translates into long-term and more dedicated commitment with the issues of sustainability (i.e. by acting sustainably in most or every aspects of their lives and aiming to become even more sustainable in the future). Conversely, participants fulfilling the drives to acquire and bond by living sustainably seem to be often motivated by individualistic and extrinsic motives (i.e. acquire a 'sustainable' status, belonging to a sustainable group). In this case, this leads to short-term and less committed behaviours in terms of sustainable living (i.e. they would stop living this way if a different option was more practical or attractive to them).

These systematic differences contribute to theory in the field by offering new evidence on how the expression of identity and the motivational drives leading to sustainable living could offer a form of categorisation of sustainable behaviours.

2. Empirical analysis of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living

The combination of the Dynamic Model of Identity Development (Hillenbrand & Money, 2015) and the Four Drive Theory of Human Motivation (Lawrence & Nohria, 2002) was used as a guide for the analysis and part of the data collection of this study. As well as conceptually, through the empirical analysis of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives this research also contributes to theories on identity, motivation and sustainable living.

This research offers empirical evidence of the interplay between the expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living. On the one hand, the findings of this study suggest a relationship between salience of personal identity and congruence on identity expression and the drives to learn and defend. As mentioned before, these drives would relate to intrinsic motivations to live sustainably and the will to achieve the collective good.

On the other hand, from the results it could be argued that the salience of social identity and the incongruence when expressing identity are linked to the drives to acquire and bond. These two drives would normally be satisfied by extrinsic motivations (related to personal benefits) and individualistic reasons to follow a sustainable lifestyle. These results contribute empirically to the literature on identity and motivations in relation to sustainable behaviour by offering empirical evidence that individuals express sustainable living differently depending on the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives.

3. Practical use to governments and other bodies

In addition to the empirical contributions outlined above, the research has the potential to influence the policy and practice. The new typology of sustainable individuals proposed in this study, and the characteristics attached to each of the four groups, offers an interesting starting point for parties to develop target-specific policies and marketing campaigns towards pro-sustainable behaviours. For example, local or national governments can use the typology to examine existing communication campaigns and see how these speak to the different aspects of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives identified in this study. As such, they may use the typology as means to a more robust exploration of the appropriate strategies and messages that could encourage pro-sustainable behaviours (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). This is particularly pertinent, as many messages developed in order to encourage sustainable practices have focused to date on telling people what to do.

However, several studies suggest that the use of normative messages (including personal and social norms, which relate to identity) is more effective when trying to spread sustainable behaviours (Goldstein, Cialdini & Griskevicius, 2008; De Groot, Abrahamse & Jones, 2013). For instance, some of the most popular and well-known messages are *"go green", "reduce, reuse, recycle", "don't waste food"* and *"save the earth".* This type of communication could be enriched through a deeper understanding of the combination of identity and motivation elements found to be associated with sustainable behaviours in this study (Ottman, Stafford & Hartman, 2006).

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Importantly, the findings of this research suggest that social marketers would benefit from looking for differences between people who claim to be sustainable (Verplanken & Wood, 2006) and try not to approach every sustainable individual in the same way; hence the importance of the new typology of sustainable individuals proposed in this study is evident. By looking at the specific characteristics forming the identity of the individuals belonging to each of the four groups, together with the particular motivations which drive their behaviour, those parties interested could develop more specific, personal and individualised social marketing strategies. For example, a person belonging to the 'Publicly Sustainable' may be less encouraged to make a change in behaviour through a message like *"Sustainable lifestyles. Do something that benefits your local community and the wider world",* which may appeal more to the 'Holistically Sustainable' group. However, a message saying: *"Sustainable living. Help us promote the solutions to sustainability in your community"* may better influence their behaviour, as it is saying something which speaks directly to their motivations – to build their status and sense of belonging.

The use and development of typologies as presented in this research could help governments and organisations develop more personalised, targeted and therefore impactful messages. In that these tailored messages could have a more significant impact on society in terms of sustainable behavioural expression, as those specific marketing campaigns could encourage pro-sustainable behaviours more efficiently.

Table 6-4. Summary of the empirical contributions

Theory/Research	Contribution	Extent of contribution
Identity and sustainable behaviour (e.g. Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2014, 2016; Champniss *et al.*, 2016; Bartels & Reinders, 2016) **Motivation and sustainable behaviour** (e.g. Steg, 2016; Hamari, Sjoklint & Ukkonen, 2016; Nuttavuthisit & Thogersen, 2017)	New light on explaining systematic differences when, why and how people choose to follow sustainable lifestyles	This thesis <u>contributes to the literature on identity and sustainable behaviour</u> by showing systematic differences in terms of identity expression (identity salience and identity congruence). Furthermore, the results of this study <u>contribute to research on motivation and sustainable behaviour</u> by offering empirical evidence of the systematic difference between those satisfying the drives to learn and defend (related to intrinsic and collective reasons to live sustainably) and those fulfilling the drives to acquire and bond (linked to extrinsic and individualistic motives).
Sustainable living/sustainable behaviour (e.g. Moisander & Pesonen, 2002; Black & Cherrier, 2010; Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010; Hayles & Dean, 2015; Longo, Shankar & Nuttall, 2017)	Empirical analysis of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living	This thesis <u>adds value and extends understanding of research on sustainable behaviour</u> by offering evidence of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living. The study suggests that those expressing their sustainable self in congruence and when personal identity is salient tend to be satisfying the drives to learn and defend (intrinsic and collectivistic motives). Those expressing their sustainable self in incongruence and primarily when social identity is salient, appear to fulfil the drives to acquire and bond (extrinsic and individualistic motives). By unpacking these results, a novel typology of sustainable living based on empirical evidence and consisting in four groups ('Holistically', 'Privately', 'Publicly' and 'Accidentally Sustainable') is presented.
Policy and practice research (e.g. DEFRA, 2008, 2010, 2011; Ethical Consumer Research Association, 2016)	Practical use to governments and other bodies	This thesis has <u>implications to policy and practice</u>, as the results of the study and the new typology proposed, could inspire policy makers, NGOs and public institutions when targeting pro-sustainable behaviours. In particular, this research could be of help when deciding on policies and marketing campaigns.

In summary, this study empirically contributes to the theory on sustainability and sustainable living in three ways. First, by 1) offering new light on explaining systematic differences on the why, when and how people choose to follow sustainable lifestyles; by 2) empirically analysing the interplay between expression of identity and motivational drives in sustainable living; and by 3) offering government and other interested bodies practical means on how to better target sustainable behaviours. A summary of the empirical contributions of the study is offered in Table 6-4.

Overall, this research makes a conceptual contribution to knowledge through theory building and theory testing by offering an understanding of the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives among those declaring to live sustainably, leading to a novel typology of sustainable living. In addition, it offers a methodological contribution by demonstrating how qualitative methods and projective techniques are valuable when aiming to accurately explore psychological aspects related to sustainable living. Lastly, it provides an empirical-based categorisation of sustainable living by unpacking identity expression and the motivational drives behind this sustainable behaviour, which leads to important implications for governments and other bodies.

6.3 Limitations

This study has looked at the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives in sustainable living from the perspective of individuals who self-identify as people following sustainable lifestyles and, consequently, consider themselves sustainable. The self-identification process used during the recruitment of participants entails limitations in terms of meanings associated to sustainable living. In addition, the qualitative approach followed in this research, while justified, also comes with some limitations in terms of application and sampling. These limitations are outlined and reflected upon in the following sub-sections.

6.3.1 Understanding 'sustainable living'

By using semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection, the meanings participants give to 'sustainable living' are now better understood. However, even though issues related to sustainability and what it entails are now better and more widely known, different people will define sustainability in different ways (Woodhouse, Howlett & Rigby, 2000), depending on the context and on the individual's own perceptions and interests. Considering that participants of this study self-identify as sustainable and that their sustainable behaviour was not evaluated prior to the interviews, the different interpretations they give to sustainability and sustainable living could be seen as limitations of the study.

