

## Chapter 5: Demand, services and social aspects of mitigation

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## 1 **Executive summary**

2 The Sixth Assessment Report of the IPCC for the first time features a full chapter on demand, services,  
3 and social aspects of mitigation. Assessment of various branches of social science and case studies from  
4 across regions reveals that socio-cultural dynamics offer new entry points for mitigating climate change  
5 and organising economic and social activities. People demand services and not primary energy and  
6 physical resources per se. Focusing on demand for services and the different social and political roles  
7 people play broadens the climate solution space.

8

### 9 **I. Potential of demand-side actions and service provisioning systems**

10 **Demand side mitigation and new ways of service provisioning tap a huge and largely overlooked**  
11 **mitigation potential of avoiding, shifting and improving final service demand. Demand side**  
12 **mitigation avoids planetary risks associated with other mitigation strategies, and in particular**  
13 **carbon dioxide removal (*high confidence*). {5.2, 5.3}**

14 **Demand-side strategies, categorised under Avoid, Shift, Improve, can reduce 50-80% of emissions**  
15 **across all sectors (*high confidence*). Avoid-Shift improve combines socio-behavioural, infrastructural**  
16 **and technological changes. Avoid potential is largest in the transport sector, omitting long-haul aviation**  
17 **and providing short-distance urban infrastructures. Shift potential is highest in food, shifting towards**  
18 **plant-based diets. Improve potential is highest in the building sector, especially with technologies and**  
19 **design option related to passive housing. {Figure 5.7}**

20 **Lifestyle changes can rapidly deliver climate change mitigation, while reducing mitigation costs**  
21 **(*medium confidence*). Behaviour changes and individual avoid options such as car-less living, reduced**  
22 **air travel, heating and cooling set-point adjustments, reduced appliance use, shifts to public transit, and**  
23 **less meat intensive diets can deliver an additional 2 and 3 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq savings in 2030 and 2050,**  
24 **respectively, beyond the savings achieved in traditional technology-centric mitigation scenarios.**  
25 **Models that include lifestyle changes indicate that the economic costs of reaching mitigation targets are**  
26 **lower when incorporating ASI strategies for deep energy and resource demand reductions. {5.3.1, Table**  
27 **5.5}**

28 **Low demand scenarios reduce both supply side capacity additions and the need for negative**  
29 **emissions technologies to reach emissions targets (*medium confidence*). This reduces supply side**  
30 **sustainability risks related to large-scale land use or material demand. These upstream effects are largest**  
31 **for very low demand scenarios when primary energy demand by 2050 is 40% lower than in 2020. {5.3.2,**  
32 **5.3.3, Figure 5.10}**

33 **Among 60 identified actions to change individual consumption, individual mobility choices have**  
34 **the largest potential to reduce carbon footprints (*high confidence*). Car free travel and adoption of**  
35 **electric mobility amount to 2tCO<sub>2</sub> cap<sup>-1</sup> yr<sup>-1</sup> saving, in average. Flying less and shift to active and public**  
36 **transport are other main transport-related mitigation options. In the food sector, any shift away from**  
37 **animal protein and dairy realises mitigation benefits. In the building sector, fitting housing with**  
38 **renewable energy, adopting passive house standards, and reducing hot water and overheating all reduces**  
39 **GHG emissions. {5.3}**

40 **Leveraging improvements in end-use service delivery through behavioural, technological, and**  
41 **market organisational innovations leads to large reduction in upstream resource use (*high***  
42 ***confidence*). Indicative potentials for improvements range from a factor 10 to 20 with the highest**  
43 **improvement potentials at the end-user and service provisioning levels. Realisable service level**  
44 **efficiency improvements from 14% in 2020 to 41% in 2050 correspond to saving 334 EJ, i.e. two thirds**  
45 **(66%) of 2020 primary energy use. {5.3.1.1, 5.3.1.2, 5.3.2, Figure 5.9}**

1 **Total efficiency gains by way of changing service delivery system are the largest in buildings (*high***  
2 ***confidence*)**. By 2050, efficiency gains are the largest for buildings (including appliances): -160 EJ  
3 (pervasive adoption of “Passivhaus” building designs), followed by materials with -100 EJ  
4 (dematerialisation via digitalisation and shared mobility and recycling) and mobility with -50 EJ (more  
5 public transport, shared mobility, and electrification of vehicles). {5.3.1.2}

6 **Granular energy end-use and prosumer technologies, characterised by modularity, small unit**  
7 **sizes and small unit costs, diffuse faster into markets, improve in cost and performance faster**  
8 **(technological learning), offer more efficiency savings, escape technological lock-in more easily,**  
9 **and create more employment than alternatives with larger unit sizes and costs (*high confidence*).**  
10 {5.3, 5.5}

11 **Alternative service provision systems through digitalisation, sharing economy, and the circular**  
12 **economy have to date contributed little to climate change mitigation as seen from current energy**  
13 **and GHG emission trends (*medium confidence*)**. While digitalisation holds potential for climate  
14 change mitigation through new products and applications that can improve service-level efficiencies, it  
15 may also give rise to absolute increases in demand for products and energy use. An important  
16 consideration in all ASI strategies is the potential for unintended rebound and run-away effects, which  
17 can however be avoided by carefully crafted regulatory and socio-behavioural measures and improved  
18 data collection and monitoring of digitalised system energy use. {5.3.4, 5.3.4.1, Figure 5.10, Figure  
19 5.11}

20 **The circular economy can contribute to climate change mitigation if policies constrain undesired**  
21 **indirect effects (*medium confidence*)**. Product reuse, refurbishment, and recycling have been shown  
22 to reduce emissions in many cases, but mitigation potentials are reduced where such activities create  
23 new secondary markets that do not substitute for primary production, where GHG emissions from  
24 energy use required for recycling, refurbishment and reusing exceed their respective benefits, and where  
25 lifespans of energy-inefficient products are extended. A considerable part of the literature claims  
26 circular economy benefits for sustainability and climate change mitigation but does not prove it on  
27 economy-wide bases. Regulations or taxations on GHG emissions and raw material extraction, balanced  
28 with potential wellbeing benefits of secondary markets, can help ensure efficient circular economy  
29 systems. {5.3.4.2}

30 **Providing better services with less energy and resource input is possible and consistent with**  
31 **providing wellbeing for all (*medium confidence*)**. Low-energy demand-side scenarios demonstrate  
32 the feasibility of reducing global final energy demand in 2050 to 245 EJ, 40% lower than final energy  
33 demand in 2018, while maintaining or improving wellbeing for all. Better service provisioning can be  
34 made with less wasteful energy and resource use. Assessment of 19 demand-side mitigation options  
35 and 18 different constituents of wellbeing show that positive impacts on wellbeing outweigh negative  
36 ones by a factor of 11. {5.1.1, 5.3, 5.3.15.3}

## 37

## 38 **II. Social aspects of demand side mitigation actions**

39 **Redesigning service provisioning system enables reaching the twin goal of attaining wellbeing for**  
40 **all and mitigating climate change (*high confidence*)**. Energy is required for guaranteeing access to  
41 basic needs. A reduction in primary energy use and/or shift to renewable energy, if associated with the  
42 maintenance or improvement of services, can both ensure better environmental quality and enhance  
43 well-being. {5.2, 5.2.1}

44 **Decent living standards for all can only be achieved by high efficiency low demand pathways**  
45 **(*medium confidence*)**. Decent Living Standards (DLS) is a benchmark of material conditions for human  
46 well-being and overlaps with many Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It sets minimum

1 requirements of energy use consistent with enabling wellbeing for all at between 10 and 100 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>,  
2 depending on context. {5.2.1, 5.2.2, Table 5.1, Figure 5.5, Box 5.2}

3 **Service provisioning for wellbeing is more granular, flexible, and culturally-appropriate than**  
4 **‘demand’ as a way of considering climate futures and policy options (*high confidence*).** Once  
5 subsistence needs are met, relative wellbeing is much more significant for human happiness than  
6 absolute consumption levels, and increased material consumption decouples from improvements in  
7 development indicators. {5.2.1, 5.2.3}

8 **Demand-side measures are the single most important generic mitigation options, as they cut**  
9 **across all sectors and can bring multiple interacting benefits (*high confidence*).** Energy services  
10 which together help meet human needs (e.g. nutrition, shelter, health, etc.) may be met in many different  
11 ways (with different emissions implications) depending on local contexts, cultures, geography,  
12 available technologies, social preferences, and other factors. In the near term, many less-developed  
13 countries and poor people everywhere require better access to low-emissions energy sources for DLS  
14 service provision. Substantial increases in service levels to meet the twin objectives of development in  
15 the less developed countries and decent living standards for all, take back some of the energy savings  
16 but enhance wellbeing faster. 70 EJ of additional energy demand are required to guarantee decent living  
17 standards for all in 2050. {5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.4.5, Figure 5.4, Figure 5.5, Figure 5.6, Box 5.2}

18 **Wealthy individuals have high potential for emissions reductions while maintaining DLS and**  
19 **wellbeing (*high confidence*).** Individuals with high socio-economic status have high behavioural  
20 plasticity and capability to reduce their GHG emissions, especially in mobility by flying less and  
21 utilising electric two, three, or four wheelers, by becoming role models of low-carbon lifestyles, by  
22 investing into low-carbon business, and by lobbying for a stringent climate policies. {5.2.3}

23 **The social domain takes centre stage in realising demand-side mitigation potential (*high***  
24 ***confidence*).** People act and contribute to climate change mitigation in their diverse capacities:  
25 consumers, citizens, professionals, role models, investors, policy makers. {5.4, 5.5}

26 **Decision making that does not follow the standard rational choice model is prevalent in many**  
27 **energy-relevant contexts and requires interventions beyond economic incentives (*high***  
28 ***confidence*).** Individuals act in more roles than that of rational consumer when they make energy  
29 decisions, and the social environment, cultural practices, public knowledge, producer technologies and  
30 services all influence decisions. To influence consumer demand, policymakers have an assortment of  
31 tools that include prohibitions, mandates, taxes, fees, and subsidies, but also choice- and agency-  
32 preserving interventions that shape the choice environment and guide decisions in the form of  
33 information, warnings, reminders, uses of social norms, and setting sustainable defaults, such as  
34 automatic enrolment in “green energy” provision via wind or solar. {5.2.1, 5.4.1}

35 **Coordinated change in several domains leads to the emergence of new low-carbon configurations**  
36 **with cascading mitigation effects (*high confidence*).** Demand-side transitions involve interacting  
37 processes and struggles on the behavioural, socio-cultural, institutional, business and technological  
38 dimensions. Individual or sectoral level change may be stymied by reinforcing lock-ins in social,  
39 infrastructural, and cultural domains. Coordinating choice architectures, physical infrastructures, new  
40 technologies and related business models can rapidly realise system-level change. {5.4.2, 5.5}

41 **Demand side solutions require both motivation and capacity for change (*high confidence*).**  
42 Capacity for change requires the availability and knowledge about change options and the resources to  
43 consider, initiate and maintain change. Correctly understanding the roles, goals, and needs of different  
44 actors, their perceptions and decision processes and the feedback between their actions is imperative in  
45 designing effective policies and decision support systems. {5.4.1}

1 **Behavioural change, not embedded in structural and cultural change, is insufficient for climate**  
2 **change mitigation (*medium confidence*)**. Despite large mitigation potentials associated with individual  
3 actions, motivation by individuals or households around the world to change energy consumption  
4 behaviour is low. Behavioural nudges can promote easy behaviour change, improve actions like energy  
5 efficiency investments, but fail to motivate harder lifestyle changes. Individual motivation and capacity  
6 are influenced by different factors in different demographics and geographies. These factors go beyond  
7 traditional socio-demographic and economic predictors and include psychological variables such as  
8 awareness, perceived risk, subjective and social norms, and perceived behavioural control. {5.4}

9 **Cultural change and new or adapted infrastructures are necessary to enable and realise many**  
10 **Avoid and Shift options (*medium confidence*)**. Narratives enable people to imagine and share climate  
11 futures that are characterised by avoid or shift possibilities. By drawing support from diverse actors,  
12 narratives enable coalitions to form, providing the basis for social movements to campaign in favour of  
13 (or against) societal transformations. {5.4, 5.5}

14 **Collective action by individuals as part of formal social movements or informal lifestyle**  
15 **movements underpins system change (*high confidence*)**. Collective action and social organising are  
16 crucial to shift the possibility space of public policy on climate change mitigation. For example, climate  
17 strikes have given voice to youth in more than 180 countries. In other instances, mitigation policies that  
18 allow the active participation of all stakeholders, result in building social trust, new coalitions,  
19 legitimising change and thus initiate a positive cycle in climate governance capacity and policies.  
20 {5.4.2}

21 **Transition pathways require action by different actors at different stages (*high confidence*)**.  
22 Transition pathways often start with experimental attempts by dedicating individuals and social norm  
23 settings in niche cultures. In adequate constellation, these groups can find entry points in the political  
24 process resulting in infrastructure reconfigurations or policies that support the further uptake of  
25 technologies or lifestyles. Agency of individuals as social change agents and narrators of meaning is  
26 central. These bottom-up socio-cultural forces catalysed a supportive policy environment, which  
27 enabled improvements in technologies, such as photovoltaics, by innovative firms. {5.5.2}

28 **Middle actors play a crucial albeit underestimated and underutilised role in establishing low-**  
29 **carbon professional standards and practices (*medium confidence*)**. Building managers, landlords,  
30 energy efficiency advisers, technology installers and car dealers, influence patterns of mobility and  
31 energy consumption by acting as ‘middle actors’ or ‘intermediaries’ in the provision of building or  
32 mobility services and need to be provided with greater capacity and motivation to play this role. {5.4.3}

33 **Current effects of climate change are already threatening the viability of existing business**  
34 **practices (*medium confidence*)**. Lobby activism, protecting rent extracting business models, prevent  
35 political action. Concerns of job losses in particular industries are justified and public discourses and  
36 policies are required to preserve the livelihoods, respect, and dignity of all workers and employees  
37 involved. {5.4.3}

38 **Values in society change (*medium confidence*)**. Some values align better with GHG emission societies  
39 than others. Preferences are malleable and align with cultural shift. As a result the good life can be  
40 realised in different service provisioning systems. {5.2, 5.3}

41 **Descriptive social norms are a powerful lever for increased adoption of low-carbon technologies,**  
42 **behaviours, and lifestyles (*high confidence*)**. Between 10% and 30% of committed individuals are  
43 required to set new social norms. {5.4, 5.5, 5.6}

44

45 **III. Preconditions and instruments to enable demand-side transformation**

1

2 **Social equity improves capacity for mitigating climate change (*medium confidence*).** Impartial  
3 governance such as fair treatment by law and order institutions and gender and income equity increases  
4 social trust, thus enabling demand side climate policies. High status (often high carbon) item  
5 consumption can be reduced by taxing absolute wealth without compromising wellbeing. The main  
6 reason is that status is communicating by relative wealth, not absolute wealth. {5.2}

7 **Policies that increase the political access and participation of women, and racialised and**  
8 **marginalised groups, increase the democratic impetus for climate action. (*high confidence*).**  
9 Including more differently-situated knowledge and diverse perspectives make climate mitigation  
10 policies more effective. {5.2}

11 **Carbon pricing works best if implemented as targeted and fair (*high confidence*).** A carbon levy  
12 earmarked for green infrastructures or saliently returned to tax payers corresponding to widely accepted  
13 notions of fairness increases political acceptability of carbon pricing. {5.6, Box 5.10}

14 **Greater contextualisation and granularity in policy approaches is important to address the**  
15 **challenges of rapid transitions towards zero-carbon systems (*high confidence*).** Larger systems take  
16 more time to evolve, grow, and change compared to smaller ones. The creation of entirely new systems  
17 (diffusion) takes longer time than replacements of existing technologies/practices (substitution). Late  
18 adopters tend to adopt faster than early pioneers. Obstacles and feasibility barriers are high in early  
19 transition phases. Barriers decrease as a result of technical and social learning processes, network  
20 building, scale economies, cultural debates and institutional adjustments. {5.5, 5.6}

21 **COVID-19 confinement showed that behavioural change at massive scale and in short-time is**  
22 **possible (*high confidence*).** COVID-19 accelerated some specific trends, such as an uptake in urban  
23 cycling. It also induced a modal shift from public transit to cars. In many instances, confinement was  
24 undesired and increased social inequity. To achieve acceptability, collective social change towards less  
25 resource intensive lifestyles require a social mandate building on deliberative processes. Social norms,  
26 individual and social practices are self-stabilising together with economic incentive systems and  
27 physical infrastructures and hardly change without structural change or external shocks. COVID-19  
28 reset daily practices, and personal values, combined with awareness of consequences and ascription of  
29 responsibility, led to heightened efficacy beliefs, further strengthened by descriptive social norms,  
30 resulting in pro-social action, demonstrating that rapid collective action is possible. {Box 5.1}

31 **Mitigation policies that correspond to and communicate with the values people hold are more**  
32 **likely to be successful (*high confidence*).** Values differ between cultures. Measures that support  
33 autonomy, energy security and safety, equity and environmental protection, and fairness will resonate  
34 well in many communities. {5.4.2}

35 **Policy instruments applied in sequence help in accelerating change in a desired direction**  
36 **consistently (*high confidence*).** Changing in consumption choices consistently require structural  
37 changes and political action that enable taking low-carbon choices. {5.6}

38 **Meta-analyses demonstrate that nudges, choice architectures and information provide small to**  
39 **medium significant contributions to reduce GHG emissions of individuals. In tandem with price**  
40 **signals, they work better than each individually (*medium confidence*).** Green defaults are highly  
41 effective, and judicious labelling, framing, and communication of social norms can accelerate and  
42 multiply the effect of mandates, subsidies, or taxes. {5.4}

43 **Regulation and public policy are necessary to steer the digital economies towards effective climate**  
44 **change mitigation (*medium confidence*).** Combining efficiency gains with service provisioning  
45 systems that are minimally resource intensive, such as comprehensive shared mobility schemes, could  
46 reduce GHG emissions by as much as one-third. Specific applications of digital services, such as



1 telework, teleconferencing, and intelligent energy systems offer mitigation potential by substituting  
2 other applications. For example, a modern smartphone requiring 5 watts of power can provide the same  
3 end user services (e.g., telephony, music, video, etc.) as previously associated with over 15 different  
4 end-use devices that collectively required 449 watts of power. Early and proactive public policies can  
5 foster the mitigation impacts of digitalisation and help avoiding rebounds. Reducing energy use of  
6 servers and data infrastructure is possible and a key ingredient of managing low-carbon digitalisation.  
7 Digitalisation may also turbocharge consumption by better targeted advertisements, with possible  
8 detrimental impacts on GHG emissions. Regulation can avoid undesired effects of digitalisation. {5.3}

9 **It is important to consider non-linear development in technologies and wider rationales of human**  
10 **behaviour to design policy mixes (*medium confidence*).** Combining insights from psychological,  
11 economic and innovation studies on policy mixes suggests non linearity in technology development.  
12 Specifically, an understanding of changing concepts of wellbeing, along with the necessity to maintain  
13 capabilities/DLS for everyone, allows for a broader set of policy mixes compared to marginal welfare  
14 improvements under given preference settings. {5.4, 5.5, 5.6}

15 **Policy mixes are optimal if policies operate complementary to each other (*medium confidence*).**  
16 Specifically in the case of energy efficiency this involves CO<sub>2</sub> pricing, standards and norms, and  
17 information feedback, while grants, loans and tax rebates are less effective as part of policy mixes. {5.3,  
18 5.6}

## 1 **5.1 Introduction**

2 The Sixth Assessment Report of the IPCC (AR6), for the first time, features a full chapter on demand,  
3 services, and social aspects of mitigation. It builds on the AR4, which linked behaviour and lifestyle  
4 change to mitigating climate change (IPCC 2007; Roy and Pal 2009; IPCC 2014a), the Global Energy  
5 Assessment (Roy et al. 2012), and the AR5, which identified sectoral demand-side mitigation options  
6 across chapters (IPCC 2014a,b; Creutzig et al. 2016b). Although research on the social science aspects  
7 of climate mitigation still represents only a tiny fraction of all climate change research funding  
8 (Overland and Sovacool 2020), the literature on the nature, scale, implementation and implications of  
9 demand-side solutions, and associated changes in lifestyles, social norms, and well-being, has been  
10 growing rapidly (Creutzig et al. 2021a). Demand-side solutions support near-term climate change  
11 mitigation (Méjean et al. 2019; Wachsmuth and Duscha 2019) and include consumers' technology  
12 choices, behaviours, lifestyle changes, coupled production-consumption infrastructures and systems,  
13 service provision strategies, and associated socio-technical transitions. This chapter's assessment of the  
14 social sciences (also see Supplementary Material Chapter 5) reveals that social dynamics at different  
15 levels offer diverse entry points for acting on and mitigating climate change (Jorgenson et al. 2019).

16  
17 People demand services for dignified survival, sustenance, mobility, communication, comfort and  
18 material wellbeing (Nakićenović et al. 1996; Johansson et al. 2012; Creutzig et al. 2018). Access to  
19 services is fundamental, rather than only physical resources (biomass, energy, materials, etc.) and  
20 technologies (e.g. cooking tools, appliances). Focusing on demand for services broadens the climate  
21 solution space beyond technological switches confined to the supply side, to include solutions that  
22 maintain or improve wellbeing related to nutrition, shelter and mobility while (sometimes radically)  
23 reducing energy and material input levels (Creutzig et al. 2018). It also recognises that mitigation  
24 policies are politically, economically and socially more feasible, as well as more effective, when there  
25 is a two-way alignment between climate action and well-being (OECD 2019). There is *medium evidence*  
26 *and high agreement* that well-designed demand for services scenarios are consistent with adequate  
27 levels of well-being for everyone (Rao and Baer 2012; Grubler et al. 2018; Rao et al. 2019b; Millward-  
28 Hopkins et al. 2020), with high and/or improved quality of life (Max-Neef 1995) and improved levels  
29 of happiness (Easterlin et al. 2010) and sustainable human development (Arrow et al. 2013; Dasgupta  
30 and Dasgupta 2017). While demand for services is high as development levels increase, and related  
31 emissions are growing in many countries (Yumashev et al. 2020), there is also evidence that  
32 provisioning systems delink services provided from emissions (Patra et al. 2017; Kavitha et al. 2020).  
33 Various mitigation strategies, often classified into Avoid-Shift-Improve (ASI), effectively reduce  
34 primary energy demand and/or material input (Haas et al. 2015; Haberl et al. 2017; Samadi et al. 2017;  
35 Hausknost et al. 2018; Haberl et al. 2019; van den Berg et al. 2019; Ivanova et al. 2020). Users'  
36 participation in decisions about how services are provided, not just their technological feasibility, is an  
37 important determinant of their effectiveness and sustainability (Whittle et al. 2019).

38 Sector specific mitigation approaches (Chapters 6-11) emphasise the potential of mitigation from  
39 improvements in energy- and materials- efficient manufacturing (Gutowski et al. 2013; Gramkow and  
40 Anger-Kraavi 2019; Olatunji et al. 2019; Wang et al. 2019), new product design (Fischedick et al.  
41 2014), and energy-efficient buildings (Lucon et al. 2014), shifts in diet (Bajželj et al. 2014; Smith et al.  
42 2014), transport infrastructure design shifts (Sims et al. 2014), compact urban forms (Seto et al. 2014).  
43 In this chapter the service-related mitigation options are presented categorising them in **Avoid, Shift,**  
44 **Improve (ASI)** options to show how mitigation potential and social groups who can deliver them are  
45 much broader than usually considered in traditional sector specific presentations. ASI originally arose  
46 from the need to assess the staging and combinations of interrelated mitigation options in the provision  
47 of transportation services (Hidalgo and Huizenga 2013). In the context of transportation services, ASI  
48 seeks to mitigate emissions through *avoiding* as much transport service demand as possible (e.g.,

1 telework to eliminate commutes, mixed-use urban zoning to shorten commute distances), *shifting*  
2 remaining demand to more efficient modes (e.g., bus rapid transit replacing passenger vehicles), and  
3 *improving* the carbon intensity of modes utilised (e.g., electric buses powered by renewable electricity)  
4 (Creutzig et al. 2016a). This chapter summarises ASI options and potentials across sectors, and  
5 generalises the definitions. ‘Avoid’ refers to all mitigation options that reduce wasteful energy  
6 consumption by redesigning service provisioning systems; ‘shift’ refers to the switch to already existing  
7 competitive efficient technologies and service provisioning systems; and ‘improve’ refers to  
8 improvements in efficiency in existing technologies. Avoid-Shift-Improve operate in three domains:  
9 ‘Socio-behavioural’, where social norms, culture, and individual choices play an important role – a  
10 category especially but not only relevant for avoid options; ‘Infrastructure’, which provides the cost  
11 and benefit landscape for realising options, is particularly relevant for shift options; ‘Technologies’,  
12 which are especially important for the improve options.

13 There is *high evidence and high agreement* that poverty, social equity, and policy contexts including  
14 global support affect delinking demand for services from emissions (Nabi et al. 2020; Ortega-Ruiz et  
15 al. 2020; Parker and Bhatti 2020; Teame and Habte 2020). There is growing evidence that multi-sectoral  
16 policy package approaches accelerate mitigation and increase wellbeing by supporting service provision  
17 cascades (Leemans et al. 1996; Bassi and Baer 2009; Berry et al. 2014; Papa et al. 2015; Ramaswami  
18 et al. 2017; Kalt et al. 2019). Promising policy entry points include stimulating low-emission energy  
19 sources and socially-oriented means of service provision and energy use focused on wellbeing (Geerts  
20 2017; Burke 2020), innovative infrastructure and technology, and social equity in general for improved  
21 governance (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.6). In particular, the spread of “sufficiency” norms increases public  
22 acceptability and participation in the more-rapid Avoid and Shift types of mitigation (Toulouse et al.  
23 2019).