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Nevertheless, as with many limitations, this is also a strength, in that it provides a deeper understanding about the range of views which the term sustainability encompasses. For instance, the different interpretations of the term should be taken into account when researching sustainable behaviour and also when trying to engage individuals in pro-sustainable behaviours. The reality is that people understand sustainability differently, and the different ways the term is used undoubtedly influence the motivations driving these individuals to follow sustainable lifestyles.

Different understandings of sustainability and sustainable living are in fact one of the characteristics of each of the sustainable groups proposed in this study. For instance, the 'Holistically Sustainable' understand sustainable living as a lifestyle which entails defending the environment and collaborating with others in order to learn and share knowledge. Conversely, the 'Publicly Sustainable' might see sustainable living as a way of satisfy their needs of belonging and social identification.

6.3.2 Limitations in terms of methods and sampling

This research offers a better understanding of how individuals who self-identify as sustainable interpret their personal and social world, insights which emerge when following a qualitative approach (Bryman, 2003). By conducting semi-structured interviews with 35 individuals claiming to follow sustainable lifestyles, aspects related to their identity and motivations for

sustainable behaviour (and the interplay thereof) were explored. However, using semi-structured interviews has limitations.

According to Saunders *et al.* (2009), the use of semi-structured interviews entails problems of reliability, as they lack in standardisation. Furthermore, it cannot be proved that the same results would be revealed if the study was conducted by another researcher or if the researcher would have been assisted during the codification and analysis of the data, as disagreements between researchers' own interpretations of data helps refining the coding frames (Barbour, 2001).

In addition, the data coming from interviews may be affected by interviewer bias, although bias has been reduced during (1) the collection of data, by letting participants talk at great length about sustainable living without interrupting them or giving own opinions; and (2) during the analysis of data, through the full and overall analysis of participants' narratives, which helps reducing interviewer bias (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003). Also, the researcher has conscientiously analysed the data both objectively and impartially, with the aim of capturing all the important aspects related to the information given by the interviewees. While this is a normal situation within the context of PhD research in the UK, it is nevertheless an important consideration.

Restrictions related to the sample of this study are also considered in this section. For instance, the findings emerged from this research have been established from a relatively small number of semi-structured interviews if compared with a quantitative study. Nevertheless, 35 is an appropriate number, as an acceptable norm within qualitative studies in management is

between 15 and 60 interviews (Saunders & Townsend, 2016) and, in the case of this study, saturation was reached.

Furthermore, all the participants of this study were residents of Reading and surrounding areas. This could suppose a sampling restriction, as the most ethical among British consumers live in the South of England (Worcester, 2000) and, therefore, the same typology would not have emerged in a 'less sustainable' area of the UK. Also, it was decided to select homogeneous sampling, which could lead to selection bias. However, it seemed to be the most appropriate sampling strategy due to the study being focused on a small local area, and to the fact that the aim of the research was to get a deep understanding of a particular group of individuals.

Furthermore, the second stage of the sampling recruitment was mainly done through snowballing, as interviewees suggested people they know to be interviewed or to be contacted by the researcher. The problems associated with snowballing in this study relate to those interviewees knowing about the study from others, which may not strictly mean they are self-identifying as sustainable (or at least not initially), but have been seen as sustainable by others. In any case, whether or not they self-identify as sustainable in the first instance could not be evaluated. In order to overcome this limitation, the researcher asked this group of interviewees if they consider themselves sustainable before arranging the terms of the interview. Only if the answer was *'yes'* were they selected to become participants of the study.

6.4 Suggestions for future research

This study suggests that an exploration of identity expression and motivational drives can provide rich insights into better understanding sustainable living. Future research could perhaps further unpack the aspects related to identity and motivations covered in this study. For instance, more 1st-order concepts and 2nd-order themes could emerge in relation to the four motivational drives, which could possibly translate into more categories for the typology (some sub-groups have already been proposed in this research). This would help getting a better understanding of the innate motives leading individuals to follow sustainable lifestyles.

The Dynamic Model of Identity Development could also be explored in more detail. The four layers could be analysed more deeply and over time, for instance, which could offer a greater understanding of how those who self-identify as sustainable are. In addition, each of the four layers could be linked to motivational drives, in order to examine how each layer links to specific motivations. The findings would favour the understanding of motivations related to personal and social identities and, therefore, would contribute to the understanding of the systematic differences in behaviour associated to identity salience.

Future studies could expand this research by incorporating narratives from individuals self-identifying as not followers of sustainable lifestyles. Through examining aspects related to their identity and the motives that prevent them from engaging in sustainable living, the existing attitude-behaviour gap in

sustainable behaviour (Boulstridge & Carrigan, 2010; Moraes, Carrigan & Szmigin, 2012; Shaw *et al.,* 2016; Champniss *et al.*, 2017; Echegaray & Hansstein, 2017) could be better understood. Salience and congruence when expressing their non-sustainable self could be analysed and then compared to the results obtained in this study, which could help better understand how sustainable identities are and how could be formed. Furthermore, the interplay between the way they express their identity and the motivations driving them to live unsustainably would be also examined, with the aim of learning how these motivations are and how they could be changed through identity development towards pro-sustainable behaviours.

Much future research could yield fruitful results by investigating similar issues in different geographical locations, with greater (and different) numbers of participants and in different contexts. For instance, even among the same participants, the different contexts in which they express their sustainable behaviour could be considered. In fact, the results of the study suggest that the 'Privately Sustainable' do not tend to satisfy the drive to bond through sustainable living, but it is likely that they do in certain occasions which were not covered in their narratives (e.g. in more formal settings – when attending academic conferences, through membership to global research networks). In addition, future research could be conducted alongside the whole of the British territory, which can lead to the generalisation of the results.

Furthermore, the psychological aspects of the groups identified in this research could be analysed using different techniques. For example, focus groups formed by participants belonging to each of the four groups proposed

in this study could be carried out. This could help to better understand aspects related to social identity in a social setting (Munday, 2006), but it may also allow researchers to observe the expression of motivations of these sustainable individuals.

Furthermore, observation in sustainable organisations (e.g. during normal business or during meetings) could assist the comprehension of the behaviour of those more social in character and those seeking to belong to this kind of groups. Through observation, non-verbal communication and patterns of communication and interaction could be examined (Schmuck, 1997), which would help understand the terms and behaviours explained by the participants during the narratives. Observation could help the researcher identify situations not mentioned by the interviewees, offering greater insights into how social interactions work in sustainable organisation settings. The use of these two additional methods of data collection would help in establishing the validity and reliability of the study, as the weaknesses of one method are mitigated by the strengths of others through triangulation (Denzin, 1970).

Finally, a longitudinal study would offer a better understanding of the links between social identity and the expression of sustainable behaviour, as the researcher could offer more insights on those groups which seem to have a short-term character (namely 'Publicly' and 'Accidentally Sustainable').

6.5 Concluding remarks

This study was inspired by the personal interest of the researcher in sustainability, social psychology and marketing, and by the necessity of offering clearer insights on how identity expression interplays with motivational drives in sustainable living. The present research is a novel contribution to the theory on sustainable behaviour, as it looks at issues of identity and motivations from the point of view of individuals who self-identify as sustainable.

The analysis of their narratives opens the doors to future research on sustainable behaviour in particular and human behaviour in general, as the interplay between identity expression and motivational drives is now understood in more detail. For instance, personal identity salience (together with congruence on identity expression) drives the satisfaction of the drives to learn and defend in terms of sustainable living in a greater manner and is associated to collective and intrinsic motivations. Furthermore, the findings of this study revealed that the expression of the sustainable self when social identity is activated (and identity is expressed in incongruence) helps the fulfilment of the drives to acquire and bond, which are generally linked to individualistic and extrinsic motivations to follow a sustainable lifestyle.

These results could help policy makers, NGOs and public institutions, as by knowing how people are differently motivated to live sustainably depending on their identities, they would be able to target their laws and social marketing campaigns in more specific and appropriate ways. This would

ultimately help the spreading of pro-sustainable behaviours among society, which would benefit us all.

During this doctoral research, my sustainable self has developed, and a change in motivations has paved the way towards a more sustainable way of living. I see myself as a hybrid, sometimes 'Privately Sustainable', sometimes 'Publicly Sustainable', but either way I am now more aware. I have realised I care more than I thought, but I could do more than I am doing. I have become a more conscientious person, and I try to make others too by educating and leading with example. Because nothing we can do to make the world more sustainable will be insignificant.

"I am only one, but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something. And I will not let what I cannot do interfere with what I can do" (Edward Everett Hale)

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APPENDICES

Interview guide

Good morning/afternoon and thank you very much for your participation.

As you are aware this is a study into behaviours towards sustainability, with the aim of giving valuable tips to governments and companies which could lead to pro-sustainable behaviours –as until now they are more focused on policies in terms of production and on the ways products should be consumed and disposed, but not on understanding what motivates people to live sustainably.

This conversation will be recorded just to facilitate the transcription process and all the information obtained through this interview will be analysed for purely academic purposes. This is a private interview and your identity will be kept confidential.

Id: questions focused on identity

M: questions focused on motivation

L: linking questions – identity, motivation & behaviour

Id1 This first question may seem a bit confusing, but do not worry, take your time *(Explain a bit the first question because it is a bit difficult)*. Could you please answer the question "who am I?" twenty times? Please, do not repeat answers.

Id2 Is this then the way you see yourself?

Id3 Thinking about how others see you, could you tell me 5 words people would choose in order to describe you?

Id4 Do you think you are seen as you really are?

Id5 Would you like to be seen by others in a different way? If yes, in which ways?

Id6 How do you imagine yourself in 10 years? (what will you be doing? How will your life be like?)

Id7 Thinking about your life, what things do you do you are most proud of? (and why)

Id8 If you could be somebody else, who would you be and why? ('ideal' self) if they doubt, say 'it doesn't have to be someone well known, you could mention any member of your family/group of friends/community?'

   Id8.1 What is it you admire/like about her/him?

Id9 What are the things you like most about UK society today?

   Id9.1 What would you change about it? *(in case this has not been explained in the previous question)*

Id10   Could you please explain to me your daily schedule/routine?

Thanks, I know a bit more about yourself now. You know I am researching about sustainable lifestyles, and I would like to know your opinion on this matter.

M1   What do you understand by living sustainably?
M2   How do you think living this way can be achieved? (through what practices?)
M3   Do you consider yourself a person who follows a sustainable lifestyle?
   M3.1   Why?
   M3.2   How sustainable would you say you are?
L1   What do you think that motivates a person like you to live sustainably?
L2   How difficult it is for a person like you to live sustainably?
L3   What does influence you when making a sustainable decision (eg. Buy in a shop or another, cycle instead of taking the bus/drive)?
   L3.1   What does it make this decision difficult?
M4   What five benefits do you get by living sustainably?
M5   Does living this way negatively affect your daily life in any way? (does it stops you doing things you would do if you were not sustainable?)
   M5.1   How does living sustainably influence the way you live?
   M5.2   Does it influence you when making friends?
   M5.3   Does it influence you when trying to save money?
   M5.4   Does living sustainably influence you when shopping?
   M5.5   And when eating?
M6   When did you consciously start living sustainably? Please explain this moment in detail, explaining your feelings about it, where it took place, who were you with and why did you do it. Was someone else involved in the decision process? <u>What was your main motivation to start living sustainably?</u>
Id11   Do you think people see you as a sustainable person?
   Id11.1   If not, would you like to be seen as a sustainable person?
Now that I know a bit more about you and your views on sustainable living, I would like to ask you some questions related to the sustainable practices you follow.

Id12   Each of these pictures represents a human emotion. Think about a recent instance in which you had to make decision related to sustainability –or sustainable living- (when buying, deciding which transport you will use, etc). Which pictures best represent how you felt during that instance? Why? Do you always feel this way when taking sustainability into account when making a decision? Or there is a difference between how you feel when buying organic food for example, than when thinking about recycling?

   Id12.1   (If they choose more than one picture) Between the pictures you have chosen, which emotion you feel in a strongest way? Why?

(female: fear, anger, disgust, happiness, neutral, sad, surprise)

(male: surprise, fear, anger, disgust, happiness, neutral, sad)

M7 What mode of transport do you use most often? (if they say walk because they don't have a car: if you'd had a car would you use it instead of walking?)

M8 Are you involved in any kind of organisation/charity which helps the community or the environment?

   M8.1 What is your role on it?

   M8.2 Why have you decided to become part of this group?

   M8.3 Why did you choose this organisation over another one?

   M8.4 Do you encourage other people to join the organisation?

      M8.4.1 If they mention friends/families and other people such as colleagues or strangers, ask if there is any difference between trying to influence one group or another (social bond)?

   M8.5 Think about the role you have in this organisation; how do you think you behave when you are with other members?

      M8.5.1 Do you think the other members of the organisation see you as you really are?

M9 Between the pictures I am showing you, please choose the 3 pictures which best represent what you understand by sustainable living and explain to me why you have chosen them Do you follow these three sustainable practices?

        - Why do you do it? What does motivate you to do it? Is the same motivation driving you for the three activities?

- How do you feel when thinking about these practices? Which specific emotions do you experience when engaging in these activities?

Talk about the 3 pictures separately please. What is similar between the three pictures?

o And different?

Bulb freedigitalphotos.net.jpg

Cyclists.jpg

Electric car.jpg

Protesting climate.jpg

public transport. freedigitalphotos.net.jpg

Recycling.jpg

Solar panel.jpg

Turn off. freedigitalphotos.net.jpg

buying local organic. flickr.jpg

Second hand market.flickr.jpg
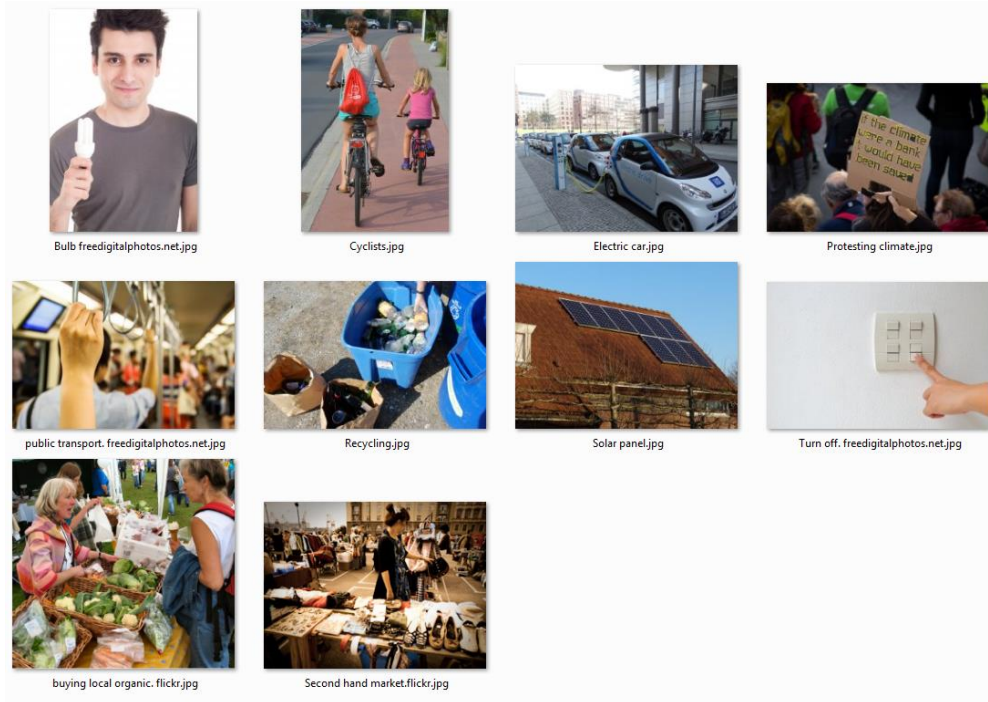
M10 Some of the pictures I have shown you in the previous question involve consumption practices, sustainable in this case. What is your view on sustainable consumption? (What do you think about it? How would you describe it?)