24 Based on growing literature in this chapter we also adopt the concept of Decent Living Standards (DLS)  
25 as a universal set of service requirements essential for achieving basic human wellbeing (Frye et al.  
26 2018; Rao and Min 2018a) provides a fair, direct way to understand the basic low-carbon energy needs  
27 of society. Ambitious low-emissions demand-side scenarios suggest that wellbeing could be maintained  
28 or improved while reducing global final energy demand, and some current literature estimates that it is  
29 possible to meet Decent Living Standards for all within the 2-degree warming window (Grubler et al.  
30 2018; Burke 2020). This involves many context-specific challenges, however, and thus effective action  
31 on policy priorities (including how to blend new technologies with social change to integrate Improving  
32 ways of living, Shifting modalities and Avoiding certain kinds of emissions altogether) requires  
33 leadership from social role models in the context of equitable, appropriate governance.

34 There is *high evidence and high agreement* in the literature that the core operational principle for  
35 sustainable development is equitable access to services to provide wellbeing for all, while minimising  
36 resource inputs and environmental and social externalities/trade-offs, underpinning the Sustainable  
37 Development Goals (SDGs) (Princen 2003; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 2017; Lamb and Steinberger 2017).  
38 Sustainable development is not possible without changes in consumption patterns within the widely  
39 recognised constraints of planetary boundaries, resource availability, and the need to provide decent  
40 living standards for all (Toth and Szigeti 2016; O’Neill et al. 2018).

41 Throughout this chapter we discuss how people can realise various opportunities to reduce GHG  
42 emission intensive consumption (5.2 and 5.3), act in various roles (5.4), within an enabling environment  
43 created by policy instruments and infrastructure that are cognisant of social dynamics (5.6).

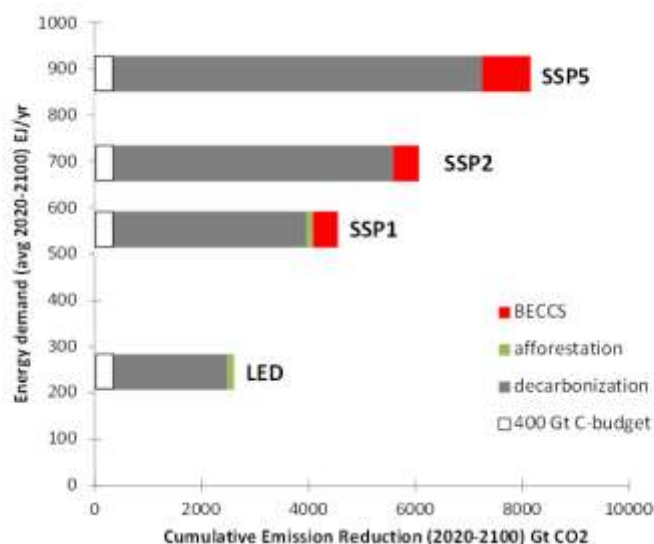
44

### 45 **5.1.1 Demand-side solutions and planetary health**

46 Demand-side solutions entail fewer environmental risks than many supply side technologies (Von  
47 Stechow et al. 2016) and make negative emission technologies, such as Bio-Energy with Carbon

1 Capture and Storage (BECCS) irrelevant (Grubler et al. 2018) or at least less relevant (Van Vuuren et  
 2 al. 2018). Well-designed demand for services scenarios are consistent with adequate levels of well-  
 3 being for everyone (Rao and Baer 2012; Grubler et al. 2018) , with high and/or improved quality of life  
 4 (Max-Neef 1995) and improved levels of happiness (Easterlin et al. 2010) and sustainable human  
 5 development (Arrow et al. 2013; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 2017). Well-being focus emphasises equity  
 6 and universal need satisfaction, compatible with SDG progress (Lamb and Steinberger 2017).  
 7 Interrogating demand for services from the well-being perspective also opens new avenues for assessing  
 8 new potentials for mitigation (Brand-Correa and Steinberger 2017; Mastrucci and Rao 2017; Rao and  
 9 Min 2018b; Mastrucci and Rao 2019). Demand-side solutions may also support near-term goals towards  
 10 climate change mitigation and reduce the need for politically challenging high global carbon prices  
 11 (Méjean et al. 2019). In the IPCC's SR1.5C (IPCC 2018), four stylised scenarios have explored possible  
 12 pathways towards stabilising global warming at 1.5°C (SPM SR.15 Figure 3a (IPCC 2014a), (Figure  
 13 5.1) One of these scenarios, LED-19, investigates the scope of demand-side solutions (Figure 5.1). The  
 14 comparison of scenarios reveals that such a low-energy demand pathways can be constructed to  
 15 eliminate the need for technologies with high uncertainty, such as BECCS.

16



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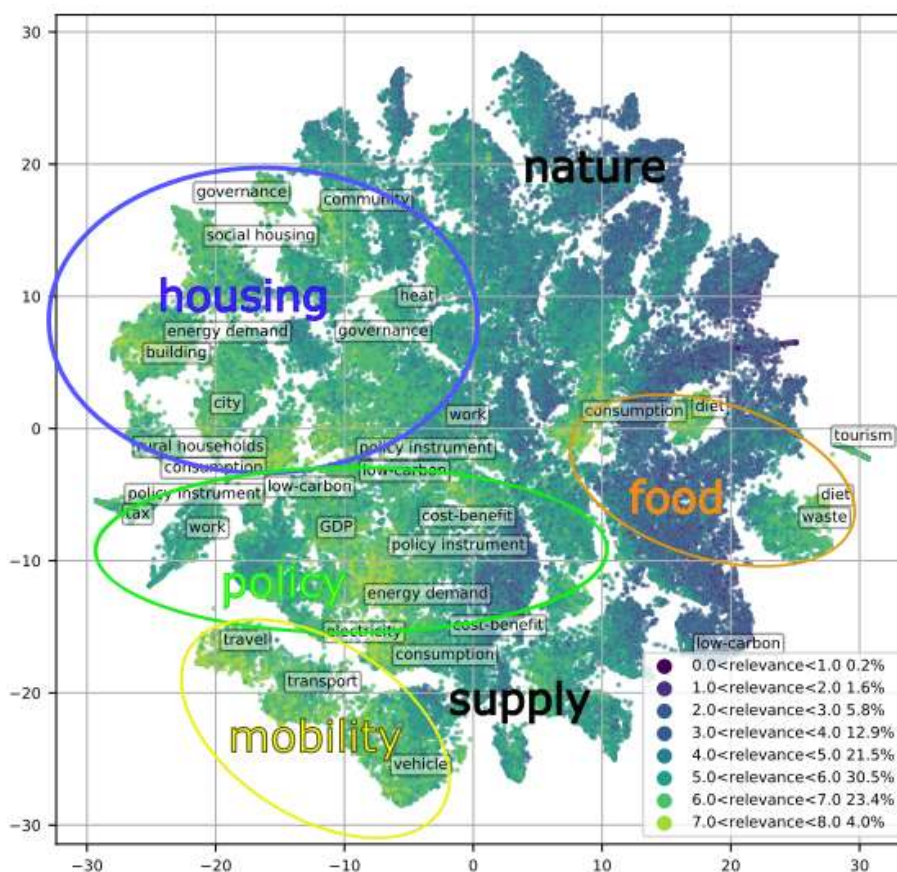
18 **Figure 5.1 Low Energy Demand (LED) Scenario needs no BECCS and needs less decarbonisation efforts.**  
 19 **Dependence of the size of the mitigation effort to reach a 1.5°C climate target (cumulative GtCO<sub>2</sub> emission**  
 20 **reduction 2020-2100 by option) as a function of the level of energy demand (average global final energy**  
 21 **demand 2020-2100 in EJ yr<sup>-1</sup>) in baseline and corresponding 1.5°C scenarios (1.9 W m<sup>-2</sup> radiative forcing**  
 22 **change) based on the IPCC Special Report on 1.5°C global warming (data obtained from the scenario**  
 23 **explorer database, LED baseline emission data obtained from authors). An illustrative remaining carbon**  
 24 **budget consistent with a 1.5°C target of 400 GtCO<sub>2</sub> post 2020 also shown (Rogelj et al. 2019)**

### 25 5.1.2 Bibliometric foundation of demand-side climate change mitigation

26 A bibliometric overview of the literature found 99,065 academic peer-reviewed papers identified with  
 27 34 distinct search queries addressing relevant content of this chapter (Creutzig et al. 2021a). The  
 28 literature is growing rapidly (15% yr<sup>-1</sup>) and the literature body assessed in the AR6 period (2014-2020)  
 29 is twice as large as all literature published before.

30 A large part of the literature is highly repetitive and/or includes little quantitative or qualitative data of  
 31 relevance to this chapter. For example, a systematic review on economic growth and decoupling  
 32 identified more than 11,500 papers treating this topic, but only 834 of those, i.e. 7%, included relevant  
 33 data (Wiedenhofer et al. 2020). In another systematic review, assessing quantitative estimates of

1 consumption-based solutions (Ivanova et al. 2020), only 0.8% of papers were considered after  
 2 consistency criteria were enforced. Other important papers were not captured by systematic reviews,  
 3 but included in this chapter through expert judgement. Based on topical modelling and relevance coding  
 4 of resulting topics, the full literature body can be mapped into two dimensions, where spatial  
 5 relationships indicate topical distance (Figure 5.2). The interpretation of topic demonstrates that the  
 6 literature organises in four clusters of high relevance for demand-side solutions (housing, mobility,  
 7 food, and policy), whereas other clusters (nature, energy supply) are relatively less relevant.  
 8



9  
 10 **Figure 5.2 Map of the literature on demand, services and social aspects of climate change mitigation. Dots**  
 11 **show document positions obtained by reducing the 60-dimensional topic scores to two dimensions aiming**  
 12 **to preserve similarity in overall topic score. The two axes therefore have no direct interpretation, but**  
 13 **represent a reduced version of similarities between documents across 60 topics. Documents are coloured**  
 14 **by query category. Topic labels of the 24 most relevant topics are placed in the centre of each of the large**  
 15 **clusters of documents associated with each topic. % value in caption indicates the proportion of studies in**  
 16 **each “relevance” bracket. Source: (Creutzig et al. 2021a)**

17 Section 5.2 provides evidence on the links among mitigation and wellbeing, services, equity, trust, and  
 18 governance. Section 5.3 quantifies the demand-side opportunity space for mitigation, relying on the  
 19 Avoid, Shift and Improve framework. Section 5.4 assesses the relevant contribution of different parts  
 20 of society to climate change mitigation. Section 5.5 evaluates the overall dynamics of social transition  
 21 processes while Section 5.6 summarises insights on governance and policy packages for demand-side  
 22 mitigation and wellbeing. A Social Science Primer defines and discusses key terms and social science  
 23 concepts used in the context of climate change mitigation.

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**Box 5.1 COVID-19, service provisioning and climate change mitigation**

There is now *high evidence and high agreement* that the COVID-19 pandemic has increased the political feasibility of large-scale government actions to support the services for provision of public good, including climate change policies. Many behavioural changes due to COVID-19 reinforce sufficiency and emphasis on solidarity, economies built around care, livelihood protection, collective action, and basic service provision, linked to reduced emissions.

COVID-19 led to direct and indirect health, economic, and confinement-induced hardships and suffering, mostly for the poor, and reset habits and everyday behaviours of the well-off too, enabling a reflection on the basic needs for a good life. Although Covid-19 and climate change pose different kinds of threats and therefore elicit different policies, there are several lessons from COVID-19 for advancing climate change mitigation (Klenert et al. 2020; Manzanedo and Manning 2020; Stark 2020). Both crises are global in scale, requiring holistic societal response; governments can act rapidly, and delay in action is costly (Bouman et al. 2020a; Klenert et al. 2020). The pandemic highlighted the role of individuals in collective action and many people felt morally compelled and responsible to act for others (Budd and Ison, 2020). COVID-19 also taught the effectiveness of rapid collective action (physical distancing, wearing masks, etc.) as contributions to the public good. The messaging about social distancing, wearing masks and handwashing during the pandemic called attention to the importance of effective public information (e.g. also about reducing personal carbon footprints), recognising that rapid pro-social responses are driven by personal and socio-cultural norms (Bouman et al. 2020a; Sovacool et al. 2020a).

The COVID-19 shutdown temporarily reduced emissions - relatively most in aviation, and absolutely most in car transport (Le Quéré et al. 2020, Sarkis et al. 2020), and induced disproportionately strong reductions in GHG emissions from coal (Bertram et al. 2020)(Chapter 2). Global energy demand was projected to drop by 5% in 2020, energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 7%, and energy investment by 18% (IEA 2020a). Plastics use and waste generation increased during the pandemic (Klemeš et al. 2020; Prata et al. 2020). Responses to COVID-19 had important connections with energy demand and GHG emissions due to quarantine and travel restrictions (Sovacool et al. 2020a). Reductions in mobility and economic activity reduced energy use in sectors such as industry and transport, but increased energy use in the residential sector (Diffenbaugh et al. 2020). COVID-19 induced behavioural changes that may translate into new habits, some beneficial and some harmful for climate change mitigation. New digitally enabled service accessibility patterns (videoconferencing, telecommuting) play an important role in sustaining various service needs while reducing overall emissions. Public transit lost customers to cars, personalised two wheelers, walking and cycling, while suburban and rural living gained initially popularity, possibly with long-term consequences. Reduced air travel, pressures for more localised food and manufacturing supply chains (Hobbs 2020; Nandi et al. 2020; Quayson et al. 2020), and governments' revealed willingness to make large-scale interventions in the economy also reflect sudden shifts due to COVID-19 with various service provision and climate implications, some likely to be lasting (Aldaco et al. 2020; Bilal et al. 2020; Norouzi et al. 2020; Prideaux et al. 2020; Sovacool et al. 2020a; Hepburn et al. 2020). If changes in some preference behaviours, e.g. for larger homes and work environments to enable home working and online education, lead to sprawling suburbs or gentrification with linked environmental consequences, this could translate into long-term implications for climate change (Beaunoyer et al. 2020; Diffenbaugh et al. 2020). Recovering from the pandemic by adapting low energy demand practices – embedded in new travel, work, consumption and production behaviour and patterns– could reduce prices for a 1.5°C consistent pathway by 19%, save energy supply investments until 2030 by 2.1 trillion USD, and lessen pressure on the upscaling of renewable energy technologies (Kikstra et al. 2021).

1 COVID-19 drove hundreds of millions of people below poverty thresholds, reversing decades of  
2 poverty reduction accomplishments (Krieger 2020; Mahler et al. 2020; Patel et al. 2020; Sumner et al.  
3 2020) and raising the spectre of intersecting health and climate crises that are devastating for the most  
4 vulnerable (Flyvbjerg 2020; Phillips et al. 2020). Like those of climate change, pandemic impacts fall  
5 heavily on disadvantaged groups, exacerbate the uneven distribution of future benefits, amplify existing  
6 inequities, and introduce new ones (Beaunoyer et al. 2020; Devine-Wright et al. 2020). Addressing such  
7 inequities is a positive step towards the social trust that leads to improved climate policies as well as  
8 individual actions. Increased support for care workers and social infrastructures within a solidarity  
9 economy is consistent with lower-emission economic transformation (Shelley 2017; Di Chiro 2019;  
10 Pichler et al. 2019; Smetschka et al. 2019).

11 Finally, in a fiscal sense, the pandemic may have slowed the transition to a sustainable energy world:  
12 governments redistributed public funding to combat the disease, adopted austerity and reduced capacity,  
13 i.e. among nearly 300 policies implemented to counteract the pandemic, the vast majority are related to  
14 rescue, including worker and business compensation, and only 4% of these focus on green policies with  
15 potential to reduce GHG emissions in the long-term; some rescue policies also assist emissions-  
16 intensive business (Leach et al. 2021; Hepburn et al. 2020). However, climate investments can double  
17 as the basis of the COVID-19 recovery (Stark 2020), with policies focused on both economic multipliers  
18 and climate impacts such as clean physical infrastructure, natural capital investment, clean R&D and  
19 education and training (Hepburn et al. 2020). This requires attention to investment priorities, including  
20 social investment, given how inequality intersects with and is a recognised core driver of environmental  
21 damage and climate change (Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020).

22

## 23 **5.2 Services, wellbeing and equity in demand-side mitigation**

24 Mitigation, equity and wellbeing go hand in hand. Actions/policies that advance wellbeing and build  
25 social trust strengthen governance and enhance mitigation. There is *high evidence and high agreement*  
26 that demand-side measures are the single most important generic mitigation option as they cut across  
27 all sectors and can bring multiple benefits. One of the necessary conditions for acceleration in mitigation  
28 through demand side measures is wider participation from the society. This section introduces metrics  
29 of wellbeing and their relationship to GHG emissions, and clarifies the concept of service provisioning.

### 30 **5.2.1 Metrics of wellbeing and their relationship to GHG emissions**

31 There is *high evidence and agreement* in the literature that human wellbeing and related metrics provide  
32 a wider societal perspective which is inclusive and compatible with sustainable development and  
33 provide multiple ways to mitigate emissions. Development targeted to basic needs and wellbeing for all  
34 entails less carbon-intensive development than GDP-focused growth (Rao et al. 2014; Lamb and Rao  
35 2015). The current operations within socioeconomic systems are based on high-carbon economic growth  
36 and resource use (Steffen et al. 2018). Several systematic reviews (reviewing more than 8000 individual  
37 papers) confirmed that economic growth is tightly coupled with increasing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Ayres and  
38 Warr 2005; Tiba and Omri 2017; Mardani et al. 2019; Haberl et al. 2020; Wiedenhofer et al. 2020).  
39 Different patterns emerge in the causality of the energy-growth nexus; (i) energy consumption causes  
40 economic growth; (ii) growth causes energy consumption; (iii) bidirectional causality; and (iv) no  
41 significant causality (Ozturk 2010). In a systematic review, Mardani et al. (2019) found that in most  
42 cases energy use and economic growth have a bidirectional causal effect, indicating that as economic  
43 growth increases, further CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are stimulated at higher levels; in turn, measures designed to  
44 lower GHG emissions may reduce economic growth. However, energy substitution and efficiency gains  
45 may offer opportunities to break the bidirectional dependency (Komiya 2014; Brockway et al. 2017;  
46 Shuai et al. 2019). Worldwide trends reveal that, at best only relative decoupling (resource use grows



1 at a slower pace than GDP) was the norm during the twentieth century (Jackson 2009; Krausmann et  
2 al. 2009; Ward et al. 2016), while absolute decoupling (when material use declines as GDP grows) is  
3 rare, observed only during recessions or periods of low or no economic growth (Heun and Brockway  
4 2019; Wiedenhofer et al. 2020). Panel data integration reveals that every 1% increase in GDP was  
5 associated with a 1% increase in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions controlling for other factors. Emissions reductions were  
6 realised by (i) energy system decarbonisation, (ii) increased economic efficiency, (iii) electrification,  
7 and (iv) deindustrialisation with 1% increase in these factors translating into 0.2-1.8% reductions in  
8 CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per year (Wang et al. 2021). High-income economies realised most reduction in CO<sub>2</sub>  
9 emissions with energy system decarbonisation, low-income economies with economic efficiency and  
10 electrification (Wang et al. 2021). Recent trends in OECD countries demonstrate the potential for  
11 absolute decoupling economic growth not only from territorial but also from consumption-based  
12 emissions (Le Quéré et al. 2019), albeit at scales insufficient with mitigation pathways (Chapter 2).

13 Energy demand and demand for GHG intensive products increased from 2010 until 2020 across all  
14 sectors and categories. 2019 witnessed a reduction in energy demand growth rate to below 1% and 2020  
15 an overall decline in energy demand, with repercussions into energy supply disproportionately affecting  
16 coal via merit order effects (Bertram et al 2021, Cross-Chapter Box 1 in Chapter 1). Disproportional  
17 expansion in GHG intensive economic activities includes aviation (+28.5% from 2010 to 2020), SUVs  
18 (+17% from 2010 to 2020), while meat consumption followed population growth (12% from 2010 to  
19 2020). There was a slight but significant shift from high carbon beef consumption to medium carbon  
20 intensive poultry consumption. Final energy use in buildings grew from 118 EJ in 2010 to around 128  
21 EJ in 2019 (increased about 8%). The highest increase was observed in non-residential buildings, with  
22 a 13% increase against 8% in residential energy demand (IEA, 2019b). While electricity accounted for  
23 one-third of building energy use in 2019, fossil fuel use also increased at a marginal annual average  
24 growth rate of 0.7% since 2010 (IEA, 2020a). Energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from buildings have risen  
25 in recent years after flattening between 2013 and 2016. Direct and indirect emissions from electricity  
26 and commercial heat used in buildings rose to 10 GtCO<sub>2</sub> in 2019, the highest level ever recorded.  
27 Several factors have contributed to this rise, including growing energy demand for heating and cooling  
28 with rising air-conditioner ownership and extreme weather events. Global energy demand for cooling  
29 in the residential sector increased by 40% from 2010 to 2018.

30 Literature now has *high evidence and high agreement* around the observation that policies and  
31 infrastructure interventions that lead to change in human preferences are more valuable for climate  
32 change mitigation than previously thought. In economics, welfare evaluations are predominantly based  
33 on the preference approach. Preferences are typically assumed to be fixed, so that only changes in  
34 relative prices will reduce emissions. However, as decarbonisation is a societal transition, individuals'  
35 preferences do shift and this can contribute to climate change mitigation (Gough 2015). Even if  
36 preferences are assumed to change in response to policy, it is nevertheless possible to evaluate policy,  
37 and demand-side solutions, by approaches to wellbeing/welfare that are based on deeper concepts of  
38 preferences across disciplines (von Weizsäcker 1971; Schipper 1989; Roy and Pal 2009; Fleurbaey and  
39 Tadenuma 2014; Komiyama 2014; Dietrich and List 2016; Mattauch and Hepburn 2016). In cases of  
40 past societal transitions, such as smoking reduction, there is evidence that societies guided the processes  
41 of shifting preferences, and values changed along with changing relative prices (Nyborg and Rege 2003;  
42 Stuber et al. 2008; Brownell and Warner 2009). Further evidence on changing preferences in  
43 consumption choices pertinent to decarbonisation includes (Grinblatt et al. 2008; Weinberger and  
44 Goetzke 2010) for mobility; (Erb et al. 2016; Muller et al. 2017; Costa and Johnson 2019) for diets;  
45 (Baranzini 2017) for solar panel uptake. If individuals' preferences and values change during a  
46 transition to the low-carbon economy, then this overturns conclusions on what count as adequate or  
47 even optimal policy responses to climate change mitigation in economics (Jacobsen et al. 2012;  
48 Schumacher 2015; Dasgupta et al. 2016; Daube and Ulph 2016; Ulph and Ulph 2018). In particular, if  
49 policy instruments, such as awareness campaigns, infrastructure development or education, can change



1 people's preferences, then policies or infrastructure provision – socially constrained by deliberative  
2 decision making -- which change both relative prices and preferences, are more valuable for mitigation  
3 than previously thought (Creutzig et al. 2016b; Mattauch et al. 2016, 2018). The provisioning context  
4 of human needs is participatory, so transformative mitigation potential arises from social as well as  
5 technological change (Lamb and Steinberger 2017). Many dimensions of wellbeing and 'basic needs'  
6 are social not individual in character (Schneider 2016), and since over-consumption is also a social  
7 construct, extending wellbeing and DLS analysis to emissions also involves understanding individual  
8 situations in social contexts. This includes building supports for collective strategies to reduce emissions  
9 (Chan et al. 2019), going beyond individual consumer choice. Climate policies that affect collective  
10 behaviour fairly are the most acceptable policies across political ideologies (Clayton 2018); thus  
11 collective preferences for mitigation are synergistic with evolving policies and norms in democratic  
12 contexts that reduce risk, ensure social justice and build trust (Atkinson et al. 2017; Cramton et al. 2017;  
13 Milkoreit 2017; Tvinnereim et al. 2017; Smith and Reid 2018; Carattini et al. 2019).

14 Because of data limitations, which can make cross-country comparisons difficult, health-based  
15 indicators and in particular life expectancy (Lamb et al. 2014) have sometimes been proposed as quick  
16 and practical ways to compare local or national situations, climate impacts, and policy effects (Decancq  
17 et al. 2009; Sager 2017; Burstein et al. 2019). A number of different wellbeing metrics are valuable in  
18 emphasising the constituents of what is needed for a good life in different dimensions (Porter et al.  
19 2017; Smith and Reid 2018; Lamb and Steinberger 2017). The SDGs overlap in many ways with such  
20 indicators, and the data needed to assess progress in meeting the SDGs is also useful for quantifying  
21 wellbeing (Gough 2017). For the purposes of this chapter, indicators directly relating GHG emissions  
22 to wellbeing for all are particularly relevant.

23 Well-being can be categorised either as "hedonic" or "eudaimonic". Hedonic well-being is related to a  
24 subjective state of human motivation, balancing pleasure over pain, and has gained influence in  
25 psychology assessing 'subjective well-being' such as happiness and minimising pain, assuming that the  
26 individual is motivated to enhance personal freedom, self-preservation and enhancement (Sirgy 2012;  
27 Brand-Correa and Steinberger 2017; Lamb and Steinberger 2017; Ganglmair-Wooliscroft and  
28 Wooliscroft 2019). Eudaimonic well-being focuses on the individual in the broader context, associating  
29 happiness with virtue (Sirgy 2012) allowing for social institutions and political systems and considering  
30 their ability to enable individuals to flourish. Eudaimonic analysis supports numerous development  
31 approaches (Fanning and O'Neill 2019) such as the capabilities (Sen 1985), human needs (Doyal and  
32 Gough 1991) and models of psychosocial well-being (Ryan and Deci 2001). Measures of wellbeing  
33 differ somewhat in developed and developing countries (Sulemana et al. 2016; Ng and Diener 2019);  
34 for example, food insecurity, associated everywhere with lower subjective wellbeing, is more strongly  
35 associated with poor subjective wellbeing in more-developed countries (Frongillo et al. 2019); in  
36 wealthier countries, the relationship between living in rural areas is less strongly associated with  
37 negative wellbeing than in less-developed countries (Requena 2016); and income inequality is  
38 negatively associated with subjective wellbeing in developed countries, but positively so in less-  
39 developed countries (Ngamaba et al. 2018).