  M10.1 How does sustainable consumption fit your understanding/idea of following a sustainable lifestyle?

M11 Is there a difference between how sustainable you are at home and when you are out –at work, university, with friends? If yes, which ones?

M12 Think about people you know and you consider sustainable, are they more sustainable than you are? In which ways? Or, are you more than them?

M13 Would you like to do more sustainable things than you are doing at the moment?

M14 Do you see yourself becoming even more sustainable with the pass of the years?

  M14.1 Do you think you may have different things to care about?

-- Is there anything else you would like to add? Otherwise this is the end of the interview

Example interview transcript

INT_21_M_56. 02122015

Interviewer

The first question I am going to ask you could seem a bit complicated to answer. If I ask you who are you? you have to answer to me 20 times who you are, you can use 20 words, 20 sentences, whatever you will use to describe yourself

INT_21_M_56

Right.. ok.. who am I? I am me, I am (*name of the interviewee*), my surname (*surname of the interviewee*), but recently with being online and loads of things I started to use a different second name.. so I am also (*surname of the interviewee*), which is a combination of my middle name and my surname. So I am me, I am (*name of the interviewee*), I am (*surname of the interviewee*), I am conscious, I am animal, I am sentient, I am contentious, I am real, and I am feeble.. I don't like to think that one day I will die, but I will die, so I'm dying, but I'm living and I'm breathing, and I am asthmatic, and I love living in Reading, but Reading is a polluted town, doesn't help asthma [smiles].. .. I know I'm changing.. how many do I have left?

Interviewer

Five

INT_21_M_56

That's very important, that I'm changing, I am changeable and.. that ties in with sentient and contentious being, I am in love, I am happy, I am unhappy..

Interviewer

Just two more

INT_21_M_56

This one may come up in the interview, these two words I'm going to use may sound.. lonely or very controversially, will sound very controversially, but I am a fundamentalist and I am a radical

Interviewer

Great two last words. And what do you think your friends and people who know you would use to describe yourself? What 5 words do you think they would use?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. I don't know.. what I think they would say.. I hope, hope is not a word I used in the 20, but I am a hopeful person, I'm struggling with hope at the moment because there are so many things going on in the world, I'm seeing hopeless, but I hope my friends would say I'm friendly.. proactive.. .. good to be with.. .. frustrating.. .. I don't know if I hope people think I am frustrating or not [laughs], I think I can be, and therefore I hope they'll be honest and say 'oh, you are so frustrating sometimes'.. and.. .. .. authentic, that is another word I didn't use in the 20, if you made it 50 I'd have included authentic, because I think authenticity is really important

Interviewer

And do you think people see you as you really are?

INT_21_M_56

Erm.. mostly, because I find it very hard to keep things.. keep feelings or thoughts deep down specially with my partner, I don't know.. but I tend to outly express a lot of things, mundane things and very deep things, erm.. and.. so.. I've lost track of your question

Interviewer

If you think people see you as you really are

INT_21_M_56

Oh, yeah.. erm.. .. so there are some things that I keep to myself, I think might come across as either.. very.. I can't think about the right word, maybe abusive or too controversial to speak about in every day.. meeting my friends you know

Interviewer

Would you like to be seen in a different way?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. No, I don't think so, I think.. I feel I'm going in the right direction in my life and in my relationship with people, there have been recently some severe excusement with people and.. .. so there are some regrets, but.. no, I don't think I want to change too much

Interviewer

But imagine I give you a superpower and I tell you that you can be whoever you want to be in the world. Who would you be if you could do that?

INT_21_M_56

Erm.. .. .. .. ok, a super me really.. .. because I don't if this will come out further in the interview, but I believe all humans have the same power, there is nobody who is human that has more power than anyone else. It is an office or position which gives people.. make them super powerful, so if I was to have a super power it would be to change myself to meet my aspirations better, yeah, I can't just slap a label of president, or prime minister or Madre Theresa or any label and.. suddenly expect to be a powerful person, the power would be me to change myself to make my aspirations better

Interviewer

And how do you imagine yourself in ten years?

INT_21_M_56

Oh.. .. .. .. I think my imagination comes out a lot in my dreams so.. in a dream it is said that all the characters are actually yourself, so in a dream.. in my imagination, what we are imaging is actually lots of mirrors of ourselves. Imagine being somebody else actually.. a super power the question you answered, or wanting to be cleverer or more organised or better known by people, there are all mirrors back to myself and.. so.. .. I don't think I really imagine it that way.. .. the authenticity that I see means that what I project it's what I imagine if you like

Interviewer

And what are the things you are most proud of in your life?

INT_21_M_56

Pride comes before a fall, have you heard that phrase in English? meaning if you are too proud then you stumble and make mistakes. But there are some things.. I am proud of. One is.. when I was in my 20s, I took a life change.. a life direction change. Something in me to do with conscience said 'I'm very materialistic, I'm walking away from that' and it was about the time when Ethiopia was struggling, horrendous time, and Bob Geldof (political activist, punk movement), and XXX and Oxfam.. all these things came into my life and a newspaper article I saw about a young man who was exactly my age, who lost so many children of his own, I didn't have any children, I never had children, and family.. and I thought 'I can't just seat and read this article and not do anything'. So that was a big changing point in my life and.. I'm glad I didn't just walk away from what was going on and say 'it's not my fault, I can't do anything about this you know, why should I? I have a car to pay and a big house to save up for', I didn't want to go towards that direction, so I'm glad

about that. And.. .. .. I think I'm.. proud in a slightly selfish way about my relationship, I met this fantastic person.. and I found love and.. .. there is two problems, but we are working through them and I'm proud of that as well for myself and (*name of his partner*)

Interviewer

And could you explain me briefly your daily routine?

INT_21_M_56

I don't like.. there is a daily routine, but I don't like routine. I am always looking to change things.. .. but one of the things we managed to do is share the same working hours, we have difficult working shifts, (*name of his partner*) and I, and we have the morning together before we go to work around midday or 1 o'clock, so we.. we have breakfast together, we live on our boat in the canal and.. we don't have a TV, but we listen to radio and catch up with news, what is driving me mad at the moment.. and we read a lot and we talk and we plan, we don't have a lot of spare time, but we plan.. we like to plan our spare time in advance. We cook, so I cook breakfast and (*name of his partner*) prepares evening meals in the morning, because we rush when we get home. Then we cycle to work or bus to work sometimes and.. and we both.. supposedly work 8 hours a day, what usually is a bit more than that and because we like to work hard, we also like to rest, but work does tend to take over sometimes, and.. then we cycle home, we share a meal together as frequently as we can, (*name of his partner*) is a fantastic cook, I can cook but I'm not very good [smiles]. And we share a lot of interests, we share a lot of life, politics and this kind of things.. so. The day can sound mundane, but when there is time.. free time I like to be doing things, I can't stay on the idea of a day, even a weekend.. just a lazy weekend, we are not keen on that. I much rather we're getting on doing interesting things, going to new places never visited before and things like that. So the mundane is replaced by the potentially exciting interesting, something new, things like that

Interviewer

Not just thinking about you but UK's society.. are you British?

INT_21_M_56

Oh.. you hit a political node.. I am born in this country, but I don't like nationality, I'm antinationalistic, so I don't see myself as British. I do recognise labels as well, I don't like labels but I recognise them, so I'm European, British, whatever you wanna call it, white male, middleish class, I don't believe in.. pursuing a class status, but middleish class, I like to work hard. Probably said that I was brought up in a working class background, that my parents aspiration.. maybe subconsciously was to be middle class, that's where we are

Interviewer

And what do you think about UK's society today? what are the things you like and the things you would like to change?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. I can't help.. but being.. express some of my fundamentalism, there is no single society, so the UK is just a label for a state. We are not a single society, we are a mishmash of history and culture and.. multiculture and.. and we're heading from XXX.. socially, and I am socialist, socially and environmentally sometimes I put a radical hat on, and say hopefully, economically, we're heading from massive downfall, because a lot of people in our society and I use quotes here, because I don't live in single society, think we are civilised society, and we are not, we are not a civilised society. Anybody tries to argue with me on that will lose. Because I wouldn't go so far on try to prove it, but I was brought up believing that we live in this wonderful nation that was no longer global.. concern, you know Britain covering the globing ride, saying this is the British empire, and that we were a free nation, a nation that has massive freedoms and the right to express those freedoms in various ways, as long as you maintain the law. We are not a free nation. We are not free thinkers, we are all being manipulated, we are all being subjective to enormous propaganda, especially with the current colour of government we have. So I don't see myself much as a UK citizen, I do believe in citizenship, but.. and I am glad that, although we have a monarchy, we don't.. we are now citizens, we are not subjects anymore. I don't know if you know that years ago anybody born in the UK or given a UK.. a British passport for example, or had the name on a birth certificate of this country, was called a subject of his Majesty the Queen, we don't have that anymore, I'm glad about that, we are citizens. But it is just a bit of a label, there is a lot of baggage that we need to get rid of with that citizenship, that is not very good. So.. sometimes, if I am pressed I would say I am not very proud of being British.. there are a lot of things to be proud about, I belong to an enormous number of organisations in this country, and here in Reading and in Berkshire and so for, that do fantastic things.. there is a lot of bodi (a person who if awake is stoned all the time) people, but societally.. we are being dragged in about it. Part of what I hope to is to drag people in a better direction, and not by coercion, but by example

Interviewer

So you try to encourage others…

INT_21_M_56

By example, more than coercion, I don't like to say 'you must!', should and must are words that we could eradicate from dictionary, there is not must, there is not 'we must do something about climate change!', if people feel that is the direction they wish to take, the moment is a lot pulling and pushing, that says one thing and does another, says we are kind to deal with the environment, and then says environment is a lot of bollocks, that's at the political level. And it's up to people to say 'I like that',

'I like what those people are doing' or 'I like what those individuals are doing', and maybe consciously or subconsciously they will take a tangent to the status quo and go in that direction. And that's what I think a lot about, the status quo, taking a tangent, walking away from something, consciously or subconsciously, then realising I've actually fallen back into the wrong one, try to climb up again, looking for inspiration, hope, things that I find attractive and say 'that's the direction I want to take' and then trying to convince myself to not fall back into.. that again, because it is so easy, so easy to fall back

Interviewer

And what do you understand by living a sustainable lifestyle?

INT_21_M_56

Ok.. .. .. it's a very dynamic changing idea.. .. and when I just said idea that's not very good word to use, because a good portion of the world population is actually living very sustainably indeed. It's probably declined in my life time, but I would guess that nearly a third of the world's population, maybe is under a quarter.. actually live incredibly sustainably in their environment, they usually are rural people and they are growing food, building their own dwelling places, not glutting their water with their own waste materials.. living in harmony with their cultural background, so massive cultural history, and I've been to Australia, and the white man has only been in Australia for about 400 years, the aboriginals aren't some people who came across the Pacific, who have lived there for 40,000 years! 40,000 years! they know what sustainability is, they can walk out into the desert and survive, I wouldn't last five minutes. Sustainability is about realising that.. I said in my 20 words that I'm an animal, I'm an animal, I need food, I need water, I need shelter, I am a social animal and therefore sustainability is about learning to be sociable with everyone around us, and that's very hard, very very hard, because it's so much.. gunk put into our heads when we are children, about 'this good, there're bad', 'this is right, that is wrong', 'this is smelly, this.. is gorgeous, beautiful' you know, it's all this material in my head that I was brought up with as a child and a teenager and a young adult, and still is being feed me, and if I want to be sustainably, and I've got to say some of that is to be throwing away, get rid of, because it is not.. it is getting in the way of changes needed in the future to live sustainably. But sustainability is also a big unknown to me, I try not to be afraid of the unknown, because years ago I left a very well paid job and went to work on an organic farm. And yes, I could sound proud of that, I was single, I didn't have dependants and.. I took a huge life change, life direction change.. but it was also a jump into the unknown.. .. and a good friend of mine said to me 'you are looking to leave what you're doing because you're really unhappy doing it', this was IT high tech really, 'but hang on, the right thing will come along'. And that was hard as well because I just wanted to throw it all away and start again, but a bit of patience got me where I really wanted to do and sustainability is got a lot of unknowns. How in earth is that a highly industrialised society moving into a more sustainable harmonious way of existence with the world, given all the things we think we know about the science and technology and lot of things I feel we don't

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actually know, we think we know.. we got a long journey and I hope to live to a very old age, I don't know if I will, but I like to think I will and.. maybe see some of that transition into new era or existence.. and it will take a lot of jumping into the void, saying 'I don't need to know exactly where we're going', or where I am going.. trust in nature and faith, or whatever you believe, in God, whatever I believe in. I believe in God but not.. in the religious angle, I believe in the interconnectedness sort of thing. And if we follow the path of being animal, being sentient, being authentic, then.. the sustainable future.. is not to be fear, is to be love and sharish and.. anxious about.. all the human emotions are real and should be recognised and will get us through the hard times now. There is lots of things in this industrial world which I describe them as sustainable issues. So the clothes I wear, I try to.. buy organic, fair trade clothing.. and I am aware of avoid some things, or boycott stuff. Food I went.. there were obviously a reason why I went to work in an organic farm, and why I helped set up *(name of sustainable organisation)*, have you heard of *(name of sustainable organisation)*? I don't work for *(name of sustainable organisation)* now, for all sort of reasons, but.. (*name of his partner)* and I, 98% of what we eat is organic, fair trade food, because I don't want to put chemicals in my body, and I do understand the environmental link and.. I do worry that people aren't prepared to stand up and say 'organic food, for example, is more nutritious than non-organic', the government propaganda says it is no difference, it's rubbish, bollocks as I would say [smiles]. And.. there are loads of influential organisations out there that are.. have the power to stand up and shout 'this is why we should be going in this direction', you want to solve obesity? you don't get kids running around the circles trying to get fit, you feed them real food, sustainable food! sustainable socially, environmentally and for all time. Putting chemicals on the land, it got a 100 years, maybe 20 years ago we had 10 years left of oil and gas and chemicals.. unfortunately not, the sustainable.. desire is got a long way to go yet, because unfortunately oil is got another 60 years, and coal and chemical, agro-chemicals.. all these things have got time to run sadly and we've got to make our way through it and the way to do day is take tangents, we believe in taking a XXX step and say 'I don't know to worry about where I am, it's new, it could be frightening, but am I frighten?' not yet, maybe this is plus to take, not worry about the path being wrong, or antisocial, or.. terrorist sympathiser.. do you hear the news this morning? anybody who votes in the House of Commons today against war is a terrorist sympathiser.. just walk away from that! I could.. I could get party political, I don't believe in party politics, I haven't voted for many many years now.. I have walked away from that, it is just propaganda, it's just.. a stuff that I.. it makes me angry and violent and my radicalism is not the radicalism that propaganda says 'this people are radicals, they are terrorists', true radicalism is being able to take that tangent step and say 'don't be afraid, it's right!! I believe it here in my heart, and i believe it for a reason, it is not just there out of the blue, it is there for a reason, and therefore take the tangent'.. don't smash the radio yet, you know what I mean [smiles]. And that's what in my.. .. sustainability lies.. believing in what my heart tells me, and try to find the pragmatism to go with that and then take a direction

Interviewer

So would you say that you follow a sustainable lifestyle yourself?

INT_21_M_56

Yeah, but it changes

Interviewer

From 1 to 10, how sustainable would you say you are?