40 Integrated assessment models (IAMs) evaluate the costs of mitigation options as a function of loss in  
41 sustained economic growth. Both the specific implementation of this cost evaluation as well as the  
42 general framework are incomplete. Specifically, the models insufficiently reflect the loss of economic  
43 growth induced by climate damages, thus underestimating the social costs of carbon (Moore and Diaz  
44 2015; Waisman et al. 2019). The use of GDP loss alone is an insufficient metric in reflecting wellbeing;  
45 for example, it counts specific climate solutions that achieve more wellbeing with less throughput as a  
46 burden to GDP. Identifying solutions as optimum equilibrium, IAMs identify solutions vis-a-vis losses  
47 due to climate policies (Mercure et al. 2018), ignoring that climate-change induced innovation drives  
48 value creation (Mazzucato 2018). Integrated Assessment Models, in their current state, are inadequate

1 tools to evaluate either demand-side solutions to climate change mitigation, or the impacts on human  
2 wellbeing of climate change and climate mitigation options (*medium evidence, medium agreement*).

#### 4 **5.2.1.1 Services for wellbeing**

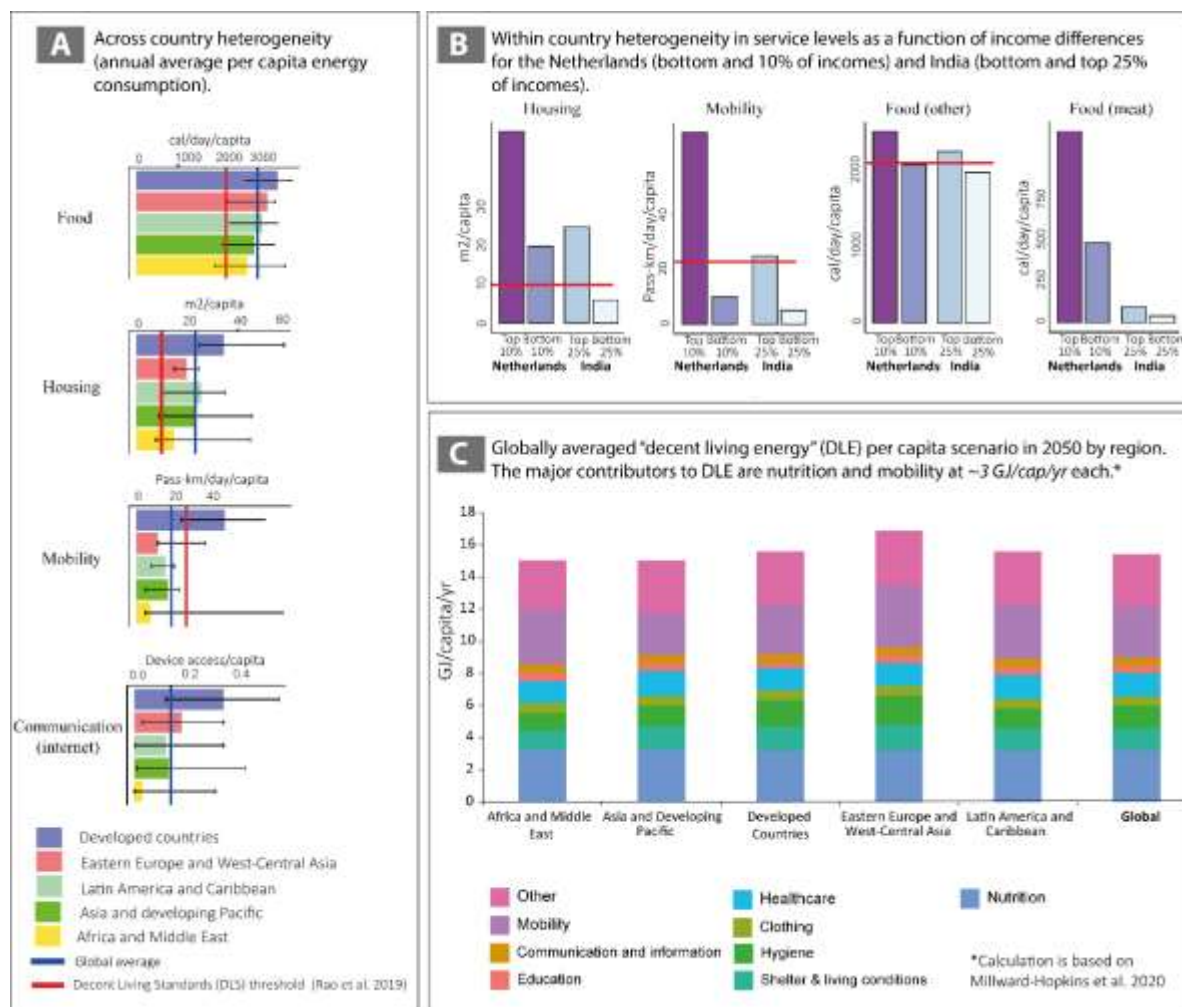
5 Wellbeing needs are met through services. Provision of services associated with low-energy demand is  
6 a key component of current and future efforts to reduce carbon emissions. Services can be provided in  
7 various culturally-appropriate ways, with diverse climate implications. There is *high evidence and high*  
8 *agreement* in the literature that many granular service provision systems can make ‘demand’ more  
9 flexible and help in mitigation with new options for mitigation and support access to basic needs and  
10 enhance human wellbeing. Energy services offer an important lens to analyse the relationship between  
11 energy systems and human well-being (Jackson and Papathanasopoulou 2008; Druckman and Jackson  
12 2010; Mattioli 2016; Walker et al. 2016; Fell 2017; Brand-Correa et al. 2018; King et al. 2019; Pagliano  
13 and Erba 2019; Whiting et al. 2020). Direct and indirect services provided by energy, rather than energy  
14 itself, deliver benefits for wellbeing (Kalt et al. 2019). Illumination and transport are intermediary  
15 services in relation to education, healthcare, meal preparation, sanitation, etc. which help meet human  
16 needs. Sustainable consumption and production revolve around ‘doing more and better with less’ and  
17 thereby increasing wellbeing from economic activities ‘by reducing resource use, degradation and  
18 pollution along the whole lifecycle, while increasing quality of life’ (UNEP 2010). Although energy is  
19 required for delivering human development by supporting access to basic needs (Lamb and Rao 2015;  
20 Lamb and Steinberger 2017), a reduction in primary energy use and/or shift to renewable energy, if  
21 associated with the maintenance or improvement of services, can not only ensure better environmental  
22 quality but also directly enhance well-being (Roy et al. 2012). At the interpersonal and community  
23 level, cultural specificities, use of renewables, infrastructure, norms, and relational behaviours differ.  
24 For example, demand for space heating and cooling depends on building materials and designs, urban  
25 planning, vegetation, clothing and social norms as well as geography, incomes, and outside  
26 temperatures (Brand-Correa et al. 2018; Campbell et al. 2018; Ivanova et al. 2018; IEA 2019a; Dreyfus  
27 et al. 2020). In personal mobility, different variable need satisfiers (e.g., street space allocated to cars,  
28 busses, or bicycles) can satisfy human needs, such as accessibility to jobs, health care, and education  
29 (Mattioli 2016). Social interactions and normative values play a crucial role in determining energy  
30 demand. Hence, demand-side and service-oriented mitigation strategies are most effective if  
31 geographically and culturally differentiated (Niamir et al. 2020a).

32 Decent Living Standards (DLS) serves as a socio-economic benchmark as it views human welfare not  
33 in relation to consumption but rather in terms of services which together help meet human needs (e.g.  
34 nutrition, shelter, health, etc.), recognising that these service needs may be met in many different ways  
35 (with different emissions implications) depending on local contexts, cultures, geography, available  
36 technologies, social preferences, and other factors. Therefore, one key way of thinking about providing  
37 well-being for all with low carbon emissions centres around prioritising ways of providing services for  
38 DLS in a low-carbon way (including choices of needs satisfiers, and how these are provided or made  
39 accessible). They may be supplied to individuals or groups / communities, both through formal markets  
40 and/or informally, e.g. by collaborative work, in coordinated ways that are locally-appropriate, designed  
41 and implemented in accordance with overlapping local needs.

42 The most pressing DLS service shortfalls, as shown in Figure 5.3, lie in the areas of nutrition, mobility,  
43 and communication. Gaps in regions such as Africa and the Middle East are accompanied by current  
44 levels of service provision in the highly industrialised countries at much higher than DLS levels for the  
45 same three service categories. The lowest population quartile by income worldwide faces glaring  
46 shortfalls in housing, mobility, and nutrition. Meeting these service needs using low-emissions energy  
47 sources is a top priority. Reducing emissions associated with high levels of consumption and material  
48 throughput by those far above DLS levels has potential to reduce GHG emissions and reduce inequality  
49 in energy and emission footprints (Otto et al. 2019). In some countries, carbon intensive ways of

1 satisfying human needs have been locked-in, e.g., via car-dependent infrastructures (Druckman and  
 2 Jackson 2010; Jackson and Papathanasopoulou 2008; King et al. 2019; Mattioli 2016), and both  
 3 infrastructure reconfiguration and adaptation are required to organise need satisfaction in low-carbon  
 4 ways (see also Ch.10.2).

5



6

7 **Figure 5.3 Heterogeneity in access to and availability of services for human well-being within and across**  
 8 **countries. Panel A. Across –country differences in panel (a) food-meat, (b)food other, (c) housing, (d)**  
 9 **mobility, (e) Communication –mobile phones, and (f) high speed internet access. Variation in service**  
 10 **levels across countries within a region are shown as error bars (black). Values proposed as decent**  
 11 **standards of living threshold (Rao et al. 2019b) are shown (red dashed lines). Global average values are**  
 12 **shown (blue dashed lines). Panel B. Within-country differences in service levels as a function of income**  
 13 **differences for the Netherlands (bottom and top 10% of incomes) and India (bottom and top 25% of**  
 14 **incomes) (Grubler et al. 2012b)(data update 2016). Panel C. Decent living energy (DLE) scenario using**  
 15 **global, regional and DLS dimensions for final energy consumption at 149 EJ (15.3 GJ capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>) in 2050**  
 16 **(Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020), requiring advanced technologies in all sectors and radical demand-side**  
 17 **changes. Values are shown for 5 world regions based on WG III AR6 Regional breakdown**

18

19 The emerging literature with *high evidence and high agreement* vital dimensions of human wellbeing  
 20 correlate with consumption, but only up to a threshold. High potential for mitigation lies in using low-  
 21 carbon energy for new basic needs satisfaction while cutting emissions of those whose basic needs are  
 22 already met (Grubler et al. 2018; Rao and Min 2018a; Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020; Rao et al. 2019b).  
 23 Decent Living Standards indicators serve as tools to clarify this socio-economic benchmark and identify  
 24 wellbeing for all compatible mitigation potential. Energy services provisioning opens up avenues of

1 efficiency and possibilities for decoupling energy services demand from primary energy supply, while  
2 needs satisfaction leads to the analysis of the factors influencing the energy demand associated with the  
3 achievement of wellbeing (Brand-Correa and Steinberger 2017). Since vital dimensions of wellbeing  
4 correlate with consumption, but only up to a threshold, a mitigation strategy that protects minimum  
5 levels of service delivery for DLS, but critically views consumption beyond the point of diminishing  
6 returns of needs satisfaction, is able to sustain wellbeing while generating emissions reductions  
7 (Goldemberg et al. 1988; Jackson and Marks 1999; Druckman and Jackson 2010; Girod and De Haan  
8 2010; Vita et al. 2019a). Such relational dynamics are relevant both within and between countries, due  
9 to variances in income levels, lifestyle choice (see also 5.4.4), geography, resource assets and local  
10 contexts. Provisioning for human needs is recognised as participatory and interrelational; transformative  
11 mitigation potential can be found in social as well as technological change (Mazur and Rosa 1974;  
12 Goldemberg et al. 1985; Lamb and Steinberger 2017; O'Neill et al. 2018; Hayward and Roy 2019; Vita  
13 et al. 2019a). More equitable societies which provide DLS for all can devote attention and resources to  
14 mitigation (Dubash 2013; Rafaty 2018; Richards 2003). For further exploration of these concepts, see  
15 the Supplementary Material Chapter 5.

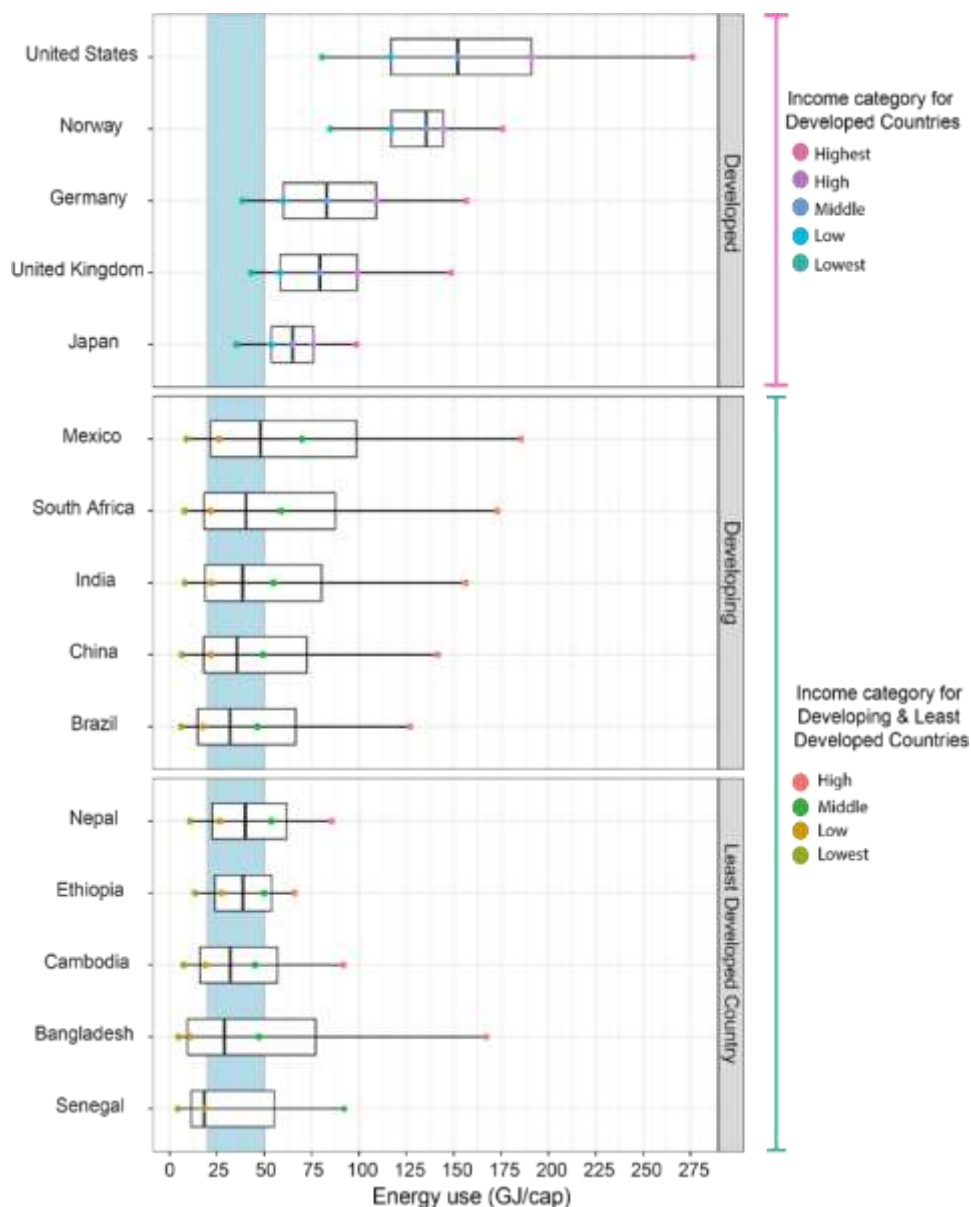
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## 17 **5.2.2 Inequity in access to basic energy use and services**

### 18 **5.2.2.1 Variations in access to needs-satisfiers for Decent Living Standards**

19 There is very *high evidence and very high agreement* that globally, there are differences in the amount  
20 of energy that societies require to provide the basic needs for everyone. At present nearly one-third of  
21 the world's population are 'energy-poor', i.e., more than 2.6 billion people have little or no access to  
22 energy for clean cooking. About 1.2 billion lack energy for cleaning, sanitation and water supply,  
23 lighting, and basic livelihood tasks (Sovacool and Drupady 2016; Rao and Pachauri 2017). The per  
24 capita energy requirement to provide a decent standard of living has been calculated at 30 GJ to 40 GJ  
25 (Lamb and Steinberger 2017), while other studies place it in an order of magnitude from 10 GJ to 100  
26 GJ (Steckel et al. 2013; Lamb and Rao 2015), while others suggest ranges from 5 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> to over  
27 200 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>, which in both cases shows the level of inequality that exists (Millward-Hopkins et al.  
28 2020); but this depends on the context and how services are provided (Brand-Correa et al. 2018).  
29 Through efficient technologies and radical demand-side transformations, the final energy requirements  
30 for providing DLS is estimated at 15.3 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> (Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020). Recent DLS  
31 estimates for Brazil, South Africa, and India are in the range between 15 and 25 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>. The most  
32 gravely energy-poor are often those living in informal settlements, particularly women who live in sub-  
33 Saharan Africa and developing Asia, whose socially-determined responsibilities for food, water, and  
34 care are highly labour-intensive and made more intense by climate change (Guruswamy 2016; Wester  
35 et al. 2019). For example, in Brazil, India and South Africa, where inequality is extreme (Alvaredo et  
36 al. 2018) mobility (51-60%), food production and preparation (21-27%) and housing (5-12%) dominate  
37 total energy needs (Rao et al. 2019b). Inequality in access to and availability of services for human  
38 well-being varies in extreme degree across countries and income groups. In developing countries the  
39 bottom 50% receive about 10% of the energy used in land transport and less than 5% in air transport,  
40 while the top 10% use ~45% of the energy for land transport and around 75% for air transport (Oswald  
41 et al. 2020). Within-country analysis shows that disadvantaged groups in China— women born in the  
42 rural West with worse family backgrounds— face unequal opportunities for energy consumption (Shi  
43 2019). Figure 5.4 shows the wide variation across world regions in people's access to some of the basic  
44 material prerequisites for meeting DLS, and variations in energy consumption, providing a starting  
45 point for comparative global analysis.

46



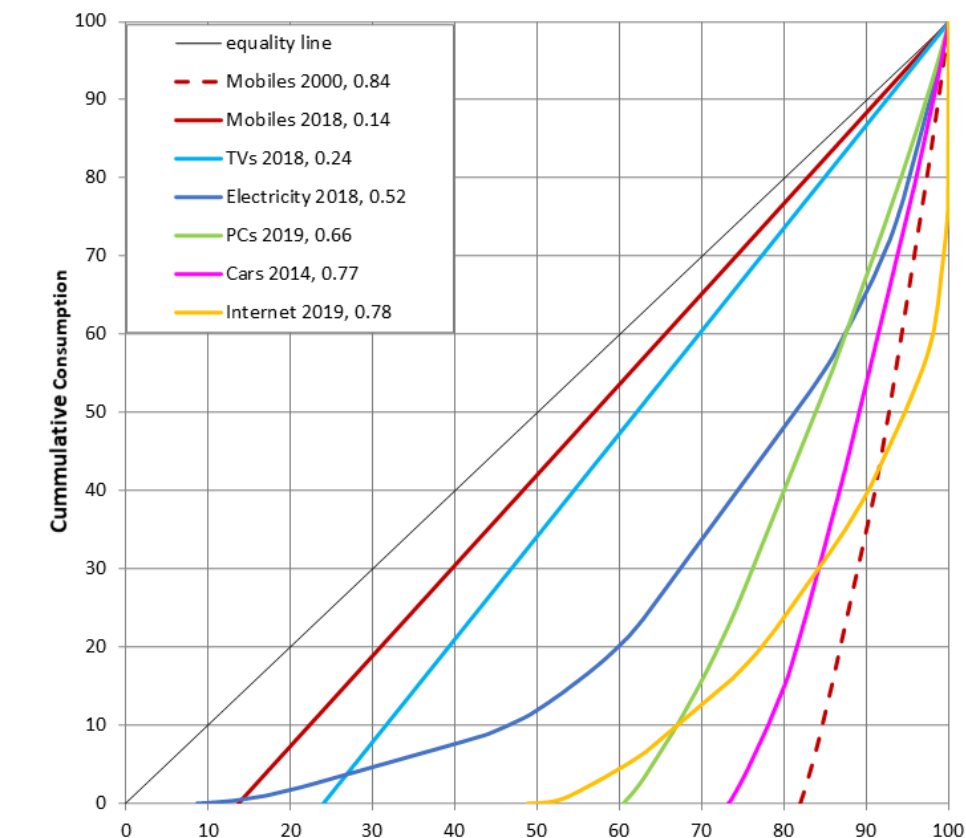
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 2 **Figure 5.4 Energy use per capita of three groups of countries ranked by socioeconomic development and**  
 3 **displayed for each country based on four or five different income groups (according the data availability)**  
 4 **as well as geographical representativity. The energy required for decent living standards (20-50 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>)**  
 5 **is indicated in the blue column (Rao et al. 2019b). Data based on (Oswald et al. 2020)**  
 6

7 **Box 5.2 Inequities in access to and levels of end-use technologies and infrastructure services**

8 Acceleration in mitigation action needs to be understood from societal perspective. Technologies,  
 9 access and service equity factors sometimes change rapidly. Access to technologies, infrastructures and  
 10 products, and the service they provide, are essential for raising global living standards and improving  
 11 human well-being (Alkire and Santos 2014; Rao and Min 2018a). Yet access to and levels of service  
 12 delivery are distributed extremely inequitably. How fast such inequities can be reduced by granular end-  
 13 use technologies is illustrated by the cellphone (mobile phone subscriptions), comparing the situation  
 14 between 2000 and 2014. In this four-year period, cellphones changed from a very inequitably-  
 15 distributed technology to one with almost universal access, bringing accessibility benefits especially to  
 16 populations with very low disposable income and to those whose physical mobility is limited (Porter  
 17 2016). Every human has the right to dignified decent life, with the means to live in good health and

1 participate in society. This is a daunting challenge, requiring that in the next decade governments build  
 2 out infrastructure to provide billions of people with access to a number of services and basic amenities  
 3 in comfortable homes, nutritious food, and transit options (Rao and Min 2018a). For long, this challenge  
 4 was thought to also be an impediment to developing countries’ participation in global climate mitigation  
 5 efforts. However, recent research shows that this need not be the case (Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020;  
 6 Rao et al. 2019b).

7 Several of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations 2015) deal  
 8 with providing access to technologies and service infrastructures to the share of population so far  
 9 excluded, showing that the UN 2030 Agenda has adopted a multidimensional perspective on poverty.  
 10 Multi-dimensional poverty indices, such as the Social Progress Indicator (SPI) and the Individual  
 11 Deprivation Measure, go beyond income and focus on tracking the delivery of access to basic services  
 12 by the poorest population groups, both in developing countries (Fulton et al. 2009; Alkire and Santos  
 13 2014; Alkire and Robles 2017; Rao and Min 2018a), and in developed countries (Townsend 1979;  
 14 Aaberge and Brandolini 2015; Eurostat 2018). At the same time, the SDGs, primarily SDG 10 on  
 15 reducing inequalities within and among countries, promote a more equitable world, both in terms of  
 16 inter- as well as intra-national equality.



Technology/Infrastructure	Gini	Year	Population without access		Coverage world included		Source
			bn	%	%	number	
Mobiles*	0.84	2000	4.0	81.9	79.6	43	ITU+/WBWDI/WPDS+
Mobiles*	0.14	2018	0.8	13.7	78.3	43	ITU+/WBWDI/WPDS+
TVs*	0.24	2018	1.6	24.1	89.8	86	ITU+/WBWDI/WPDS+
Electricity (kWh)	0.52	2018	0.6	8.7	95.9	142	WB WDI/IEA
PCs	0.66	2019	4.6	60.5	98.0	183	ITU/WBWDI/WPDS+
Cars*	0.77	2014	4.2	73.3	78.9	44	PEW/WBWDI
International bandwidth (bits/sec)	0.78	2019	3.7	48.8	99.3	197	ITU/WBWDI

18

1 **Box 5.2, Figure 1 International inequality in access and use of goods and services. Upper panel:**  
 2 **International Lorenz curves and Gini coefficients accounting for the share of population living in**  
 3 **households without access (origin of the curves on the y-axis), multiple ownership not considered. Lower**  
 4 **panel: Gini, number of people without access, access rates and coverage in terms of share of global**  
 5 **population and number of countries included. \*Reduced samples lead to underestimation of inequality. A**  
 6 **sample, for example, of around 80% of world population (taking the same 43 countries as for mobiles and**  
 7 **cars) led to a lower Gini of around 0.48 (-0.04) for electricity. The reduced sample was kept for mobiles in**  
 8 **2018 to allow for comparability with 2000. Source: (Zimm 2019)**

9 Access to various end-use technologies and infrastructure services features directly in the SDG targets  
 10 and among the indicators used to track their progress (United Nations 2015; UNESCO 2017): Basic  
 11 services in households (SDG 1.4.1), Improved water source (SDG 6.1.1); Improved sanitation (SDG  
 12 6.1.2); Electricity (SDG 7.1.1); Internet - fixed broadband subscriptions (SDG 17.6.2); Internet -  
 13 proportion of population (SDG 17.8.1). Transport (public transit, cars, mopeds or bicycles) and media  
 14 technologies (mobile phones, TVs, radios, PCs, Internet) can be seen as proxies for access to mobility  
 15 and communication, crucial for participation in society and the economy (Smith et al. 2015). In addition,  
 16 SDG 10 is a more conventional income-based inequality goal, referring to income inequality (SDG  
 17 10.1), social, economic and political inclusion of all (SDG 10.2.), and equal opportunities and reduced  
 18 inequalities of outcome (SDG 10.3).