INT_21_M_56

8 and a half [smiles], always aspiring for more.. but a lot of things we do are more sustainable now than when I was 20, for example

Interviewer

And what do you think that motivates a person like you to live this way?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. .. Well.. I think we can pretend that we haven't all got.. .. a brain that is formed from the early stage, so I believe that everybody has different degrees of consciousness, contentiousness, intelligence,.. so as a contentious person I feel I'm on a scale of 9 contentious. It can drive me mad sometimes, you know I am just trying to wave things up all the time at the moment, I'm a Libra in the horoscope and.. I my believe is wave things up all the time.. so.. motivation is the degree of how much.. this can be a subconscious thing.. how much consciousness have I got to apply to these things confronting me right now, could be putting my shoes on, to.. how do I deal with a social situation, on the street, in the home, with my relationship.. with my work, anything. So the motivation is my conscience, what makes me feel good, feel happy, reduces the stress of thinking and worrying and.. anxiety about.. is this a right decision? is again that thing about taking a step and see what happens, rather than having to plan and plan and plan and find that the outcome is nothing like that.. .. there is a lot motivations about acceptance, so.. I am much more a social person than I was when I was 16, I hardly socialise at all, which I regret.. and.. there is still this thing about wanting to be accepted, and there lies a whole kind of problems.. how much do I compromise my beliefs to being accepted in this industrialised society? but that sounds very deep, but actually can be at any level could be, walking to *(name of sustainable organisation)* and seeing people I know or don't know, and how do I react to them.. you know.. so that's quite hard, but I am finding it easier than I did when I was younger, because I think the thing about maturity or adulthood is.. this potential to be able to sift through all about.. in sort of daily living, and start to find triggers that make us take a direction which is true to ourselves

Interviewer

And don't you find it difficult sometimes to try to live this way?

INT_21_M_56

Yeah, very very.. I don't know why I'm quite technologically.. interested all the time, so I could spend maybe too much time getting involved in things that actually might not be very sustainable. And then trying yourself to justify that and say 'well, we are living in a complicated time, we are an industrialised society, people are communicating much more with this kind of thing (taking a phone)' and loads of thing in the 50 years I have been alive.. have changed technologically and socially, and.. so.. I'm bound to be influenced by those things, and sometimes I have to say hang on, where are you going with this? you are not just falling into status quo, this is the way we live.. keep going, keep buying, keep consuming, keep dumping, keep wasting.. it's one of my little soapboxes at the moment, it's.. i try to be.. positive about people's pretends to do with sustainability and energy for example at the moment, how do we produce the world's energy that we need, but my soapbox is we waste so much, we don't need to produce a kilowatt more energy that we already produce, we need to cut back on share waste of energy that goes on in an industrialised society. And that ties in with my ant capitalism.. .. but it's very very hard to break free of it, one day I believe.. I don't know how long I'll live for but it might in my life time when one day I'll be standing up in the morning and realising that a lot of the things we take for granted are falling away, in a very rapid space of time. And that we don't have.. we wouldn't have to use these things, our hands, and our heads, and our hearts, in a very deep way, and in an animal way.. we are social animals, we must get together! and very rapidly learn how to live, so we're dying by millions.. I don't know what is gonna happen, (*name of his partner*) thinks.. my partner thinks that we will be long gone before cataclysm crushes and who knows if ever will, this is the unknown path

Interviewer

And does sustainability help you saving money?

INT_21_M_56

Yes, I do question why, why do I do that? [smiles] because I think it could be a crush at some point, why in earth I am not investing what I've got in practical things.. so there is a big question mark there for me, I think it's partly because it's what we.. my partner encourages me to do. When we met I was almost penniless, because I was putting all my resources into setting up *(name of sustainable organisation)*, working on the farm, and my income was fractional, what I used to have in IT. And.. .. so she is trying to balance that extreme of living hand to mouth, to something that gives us a bit more leeway, but sometimes I think.. I don't know spend some money on something we could use if the world fell apart tomorrow, and that makes me going to that extreme.. you know what I mean, so it's this waving things up again, can I find a middle ground? or is there a middle ground compromising my beliefs?

Interviewer

And does it influence you when meeting people? making friends?

INT_21_M_56

Yeah.. yeah.. .. .. .. I've made a lot of friends in Reading, I have lived in Reading twice, and I made a lot of friends the second time around, I made a few enemies as well.. .. but was part of a huge learning curve of greeting something I thought might be big, and then it contracted a bit, and that was partly because of mistakes I made, and partly because some other people also part of this organisation didn't work very well together (I think he talks about *(name of sustainable organisation)*). And I think we're societally wrong that curve as well, there're loads of things.. that the social left, the green movement.. are trying to do, and that actually treading on each other whilst doing it sometimes. Fortunately not all the time, but we are gonna have to learn new ways. It is a bit sad when.. although I don't believe in party politics, there are some things I thought were good sings.. and one of them was that the Green Party didn't have a leader at the point, it was constitution saying we don't have a single person we call the leader, there are people who take on leadership role, but.. and there are loads of organisations which think like that, and because of my experiences with some organisations I belong to in Reading, I am not very happy now about.. structural things that we take as normal, so committees and management, you must have a chair, you must have a secretary, you must have a treasurer.. and I think maybe.. this doesn't work for me, maybe this is not the way to go about organising ourselves for the future.. but then you can tread on people's toes and they don't like it, and what that structure they fill is important, it's part of the.. making things work. And I sometimes think.. there is a bit of a rebel in me, which says.. 'I don't like this, I don't like that, I'm going to find a different way', and I often find that they don't work. But I still thinking here that they don't.. the alternative ways, the status quo ways don't work either, so we got to thread our way through and find ways that work better

Interviewer

Is like.. how long ago did you leave *(name of sustainable organisation)*?

INT_21_M_56

About.. just under two years

Interviewer

I would like to ask you what 5 benefits do you get by living sustainably?

INT_21_M_56

Peace of mind.. so I use that first word clearly and importantly, and peace is an objective. So peace of mind, better health.. thinking about the future, I mean everything I do now affect the future and the aborigines who lived for 40,000 years I

hope they have another 40,000 years to go, we tend to talk about the long term, and if it is 30 years away.. the long term is hundred thousands of years in the future, and so.. third thing is benefit of the future, when I will be long gone, I believe in the spirit so my spirit will still be here, but my body won't be part of the earth. Two more benefits.. .. rapport, rapport with being an animal in the natural world and.. as much as I think I am natural, the world could be literally erased from the dictionary. Everything that goes on, all the things I don't like, all the unsustainability is as natural for humans as everything we aspire to.. we.. ourselves sustainability people. All the rest is a natural.. is anything which can go in cosmos, and.. but rapport is really really valuable, because if I feel I have a rapport with the whole world around me, then that's a massive benefit for me. And the fifth.. .. I think it is authenticity

Interviewer

And you mentioned in your 20s you changed your life running away from consumerism, if I understood properly. So was that the time when you decide to start living sustainably? at that moment?

INT_21_M_56

I don't think there was a moment, I think it was a transition, because I felt back into it.. .. into consumerism for a while, because I went travelling for what I thought was going to be a year and became more than two years, and my lifestyle was pretty materialistic about then, and when I came back to this country to work back in IT, because that was what I thought I was good at, I.. the massive income increase persuaded me back into consumption. But it didn't.. luckily it wasn't long before I was being attracted to things like *(name of sustainable organisation)* and *(name of sustainable organisation)* and doing these things put me back to the path, more sustainable living. Sometimes I think 'oh, I'm making that mistake again' and then I try to lever myself out

Interviewer

And did it influence you at the time to start being part of these organisations and change?

INT_21_M_56

I think it was a degree of shock, I think I was shocked into realising that.. this lifestyle, the tendency of the industrialised lifestyle of.. .. being a sort of.. .. I was reading about this poor guy in Ethiopia who lost of his people and just something in me imagined him being lost, and probably was himself suffering, but probably he was less lost than I was then.. so I thought 'what am I doing?' I have the signs, I have this brain, and what am I doing with it? so then I took a direction change and did loss of spur at the moment (do it something impulsively without planning) things at the time, like trying to raise loads of money for the local *(name of sustainable organisation)* shop, got involved in some *(name of sustainable organisation)* campaigns and.. we got a bit angry as well, lot of anger came out and.. but also a lot

of realisation that if I wanted to I could feed my mind with some truths about the world I was living in, society I'm living in

Interviewer

Could I ask you to think about the last decision you have taken taking sustainability into account?