#### 19 20 **5.2.2.2 Variations in energy use**

21 There is *high evidence and high agreement* in the literature that through equitable distribution, well-  
 22 being for all can be assured at the lowest-possible energy consumption levels (Steinberger and Roberts  
 23 2010; Oswald et al. 2020) by reducing emissions related to consumption as much as possible, while  
 24 assuring DLS for everyone (Anneck 2002; de Zoysa 2011; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 2013; Spangenberg  
 25 2014; Toroitich and Kerber 2014; Dario Kenner 2015; Toth and Szigeti 2016; Smil 2017; Otto et al.  
 26 2019). For example, at similar levels of human development, per capita energy demand in the US was  
 27 63% higher than in Germany (Arto et al. 2016); those patterns are of course explained by various  
 28 climate, cultural and historical factors influencing consumption. In China, inequality of energy  
 29 consumption and expenditure varies highly depending on the energy type, end-use demand and climatic  
 30 region (Wu et al. 2017).

31 Consumption is energy and materials-intensive and expands along with income. About half of the  
 32 energy used in the world is consumed by the richest 10% of people, most of whom live in developed  
 33 countries, especially when one includes the energy embodied in the goods they purchase from other  
 34 countries (Arto et al. 2016; Wolfram et al. 2016). China acts as the largest importing market for EU and  
 35 United States, being responsible for near half and 40% of their imports in energy use respectively (Wu  
 36 et al. 2019). Wealthy countries have exported or outsourced their climate and energy crisis to low and  
 37 middle-income countries (Baker 2018) exacerbated by intensive international trade (Steinberger et al.  
 38 2012; Scherer et al. 2018). Therefore, the issues of total energy consumption are inseparably related to  
 39 the energy inequity among the countries and regions of the world.

40 Within the energy use induced by global consumer products, household consumption is the biggest  
 41 contributor, contributing to around three quarters of the global total (Wu et al. 2019). A more granular  
 42 analysis of household energy consumption, differentiated according to household consumption  
 43 expenditure quintiles and quartiles, reveals that the lowest two quintiles in countries with average  
 44 annual income below 15,000 USD cap<sup>-1</sup> consume less energy than the international energy requirements  
 45 for DLS (20-50 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>); 77% of people consume less than 30 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> and 38% consume less than  
 46 10 GJ cap<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>. In contrast, the richest half of consumers in all countries consume final energy above  
 47 DLS levels, sometimes by an order of magnitude (Oswald et al. 2020). Many energy-intensive goods



1 have high price elasticity ( $>1.0$ ), implying that growing incomes lead to over-proportional growth of  
2 energy footprints in these consumption categories. Highly unequally distributed energy consumption is  
3 concentrated in the transport sector, ranging from vehicle purchase to fuels, and most unequally in  
4 package holidays and aviation (Gössling 2019; Oswald et al. 2020).

### 6 *5.2.2.3 Variations in consumption-based emissions*

7 The carbon footprint of a nation is equal to the direct emissions occurring due to households' transport,  
8 heating and cooking, as well as the impact embodied in the production of all consumed goods and  
9 services (Wiedmann and Minx 2008; Davis and Caldeira 2010; Hübler 2017; Vita et al. 2019a). There  
10 are large differences in carbon footprints between the poor and the rich. As a result of energy use  
11 inequality, the lowest global emitters (the poorest 10% in the poorest countries) in 2013 emitted about  
12 0.1t CO<sub>2</sub> cap<sup>-1</sup>, whereas the highest global emitters (the top 1% in the richest countries) emitted about  
13 200-300 tCO<sub>2</sub> cap<sup>-1</sup> (World Bank 2019). The poorest 50% of the world's population are responsible for  
14 only about 10% of total lifetime consumption emissions, in contrast about ~50% of the world's GHG  
15 emissions can be attributed to consumption by the world's richest 10%, with the average carbon  
16 footprint of the richest being 175 times higher than that of the poorest 10% (Chancel and Piketty 2015)  
17 consuming the global carbon budget by nearly 30% during the period 1990-2015 (Kartha et al. 2020).  
18 In low-income nations-which can exhibit per-capita carbon footprints 30 times lower than wealthy  
19 nations (Hertwich and Peters 2009) emissions are predominantly domestic and driven by provision of  
20 essential services (shelter, low-meat diets, clothing). Per capita carbon footprints average 1.6 tonnes per  
21 year for the lowest income category, then quickly increase to 4.9 and 9.8 tonne for the two middle-  
22 income categories and finally to an average of 17.9 tonnes for the highest income category. Global CO<sub>2</sub>  
23 emissions remain concentrated: the top 10% of emitters contribute about 35-45% of the total, while the  
24 bottom 50% contribute just 13-15% of global emissions (Chancel and Piketty 2015; Hubacek et al.  
25 2017). In wealthy nations, services such as private road transport, frequent air travel, private jet  
26 ownership, meat-intensive diets, entertainment and leisure add significant emissions, while a  
27 considerable fraction of the carbon footprint is imported from abroad, embedded in goods and services  
28 (Hubacek et al. 2017). Thus, emissions accounting should preferably be consumption-based. For  
29 example, emissions generated in China in 2004 for the production of goods consumed in the UK were  
30 higher than all the direct emissions of UK households including gas and car fuel, at over 81 million of  
31 tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>; more than 43% of these emissions were associated with electronic equipment and textiles  
32 (Baker 2018).

33 High income household consume energy demand energy at an order of magnitude greater than what is  
34 necessary for DLS (Oswald et al. 2020). Energy-intensive goods, such as package holidays, have a  
35 higher income elasticity of demand than less energy-intensive goods like food, water supply and  
36 housing maintenance, which results in high-income individuals having much higher energy footprints  
37 (Oswald et al. 2020). Evidence highlights highly unequal GHG emission in aviation: only 2-4% of  
38 global population flew internationally in 2018, with 1% of world population emitting 50% of CO<sub>2</sub> from  
39 commercial aviation (Gössling and Humpe 2020). Some individuals may add more than 1,600 t CO<sub>2</sub> yr<sup>-1</sup>  
40 individually by air travel (Gössling 2019). The food sector dominates in all income groups,  
41 comprising 28% of households' carbon footprint, with cattle and rice the major contributors (Scherer  
42 et al. 2018). Roughly 20-40% of food produced worldwide is lost to waste before it reaches the market,  
43 or is wasted by households, the energy embodied in wasted food was estimated at ~36 EJyr<sup>-1</sup>, and during  
44 the period 2010-2016 global food loss and waste equalled 8-10% of total GHG emissions (Godfray and  
45 Garnett 2014; Springmann et al. 2018; Mbow et al. 2019). Global agri-food supply chains are crucial  
46 in the variation of per capita food consumption-related-carbon footprints, mainly in the case of red meat  
47 and dairy (Kim et al. 2020) since highest per capita food-consumption-related GHG emissions do not  
48 correlate perfectly with the income status of countries. Thus, it is also crucial to focus on high-emitting  
49 individuals and groups within countries, rather than only those who live in high-emitting countries,  
50 since the top 10% of emitters live on all continents and one third of them are from the developing world



1 (Chakravarty et al. 2009; Pan et al. 2019). A within-country analysis reveals that due to inequality in  
2 China, 17.5 % of the Chinese population (the rich urban dwellers) have carbon footprints of 6.4 tCO<sub>2</sub>  
3 cap<sup>-1</sup>, which represents nearly four times the average in the country, and the three richest urban groups  
4 together (21% of the Chinese population) use 48% of the total household carbon footprint in the country  
5 (Wiedenhofer et al. 2017). However, a recent analysis reveals that most of the carbon emissions (78%)  
6 in China are caused by its middle class, whereas in India it is the poorest category which contributes  
7 63% of the carbon total, and these differences are mainly explained due to the population size and  
8 consumption patterns of each category (Hubacek et al. 2017; Wiedenhofer et al. 2017); in the case of  
9 US, 20% of US energy related GHG emissions stem from heating, cooling and powering house, and  
10 wealthier citizens have per capita footprints ~ 25% higher than the lower income residents primarily  
11 due to larger homes (Goldstein et al. 2020).

12 The environmental impact of increasing equity across income groups can be either positive or negative  
13 (Hubacek et al. 2017; Scherer et al. 2018; Rao and Min 2018b; Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020).  
14 Projections for achieving equitable levels of service provision globally predict large increases in global  
15 GHG emissions and demand for key resources (Blomsma and Brennan 2017), especially in passenger  
16 transport, which is predicted to increase nearly three-fold between 2015 and 2050, from 44 trillion to  
17 122 trillion passenger-kilometres (OECD 2019), and associated infrastructure needs, increasing freight  
18 (Murray et al. 2017), increasing demand for cooling (IEA 2018), and shifts to carbon-intensive high-  
19 meat diets (FAO 2018).

20 Increasing incomes for all to attain DLS raises emissions and energy footprints, but only slightly  
21 (Chakravarty et al. 2009; Jorgenson et al. 2016; Scherer et al. 2018; Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020;  
22 Oswald et al. 2020). The amount of energy needed for a high global level of human development is  
23 dropping (Steinberger and Roberts 2010) and could by 2050 be reduced to 1950 levels (Millward-  
24 Hopkins et al. 2020). The consumption share of the bottom half of the world's population represents  
25 less than 20% of all energy footprints, which is less than what the top 5% of people consume (Oswald  
26 et al. 2020).

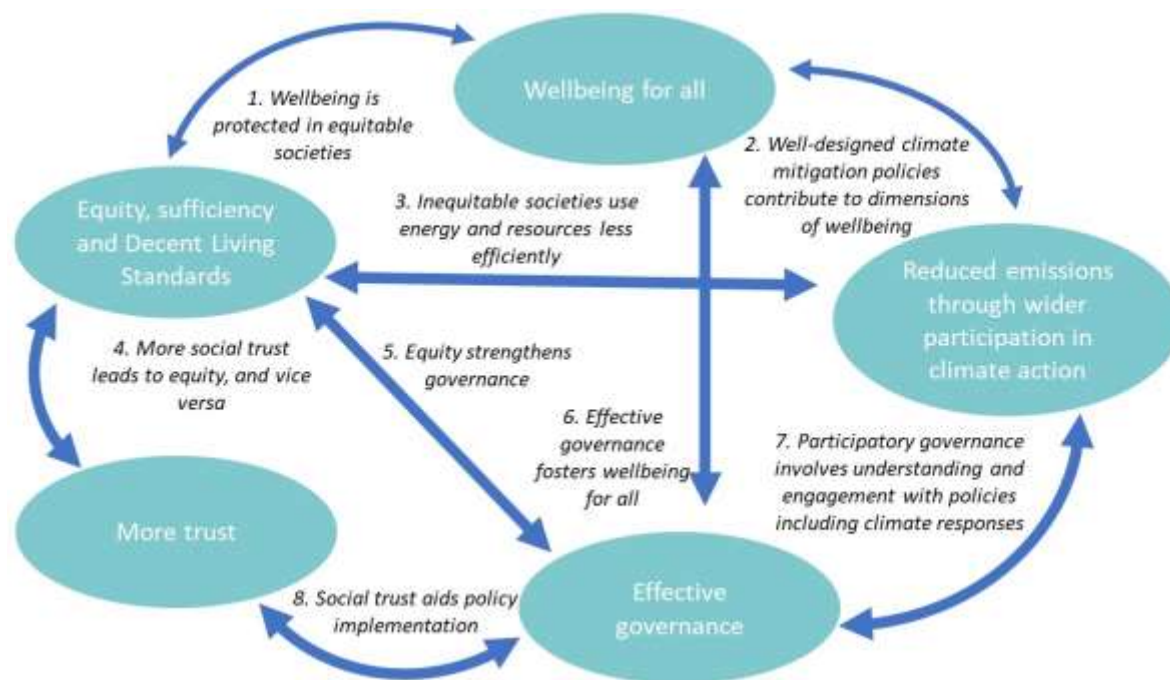
27 Income inequality itself also raises carbon emissions (Hao et al. 2016; Sinha 2016; Uzar and Eyuboglu  
28 2019; Baloch et al. 2020; Oswald et al. 2020; Wiedmann et al. 2020). Wide inequality can increase  
29 status-based consumption patterns, where individuals spend more to emulate the standards of the high-  
30 income group (the Veblenian effect); inequality also diminishes environmental efforts by reducing  
31 social cohesion and cooperation (Jorgenson et al. 2017).

32

### 33 **5.2.3 Equity, trust, and participation in demand-side mitigation**

34 There is *high evidence and high agreement* in literature that socio-economic equity builds not only  
35 wellbeing for all, but also trust and participatory governance, which in turn strengthen demand-side  
36 climate mitigation. Equity, participation, social trust, wellbeing, governance and mitigation are parts of  
37 a continuous interactive and self-reinforcing process (Figure 5.5). Wellbeing for all, increasingly seen  
38 as the main goal of sustainable economies (McGregor and Pouw 2017; Fioramonti et al. 2019; Women's  
39 Budget Group 2020), reinforces emissions reductions through a network of positive feedbacks linking  
40 effective governance, social trust, equity, participation and sufficiency. The width of the arrows  
41 corresponds to the level of confidence and evidence from recent social sciences literature.

42



1  
2 **Figure 5.5 Wellbeing, equity, trust, governance and climate mitigation: positive feedback loops**

3 **Wellbeing is protected in equitable societies.** Human wellbeing is socially-based and has a large  
4 relational component (Yellowfly 1992; Ball and Chernova 2008; Easterlin et al. 2010; D’Ambrosio and  
5 Frick 2012; Diener et al. 2013; McCubbin et al. 2013; Schneider 2016; Shields 2016; Lamb and  
6 Steinberger 2017; White 2017; Stone et al. 2018; Tu and Hsee 2018; Wang et al. 2019). Once  
7 subsistence needs are met, relative well-being is much more significant for human happiness than  
8 absolute consumption levels (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Frank 1999; Stiglitz 2012; Reyes-García et  
9 al. 2016; Oishi et al. 2018; Xie et al. 2018; Wilkinson and Pickett 2019), and the higher the income  
10 inequality, the more people compare themselves with their neighbours (Luttmer 2005; Cheung and  
11 Lucas 2016). Income inequality is associated with lower wellbeing, not only of the poor, but of everyone  
12 (Wilkinson 2005; Wilkinson et al. 2010; Cooper et al. 2014; Reyes-García et al. 2016; Schröder 2018).  
13 Some social components of wellbeing, such as community cohesion, social capital, and trust, are higher  
14 in more equitable societies (Delhey and Dragolov 2014; Schneider 2016; Roser et al. 2019). While  
15 differences in study indicators and methodologies complicate conclusions about the link between  
16 wellbeing and income, this shifts emphasis onto contextual social factors such as people’s knowledge,  
17 values, norms and beliefs (Schneider 2016; Kragten and Rözer 2017; Ngamaba et al. 2018).

18 Beyond a threshold increased material consumption is not closely correlated with improvements in  
19 human progress (Frank 1999; Kahneman and Deaton 2010; Steinberger and Roberts 2010; Roy et al.  
20 2012; Oishi et al. 2018; Xie et al. 2018; Wang et al. 2019; Vita et al. 2019b, 2020). The distinction  
21 between necessities and luxuries helps to frame a growing stream of social sciences literature with  
22 climate policy relevance (Arrow et al. 2004). Given growing public support worldwide for strong  
23 sustainability, sufficiency, and sustainable consumption, changing demand patterns and reduced  
24 demand are accompanying environmental and social benefits (Jackson 2008; Fedrigo et al. 2010;  
25 Schroeder 2013; Figge et al. 2014; Spangenberg and Germany 2016; Spengler 2016; Burke 2020; Mont  
26 et al. 2020). Policies focusing on the “super-rich,” also called the “polluter elite,” are gaining attention  
27 for moral or norms-based as well as emissions-control reasons (Kenner 2019; Otto et al. 2019; Pascale  
28 et al. 2020; Stratford 2020) (see section 5.2.2.3). Since no country now meets its citizens’ basic needs  
29 at a level of resource use that is globally sustainable, while high levels of life satisfaction for those just  
30 escaping extreme poverty would require even more resources, the need for transformative shifts in  
31 governance and policies is large (O’Neill et al. 2018).

1 **Well-designed climate mitigation policies ameliorate constituents of wellbeing (Figure 5.5).** More  
2 equitable societies are also more economically efficient societies (Stiglitz 2012; Singer 2018; Wilkinson  
3 and Pickett 2009). For example, job creation, retraining for new jobs, local production of livelihood  
4 necessities, social provisioning, and other positive steps toward climate mitigation and adaptation are  
5 all associated with more equitable and resilient societies (Okvat and Zautra 2011; Bentley 2014; Klinsky  
6 et al. 2016; Roy et al. 2018a). At all scales of governance, the popularity and sustainability of climate  
7 policies requires attention to the fairness of their health and economic implications for all, and  
8 participatory engagement across social groups – a responsible development framing (Cazorla and  
9 Toman 2001; Dulal et al. 2009; Chuku 2010; Shonkoff et al. 2011; Navroz 2019; Hofstad and Vedeld  
10 2020; Muttitt and Kartha 2020; Waller et al. 2020; Roy and Schaffartzik 2020; Temper et al. 2020). Far  
11 from being secondary or even a distraction from climate mitigation priorities, an equity focus is  
12 intertwined with mitigation goals (Klinsky et al. 2016). Demand-side climate mitigation options have  
13 pervasive ancillary, equity-enhancing benefits, e.g. for health, local livelihoods, and community forest  
14 resources (Figure 5.6) (Chhatre and Agrawal 2009; Garg 2011; Shaw et al. 2014; Serrao-Neumann et  
15 al. 2015; Klausbruckner et al. 2016; Salas and Jha 2019). Limiting climate change risks is fundamental  
16 to collective wellbeing (Max-Neef et al. 1989; Yamin et al. 2005; Nelson et al. 2013; Gough 2015,  
17 2017; Pecl et al. 2017; Tschakert et al. 2017). Section 5.6 discusses well-designed climate policies more  
18 fully, with examples. Rapid changes in social norms which are underway and which underlie democratic  
19 policy initiatives are discussed in section 5.4.

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Sectors	Mitigation strategies / Wellbeing dimensions	Food	Water	Air	Health	Sanitation	Energy	Shelter	Mobility	Education	Communication	Social protection	Participation	Personal Security	Social cohesion	Political stability	Economic stability	Material provision
Building	Sufficiency	[+1] ***	[+2] ****	[+2] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+2] *****	[+2] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+2] *****	[+2] *****	[+2] *****
	Efficiency	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+3/4] *****	[+3/4] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+2] *****	[+2] *****	[+2] *****
Food	Lower carbon and renewable energy	[+2/3] ****	[+2/3] ****	[+3] *****	[+3] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****
	Food waste	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Food	Over-consumption	[+1] ****	[+1/4] ****	[+1/4] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Animal free protein	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+3] *****	[+3] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****	[+1] *****
Transport	Teleworking and online education system	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Non-motorized transport	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Transport	Shared mobility	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Evs	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Urban	Compact city	[+2/3] ****	[+1] ****	[+2/3] ****	[+2/3] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Circular and shared economy	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Urban	Systems approach in urban policy and practice	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Nature based solutions	[+1] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Industry	Using less material by design	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Product life extension	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
Industry	Energy Efficiency	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****
	Circular economy	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+2] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****	[+1] ****

Figure 5.6 Two-way link between demand-side climate mitigation strategies and multiple dimension of human wellbeing and SDGs. All demand-side mitigation strategies improve wellbeing in sum, though not necessarily in each individual dimension. Incumbent business (in contrast to overall economic performance) may be challenged. Source: (Creutzig et al. 2021b)

1 **Inequitable societies use energy and resources less efficiently.** Higher income inequality is  
2 associated with higher carbon emissions, at least in developed countries (Grunewald et al. 2017a, Golley  
3 and Meng 2012; Grunewald et al. 2012; Sager 2017; Klasen 2018; Liu et al. 2019, Jorgenson et al.  
4 2017; Chancel and Piketty 2015); reducing inequality in high-income countries helps to reduce  
5 emissions (Klasen 2018). In some less-developed countries, higher income inequality may in fact be  
6 associated with lower per capita emissions, but this is because people who are excluded by poverty  
7 from access to fossil fuels must rely on biomass (Klasen 2018). Such energy poverty – the fact that  
8 millions of people do not have access to energy sources to help meet human needs – implies the opposite  
9 of development (Guruswamy 2010, 2020). In developing countries, livelihood improvements do not  
10 necessarily cause increases in emissions (Chhatre and Agrawal 2009; Peters et al. 2012; Reusser et al.  
11 2013; Creutzig et al. 2015a) and poverty alleviation causes negligible emissions (Chakravarty et al.  
12 2009). Greater equity is an important step towards sustainable service provisioning (Godfray et al. 2018;  
13 Dorling 2019; Timko 2019).

14 As discussed in section 5.6, policies to assist the renewable energy transition can be designed to include  
15 additional benefits for income equality, besides contributing to greater energy access for the poor  
16 (Burke and Stephens 2017; Frank 2017; Healy and Barry 2017; Sen 2017; Chapman et al. 2018; La  
17 Viña et al. 2018; Chapman and Fraser 2019; Piggot et al. 2019; Sunderland et al. 2020). Global and  
18 intergenerational climate inequities impact people’s wellbeing, which affects their consumption  
19 patterns and political actions (Gori-Maia 2013; Clayton et al. 2015; Pizzigati 2018; Albrecht et al. 2007;  
20 Fritze et al. 2008) (see Box 5.3). Consumption reductions, both voluntary and policy-induced, can have  
21 positive and double-dividend effects on efficiency as well as reductions in energy and materials use  
22 (Mulder et al. 2006; Harriss and Shui 2010; Figge et al. 2014; Grinde et al. 2018; Spangenberg and  
23 Lorek 2019; Vita et al. 2020).

24 Conspicuous consumption by the wealthy is the cause of a large proportion of emissions in all countries,  
25 related to expenditures on such things as air travel, tourism, large private vehicles and large homes  
26 (Brand and Boardman 2008; Roy and Pal 2009; Brand and Preston 2010; Roy et al. 2012; Gore 2015;  
27 Hubacek et al. 2017; Sahakian 2018; Jorgenson et al. 2017; Osuoka and Haruna 2019; Gössling 2019;  
28 Kenner 2019; Lynch et al. 2019).

29 Systems-dynamics models linking strong emissions-reducing policies and strong social equity policies  
30 show that a low-carbon transition in conjunction with social sustainability is possible (Kallis et al. 2012;  
31 Jackson and Victor 2016; Chapman and Fraser 2019; S. D’alessandro et al. 2019; Huang et al. 2019;  
32 Victor 2019).

33 **More social trust leads to equity and vice versa.** There is a well-documented correlation between  
34 social trust and income equality (Rothstein and Uslaner 2005; Jordahl 2011; Phan 2008; You 2012;  
35 Ivarsflaten and Strømsnes 2013; Bergh and Bjørnskov 2014). Trust is associated with greater human  
36 development (Özcan and Bjørnskov 2011) and with individual and country-level happiness (Tokuda et  
37 al. 2017) and life satisfaction (Mikucka et al. 2017). Social trust and trust in government institutions  
38 reduce wellbeing inequality and foster resilience, especially for those at lower levels of wellbeing  
39 (Nannestad et al. 2014; Helliwell et al. 2016). There is high agreement in the literature that alienation  
40 or distrust weakens collective governance and fragments political approaches towards climate action  
41 (Smit and Pilifosova 2001; Adger et al. 2003; Hammar and Jagers 2007; Van Vossle 2012; Bulkeley  
42 and Newell 2015; Smith and Howe 2015; ISSC et al. 2016; Alvaredo et al. 2018; Smith and Mayer  
43 2018; Fairbrother et al. 2019; Hayward and Roy 2019; Kulin and Johansson Sevä 2019; Liao et al.  
44 2019).

45 **Equity strengthens governance.** Less waste, better emissions control and more effective carbon  
46 policies lead to better governance and stronger democracies. Institutions work more fairly, with more  
47 public trust. Equitable income, wealth distribution, and tax policies make democracies stronger and  
48 more flexible (Sturm 2007; Jordahl 2011; Steijn and Lancee 2011; Levin-Waldman 2012; Stiglitz 2012;

1 You 2012; Yamamura 2014; Lazarus and van Asselt 2018; Okereke 2018; Di Gregorio et al. 2019).  
2 This includes recognition of the value of traditional ecological knowledge, Indigenous governance  
3 traditions, decentralisation, and appropriate technologies (Lange et al. 2007; Goldthau 2014; Whyte  
4 2017). Better education, health care, valuing of social diversity, and reduced poverty – characteristics  
5 of more equal societies – all lead to resilience, innovation, and readiness to adopt progressive and  
6 locally-appropriate mitigation policies (Tanner et al. 2009; Scheffran et al. 2012; Lorenz 2013; Klinsky  
7 and Winkler 2014; Chu 2015; Cloutier et al. 2015; Martin 2016; Vandeweerd et al. 2016; Turnheim et  
8 al. 2018; Mitchell 2019). There is less policy lock-in in more equitable societies (Seto et al. 2016).

9 Populism, non-empirical decision-making, and politics of fear are less prevalent under conditions of  
10 more income equality (Chevigny 2003; Bryson and Rauwolf 2016; O’Connor 2017; Fraune and Knodt  
11 2018; Myrick and Evans Comfort 2019). Ideology and other social factors also play a role in populist  
12 climate scepticism, but many of these also relate to resentment of elites and desire for engagement  
13 (Swyngedouw 2011; Lockwood 2018; Huber et al. 2020). “Climate populism” movements are driven  
14 by an impetus for justice (Beeson 2019; Hilson 2019). When people feel powerless and/or that climate  
15 change is too big a problem to solve because others are not acting, they may take less action themselves  
16 (Williams and Jaftha 2020). However, systems for benefit-sharing can build trust and address large-  
17 scale “commons dilemmas”, in the context of strong civil society (Barnett 2003; Mearns and Norton  
18 2009; Inderberg et al. 2015; Sovacool et al. 2015; Hunsberger et al. 2017; Soliev and Theesfeld 2020).  
19 Leadership is also important in fostering environmentally-responsible group behaviours (Liu and Hao  
20 2020).

21 **Effective governance fosters wellbeing for all.** There is strong evidence across many countries that  
22 government quality indicated by quality of service delivery and quality of democracy is linked to  
23 national happiness, mainly because effective governance implies better service delivery (Helliwell and  
24 Huang 2008; Ott 2011; Helliwell et al. 2018). Democratic satisfaction and social trust embedded in  
25 impartial, fair, and efficient institutions are also linked directly with wellbeing (Rothstein and Stolle  
26 2008; Orviska et al. 2014). Public participation facilitates social learning and people’s support of and  
27 engagement with climate change priorities; improved governance is closely tied to effective climate  
28 policies (Phuong et al. 2017).

29 Multi-level or polycentric governance can enhance wellbeing and improve climate governance and  
30 social resilience, due to varying adaptive, flexible policy interventions at different times and scales  
31 (Kern and Bulkeley 2009; Lidskog and Elander 2009; Amundsen et al. 2010; Keskitalo 2010; Lee and  
32 Koski 2015; Jokinen et al. 2016; Lepeley 2017; Marquardt 2017; Di Gregorio et al. 2019). Institutional  
33 transformation may also result from socio-ecological stresses that accompany climate change, leading  
34 to more effective governance structures (David Tabara et al. 2018; Patterson and Huitema 2019; Barnes  
35 et al. 2020). An appropriate, context-specific mix of options facilitated by policies can deliver both  
36 higher wellbeing and reduced disparity in access to basic needs for services concurrently with climate  
37 mitigation (Thomas and Twyman 2005; Klinsky and Winkler 2014; Lamb et al. 2014; Mearns and  
38 Norton 2009; Lamb and Steinberger 2017). Hence, nurturing equitable human wellbeing through  
39 provision of decent living standards for all goes hand in hand with climate change mitigation (ISSC et  
40 al. 2016; OECD 2019).

41 **Participatory governance involves understanding and engagement with policies, including**  
42 **climate policies.** Greater public participation in climate policy processes and governance, by increasing  
43 the diversity of ideas and stakeholders, builds resilience and allows broader societal transformation  
44 towards systemic change even in complex, dynamic and contested contexts (Dombrowski 2010; Wise  
45 et al. 2014; Haque et al. 2015; Jodoin et al. 2015; Mitchell 2015). Activist climate movements are  
46 changing policies as well as normative values (see section 5.4). Environmental justice and climate  
47 justice activists worldwide have called attention to the links between economic and environmental  
48 inequities, collected and publicised data about them, and demanded stronger mitigation (Goodman



1 2009; Schlosberg and Collins 2014; Jafry et al. 2019; Cheon 2020). Youth climate activists, and  
2 Indigenous leaders, are also exerting growing political influence towards mitigation (Helferty and  
3 Clarke 2009; White 2011; Powless 2012; Petheram et al. 2015; United Nations 2015; Curnow and Gross  
4 2016; Grady-Benson and Sarathy 2016; Claeys and Delgado Pugley 2017). Indigenous resurgence  
5 (activism fuelled by environmental injustices, land claims, and deep spiritual/cultural commitment to  
6 environmental protection) not only strengthens climate movements in many countries, but also changes  
7 social norms by raising knowledge of Indigenous governance systems which preserved sustainable  
8 lifeways over thousands of years (Wildcat 2014; Chanza and De Wit 2016; Whyte 2017, 2018; Temper  
9 et al. 2020). This is creating growing pressure for emissions reductions globally, and for wiser longer-  
10 term governance perspectives.

11 **Social trust aids policy implementation.** More equal societies display higher trust, which is a key  
12 requirement for successful implementation of climate policies (Rothstein and Teorell 2008; Carattini et  
13 al. 2015; Klenert et al. 2018). Inter-personal trust among citizens often promotes pro-environment  
14 behaviour by influencing perceptions (Harring and Jagers 2013), enhancing cooperation, and reducing  
15 free-riding and opportunistic behaviour (Gür 2020). Individual support for carbon taxes and energy  
16 innovations falls when collective community support is lacking (Bolsen et al. 2014; Simon 2020; Smith  
17 and Mayer 2018). Social trust has a positive influence on civic engagement among local communities,  
18 NGOs, and self-help groups for local clean cooking fuel installation (Nayak et al. 2015).

19 Section 5.6 includes examples of climate mitigation policies and policy packages which address the  
20 interrelationships shown in Figure 5.5 policies designed to foster higher well-being for all through  
21 climate mitigation, reduce emissions through wider participation in climate action, build more effective  
22 governance for improved mitigation, and include social trust, greater equity, and informal-sector  
23 support as integral parts of climate policies.

24 In summary, there is *high confidence* in the literature that addressing inequities in income, wealth, and  
25 DLS not only raises overall wellbeing and furthers the SDGs but also improves the effectiveness of  
26 climate change mitigation policies.

### 27 **Box 5.3 Gender, race, intersectionality and climate mitigation**

28 There is *high evidence* and *high agreement* that empowering women benefits both mitigation and  
29 adaptation, because women prioritise climate change in their voting, purchasing, community leadership,  
30 and work both professionally and at home (*high evidence, high agreement*). Increasing voice and agency  
31 for those marginalised in intersectional ways by race, ethnicity, and other factors has positive effects  
32 for climate policy (*high evidence, high agreement*).

33 Climate change affects people differently by gender, race, ethnicity and other measures of difference,  
34 which have intersectional impacts linked to economic vulnerability and marginalisation (Morello  
35 Frosch et al. 2009; Dankelman 2010; Habtezion 2013; Godfrey and Torres 2016; Walsh 2016; Flatø et  
36 al. 2017; Goodrich et al. 2019; Perkins 2019; Gür 2020). Gender and other disparities in climate change  
37 vulnerability not only reflect pre-existing inequalities, they also reinforce them. For example, inequities  
38 in income and in the ownership and control of household assets, familial responsibilities due to male  
39 out-migration, declining food and water access, and increased disaster exposure can undermine  
40 women's ability to achieve economic independence, enhance human capital, and maintain health and  
41 wellbeing (Chandra et al. 2017; Eastin 2018; Das et al. 2019). Women's economic and productive lives  
42 have been affected disproportionately by the COVID crisis (Alon et al. 2020; ILO 2020). They have  
43 less access to social protections and their capacity to absorb economic shocks is very low, so they face  
44 a "triple burden" during health crises, including those resulting from climate change (Coates et al. 2020;  
45 McLaren et al. 2020; Wenham et al. 2020).

1 Women’s wellbeing, in particular, has been emphasised in recent climate agreements, through the  
2 emphasis on a gender-responsive climate policy, including in the Paris accord (UNFCCC 2015) and the  
3 2016 Decision 21/CP.22 on Gender and Climate Change (UNFCCC 2016; Larson et al. 2018).  
4 Participation of women and marginalised social groups helps to meet a range of SDGs, improve disaster  
5 and crisis response, increase social trust, and improve climate mitigation policy development /  
6 implementation (Alber 2009; Whyte 2014; Elnakat and Gomez 2015; Salehi et al. 2015; Buckingham  
7 and Kulcur 2017; Cohen 2017; Kronsell 2017; Lee and Zusman 2019).

8 Women have a key role in the changing energy economy due to their demand and end use of energy  
9 resources in socially-gendered productive roles in food production and processing, health, care,  
10 education, clothing purchases and maintenance, commerce, and other work both within and beyond the  
11 home (Räty and Carlsson-Kanyama 2009; Oparaocha and Dutta 2011; Bob and Babugura 2014;  
12 Macgregor 2014; Perez et al. 2015; Bradshaw 2018; Clancy and Feenstra 2019; Clancy et al. 2019;  
13 Fortnam et al. 2019; Rao et al. 2019a; Quandt 2019; Horen Greenford et al. 2020; Johnson 2020).  
14 Women’s work and decision-making are central in the food chain and agricultural output in most  
15 developing countries, and in household management everywhere. Policies on energy use and  
16 consumption are often focused on technical issues related to energy supply, thereby overlooking  
17 ‘demand-side’ factors such as household decision-making, unpaid work, livelihoods and care  
18 (Himmelweit 2002; Perch 2011; Fumo 2014; Hans et al. 2019; Huyer and Partey 2020). Such gender-  
19 blindness represents the manifestation of wider issues related to political ideology, culture and tradition  
20 (Carr and Thompson 2014; Perez et al. 2015; Fortnam et al. 2019; Thoyre 2020).

21 Women, and people who are economically and/or politically marginalised, often have less access to  
22 energy and use less, not just because they may be poorer but because their consumption choices are  
23 more ecologically-inclined and their energy use is more efficient (Lee et al. 2013; Permana et al. 2015;  
24 Li et al. 2019). Women’s carbon footprints are about 6-28% lower than men’s (with high variation  
25 across countries), mostly based on their lower meat consumption and lower vehicle use (Isenhour and  
26 Ardenfors 2009; Räty and Carlsson-Kanyama 2009, 2010; Barnett et al. 2012; Medina and Toledo-  
27 Bruno 2016; Ahmad et al. 2017; Fernström Nåtby and Rönnerfalk 2018; Li et al. 2019). Since women  
28 have less leisure time and leisure is generally associated with lower carbon emissions, time use within  
29 households also affects relative carbon emissions, which may be a social justice indicator (Druckman  
30 et al. 2012). Gender-based income redistribution in the form of pay equity for women could reduce  
31 emissions if the redistribution is revenue-neutral (Terry 2009; Dengler and Strunk 2018).

32 Carbon emissions are lower per capita in countries where women have more political ‘voice’,  
33 controlling for GDP per capita and a range of other factors (Ergas and York 2012). Nearly all climate  
34 change deniers are men (McCright and Dunlap 2011; Anshelm and Hultman 2014; Jylhä et al. 2016;  
35 Nagel 2015), and women are more likely to be environmental activists, and support stronger  
36 environmental and climate policies (Stein 2004; McCright and Xiao 2014, Whyte 2014) –underscoring  
37 the synergies between equity and mitigation. The contributions of women, racialised people, and  
38 Indigenous people who are socially positioned as those first and most affected by climate change – and  
39 therefore experts on appropriate climate responses – are substantial (Dankelman and Jansen 2010;  
40 Wickramasinghe 2015; Black 2016; Vinyeta et al. 2016; Pearse 2017). Equitable power, participation,  
41 and agency in climate policy-making is hence an effective contribution for improving governance and  
42 decision making on climate change mitigation (Reckien et al. 2017; Collins 2019). Indigenous  
43 knowledge is an important source of information for customary resource management, biodiversity  
44 conservation, impact assessment, disaster preparedness and resilience (Salick and Ross 2009; Green  
45 and Raygorodetsky 2010; Speranza et al. 2010; Mekuriaw Bizuneh 2013; Mekuriaw 2017), and women  
46 are often the local educators, passing on and utilising traditional and Indigenous knowledge  
47 (Ketlhoilwe 2013; Onyige 2017; Azong et al. 2018).



1 People’s views about the urgency of addressing climate change vary along gender, race, ethnicity and  
2 other social-difference categories, with women and the marginalised taking stronger stands on climate  
3 change. Racialised groups are more likely to be concerned about climate change and to take political  
4 action to support climate mitigation policies (Leiserowitz and Akerlof 2010; Godfrey and Torres 2016;  
5 Schuldt and Pearson 2016; Pearson et al. 2017; Ballew et al. 2020; Johnson 2020). Racial resentment  
6 and reduced agreement with the scientific consensus on climate change are correlated, an effect  
7 termed the “spillover of racialisation” (Benegal 2018). Changing social norms on race and climate are  
8 linked and policy-relevant (Elias et al. 2018; Slocum 2018; Gach 2019; Wallace-Wells 2019; Temple  
9 2020).

10 Higher female political participation, controlled for other factors, leads to higher stringency in climate  
11 policies, and results in lower GHG emissions (Cook et al. 2019). Gender equity also is correlated with  
12 lower per capita CO<sub>2</sub>-eq emissions (Ergas and York 2012). In societies where women have more  
13 economic equity, their votes push political decision-making in the direction of  
14 environmental/sustainable development policies, less high-emission militarisation, and more emphasis  
15 on equity and social policies (Ergas and York 2012; Resurrección 2013; UNEP 2013; Glemarec et al.  
16 2016; Bryan et al. 2018; Crawford 2019). For all these reasons, climate policies are strengthened by  
17 including more differently-situated knowledge and diverse perspectives. Inclusivity in climate  
18 governance spans mitigation-adaptation, supply-demand and formal-informal sector boundaries in its  
19 positive effects (Bryan and Behrman 2013; Wilson et al. 2018; Bell et al. 2020).

20

### 21 **5.3 Mapping the opportunity space**

22 Reducing global energy demand and resource inputs while improving wellbeing for all requires an  
23 identification of options and pathways that do not compromise essentials of a decent living. To identify  
24 such pathways, this section summarises socio-behavioural, technological and infrastructural  
25 interventions through the avoid/shift/improve (ASI) concept. ASI is used to provide a categorisation  
26 of options aimed at continuously eliminating wastes in the current systems of service provision (see  
27 section 5.3.1.1). It also succinctly presents demand side options to reduce GHG emissions by individual  
28 choices which can be leveraged by supporting policies, technologies and infrastructure. Two key  
29 concepts for evaluating the efficiency of service provision systems are: resource cascades and exergy.  
30 These concepts provide powerful analytical lenses through which to identify and substantially reduce  
31 energy and resource waste in service provision systems both for decent living standards (see section  
32 5.3.3) and higher wellbeing levels. They typically focus on end-use conversion and service delivery  
33 improvements as the most influential opportunities for system-wide waste reductions. Review of the  
34 state of modelling low energy and resource demand pathways in long-term climate mitigation scenarios  
35 (recognising the importance of such scenarios for illuminating technology and policy pathways for more  
36 efficient service provision) and summary of the mitigation potentials estimated from relevant scenarios  
37 to date are in Section 5.3.3. Finally, it reviews the role of three megatrends that are transforming delivery  
38 of the services in innovative ways – digitalisation, the sharing economy, and the circular economy (see  
39 section 5.3.4). The review of megatrends makes an assessment highlighting the potential risks of  
40 rebound effects, and even accelerated consumption; it also scopes for proactive and vigilant policies to  
41 harness their potential for future energy and resource demand reductions, and, conversely, avoid  
42 undesirable outcomes.

43

#### 44 **5.3.1 Efficient service provision**

45 This section organises deep demand reductions under the avoid, shift, and improve (ASI) framework.  
46 It presents service-oriented demand-side solution consistent with decent living standards (Table 5.1)

(Creutzig et al. 2018). The sharing economy, digitalisation, and the circular economy all can contribute to ASI strategies, with the circular economy tentatively more on the supply side, and the sharing economy and digitalisation tentatively more on the demand side (see section 5.3.3). These new service delivery models go beyond sectoral boundaries (IPCC sector chapter boundaries explained in Chapter 12) and take advantage of technological innovations, design concepts, and innovative forms of cooperation cutting across sectors to contribute to systemic changes worldwide. Some of these changes can be realised in the short term, such as energy access, while others may take a longer period such as radical and systemic eco-innovations like shared electric autonomous vehicles. It is important to understand benefits and distributional impacts of these systemic changes.

10

### 11 5.3.1.1 Integration of service provision solutions with A-S-I framework

12 Assessment of service-related mitigation options within the ASI framework is aided by decomposition  
 13 of emissions intensities into explanatory contributing parameters, which depend on the type of service  
 14 delivered. Table 5.1 Avoid-Shift-Improve options in selected sectors and services. Many options,  
 15 such as urban form and infrastructures are systemic, and influence several sectors  
 16 simultaneously. Linkages to concepts presented in sectoral chapters are indicated in  
 17 parentheses. Source: adapted from (Creutzig et al. 2018) shows Avoid-Shift-Improve options in  
 18 selected sectors and services. It summarises resource, energy, and emissions intensities commonly used  
 19 by type of service (Cuenot et al. 2010; Lucon et al. 2014; Fishedick et al. 2014). Also relevant: the  
 20 concepts of service provision adequacy (Arrow et al. 2004; Samadi et al. 2017), establishing the extents  
 21 to which consumption levels exceed (e.g., high-calorie diets contributing to health issues (Roy et al.  
 22 2012); excessive food waste) or fall short of (e.g., malnourishment) service level sufficiency (e.g.,  
 23 recommended calories); and service level efficiency (e.g., effect of occupancy on the energy intensity  
 24 of public transit passenger-km travelled (Schäfer and Yeh 2020). Service-oriented solutions in this  
 25 chapter are discussed in the context of Table 5.1.

26 **Table 5.1 Avoid-Shift-Improve options in selected sectors and services. Many options, such as urban form**  
 27 **and infrastructures are systemic, and influence several sectors simultaneously. Linkages to concepts**  
 28 **presented in sectoral chapters are indicated in parentheses. Source: adapted from (Creutzig et al. 2018)**

Service	Emission decomposition	Avoid	Shift	Improve
<b>Mobility</b> [passenger-km] (Ch 8,10, 11,16)	kg CO <sub>2</sub> = (passenger km)*(MJ pkm <sup>-1</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> MJ <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>Innovative mobility to reduce passenger-km:</b> Integrate transport & land use planning Smart logistics Tele-working Compact cities	<b>Increased options for mobility MJ pkm<sup>-1</sup>:</b> Modal shifts: from car to cycling, walking, or public transit from air travel to high speed rail	<b>Innovation in equipment design MJ pkm<sup>-1</sup> and CO<sub>2</sub>-eq MJ<sup>-1</sup>:</b> Lightweight vehicles Hydrogen vehicles Electric vehicles Eco-driving
<b>Shelter</b> [Square meters] (Ch 8,9, 11)	kg CO <sub>2</sub> = (square meters)*(tons material m <sup>-2</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> ton material <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>Innovative dwellings Reduce square meters:</b> Smaller decent dwellings Shared common spaces	<b>Material efficient housing m<sup>-2</sup>:</b> Less material-intensive dwelling designs Shift from single-family to multi-family dwellings	<b>Low emission dwelling design kgCO<sub>2</sub> ton<sup>-1</sup> material:</b> Use wood as material Use low-carbon production processes for building materials

		Multigenerational housing		(e.g., cement and steel)
<b>Thermal comfort [indoor temperature] (Ch 9,16)</b>	kg CO <sub>2</sub> = ( $\Delta^{\circ}\text{C} \times \text{m}^3$ to warm or cool) (MJ m <sup>-3</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> MJ <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>Choice of Healthy indoor temperature <math>\Delta^{\circ}\text{C} \times \text{m}^3</math>:</b> Reduce m <sup>2</sup> as above Change temperature set-points Change dressing code Change working times	<b>Design options to Reduce MJ <math>\Delta^{\circ}\text{C}^{-1} \times \text{m}^3</math>:</b> Architectural design (shading, natural ventilation, etc.)	<b>New technologies to Reduce MJ/ <math>\Delta^{\circ}\text{C} \times \text{m}^3</math> and kgCO<sub>2</sub>/MJ:</b> Solar thermal devices Improved insulation Heat pumps District heating
<b>Goods [units] (Ch 11,12)</b>	kg CO <sub>2</sub> = product units * (kg material product <sup>-1</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> kg material <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>More service per product:</b> Reduce consumption quantities Long lasting fabric, appliances Sharing economy	<b>Innovative product design kg material product<sup>-1</sup>:</b> Materials efficient product designs	<b>Choice of new materials kg CO<sub>2</sub> kg material<sup>-1</sup>:</b> Use of low carbon materials New manufacturing processes and equipment use
<b>Nutrition [Calories consumed] (Ch 6,12)</b>	kg CO <sub>2</sub> -eq = (calories consumed)*(calories produced calories consumed <sup>-1</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> -eq calorie produced <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>Reduce calories produced/calories consumed and calories consumed:</b> Keep calories in line with daily needs and health guidelines Reduce waste in supply chain and after purchase	<b>Add more variety in food plate to Reduce kg CO<sub>2</sub>-eq cal<sup>-1</sup> produced</b> Dietary shifts from ruminant meat and dairy to other protein sources	<b>Reduce kg CO<sub>2</sub>-eq cal<sup>-1</sup> produced:</b> Improved agricultural practices Energy efficient food processing
<b>Lighting [lumens] (Ch 9, 16)</b>	kg CO <sub>2</sub> = lumens*(kWh lumen <sup>-1</sup> )*(kg CO <sub>2</sub> kWh <sup>-1</sup> )	<b>Reduce artificial lumen demand:</b> Occupancy sensors Lighting controls	<b>Design options to increase natural lumen demand:</b> Architectural designs with maximal daylighting	<b>Demand innovation lighting technologies kWh lumens<sup>-1</sup> and power supply kg CO<sub>2</sub> kWh<sup>-1</sup>:</b> LED lamps Low-carbon electricity provision

1  
2 Opportunities for avoiding excess provision of services, or avoiding excess demand for services  
3 themselves, exist across multiple service categories. Avoidance of food wastage – which accounts for  
4 around 8% of total annual GHG emissions (FAO 2014), while millions suffer from hunger and  
5 malnutrition – is a prime example (see Chapter 12). A key challenge in meeting global nutrition services  
6 is therefore to avoid food waste while simultaneously raising nutrition levels to equitable standards  
7 globally. Literature results indicate that consumers are the largest source of food waste, and that  
8 behavioural changes such as meal planning, use of leftovers, and avoidance of over-preparation can be  
9 important service-oriented solutions (Gunders et al. 2017; Schanes et al. 2018), while improvements to  
10 expiration labels by regulators would reduce unnecessary disposal of unexpired items (Wilson et al.

1 2017). The mitigation potential of food waste reductions globally has been estimated at 0.8-6.0 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-  
2 eq yr<sup>-1</sup> by 2050 (Smith et al. 2014; Olsson et al. 2019). Coupling food waste reductions with dietary  
3 shifts can further reduce energy, land, and resource demand in upstream food provision systems, leading  
4 to substantial GHG emissions benefits. Estimated GHG emissions reductions associated with dietary  
5 shifts to low meat diets, vegetarian diets, or vegan diets range from 0.7-7.3, 4.3-6.4, and 7.8-8 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-  
6 eq yr<sup>-1</sup> by 2050, respectively (Olsson et al. 2019). Current literature on health, diets, and emissions  
7 indicates that sustainable food systems providing healthy diets for all are within reach but require  
8 significant cross-sectoral action (Erb et al. 2016; Muller et al. 2017; Willett and et al. 2018; Graça et al.  
9 2019).

10 In the transport sector, avoid-shift-improve opportunities exist at myriad levels, comprehensively  
11 summarised in Bongardt et al (2013). Modelling based on a plethora of bottom-up insights and options  
12 reveals that a balanced portfolio of avoid, shift, and improve policies brings the global transport sector  
13 emissions in line with global warming of not more than 1.5°C (Gota et al. 2019). For example, telework  
14 may be a significant lever for avoiding road transport associated with daily commutes, achievable  
15 through digitalisation, but its savings depend heavily on the modes, distances, and types of office use  
16 avoided (Kitou and Horvath 2003; Hook et al. 2020) and whether additional travel is induced due to  
17 greater available time (Mokhtarian 2002). More robustly, avoiding kilometres travelled through  
18 improved urban planning and smart logistical systems can lead to fuel, and, hence, emissions savings  
19 (IEA 2016, 2017a; Creutzig et al. 2015a; Wiedenhofer et al. 2018). At the vehicle level, light weighting  
20 strategies (Fischedick et al. 2014), avoiding inputs of carbon-intensive materials into vehicle  
21 manufacturing, can also lead to significant emissions savings through improved fuel economy (Das et  
22 al. 2016; Hertwich et al. 2019; IEA 2019a). For details see Chapter 10.

23 In the buildings sector, avoidance strategies can occur at the end use or individual building operation  
24 level. End use technologies/strategies such as the use of daylighting (Bodart and De Herde 2002) and  
25 lighting sensors can avoid demand for lumens from artificial light, while passive houses, thermal mass,  
26 and smart controllers can avoid demand for space conditioning services. Eliminating standby power  
27 losses can avoid energy wasted for no useful service in many appliances/devices, which may reduce  
28 household electricity use by up to 10% (Roy et al. 2012). At the building level, smaller dwellings can  
29 reduce overall demand for lighting and space conditioning services, while smaller dwellings, shared  
30 housing, and building lifespan extension can all reduce the overall demand for carbon-intensive building  
31 materials such as concrete and steel (Hertwich et al. 2019; Material Economics Sverige AB 2018; IEA  
32 2019a; Pauliuk et al. 2021). Emerging strategies for materials efficiency, such as 3D printing to  
33 optimise the geometries and minimise the materials content of structural elements, may also play a key  
34 role (Favier et al. 2019). Several scenarios estimate an ‘avoid’ potential in the building sector, reducing  
35 waste in superfluous floor space, heating and IT equipment, and energy use, by between 10 and 30%,  
36 in one case even by 50% (Nadel, Steven and Ungar 2019) (see Chapter 9).

37 Service efficiency strategies are emerging to avoid materials demand at the product level, including  
38 dematerialisation strategies for various forms of packaging (Worrell and Van Sluisveld 2013) and the  
39 concept of “products as services,” in which product systems are designed and maintained for long  
40 lifespans to provide a marketable service (Oliva and Kallenberg 2003), thereby reducing the number of  
41 products sold and tons of materials needed to provide the same service to consumers (see Chapter 11).  
42 Successful examples of this approach have been documented for carpets (Stubbs and Cocklin 2008),  
43 copiers (Roy 2000), kitchens (Liedtke et al. 1998), vehicles (Ceschin and Vezzoli 2010; Williams 2006)  
44 and more (Roy 2000).