INT_21_M_56

So when I left *(name of sustainable organisation)* I felt.. worried about what work I would do and made a decision to.. try and look for sustainable work, it might not be as good as the farm.. working on an organic farm, or working for an organic food co-op, but I wanted to do something didn't massively compromise my sustainability desires. So I did a lot of hunting and found sometimes that was better that just working in a factory or trying to..

Interviewer

You talk a lot about emotions, could you tell me which of these emotions do you feel when taking a decision which involves sustainability?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. .. It is between these two (surprise, happy)

Interviewer

Why?

INT_21_M_56

Do I have to choose one?

Interviewer

You can choose both

INT_21_M_56

Ok.. this one is about realisation (surprise), that really says 'oh my God' [smiles].. .. and then making a decision is a powerful thing, so why don't be like that? (happy) you know, it might be the wrong decision, but it's a powerful thing we have. Humans have this capacity above.. not above other animals, but has this capacity of make a choice, feel comfortable about it and then realise it was.. brave, and you feel even more comfortable about it, or it was not exactly the best decision and.. learn from it. So if we are learning that's how I feel

Interviewer

Could you tell me which mode of transport do you use most often? cycling?

INT_21_M_56

Yes, we try to cycle, bus, train, neither of us is flown for about 20 years, so.. you know. Sounds that we are compromised, we do have a campervan and use that from time to time

Interviewer

How long have you been living in the boat for?

INT_21_M_56

9 years, love it, really love it. People worry that we are freezing to death and it couldn't be warmest, it's fantastic, yeah. We are lucky, we have a mooring which is on the edge of Reading, so it feels we are in rural, and this is what I was talking about earlier.. rapport with nature, we are normally in a rural landscape, close enough to Reading to work, I love it

Interviewer

Are you involved at the moment with any kind of organisation which promotes sustainability?

INT_21_M_56

Oh yeah I am member of many charities.. I belong to.. (*name of sustainable organisation),* some social organisations like (*name of organisation), (name of organisation)* and *(name of organisation)*, which is trying to use none currencies, so yeah we support loads of charitable bodies, I'm member of the *(name of sustainable organisation)* in.. .. and I had a fantastic time down in.. have you heard of.. there is a town in Devon, creative sustainable networks, forgot how is called.. Totnes in Devon, create a sustainable network across the world and it is very good, I went there.. *(name of sustainable organisation*) is called

Interviewer

Are you involved in *(name of sustainable organisation*)?

INT_21_M_56

Yes, I used to be a trustee in *(name of sustainable organisation)*, I'm not so involved now, but I still support it, that's why we are doing the interview in this room. It's a wonderful resource in Reading

Interviewer

And do you try to encourage other people to join this kind of organisations?

INT_21_M_56

Not directly, by influence. So I'm not hanging out leaflets to people all the time, so just influence people. I don't know why it is but in my work, I often find it difficult to get to know and enjoy the company of my colleagues, this company I work for at the moment is the hire bike scheme in Reading.. there is a young guy who is thinking all the time and trying to make up his mind about the world, and we have various conversations, but I am not trying to coursing, just say you know, you like riding up your bike, so join Reading's cycle campaign, you are interested in socio-politics, so get involved in that.. it's just.. being myself, chat giving my angle, how I feel, what makes me excited, angry, upset, frustrated, motivated, all the questions you've been asking me and then he will make up his mind

Interviewer

And so you used to be a trustee here, so what is your role at the moment in *(name of sustainable organisation)*?

INT_21_M_56

Just supporter and shopper

Interviewer

And why did you choose *(name of sustainable organisation)* instead of another organisation?

INT_21_M_56

.. .. I think it's because of the growth of the thing. When I first came to *(name of sustainable organisation)* was a tiny little store and education centre, here in *(name of the street)* but up the road, it was really small, very crowded there and they were willing to move. And I've been indirectly involved in the transition to this incredible resource we have now. It includes being a trustee, volunteering in the shop, and seeing what the power of volunteering can do, because hundreds of people were involved in renovating this almost.. this building, and I got to know some of them as friends and so other efforts, and they inspired me to make more effort. I can be a really lazy person, it may not sound like that [smiles] but.. .. inspiration is very powerful, and they've been inspiring me, and that's why we are seat here and we can enjoy this fantastic resource

Interviewer

And do you behave as you really are when being here at *(name of sustainable organisation)*? or you take a different role?

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INT_21_M_56

Yeah, yeah, I feel very comfortable.. .. and.. .. really really enjoy being part of what is going on here

Interviewer

I have another question with pictures

INT_21_M_56

[Smiles] I love pictures

Interviewer

You have to choose the three actions which best represent for you what following a sustainable lifestyle means

INT_21_M_56

All right.. .. .. right what I tend to do is pick the ones that show the human, solar panels fine, recycling materials fine, electric cars fine.. but the human is the key to sustainability, because the human is doing loads of things unsustainable in an industrialised society, doing loads of sustainable things in a rural community in South America or Africa or wherever. How many?

Interviewer

Three please

INT_21_M_56

All right.. .. .. in that case.. .. these three (cycling, food market, activism)

Interviewer

So do you do these three activities?

INT_21_M_56

It's more than activities, so they are relationships between these people, so these two people (food market), one you could say is the retailer and the other is the customer, but these people are having a relationship with each other and a conversation, and not just here is what I want to buy and here is the money for it. And obviously in my idea of it this is organic and it's sustainable food, but there is a lot else going on here. It looks like it is some kind of social event going on, festival or activity, so that's why I choose that one, but obviously I mean that is the kind of food I'm interested in. Because it's fresh, and it's real, and less processed and full of.. XXX you know mix-shaped vegetables. This one (cycling) is about the aged gap to me, so this person could be the mother or the sister.. .. actually I was about to say..

the counter flowing of it, I think it might be a picture of a foreign country, there is a path.. it could be going the other way of the traffic, I like counter flow [laughs].. but this is about the influence of generations and.. being active! the reason I don't have a television is that is a passive activity, and I don't like that passivity makes me feel uncomfortable. I don't.. mean not ever have a rest, but I don't like the passivity of somebody else entertaining me. I want a proactive life, and I love this (activism), this is somebody using their brain to try and get across a point and obviously there is a social situation here, I don't know what it is, it may be a campaign but.. this is using creativity and not being afraid to stand up and make it. And I have done all these things, so I have made police XXX activity, and I have also confronted people and being prepared for the arresting and that kind of thing. And I don't.. I still have a lot of respect for people doing that, but it is not where I am at the moment. So no way I'm gonna go and stand in Trafalgar Square or outside the House of Commons, because for me it's just a complete waste of energy. But I respect the people making that voice, because I have been there

Interviewer

And is the motivation to do these three things the same?

INT_21_M_56

Yeah, so..

Interviewer

And what would you say is the difference and similarity between the three pictures?

INT_21_M_56

People is the similarity, and that is the key you know.. .. and.. influence, they are all influencing people and this guy (activism), whoever is holding.. I think it is a male, it might not be.. could then.. hit somebody in the head with that card, but.. .. they are trying to influence other people with a clever slogan and with a bit of brain thought about it. And probably here (food market) as well, food going into.. how do I persuade this person that they can eat more and more of these? or just being you know, without necessarily thinking about it a lot, be actually more sustainable and getting a lot of goodness out of it

Interviewer

Somehow some of these activities involve consumption, so what is your view about sustainable consumption? how do you think it fits with following a sustainable lifestyle?

INT_21_M_56

Right.. .. consumption sounds like a physical thing, sounds like.. where are we going to eat? where are we going to drink? and what are we going to wear? and where do

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I want to live? and how can we get from A to B?. But consumption is also about something a lot lot bigger, and possibly a lot lot deeper. We have to think about who am I, who am I with, not necessarily who am I against.. when I was reading that newspaper article about the people starving in Ethiopia in the 1980s, I was consuming.. and an entirely different part of the world wasn't a major industrial society, people who have could just disconnected with it said 'no my problem!', end of the story. Sustainable consumption is about more than just the physical, it's the spiritual, the social, the relationships and.. being attached with your emotions, and not being afraid.. try not to be afraid, we can't help not being afraid sometimes. Yeah there is.. most of what the other pictures are physical things as well, but these, because that's why I picked up stuff that contains mainly people, that's.. where the consumption.. for me, true sustainable consumption is being a person, not just being something who eats stuff or has stuff. Being human beings and social animals

Interviewer

Between the people you know, do you think that you are more or less sustainable than they are?