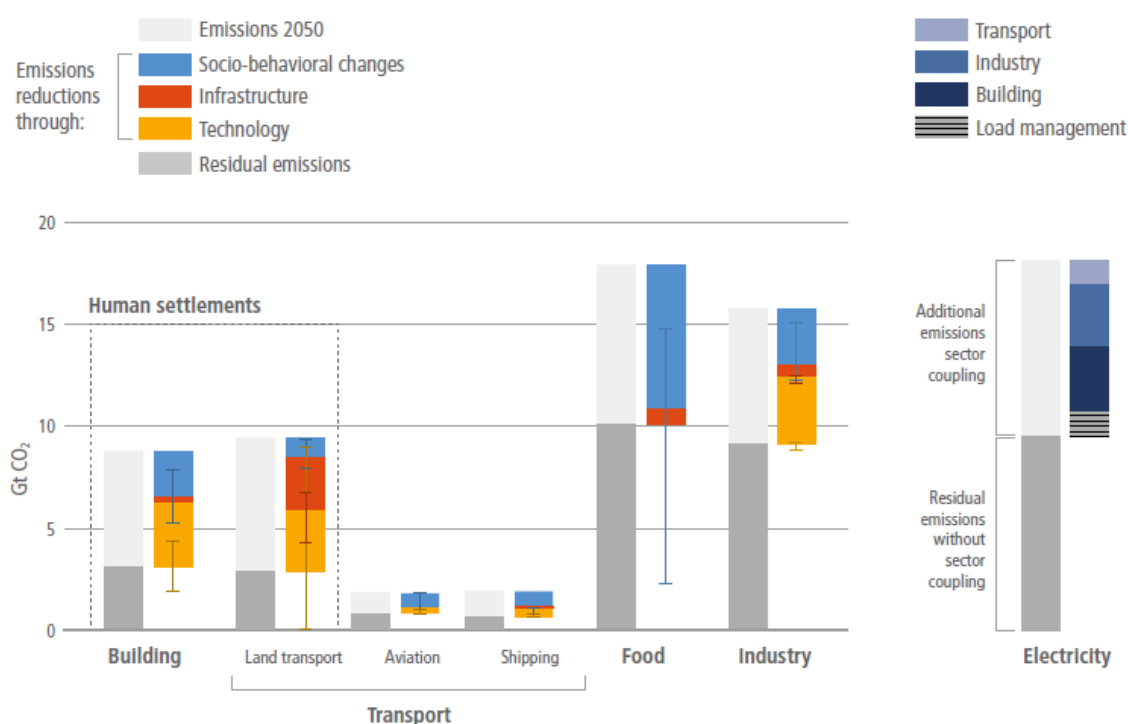
45 Shift strategies unique to the service-oriented perspective generally involve meeting service demands  
46 at much lower life-cycle energy, emissions, and resource intensities (Roy and Pal 2009), through such  
47 strategies as shifting from single-family to multi-family dwellings (reducing the materials intensity per  
48 unit floor area (De Wolf et al. 2015)), shifting from passenger cars to rail or bus (reducing fuel, vehicle

1 manufacturing, and infrastructure requirements (Chester and Horvath 2009), shifting materials to  
 2 reduce resource and emissions intensities (e.g., low-carbon concrete blends (Scrivener and Gartner  
 3 2018)) and shifting from conventional to additive manufacturing processes to reduce materials  
 4 requirements and improve end-use product performance (Huang et al. 2016, 2017).

5 An important consideration in all ASI strategies is the potential for unintended rebound effects (Sorrell  
 6 et al. 2009), which must be carefully avoided through various regulatory and behavioural measures  
 7 (Santarius et al. 2016). For example, extending the lifespan of energy inefficient products may lead to  
 8 net increases in emissions (Gutowski et al. 2011), whereas automated car sharing may reduce the  
 9 number of cars manufactured at the expense of increased demand for passenger kilometres due to lower  
 10 travel opportunity cost (Wadud et al. 2016) (see also 5.3.2).

11 In summary, sector specific demand side mitigation options reflect important role of socio-behavioural,  
 12 technological and infrastructural factors and interdependence among them (Figure 5.7). The assessment  
 13 shows by 2050 high emission reduction potential can be realised without any supply side intervention  
 14 with considerable impact on electricity supply system. Integrated cross sectoral actions shown through  
 15 sector coupling is also important for investment decision making and policy framing going beyond  
 16 sector boundaries (*high evidence and high agreement*).

17



18

19 **Figure 5.7 Sectoral demand-side mitigation options in three dimensions: socio-behavioural, technological**  
 20 **and infrastructure reinforces each other and can substantially reduce emissions by 2050, 40-80% in each**  
 21 **end-use sector (Supplementary Material II Chapter 5). Sector coupling increases efficiency and decreases**  
 22 **overall primary energy input if electricity is based on renewable energy. Sector coupling requires**  
 23 **increased GHG emissions from electricity system, which in turn can be reduced by socio-behavioural,**  
 24 **infrastructural and technological demand side options. The largest socio-behavioural potential is in diet**  
 25 **shift (food), the largest infrastructural potential is realising walkable and cyclable cities (land transport)**  
 26 **and the largest technological potential is in making building use and industry more energy efficient.**

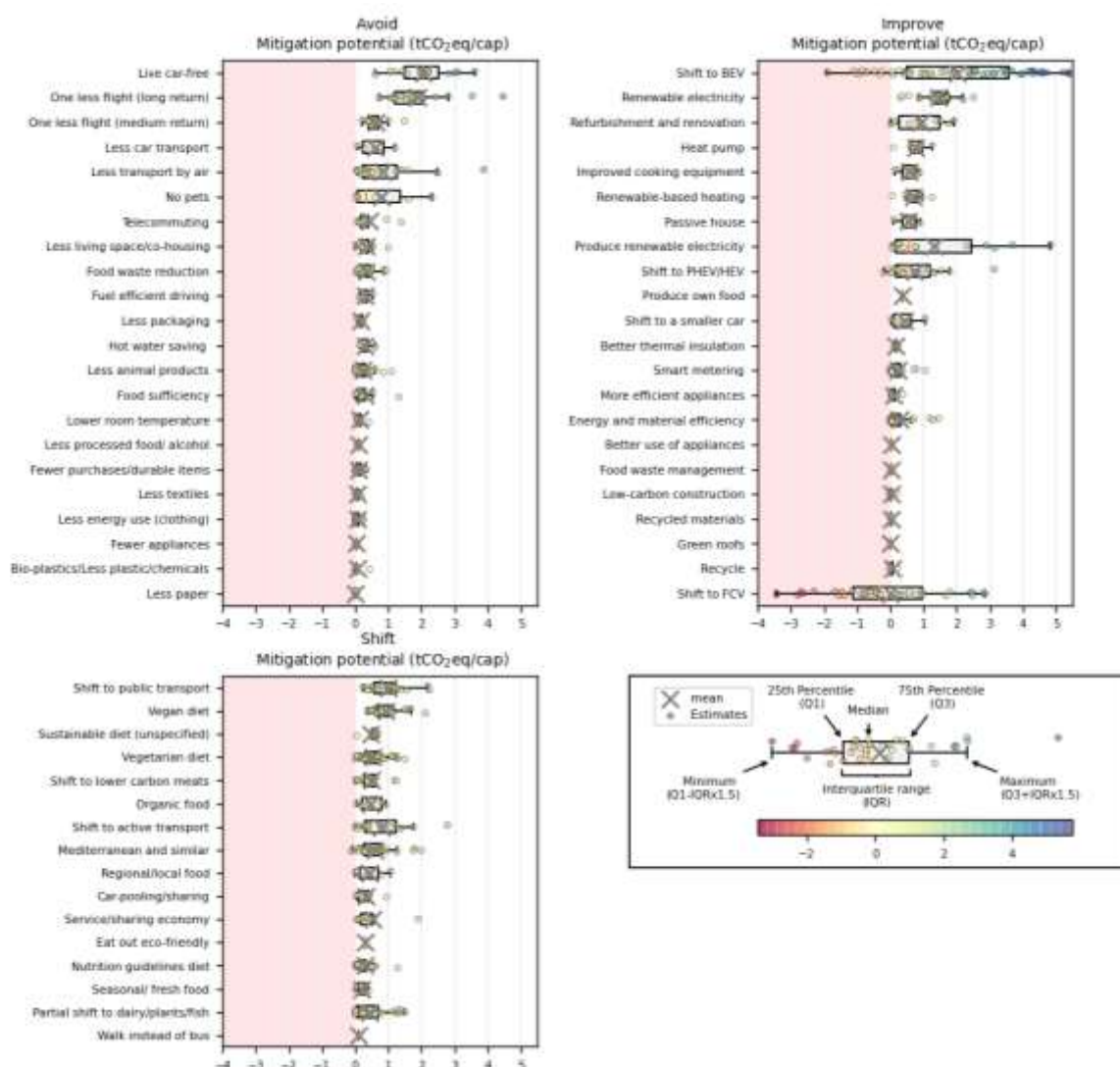
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Source: (Creutzig et al. 2021b)

1 **5.3.1.2 Consumption options to reduce GHG emissions**

2 A systematic review of consumption-based options to reduce GHG emissions identified 6990 peer-  
 3 reviewed journal papers, with 771 options that were aggregated into 61 consumption option categories  
 4 ((Ivanova et al. 2020); Figure 5.8). In consistence with previous research (Herendeen and Tanaka 1976;  
 5 Pachauri and Spreng 2002; Pachauri 2007; Ivanova et al. 2016), a hierarchical list of mitigation options  
 6 emerges. Choosing low-carbon options, such as car-free living, plant-based diets without or very little  
 7 animal products, renewable sources of electricity and heating at home as well as local holiday plans,  
 8 can reduce an individual’s carbon footprint by up to 9tCO<sub>2</sub>-eq. Realising these options requires  
 9 substantial policy support to overcome infrastructural, institutional and socio-behavioural lock-in (see  
 10 5.4 and 5.6).

11



12  
 13 **Figure 5.8 Synthesis of 60 demand side options ordered by the median GHG mitigation potential found**  
 14 **across all estimates from the literature. The x-s are averages. The boxes represent the 25th percentile,**  
 15 **median and 75th percentiles of study results. The whiskers or dots show the minimum and maximum**  
 16 **mitigation potentials of each option. Negative values (in the red area) represent the potentials for backfire**  
 17 **due to rebound, i.e. a net-increase of GHG emissions due to adopting the option. Source: (Ivanova et al.**  
 18 **2020)**

### 1 **5.3.2 Technical tools to identify Avoid-Shift-Improve options**

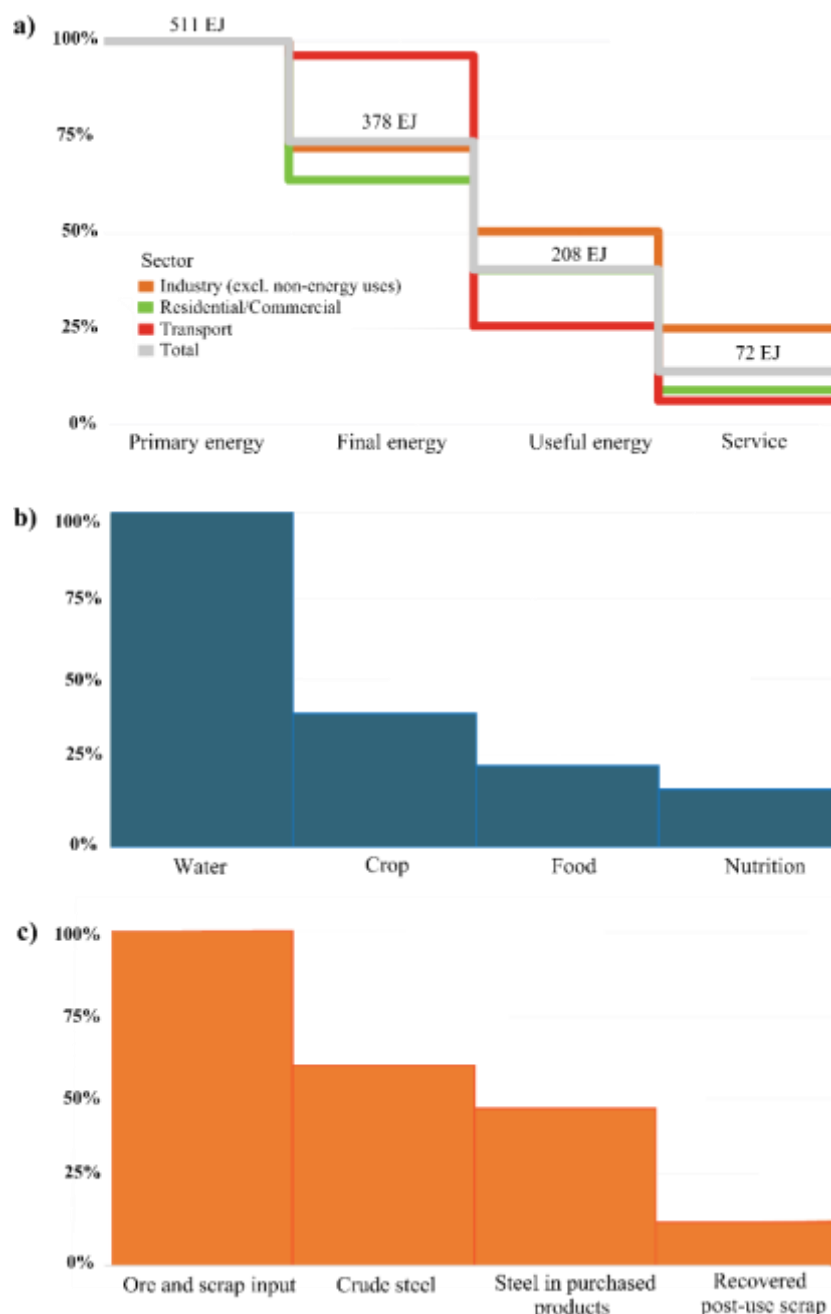
2 Service delivery systems to satisfy variety of service needs (e.g., mobility, nutrition, thermal comfort,  
3 etc.) comprise a series of interlinked processes to convert primary resources (e.g. coal, minerals) into  
4 useable products (e.g. electricity, copper wires, lamps, light bulbs). It is useful to differentiate between  
5 conversion and processing steps “upstream” of end-users (mines, power plants, manufacturing  
6 facilities) and “downstream”, i.e. those associated with end-users, including service levels, and direct  
7 wellbeing benefits for people (Kalt et al. 2019). Illustrative examples of such resource processing  
8 systems steps and associated conversion losses drawn from the literature are shown in Figure 5.9. in the  
9 form of resource processing cascades for energy (direct energy conversion efficiencies (De Stercke  
10 2014; Nakićenović et al. 1993)), water use in food production systems (water use efficiency and  
11 embodied water losses in food delivery and consumption (Lundqvist et al. 2008; Sadras et al. 2011)),  
12 and materials (Ayres and Simonis 1994; Fischer-Kowalski et al. 2011) using the example of steel  
13 manufacturing, use and recycling at the global level (Allwood and Cullen 2012). Invariably, conversion  
14 losses along the entire service delivery systems are substantial, ranging from 83% (water) to 86%  
15 (energy) and 87% (steel) of primary resource inputs (TWI2050 2018). In other words, only between 14  
16 to 17% of the harnessed primary resources remain at the level of ultimate service delivery.

17 Examples of conversion losses at the supply side of resource processing systems include for instance  
18 for energy electricity generation (global output/input conversion efficiency of electric plants of 45% as  
19 shown in energy balance statistics (IEA 2020b); for water embodied in food irrigation water use  
20 efficiency (some 40% (Sadras et al. 2011)) and calorific conversion efficiency (food calories out/food  
21 calories in) in meat production of 60% (Lundqvist et al. 2008), or for materials where globally only  
22 47% of primary iron ore extracted and recovered steel scrap end up as steel in purchased products, (i.e.  
23 a loss of 57%) (Allwood and Cullen 2012).

24 A substantial part of losses happen at the end-use point and in final service delivery (where losses  
25 account for 47 to 60 percentage points of aggregate systems losses for steel and energy respectively,  
26 and for 23% in the case of water embodied in food, i.e. food waste). The efficiency of service delivery  
27 (for a detailed discussion cf. (Brand-Correa and Steinberger 2017)) has usually both a technological  
28 component (efficiency of end-use devices such as cars, light bulbs) and a behavioural component (i.e.  
29 how efficiently end-use devices are used, e.g. load factors, for a discussion of such behavioural  
30 efficiency improvement options see e.g. (Dietz et al. 2009; Laitner et al. 2009; Ehrhardt-Martinez 2015;  
31 Kane and Srinivas 2014; Lopes et al. 2017; Thaler 2015; Norton 2012). Using the example of mobility  
32 where service levels are usually expressed by passenger-km, the service delivery efficiency is thus a  
33 function of the fuel efficiency of the vehicle and its drivetrain (typically only about 20%-25% for  
34 internal combustion engines, but close to 100% for electric motors) plus how many passengers the  
35 vehicle actually transports (load factor, typically as low as 20%-25%, i.e. one passenger per vehicle that  
36 could seat 4-5), i.e. an aggregate end-use efficiency of between 4-6% only. Aggregated energy end-use  
37 efficiencies at the global level are estimated as low as 20% (De Stercke 2014), 13% for steel (recovered  
38 post-use scrap, Allwood and Cullen, 2012), and some 70% for food (including distribution losses and  
39 food wastes of some 30%, (Lundqvist et al. 2008).

40 To harness additional gain in efficiency by shifting the focus in service delivery systems to the end-user  
41 can translate into large “upstream” resource reductions. For each unit of improvement at the end-use  
42 point of the service delivery system (examples shown in Figure 5.9), primary resource inputs are  
43 reduced between a factor of 6 to 7 units (water, steel, energy) (TWI2050 2018). For example, reducing  
44 energy needs for final service delivery equivalent to 1 EJ, reduces primary energy needs by some 7 EJ.  
45 This is hence a leverage point to waste less, while maintaining or improving services (as motivated in  
46 5.2.1).

47



**Figure 5.9 Resource processing steps and efficiency cascades (in percent of primary resource inputs [vertical axis] remaining at respective step until ultimate service delivery) for illustrative global service delivery systems for energy (top panel, disaggregated into three sectorial service types and the aggregate total), food (middle panel, water use in agriculture and food processing, delivery and use), and materials (bottom panel, example steel). The aggregate efficiencies of service delivery chains is with 13-17% low.**

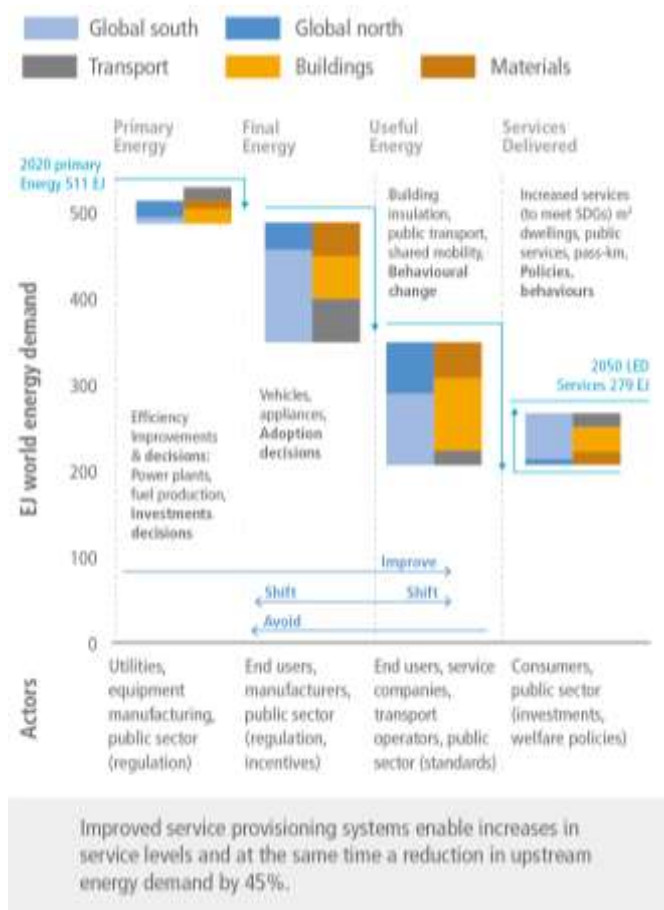
**Source: (TWI2050 2018)**

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1 by direct input-output resource accounting as discussed above (Figure 5.9). Illustrative exergy  
 2 efficiencies of entire national or global service delivery systems range from 2.5% (USA, (Ayres 1989))  
 3 to 5% (OECD average, (Grubler et al. 2012b)) and 10% (global, Nakićenović et al., 1996) respectively.  
 4 Studies that adopt more restricted systems boundaries either leaving out upstream resource  
 5 processing/conversion or conversely end-use and service provision, show typical exergetic efficiencies  
 6 between 15% (city of Geneva, cf. (Grubler et al. 2012a)) to below 25% (Japan, Italy, and Brazil, albeit  
 7 with incomplete systems coverage that miss important conversion losses (Nakićenović et al. 1996)).

8  
 9



10

11 **Figure 5.10 Realisable energy efficiency improvements by region and by end-use type between 2020 and**  
 12 **2050 in an illustrative Low Energy Demand scenario (in EJ). Data: Figure 5.9 and (Grubler et al. 2018).**

13 Efficiency improvements are decomposed by respective steps in the conversion chain from primary  
 14 energy to final, and useful energy, and to service delivery and disaggregated by region (developed and  
 15 developing countries) and end-use type (buildings, transport, materials). Improvements are dominated by  
 16 improved efficiency in service delivery (153 EJ) and by more efficient end-use energy conversion (134  
 17 EJ). Improvements in service efficiency in transport shown here are conservative in this scenario but  
 18 could be substantially higher with the full adoption of integrated urban shared mobility schemes.

19 Increases in energy use due to increases in service levels and system effects of transport electrification  
 20 (grey bars on top of first pair in the bar charts) that counterbalance some of the efficiency improvements  
 21 are also shown. Examples of options for efficiency improvements and decision involved (grey text in the  
 22 chart), the relative weight of generic demand-side strategies (improve, shift, avoid blue arrows), as well as  
 23 prototype actors involved are also illustrated

### 1 5.3.3 Low demand scenarios

2 Long-term mitigation scenarios play a crucial role in climate policy design in the near term, by  
3 illuminating transition pathways, interactions between supply-side and demand-side interventions, their  
4 timing, and the scale of required investments needed to achieve mitigation goals (see Chapter 3).  
5 Historically, most long-term mitigation scenarios have taken technology-centric approaches with heavy  
6 reliance on supply-side solutions and the use of negative emissions technologies, particularly in 1.5°C  
7 scenarios (Rogelj et al. 2018). Comparatively less attention has been paid to deep demand-side  
8 reductions incorporating lifestyle change and the cascade effects (see section 5.3.2) associated with ASI  
9 strategies. Primarily, due to limited past representation of such service-oriented interventions in long-  
10 term integrated assessment models (IAMs) and energy systems models (ESMs) (Napp et al. 2019;  
11 Grubler et al. 2018; van de Ven et al. 2018). There is ample evidence of savings from sector- or issue-  
12 specific bottom-up studies (see section 5.3.1.2). However, these savings typically get lost in the  
13 dominant narrative provided by IAMs and ESMs and in the evaluation of combinations of ASI and  
14 efficiency strategies. As a result, their interaction effects do not get equal focus alongside supply-side  
15 and negative emissions technology options (van den Berg et al. 2019; Van Vuuren et al. 2018; Samadi  
16 et al. 2017).

17 In response to 1.5°C ambitions, and a growing desire to identify participatory pathways with less  
18 reliance on negative emissions technologies with high uncertainty, several recent IAM and ESM  
19 mitigation scenarios have explored the role of deep demand-side energy and resource use reductions  
20 potentials at global and regional levels. Table 5.2 summarises long-term scenarios that aimed to  
21 minimise service-level energy and resource demand as a central mitigation tenet, to specifically evaluate  
22 the role of behavioural change and ASI strategies, and/or to achieve a carbon budget with limited/no  
23 negative emissions technologies. From assessment of this emerging body of literature, several general  
24 observations arise and are presented below.

25 First, socio-behavioural changes within transition pathways can offer Gigaton-scale CO<sub>2</sub> savings  
26 potential at the global level, and therefore represent a substantial overlooked strategy in traditional  
27 mitigation scenarios. Two lifestyle change scenarios conducted with the IMAGE IAM suggested that  
28 low-cost behaviour changes such as heating and cooling set-point adjustments, shorter showers, reduced  
29 appliance use, shifts to public transit, less meat intensive diets, and improved recycling can deliver an  
30 additional 1.7 Gt and 3 GtCO<sub>2</sub> savings in 2050, beyond the savings achieved in traditional technology-  
31 centric mitigation scenarios for the 2°C and 1.5°C ambitions, respectively (van Sluisveld et al. 2016;  
32 Van Vuuren et al. 2018). In its Sustainable Development Scenario, the IEA's behavioural change and  
33 resource efficiency wedges deliver around 3 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq reduction in 2050, combined savings that exceed  
34 those of Solar PV that same year (IEA 2019b). In Europe, a GCAM scenario evaluating combined  
35 lifestyle changes such as teleworking, travel avoidance, dietary shifts, food waste reductions, and  
36 recycling reduced cumulative EU-27 CO<sub>2</sub> emissions 2011-2050 by up to 16% compared to an SSP2  
37 baseline (van de Ven et al. 2018). Also in Europe, a multi-regional input-output analysis suggested that  
38 adoption of low-carbon consumption practices could reduce carbon footprints by 25%, or 1.4 Gt (Moran  
39 et al. 2020). A global transport scenario suggests that transport sector emission can decline from  
40 business as usual 18 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq to 2 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq if avoid-shift-improve strategies are deployed (Gota et  
41 al. 2019), a value considerably below the estimates provided in IAM scenarios that have no resolution  
42 in ASI strategies (compare with Chapter 10).

43 In light of the limited number of mitigation scenarios that represent socio-behavioural changes  
44 explicitly, there is *medium evidence* in the literature that such changes can reduce emissions at regional  
45 and global levels, but *high agreement* that such changes hold gigaton-scale CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reduction  
46 potentials.

47 Second, pursuant to the ASI principle, deep demand reductions require parallel pursuit of behavioural  
48 change and advanced energy efficient technology deployment; neither is sufficient on its own. The LED

1 scenario (Figure 5.10) combines behavioural and technological change consistent with numerous ASI  
2 strategies that leverage digitalisation, sharing, and circular economy megatrends to deliver decent living  
3 standards while reducing global final energy demand in 2050 to 245 EJ (Grubler et al. 2018). This value  
4 is 40% lower than final energy demand in 2018 (IEA 2019b), and a lower 2050 outcome than other  
5 IAM/ESM scenarios with primarily technology-centric mitigation approaches (IEA 2017b; Teske et al.  
6 2015). In the IEA's B2DS scenario, avoid/shift in the transport sector accounts for around 2 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq  
7 yr<sup>-1</sup> in 2060, whereas parallel vehicle efficiency improvements increase the overall mitigation wedge to  
8 5.5 GtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq yr<sup>-1</sup> in 2060 (IEA 2017b).

9 Third, low demand scenarios can reduce both supply side capacity additions and the need for negative  
10 emissions technologies to reach emissions targets. Of the scenarios listed in Table 5.5, two (LED-  
11 MESSAGE and RegChange-IMAGE) reach 2050 emissions targets with no negative emission  
12 technologies (Grubler et al. 2018; van Sluisveld et al. 2018), whereas others report significant  
13 reductions in reliance on bioenergy with carbon capture and storage (BECCS) compared to traditional  
14 technology-centric mitigation pathways (Liu et al. 2018; Van Vuuren et al. 2018; Napp et al. 2019).

15 Fourth, the costs of reaching mitigation targets are generally lower when incorporating ASI strategies  
16 for deep energy and resource demand reductions. The TIAM-Grantham low demand scenarios  
17 displayed reduction in mitigation costs (0.87–2.4% of GDP), while achieving even lower cumulative  
18 emissions to 2100 (228 to ~475 GtCO<sub>2</sub>) than its central demand scenario (741 to 1066 GtCO<sub>2</sub>), which  
19 had a cost range of (2.4–4.1% of GDP) (Napp et al. 2019). The GCAM behavioural change scenario  
20 concluded that domestic emission savings would contribute to reduce the costs of achieving the  
21 internationally agreed climate goal of the EU by 13.5% to 30% (van de Ven et al. 2018). The AIMS  
22 lifestyle case indicated that mitigation costs, expressed as global GDP loss, would be 14% lower than  
23 the SSP2 reference scenario in 2100, for both 2°C and 1.5°C mitigation targets (Liu et al. 2018). These  
24 findings mirror earlier AIMS results, which indicated lower overall mitigation costs for scenarios  
25 focused on energy service demand reductions (Fujimori et al. 2014).

26 Based on the limited number of long-term mitigation scenarios that explicitly represent deep demand  
27 reductions enabled by ASI strategies, there is *medium evidence* but with *high agreement* that such  
28 scenarios can reduce dependence on supply-side capacity additions and negative emissions technologies  
29 with opportunity for lower overall mitigation costs.

30 Once the limitations within most IAMs and ESMs regarding non-inclusion of granular ASI strategy  
31 analysis are addressed it will expand and improve long-term mitigation scenarios (van den Berg et al.  
32 2019). These include broader inclusion of mitigation costs for behavioural interventions (van Sluisveld  
33 et al. 2016), incorporation of rebound effects from avoided spending (van de Ven et al. 2018), improved  
34 representation of materials cycle to assess resource cascades (Pauliuk et al. 2017), broader coverage of  
35 behavioural change (Samadi et al. 2017), explicit representation of intersectoral linkages related to  
36 digitalisation, sharing economy, and circular economy strategies (see section 5.3.4), and institutional,  
37 political, social, entrepreneurial, and cultural factors (van Sluisveld et al. 2018). Addressing the current  
38 modelling limitations will require increased investments in data generation and collection, model  
39 development, and inter-model comparisons, with a particular focus on socio-behavioural research that  
40 has been underrepresented in mitigation research funding to date (Overland and Sovacool 2020).

1

Table 5.2 Summary of long-term scenarios that aimed to minimise service-level energy and resource demand

Global scenarios										
#	Scenario [Temp]	IAM/ESM	Final energy	Focused demand reduction element(s)			Baseline scenario	Mitigation potential <sup>iii</sup>		
				Scope	Sectors <sup>[i]</sup>	Key demand reduction measures considered (A, S, I) <sup>[iii]</sup>		CO <sub>2</sub> (Gt)	Final energy	Primary energy
a	Lifestyle change scenario [2°C]	IMAGE	-	Whole scenario	R, T, I	A: Set points, smaller houses, reduced shower times, wash temperatures, standby loss, reduced car travel, reduced plastics S: from cars to bikes, rail I: improved plastic recycling	2°C technology-centric scenario in 2050	1.7	-	-
b	Sustainable Development Scenario [1.8°C]	World Energy Model (WEM)	398 EJ in 2040	Behavioural change wedge and resource efficiency wedge	T, I	A: shift from cars to mass transit, building lifespan extension, materials efficient construction, product reuse I: improved recycling	Stated policies in 2050	3	-	-
c	Beyond 2 Degrees Scenario [1.75°C]	ETP-TIMES	385 EJ in 2050	Transport avoid/shift wedge and material efficiency wedge	T, I	A: shorter car trips, optimised truck routing and utilisation S: shifts from cars to mass transit I: plastics and metal recycling, production yield improvements	Stated policies in 2060	2.5	-	-
d	Lifestyle change scenario [1.5°C]	IMAGE	-	Whole scenario	R, C, T, I	A: Set points, reduced appliance use S: from cars to mass transit, less meat intensive diets, cultured meat I: best available technologies across sectors	1.5°C technology-centric scenario in 2050	3	-	175 EJ
e	Low Energy Demand Scenario [1.5°C]	MESSAGE	245 EJ in 2050	Whole scenario	R, C, T, I, F	A: device integration, telework, shared mobility, material efficiency, dematerialisation, reduced paper S: multi-purpose dwellings, healthier diets I: best available technologies across sectors	Final energy in 2020	-	165 EJ	-

f	Advanced Energy [R]evolution	-	279 EJ in 2050	Whole scenario	R, C, T, I	S: shifts from cars to mass transit I: best available technologies across sectors	Stated policies in 2050	-	221 EJ	-
g	Limited BECCS – lifestyle change [1.5°C]	IMAGE	-	Whole scenario	R, C, T, F	A: Set points, reduced appliance use S: from cars to mass transit, less meat intensive diets, cultured meat I: best available technologies across sectors	SSP2 in 2050	58	-	400 EJ
h	Lifestyle scenario [1.5°C]	AIM	425 EJ in 2100	Whole scenario	T, I, F	A: reduced transport services demand, reduced demand for industrial goods S: less meat-intensive diets	SSP2 in 2100	-	125 EJ	-
i	Transport scenario [1.5°C]	Bottom-up construction	-	Whole scenario	T	A: multiple options S: multiple options I: multiple options		89% vs BAU: 16GtCO <sub>2</sub>	-	-
j	Net Zero Emissions 2050 scenario	World Energy Model (WEM)	-	Behaviour change wedge	R, T,	A: Set points, line drying, reduced wash temperatures, telework, reduced air travel S: shifts to walking, cycling I: eco-driving	Stated policies in 2030	2	-	-
k	Decent living with minimum energy	Bottom-up construction	149 EJ in 2050	Whole scenario	R, T, I, F	A: activity levels for mobility, shelter, nutrition, etc. consistent with decent living standards S: shifts away from animal-based foods, shifts to public transit, more I: energy efficiency consistent with best available technologies	Final energy today (20XX)	-	60%	-
<b>Regional scenarios</b>										
l	Urban mitigation wedge	-	540 EJ in global cities in 2050	Whole scenario	R, C, T	A: reduced transport demand S: mixed-use developments I: vehicle efficiency, building codes and retrofits	Current trends to 2050	-	180 EJ	-
m	France 2072 collective society	TIMES-Fr	4.2 EJ in France in 2072	Whole scenario	R, T	A: less travel by car and plane, longer building and device lifespans, less spending S: shared housing, shifts from cars to walking, biking, mass transit	Final energy in 2014	-	1.7 EJ	-

n	EU-27 lifestyle change – enthusiastic profile	GCAM	-	Whole scenario	R, T, F	A: telework, avoid short flights, closer holidays, food waste reduction, car sharing, set points S: vegan diet, shifts to cycling and public transit I: eco-driving, composting, paper, metal, plastic, and glass recycling	SSP2, cumulative emissions 2011-2050	16%	-	-
o	Europe broader regime change scenario	IMAGE	35 EJ in EU in 2050	Whole scenario	R, T	A: reduced passenger and air travel, smaller dwellings, fewer appliances, reduced shower times, set points, avoid standby losses S: car sharing, shifts to public transit I: best available technologies	SSP2 in 2050	-	10 EJ	-
p	EU Carbon-CAP	EXIOBASE 3 MRIO	-	Whole scenario	R, T, F	90 demand-side behaviour change opportunities spanning A-S-I including changes to consumption patterns, reducing consumption, and switching to using goods with a lower-carbon production and low-carbon use phases.	Present day consumption footprint	1.4	-	-
q	France megawatt scenario	Bottom-up construction	-	Sufficiency wedge	R, C, T, I, F	A: increase building capacity utilisation, reduced appliance use, carsharing, telework, reduced goods consumption, less packaging S: shift to attached buildings; shift from cars and air to public transit and active mobility, carsharing, freight shift to rail and water, shift away from animal proteins I: reduced speed limits, vehicle efficiency, increased recycling	Business as usual in 2050 (~2300 TWh primary energy)	-	-	~1200 TWh
r	The Netherlands households energy behavioural changes	BENCH-NLD agent-based model	-	Individual energy behavioural changes and social dynamics; considering carbon pricing	R	A: reduce energy consumption through changing lifestyle, habits and consumption patterns S: to green energy provider; investment on solar PVs (prosumers) I: investment on insulation and energy-efficient appliances	SSP2 in 2030	50%	-	-

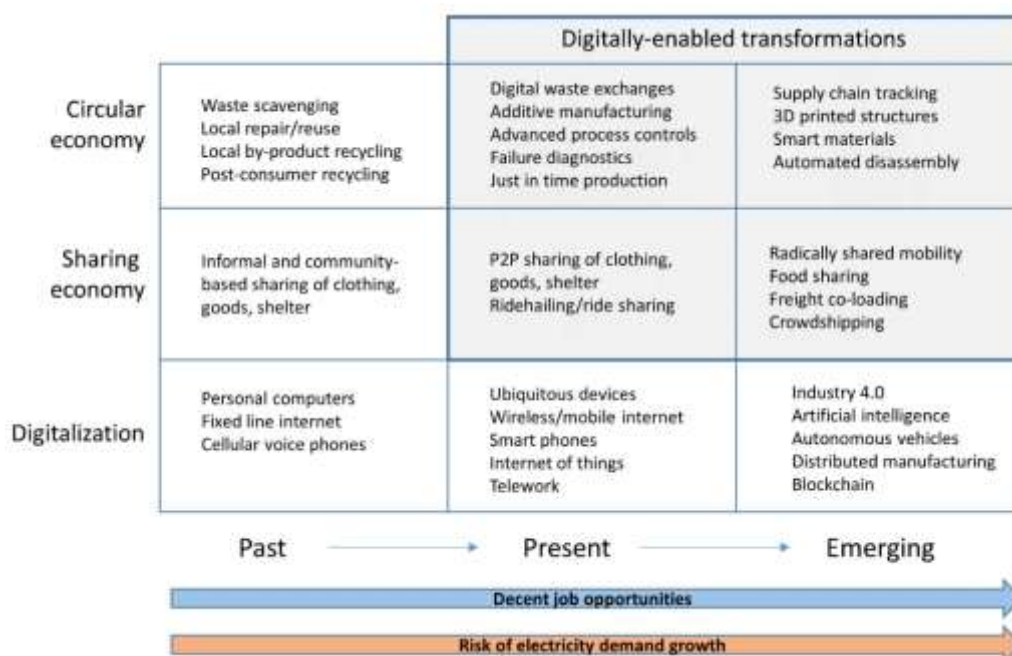
s	The Netherlands households energy behavioural changes	BENCH-NLD agent-based model	-	Individual energy behavioural changes and social dynamics	R	A: reduce energy consumption S: investment on solar PVs (prosumers) I: investment on insulation and energy-efficient appliances	SSP2 2050	in	56%	51-71%	
t	Spain households energy behavioural changes	BENCH-ESP agent-based model	-	Individual energy behavioural changes and social dynamics	R	A: reduce energy consumption S: investment on solar PVs (prosumers) I: investment on insulation and energy-efficient appliances	SSP2 2050	in	44%	16-64%	

- 1 Sources: a (van Sluisveld et al. 2016), b (IEA 2019b), c (IEA 2017b), d (Van Vuuren et al. 2018), e (Grubler et al. 2018), f (Teske et al. 2015), g (Esmeijer et al. 2018), h (Liu et al. 2018), i (Gota et al. 2019), j (IEA 2020a), k (Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020), l (Creutzig et al. 2015b), m (Millot et al. 2018), n (van de Ven et al. 2018), o (van Sluisveld et al. 2018), p (Moran et al. 2020), q (Negawatt 2018), r (Niamir et al. 2020c), s,t (Niamir et al. 2020a)
- 4 R = residential (Chapters 8, 9); C = commercial (Chapters 8, 9), T = transport (Chapters 8, 10), I = industry (Chapter 11), F = food (Chapters 6, 12),
- 5 A= avoid; S = shift, I = improve
- 6 Relative to indicated baseline scenario value in stated year

### 1 5.3.4 Transformative megatrends

2 The sharing economy, the circular economy, and digitalisation have all received much attention from  
 3 the research, advocacy, and policy communities as potentially transformative trends for climate change  
 4 mitigation (TWI2050 2019; IEA 2017a; Material Economics Sverige AB 2018). All are essentially  
 5 emerging and contested concepts (Gallie 1955) that have the common goal of increasing convenience  
 6 for users and rendering economic systems more resource-efficient, but which exhibit variability in the  
 7 literature on their definitions and system boundaries. Historically, both sharing and circular economies  
 8 have been commonplace in developing countries, where reuse, repair, and waste scavenging and recycling  
 9 comprise the core of informal economies facilitated by human interventions (Pacheco et al. 2012).  
 10 Digitalisation is now propelling sharing and circular economy concepts in developed and developing  
 11 countries alike, and the three megatrends are highly interrelated, as seen in Figure 5.11. For example,  
 12 many sharing economy concepts rely on corporate or, to lesser degree, non-profit digital platforms that  
 13 enable efficient information and opportunity sharing, thus making it part of the digitalisation trend.  
 14 Parts of the sharing economy are also included in some circular economy approaches, as shared resource  
 15 use renders utilisation of material more efficient. Digital approaches to material management also  
 16 support the circular economy, such as through waste exchanges and industrial symbiosis. Digitalisation  
 17 aims more broadly to deliver services in more efficient, timely, intelligent, and less resource-intensive  
 18 (i.e., by moving bits and not atoms) ways, though the use of increasingly interconnected physical and  
 19 digital systems in many facets of economies. With rising digitalisation also comes the risk of increased  
 20 electricity use to power billions of devices and the internet infrastructure that connects them, presenting  
 21 an important policy agenda for monitoring and balancing the carbon costs and benefits of digitalisation  
 22 (Malmodin and Lundén 2018; TWI2050 2019). Rebound effects and instigated consumption of  
 23 digitalisation are risking to lead to a net increase in GHG emissions (The Shift Project 2019). The  
 24 determinants and possible scales of mitigation potentials associated with each megatrend are discussed  
 25 below.

26



27

28 **Figure 5.11 The growing nexus between digitalisation, the sharing economy, and the circular economy in**  
 29 **service delivery systems. While these trends started mostly independently, rapid digitalisation is creating**  
 30 **new synergistic opportunities with systemic potential to improve the quality of jobs, particularly in**



1 **developing economies. Widespread digitalisation may lead to net increases in electricity use, which must**  
2 **be monitored and managed via targeted policies**

#### 4 **5.3.4.1 Digitalisation**

5 In the context of service provision, there are numerous opportunities for consumers to buy, subscribe,  
6 adopt, access, install or use digital goods and services (Wilson et al. 2020b). Digitalisation has opened  
7 up new possibilities across all domains of consumer activity, from travel and retail to domestic living  
8 and energy use. Digital platforms allow surplus resources to be identified, offered, shared, transacted  
9 and exchanged (Frenken 2017). Real-time information flows on consumers' preferences and needs  
10 mean service provision can be personalised, differentiated, automated, and optimised (TWI2050 2019).  
11 Rapid innovation cycles and software upgrades drive continual improvements in performance and  
12 responsiveness to consumer behaviour. These characteristics of digitalisation enable new business  
13 models and services from shared-ridehailing (ITF 2017a) to smart heating (IEA 2017a) and from online  
14 farmers' markets (Richards and Hamilton 2018) to peer-to-peer electricity trading (Morstyn et al. 2018).

15 In many cases, digitalisation provides a 'radical functionality' that enables users to do or accomplish  
16 something that they could not do before (Nagy et al. 2016). Indeed the consumer appeal of digital  
17 innovations varies widely, from choice, convenience, flexibility and control to relational and social  
18 benefits (Pettifor and Wilson 2020). Reviewing over 30 digital goods and services for mobility, food  
19 buying and domestic living, Wilson et al. (2020) also found shared elements of appeal across multiple  
20 innovations including (i) making use of surplus, (ii) using not owning, (iii) being part of wider networks,  
21 and (iv) exerting greater control over service provisioning systems. Digitalisation thus creates a strong  
22 value proposition for certain consumer niches. Concurrent diffusion of many digital innovations  
23 amplifies their disruptive potential (Schuelke-Leech 2018; Wilson et al. 2019b). Besides basic mobile  
24 telephone service for communication, digital innovations have been primarily geared to population  
25 groups with high purchasing power, and too little to the needs of poor and vulnerable people.

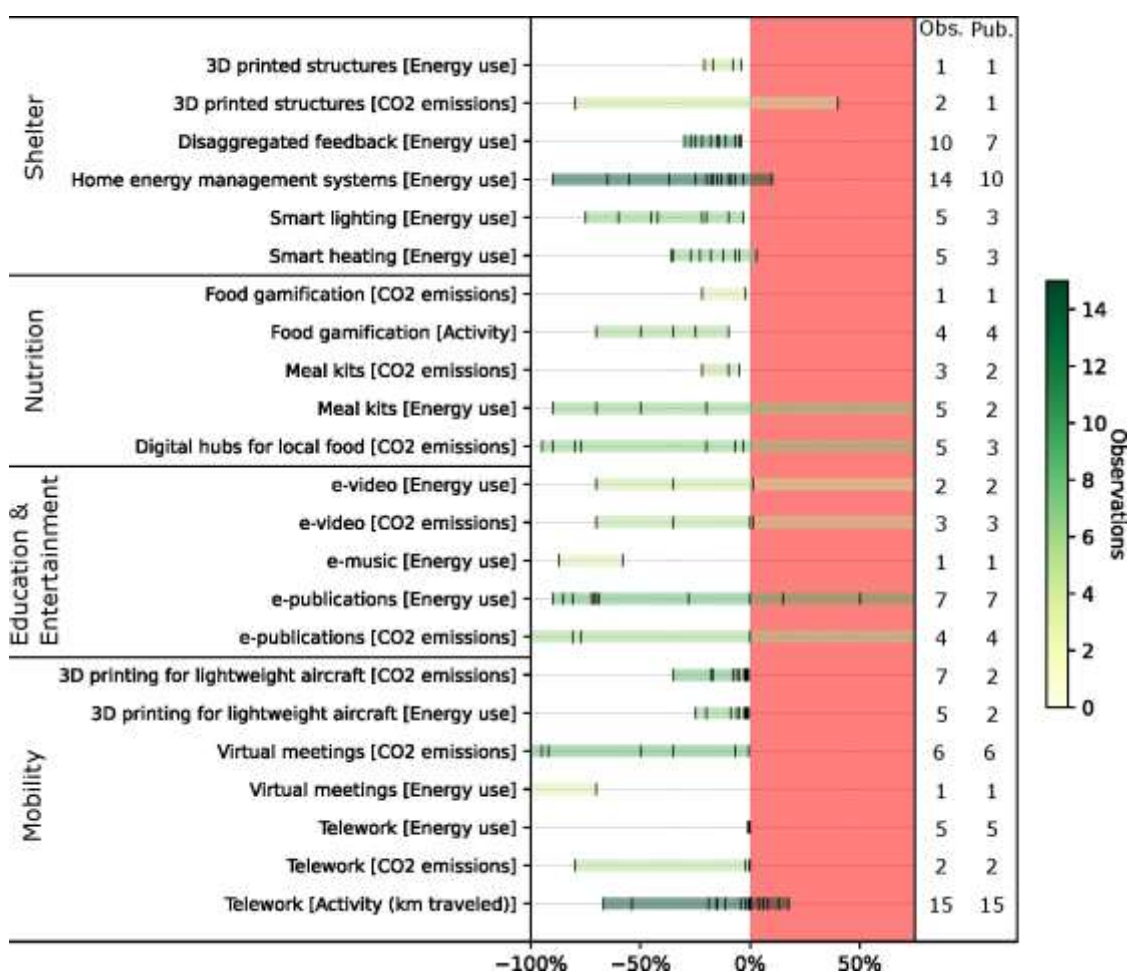
26 The long-term sustainability implications of digitalised services hinge on four factors: (1) the direct  
27 energy demands of connected devices and the digital infrastructures (i.e. data centres and  
28 communication networks) that provide necessary computing, storage, and communication services  
29 (Chapter 9); (2) the systems-level energy and resource efficiencies gained through the provision of  
30 digital services; (3) the resource, material, and waste management requirements of the billions of ICT  
31 devices that comprise the world's digital systems (Belkhir and Elmeligi 2018; Malmodin and Lundén  
32 2018) and (4) the magnitude of potential rebound effects or induced energy demands that might unleash  
33 unintended and unsustainable demand growth, such as autonomous vehicles inducing more frequent  
34 and longer journeys due to reduced travel costs (Wadud et al. 2016). Estimating the digitalisation's  
35 direct energy demand has historically been hampered by lack of consistent global data on IT device  
36 stocks, their power consumption characteristics, and usage patterns, for both consumer devices and the  
37 data centres and networks behind them. As a result, quantitative estimates vary widely, with literature  
38 values suggesting that consumer devices, data centres, and data networks account for anywhere from  
39 5% to 12% of global electricity use (Cook et al. 2014; Gelenbe and Caseau 2015; Malmodin and Lundén  
40 2018). Forward-looking projections have typically relied on top-down extrapolations based on growing  
41 demand for devices and internet services, leading to predictions of rapid energy demand growth  
42 (Belkhir and Elmeligi 2018; Jones 2018; Andrae and Edler 2015). However, top-down extrapolations  
43 can overlook strong countervailing effects of rapid efficiency gains in IT devices and network  
44 infrastructures that are occurring in parallel (Masanet et al. 2020; Shehabi et al. 2018; Das and Mao  
45 2020; Malmodin 2020). Yet there is growing concern that rapid efficiency improvements might be  
46 outpaced by rising demand for digital services, particularly as data-intensive technologies such as  
47 artificial intelligence, smart and connected energy systems, distributed manufacturing systems, and

1 autonomous vehicles promise to increase demand for data services even further in the future (Strubell  
 2 et al. 2020; TWI2050 2019).

3 As digitalisation grows, an important policy objective is therefore to invest in data collection and  
 4 monitoring systems and energy demand models of digitalised systems to guide technology and policy  
 5 investment decisions for addressing potential direct energy demand growth (IEA 2017a).

6 However, the net systems-level energy and resource efficiencies gained through the provision of digital  
 7 services could play an important role in dealing with climate change and other environmental challenges  
 8 (Elliot 2011; Melville 2010; Watson et al. 2012; Gholami et al. 2013; Añón Higón et al. 2017). As  
 9 shown in Figure 5.11, assessments of numerous digital service opportunities for mobility, nutrition,  
 10 shelter, and education and entertainment suggest that net emissions benefits can be delivered at the  
 11 systems level, although these effects are highly context-dependent. Importantly, evidence of potential  
 12 negative outcomes due to rebound effects, induced demand, or life-cycle trade-offs can also be  
 13 observed. For example, telework has been shown to reduce emissions where long and/or energy-  
 14 intensive commutes are avoided, but can lead to net emissions increases in cases where greater non-  
 15 work vehicle use occurs or only short, low-emissions commutes (e.g., via public transit) are avoided  
 16 (Viana Cerqueira et al. 2020; IEA 2020a). Similarly, substitution of physical media by digital  
 17 alternatives may lead to emissions increases where greater consumption is fuelled, whereas a shift to  
 18 3D printed structures may require more emissions-intensive concrete formulations leading to life-cycle  
 19 emissions increases (Yao et al. 2020).

20



21  
 22 **Figure 5.12** Studies assessing net changes in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, energy use, and activity levels indicate  
 23 significant mitigation potentials for consumer-oriented digitalisation solutions, but also risk of increased

1 emissions due to inefficient substitutions, induced demand, and rebound effects. Studies assessed include  
2 empirical research, attributional and consequential life-cycle assessments, and techno-economic  
3 scenarios, which are not directly comparable but useful for indicating the directionality and determinants  
4 of net emissions effects. Sources: (Hook et al. 2020; Court and Sorrell 2020; IEA 2020a; Huang et al.  
5 2016; Gebler et al. 2014; Verhoef et al. 2018; Yao et al. 2020; Wilson et al. 2020b)

6 Furthermore, digitalisation, automation and artificial intelligence, as general-purpose technologies, may  
7 lead to a plethora of new products and applications that are likely to be efficient on their own but that  
8 may also lead to undesirable changes or absolute increases in demand for products (Figure 5.12). For  
9 example, last-mile delivery in logistics is both expensive and cumbersome. Battery-powered drones  
10 enable a delivery of goods at similar life-cycle emissions to delivery vans (Stolaroff et al. 2018). At the  
11 same time, drone delivery is cheaper in terms of time (immediate delivery) and monetary costs  
12 (automation saves the highest cost component: personnel) (e.g. (Sudbury and Hutchinson 2016)). As a  
13 result, demand for package delivery may increase rapidly. Similarly, automated vehicles reduce the  
14 costs of time, parking, and personnel, and therefore may dramatically increase vehicle mileage (Cohen  
15 and Cavoli 2019; Wadud et al. 2016). On-demand electric scooters offer mobility access preferable to  
16 passenger cars, but replace trips otherwise taken on public transit and can come with significant  
17 additional energy requirements for night time system rebalancing (Hollingsworth et al. 2019, ITF 2020).  
18 The energy requirements of cryptocurrencies is also a growing concern, although considerable  
19 uncertainty exists surrounding the energy use of their underlying blockchain infrastructure (Vranken  
20 2017; Stoll et al. 2019; de Vries 2018; Masanet et al. 2019). Initial estimates of the computational  
21 intensity of artificial intelligence algorithms suggest that energy requirements may be enormous without  
22 concerted effort to improve efficiencies, especially on the computational side (Strubell et al. 2020).  
23 Efficiency gains enabled by digitalisation, in terms of reduced marginal GHG emissions or energy use  
24 per service unit may be overcompensated by activity/scale effects.