INT_21_M_56

Erm.. maybe 6 out of 10.. some people I know are more sustainable than I am.. and I hope to be influenced by that. Loads of people I know are far less

Interviewer

But do you think that people in general think that you are sustainable?

INT_21_M_56

Yes

Interviewer

And you like that feeling?

INT_21_M_56

Yes, I do

Interviewer

And do you think you are as sustainable when you are at home than when you are out, like at work..

INT_21_M_56

More at home than out actually, because it's quite hard.. you know, we would like to go out from time to time and eating at a restaurant where we knew all the food was organic and fair trade, you can't, it's not possible. Work.. I am a driver in a van, I'm

helping people to live a more sustainable lifestyle by cycling from A to B, or along the river Thames on a nice sunny afternoon, but to get those bicycles where they need to be I have to drive a van, it's polluting the town of Reading, I'm polluting my own asthma, you know [smiles]. This is were the compromise is waved up

Interviewer

And do you think you are going to become even more sustainable?

INT_21_M_56

I think it's inevitable, that sounds.. possibly unlikely and a bit arrogant, but I actually think.. humans are going to be forced to be more sustainable, we either perish like the dinosaurs and that wasn't their fault.. or we have no choice. You know the technological world is not forever, unfortunately I get very frustrated by hearing radio programs about you know in a thousand years' time we'll have silicon chips in our heads and we'll be communicating with each other with some kind of technological telepathy you know [smiles] and we won't do every day shopping because the food will just arrive in machine.. this is not forever, maybe in a hundred years hence. I don't know, I haven't got a crystal ball, but I try to crystal ball this and it could be 200 years, it could be 500 years, but it will come to an end. And the way nature tends to work, it's recycling everything, and you can't recycle nuclear waste, and you cannot recycle chemicals that have a 10,000 year breakdown time and so, one day we'll eat something, and shit it out, and that would be the day we are back to natural world, living. We are sentient humans, we are social animals, we will do all the things that humans do, and that it just as important as leaves falling from a tree, or the sun rising in the morning or the oceans trying going in and out

(end of the interview)

Sample demographics

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Occupation	Active member of sustainable organisation
INT_01_F_59	Female	59	Recruitment coordinator (charity sector)	Yes
INT_02_M_46	Male	46	Educator (university and charity)	Yes
INT_03_M_25	Male	25	Writer / Shop assistant	No
INT_04_F_33	Female	33	Lab technician	No
INT_05_F_38	Female	38	Garden history tutor (unemployed)	Yes
INT_06_F_28	Female	28	Senior Assistant Scientist	Yes
INT_07_F_50	Female	50	Sales account manager (unemployed)	Yes
INT_08_M_33	Male	33	PhD student	Yes
INT_09_F_33	Female	33	Full-time mum	Yes
INT_10_F_60	Female	60	Shop manager	Yes
INT_11_M_29	Male	29	Caretaker	Yes
INT_12_F_31	Female	31	Social worker	Yes
INT_13_F_31	Female	31	GIS technician	No
INT_14_F_23	Female	23	Lab Supervisor	Yes
INT_15_M_28	Male	28	Information systems analyst	No
INT_16_F_59	Female	59	Office manager	Yes
INT_17_M_24	Male	24	Bar staff	Yes
INT_18_F_36	Female	36	Communications specialist	Yes
INT_19_F_47	Female	47	Advocate / counsellor	Yes
INT_20_M_68	Male	68	Vicar (retired)	Yes
INT_21_M_56	Male	56	Van driver	Yes
INT_22_M_56	Male	56	Chartered engineer	No
INT_23_M_56	Male	56	Administrator	Yes
INT_24_F_41	Female	41	Piano teacher	Yes
INT_25_F_41	Female	41	Marketing (unemployed)	Yes
INT_26_F_32	Female	32	Sustainable business owner	No
INT_27_M_32	Male	32	Sustainability consultant and researcher	No
INT_28_M_58	Male	58	Consultant psychiatrist	No
INT_29_M_41	Male	41	Software engineer	Yes
INT_30_M_46	Male	46	Researcher	Yes
INT_31_M_47	Male	47	Software engineer (unemployed)	Yes
INT_32_M_34	Male	34	University lecturer	No
INT_33_M_41	Male	41	Journalist	No
INT_34_M_57	Male	57	Charity worker	Yes
INT_35_F_25	Female	25	PhD student	Yes

Participants' consent form

CONSENT FORM TO BE SIGNED BY RESPONDENT

Project: PhD research project by **Irene Garnelo Gomez**, from the School of Marketing and Reputation, Henley Business School, The University of Reading.

Good morning/afternoon and thank you very much for your participation.

As you are aware this is a study into behaviours towards sustainable living, with the aim of understanding how those who live sustainably are and what really motivates them to live this way. The results of this project could help non-for-profit organisations and policy makers by giving them ideas on how to engage individuals in sustainable practices.

This conversation will be recorded just to facilitate the transcription process and all the information obtained through this interview will be analysed for purely academic purposes. This is a private interview and your identity will be kept confidential.

☐   I am happy to take part in an interview about sustainability habits.

☐   I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me.

☐   I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and I am happy for anonymised data from the interview to be shared.

☐   I am happy for the interview to be audio recorded.

Signature:

Name: …………………………………………..……………………………
Date: …………………………………………………..……………………………

Email sent to sustainable organisations

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Irene Garnelo Gomez and I am a PhD student at the University of Reading.

My research focuses on **understanding how individuals who follow sustainable lifestyles are and behave**. Hopefully my results will have some implications for NGOs and policy makers in terms of creating and spreading pro-sustainable behaviours amongst society.

By 'sustainable lifestyle' I mean a way of living which aims to reduce the negative impact human actions have on the environment by modifying ways of transportation, consumption and diet (everyday practices); and which involves accepting the obligation to search for harmony with other members of the society and with the environment.

I am aware of the valuable things *(name of the sustainable organisation)* do and the awesome people you have working/volunteering in your team. That is why it would be a pleasure for me to have some of the members of your team as participants of my study (between 10 and 15 people if possible), as I really believe your contribution to this research will be highly valued. The only requirement for participation is to follow a sustainable lifestyle, how can you decide if you do or you don't follow a sustainable lifestyle? maybe by asking yourself the questions below:

DO YOU CONSIDER YOU FOLLOW A SUSTAINABLE LIFESTYLE? For instance:

- Do you consume sustainable food and goods?

- Do you try to cycle or walk instead of driving a car?

- Do you attempt to reduce your waste, recycle and re-use products?

I am looking for individuals, 18 and over, who will to spare between 45 and 60 minutes talking about their views on sustainable lifestyles. The interviews would be face-to-face and no preparation for it is needed, as I will be asking questions related to personal values and daily living habits. The interview will take place any day those interested are available during the months

of November and December, in the place of your choice (preferably quiet, as I normally audio-record the interviews –just for transcription processes). Confidentiality and anonymity are assured, as responses will be analysed and reported in aggregate form, for academic purposes only. The participation in this study is completely voluntary and therefore participants are free to decline to participate for any reason and at any time or refuse to answer any individual questions. Even after signing the consent form (where the aims and objectives of the research are also explained), they will be able to stop.

As a student, I will not be able to give any economic reward to my participants, but I will be more than happy to share the results of my research with True Food once I have submitted my thesis, as I feel it could be also beneficial for you. The results of my research might help you understand how those who collaborate with you are and why they do it, and maybe help you to engage more people into your organisation and projects.

If the above sounds good to you, please contact me by sending an email (**x.xxxxxxxxxxxxx@pgr.reading.ac.uk** or **xxxxxxxxxx@gmail.com**) or calling me on XXXXXXXXXXX.

Hope to hear from you soon.

Thank you in advance for your help and support.

Best regards,

Irene

Poster used in the Facebook event and in the premises of the sustainable organisations