25 Maximising the mitigation potential of digitalisation trends involve diligent monitoring and proactive  
26 management of both direct and indirect demand effects, to ensure that a proper balance is maintained.  
27 Direct energy demand can be managed through continued investments in and incentives for energy-  
28 efficient data centres, networks, and end-use devices (Masanet et al. 2011; IEA 2017a; Avgerinou et al.  
29 2017). Shifts to renewable power are a particularly important strategy being undertaken by data centre  
30 and network operators (Cook et al. 2014), which might be adopted across the digital device spectrum  
31 as a proactive mitigation strategy where data demands outpace feasible efficiency gains, which may be  
32 approaching limits within the next decade (Koomey et al. 2011). Most recently, data centres are being  
33 investigated as a potential resource for demand response and load balancing in renewable power grids  
34 (Zheng et al. 2020; Koronen et al. 2020). Ensuring efficiency benefits of digital services while avoiding  
35 potential rebound effects and demand surges will require early and proactive public policies to avoid  
36 excess energy use (WBGU 2019; TWI2050 2019), which will also necessitate investments in data  
37 collection and monitoring systems to ensure that net mitigation benefits are realised and that unintended  
38 consequences can be identified early and properly managed (IEA 2017a).

39 Within a small but growing body of literature on the net effects of digitalisation, there is *medium*  
40 *evidence* that digitalised consumer services can reduce overall emissions, energy use, and activity  
41 levels, with *medium agreement* on the scale of potential savings with the important caveat that induced  
42 demand and rebound effects must be managed carefully to avoid negative outcomes.

#### 43 44 5.3.4.2 The sharing economy

45 Opportunities to increase service per product includes peer-to-peer based sharing of goods and services  
46 such as housing, mobility, and tools. Hence, consumable products become durable goods delivering a  
47 “product service”, which potentially could provide the same level of service with fewer products

1 (Fischedick, M. et al. 2014). The sharing economy is an old practice of sharing assets between many  
2 without transferring ownership, which has been made new through focuses on sharing underutilised  
3 products/assets in ways that promotes flexibility and convenience, often in a highly developed context  
4 via gig economy/ online platforms. However, sharing economy offers the potential to shift from ‘asset-  
5 heavy’ ownership to ‘asset-light’ access, especially in developing countries (Retamal 2019). General  
6 conclusions on the sharing economy as a framework for climate change mitigation are challenging and  
7 are better broken down to specific subsystems (Mi and Coffman 2019).

8 The term sharing economy is used interchangeably with *shareconomy*, collaborative consumption,  
9 collaborative economy, the gig economy, and the mesh (Botsman and Rogers 2011; Martin 2016). The  
10 sharing economy has grown in a variety of sectors and platforms over the past years (Belk 2014a;  
11 Böcker and Meelen 2017). It defines a system that connects users/renters and owner/providers through  
12 consumer-to-consumer (C2C)/peer-to-peer (P2P) (e.g. Uber, Airbnb, couch surfing) or business-to-  
13 consumer (B2C) or business-to-business (B2B) platforms, and allowing rentals in more flexible, social  
14 interactive terms (e.g. Zipcar, WeWork) (Botsman and Rogers 2011; Schor 2014; Frenken and Schor  
15 2017; Parente et al. 2018; Möhlmann 2015; Belk 2014a). However, there are criticisms regarding  
16 business relationship masquerading as communal sharing, so-called pseudo-sharing because these  
17 practices may not be beneficial to all parties as well as friendly to the environment and to reducing  
18 inequalities in access of products and services (Belk 2014b).

19 The motivation to participate in the sharing economy differs among socio-demographic groups,  
20 between users and providers and among different types of shared goods (e.g. cars, rides,  
21 accommodation, and tools). For example, empirical data analysis shows that sharing expensive goods  
22 (e.g. accommodation) is economically motivated since most of room sharing hosts pay their rent and  
23 utility bills by sharing their living spaces. Environmental motivations are important particularly for  
24 mobility, ride sharing, in which a passenger travels in a private vehicle driven by its owner, for free or  
25 for a fee, and ride hailing, which uses a third party that connects riders with taxi services in the area  
26 (Böcker and Meelen 2017). Food sharing, which is a practice where individuals or groups of people  
27 make a commitment to ensure that food is shared instead of wasted, involves highly personal  
28 interactions, especially for meal sharing, often motivated by social desires (Böcker and Meelen 2017).  
29 However, not all food sharing initiatives are based on social motivations. In fact, there are companies  
30 enjoying remarkably rapid growth and initiatives driven by economic benefits such as businesses  
31 seeking to match farmers and/or distributors to consumers for fresh produce that are still edible but  
32 contain defects in size, colour, shape and size; the so-called market for “ugly food” (Richards and  
33 Hamilton 2018). Other popular meal sharing initiatives are EatWith, Meal Sharing, Traveling Spoon,  
34 in which hosts offer affordable food and a closer look into local life to tourists. Although younger and  
35 low-income groups are more economically motivated to use and provide shared assets; younger, higher-  
36 income and higher-educated groups are less socially motivated; and women are more environmentally  
37 motivated (Böcker and Meelen 2017).

### 39 **Shared mobility**

40 Shared mobility is characterised by the sharing of an asset (e.g. a bicycle, e-scooter, vehicle), and the  
41 use of technology (i.e. apps and the Internet) to connect users and providers. It succeeded by identifying  
42 market inefficiencies and transferring control over transactions to consumers. Shared mobility reduces  
43 GHG emissions if it substitutes for more GHG intensive travel (usually private car travel) (Martin and  
44 Shaheen 2011; Shaheen and Cohen 2019; Shaheen and Chan 2016; Santos et al. 2018; Axsen and  
45 Sovacool 2019), and especially if it changes consumer behaviour in the long run “by shifting personal  
46 transportation choices from ownership to demand-fulfilment” (Mi and Coffman 2019). Demand is an  
47 important driver for energy use and emissions because decreased cost of travel time by sharing an asset  
48 (e.g. vehicle) could lead to an increase in emissions, but a high level of vehicle sharing could reduce

1 negative impacts associated with this (Brown and Dodder 2019). One example is the megacity Kolkata,  
2 India, which has as many as twelve different modes of public transportation options that co-exist and  
3 offer means of mobility to its 14 million citizens (see Box 5.7). Most public transport modes are shared  
4 mobility options ranging from sharing between two people in a rickshaw or between a few hundred in  
5 metro or sub-urban trains. Sharing also happens informally as daily commuters avail shared taxis and  
6 neighbours borrow each other's car or bicycle for urgent or day trips.

7 Shared mobility is categorised into four models (Santos et al. 2018): P2P platform where individuals  
8 can rent the vehicle when not in use (Ballús-Armet et al. 2014); short term rental managed and owned  
9 by a provider (Enoch and Taylor 2006; Schaefers et al. 2016; Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012); Uber-like  
10 ridehailing services (Wallsten 2015; Angrist et al. 2017); and ride pooling where private vehicles shared  
11 by passengers to a common destination (Liyanage et al. 2019; Shaheen and Cohen 2019). The latest  
12 model – ride pooling – is promising in terms of congestion and per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reductions  
13 and a common practice in developing countries, however is challenging in terms of waiting and travel  
14 time, comfort, and convenience, relative to private cars (Santos et al. 2018; Shaheen and Cohen 2019).  
15 The other models often yield profits to private parties, but remain mostly unrelated to reduction in CO<sub>2</sub>  
16 emissions (Santos et al. 2018). Shared travel models, especially Uber-like models, are criticised because  
17 of the flexibilisation of labour, especially in developing countries, in which unemployment rates and  
18 unregulated labour markets lie a foundation of precarity that lead many workers to seek out wide-  
19 ranging means towards patching together a living (Ettliger 2017; Wells et al. 2020). Despite the  
20 advantages of the shared mobility such as convenience and affordability, consumers' perceived risk  
21 formed by possible physical injury from strangers or unexpected poor service quality (Hong et al. 2019).

22 The current state of shared mobility looks dismal or at least questionable (Fishman et al. 2014; Ricci  
23 2015; Zhang et al. 2019; Zhang and Mi 2018; Martin 2016; Creutzig et al. 2019; Mi and Coffman 2019).  
24 Transport entrepreneurs and government officials often conflate 'smart' and "shared" vehicle with  
25 'sustainable' mobility, an intellectual shortcut not withstanding scrutiny (Noy and Givoni 2018).  
26 Surveys demonstrate that users take free-floating car sharing instead of public transit, rather than to  
27 replace their private car (Herrmann et al. 2014). If substitution effects and deadheading, which is the  
28 practice of allowing employees of a common carrier to use a vehicle as a non-revenue passenger, are  
29 accounted for, flexible motor-cycle sharing in Djakarta is at best neutral to overall GHG emissions  
30 (Suatmadi et al. 2019). Around 22% of all trips travelled with Uber and Lyft would have been travelled  
31 by transit, 12% would have walked or biked, and another 12% of induced demand or passengers that  
32 would not have travelled at all (Henao and Marshall 2019). Such developments would likely increase  
33 residential energy demand, commuting distances and the conversion rate of bio-productive land into  
34 low-density residential areas.

35 Positive effects is realised directly in bike sharing due to its very low marginal transport emissions. For  
36 example, in 2016, bike sharing in Shanghai reduced CO emissions by 25ktCO<sub>2</sub> with additional benefits  
37 to air quality (Zhang and Mi 2018). However, also bike-sharing can increase emissions from motor  
38 vehicle usage when inventory management is not optimised during maintenance, collection, and  
39 redistribution of dock-less bikes (Fishman et al. 2014; Zhang et al. 2019; Mi and Coffman 2019).

40 Shared mobility scenarios demonstrate that GHG emission reduction is substantial when mobility  
41 systems and digitalisation is regulated. Some studies model that ride pooling with electric cars (6 to 16  
42 seatings, which shifts the service to a more efficient transport mode (e.g., electric vehicle) and improves  
43 its carbon intensity by cutting GHG emissions by one-third (International Transport Forum 2016), and  
44 63-82% per mile compared to a privately owned hybrid vehicle in 2030, 87 to 94% lower than a  
45 privately owned, gasoline-powered vehicle in 2014 (Greenblatt and Saxena 2015). This also realises  
46 95% reduction in space required for public parking; total vehicle kilometres travelled would be 37%  
47 lower than the present day, although each vehicle would travel ten times the total distance of current  
48 vehicles (International Transport Forum 2016). Studies of Berlin and Lisbon demonstrate that sharing

1 strategies could reduce the number of cars by more than 90%, also saving valuable street space for  
2 human-scale activity (Bischoff and Maciejewski 2016; Martinez and Viegas 2017; Creutzig et al. 2019).  
3 The impacts will also depend on sharing levels – concurrent or sequential – and the future modal split  
4 among public transit, automated electric vehicles fleets, and shared or pooled rides. Evidence from  
5 attributional life-cycle assessments (LCAs) of ridehailing, whether Uber-like or by taxi, suggests that  
6 the key determinants of net emissions effects are average vehicle occupancy and vehicle powertrain,  
7 with high-occupancy and electric drivetrain cars deliver the greatest emissions benefits, even rivalling  
8 traditional metro/urban rail and bus options (Figure 5.13b). It is possible that shared automated electric  
9 vehicles fleets could become widely used without many shared rides, and single or even zero occupant  
10 vehicles will continue to dominate the majority of vehicle trips. It is also feasible that shared rides could  
11 become more common, if automation makes route deviation more efficient, more cost-effective, and  
12 more convenient, increasing total travel substantially (Wadud et al. 2016). Car sharing with automated  
13 vehicles could even worsen congestion and emissions by generating additional travel demand (Rubin  
14 et al. 2016). Travel time in autonomous vehicles can be used for other activities but driving and travel  
15 costs are expected to decrease, which most likely will induce additional demand for auto travel  
16 (Moeckel and Lewis 2017) and could even create incentives for further urban sprawl. More generally,  
17 increased efficiency generated by big data and smart algorithms may generate rebound effects in  
18 demand and potentially compromise the public benefits of their efficiency promise (Gossart 2015).

19 In many countries, shared mobility and ride pooling is often the norm. Here the challenge is to improve  
20 service quality to keep users in shared mobility and public transport (see Box 5.7). A key barrier in  
21 cities like Nairobi is the lack of public involvement of users and sustainability experts in designing  
22 transport systems, leaving planning to transport engineers, and thus preventing inclusive shared  
23 mobility system design (Klopp 2012).

24 Altogether, travel behaviour, business models, and especially public policy will be key components in  
25 determining how pooling and shared automated electric vehicles impacts unfold (Shaheen and Cohen  
26 2019). Urban-scale governance of smart mobility that prioritises public transit and the use of public  
27 spaces for human activities, manages the data as a digital sustainable commons, and Central Information  
28 Officer, as installed in Tel Aviv, manages the social and environmental risks of smart mobility and  
29 realise its benefits (Creutzig et al. 2019). Pricing of energy use and GHG emissions will be helpful to  
30 achieve these goals. The governance of shared mobility is complicated, as it involves many actors, and  
31 is key to realise wider benefits of shared mobility (Akyelken et al. 2018). New actors, networks and  
32 technologies enabling shared mobility are already fundamentally challenging how transport is governed  
33 worldwide. This is not a debate about state versus non-state actors but instead about the role the state  
34 takes within these new networks to steer, facilitate and also reject different elements of the mobility  
35 system (Docherty et al. 2018).

36

### 37 **Shared accommodation**

38 In developing countries, shared accommodation allows affordable housing for a large part of the  
39 population. For example, living arrangements are built expressly around the practice of sharing toilets,  
40 bathrooms and kitchens. While the sharing of such facilities does connote a lower level of service  
41 provision and quality of life, the variation in access to such facilities guides the housing market that  
42 provides a variety of affordable housing arrangements in response to a consumer base with very low  
43 and unreliable incomes. Thus, sharing key facilities guarantees the provision of affordable housing  
44 (Gulyani et al. 2018). In developed countries, large-scale developments are targeting students and  
45 ‘young professionals’ by offering shared accommodation and services. Historically shared  
46 accommodation has been part of the student life due to its flexible and affordable characteristics.  
47 However, the expansion of housing supply through densification is using shared facilities as well as an

1 instrument to “commercialize small housing production, while housing affordability and accessibility  
2 are threatened” (Uyttebrouck et al. 2020).

3 In the European Union (EU), GHG emissions of housing person<sup>-1</sup> yr<sup>-1</sup> is 2.62 tCO<sub>2</sub>-eq (Lavagna et al.  
4 2018). Several ways of accommodation are now emerging, in which accommodation is offered to, or  
5 shared with, travellers by private people organised by business-driven or non-profit online platforms.  
6 Accommodation sharing includes P2P, ICT-enabled, short-term renting, swapping, borrowing or  
7 lending of existing privately-owned idling lodging facilities (Möhlmann 2015; Voytenko Palgan et al.  
8 2017).

9 Shared accommodation service via platform economy is linked with negative sustainability effects, such  
10 as rebound effects caused by increased travel frequency (Tussyadiah and Pesonen 2016). This is  
11 particularly a problem if apartments are removed from the long-term rental markets, thus indirectly  
12 inducing constructions, with substantial GHG emissions on their own. If a host shares their  
13 accommodation with a guest, the use of some resources, such as heating and lighting, is shared, thereby  
14 leading to more efficient resource use per capita (Chenoweth 2009; Voytenko Palgan et al. 2017).

15

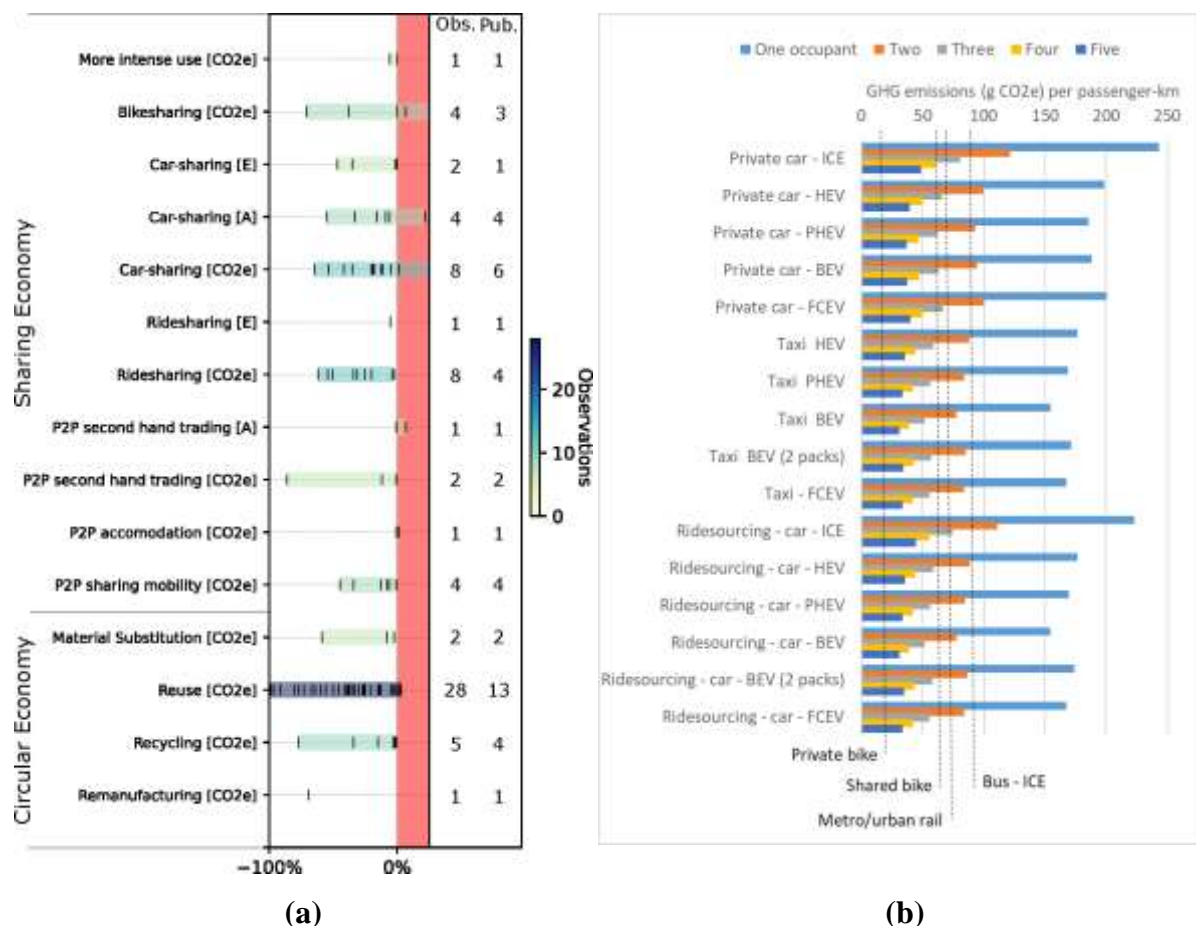
### 16 **Mitigation potentials of sharing economy strategies**

17 Sharing economy initiatives play a central role in enabling individuals to share underutilised products.  
18 In addition, different strategies present different mitigation potential. However, negative rebounds  
19 effects may occur by changing consuming patterns, e.g., if savings from sharing housing are used to  
20 finance air travel. Figure 5.13 shows that P2P second hand trading and shared mobility options has high  
21 mitigation potential, all depending on stringent public policy that reigns in run-away consumption  
22 effects. The overall literature remains limited. Therefore, the sharing economy presents a small but  
23 growing body of literature on the net effects of its strategies. Similarly to digitalisation, there is *medium*  
24 *evidence* that sharing economy can reduce overall emissions, energy use, and activity levels, with  
25 *medium agreement* on the scale of potential savings. Shared economy solutions relate to the “Avoid”  
26 and “Shift” strategies (see sections 5.1 and 5.3.2). On the one hand, they provide similar or improved  
27 services for wellbeing (mobility, shelter) at reduced energy and resource input, when current public  
28 policy lacks on controlling these effects. On the other hand, shared mobility may also represent a net  
29 negative rebound effect since it has a high risk of increasing emissions by shifting activity away from  
30 public transit, lower occupancy, deadheading, and use of inefficient shared vehicles (Bonilla-Alicea et  
31 al. 2020; Merlin 2019; Jones and Leibowicz 2019).

32

33





1 **Figure 5.13 (a) Published estimates of the relative mitigation potential of different shared and circular**  
 2 **economy strategies, demonstrating limited observations for many emerging strategies and wide variance**  
 3 **in estimated benefits. Mitigation potentials are conditional on corresponding public policy and/or**  
 4 **regulation. (b) Attributional LCA comparisons of ridesharing mobility options, which highlight the large**  
 5 **effects of vehicle occupancy and vehicle technology on total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per passenger-km and the**  
 6 **preferability of high-occupancy and non-ICE configurations for emissions reductions compared to**  
 7 **private cars. Also indicated are possible emissions increases associated with shared car mobility when it**  
 8 **substitutes for non-motorised and public transit options. BEV = battery electric vehicle; FCEV = fuel cell**  
 9 **electric vehicle; HEV = hybrid electric vehicle; ICE=internal combustion engine; PHEV = plug-in hybrid**  
 10 **electric vehicle. Sources: (Koh 2016; Yin et al. 2017; Jacobson and King 2009; Lokhandwala and Cai**  
 11 **2018; Merlin 2019; Martin and Shaheen 2016; Clewlow and Mishra 2017; Gallego-Schmid et al. 2020;**  
 12 **Coulombel et al. 2019; Yu et al. 2018; Bruck et al. 2017; Bullock et al. 2017; Bonilla-Alicea et al. 2020;**  
 13 **Rabbitt and Ghosh 2016; Nijland and van Meerkerk 2017; Namazu and Dowlatabadi 2015; Firnkorn and**  
 14 **Müller 2011; Baptista et al. 2014; Nußholz et al. 2019; Hopkinson et al. 2018; Ghisellini et al. 2018;**  
 15 **Eberhardt et al. 2019b,a; Campbell 2018; Castro and Pasanen 2019; Buyle et al. 2019; Brütting et al.**  
 16 **2019; Brambilla et al. 2019; Nasir et al. 2017; ITF 2020, 2017b, 2018, 2017c; Yan et al. 2020; Jones and**  
 17 **Leibowicz 2019; Wilson et al. 2020b; Zhang and Mi 2018)**

## 18 The circular economy

19 While the demands for energy and material will increase until 2050 following the traditional linear  
 20 model of production and consumption, the circular economy provides strategies for reducing the need  
 21 of society for energy and materials to delivering the same level of service. Old and traditional linear  
 22 throughput flow model dominates the overall wasteful development path causing serious environmental  
 23 harm due to overconsumption of resources. Circular economy (CE) embodies a multitude of schools of  
 24 thought with roots and relations to a number of related concepts (Blomsma and Brennan 2017; Murray  
 25 et al. 2017), including cradle to cradle (McDonough and Braungart 2002), performance economy



1 (Stahel 2016), biomimicry (Benyus 1997) green economy (Loiseau et al. 2016) and industrial ecology  
2 (Saavedra et al. 2018). A systematic literature review identified 114 definitions of the CE (Kirchherr et  
3 al. 2017). One of the most comprehensive models is suggested by the Netherlands Environmental  
4 Assessment Agency (Potting et al. 2018), which defines ten strategies for circularity: Refuse (R0),  
5 Rethink (R1), Reduce (R2), Reuse (R3), Repair (R4), Refurbish (R5), Remanufacture (R6), Repurpose  
6 (R7), Recycle (R8), Recover energy (R9). Overall, the definition of CE is contested, with varying  
7 boundary conditions chosen; the CE overlaps both with the sharing economy and digitalisation.

8 In line with the principles of SDG12, responsible consumption and production, the essence of building  
9 CE is to retain as much value as possible from products and components when they reach the end of  
10 their useful life (Linder and Williander 2017; Lewandowski 2016; Lieder and Rashid 2016; Stahel  
11 2016). This requires an integrated approach during the design phase that, for example, extends product  
12 usage and ensures recyclability after use (de Coninck et al. 2018). While traditional improve strategies  
13 tend to focus on direct energy and carbon efficiency, service-oriented strategies focus on reducing life-  
14 cycle emissions through harnessing the leverage effect (Creutzig et al. 2018). The development of  
15 closed-loop models in service-oriented business can increase resource and energy efficiency, reducing  
16 emissions and achieve climate change mitigation goals on national, regional, and global levels  
17 (Johannsdottir 2014; Korhonen et al. 2018). Key examples include remanufacturing of consumer  
18 products to extend lifespans while maintaining adequate service levels (Klausner et al. 1998), reuse of  
19 building components to reduce demand for virgin materials and construction processes (Shanks et al.  
20 2019), and improved recycling to reduce resource pressures (IEA 2019a, 2017b).

21 Among the many schools of thought on the CE and climate change mitigation two different trends can  
22 be distinguished. First, there are publications, many of them non peer-reviewed, that eulogize the  
23 perceived benefits of the CE, but in many cases step short of providing a quantitative assessment.  
24 Promotion of CE from this perspective has been criticised as a greenwashing attempt by industry and  
25 manufacturers, using the concept to avoid serious regulation (Isenhour 2019). Second there are more  
26 methodologically sound publication, mostly originating in the industrial ecology field, but sometimes  
27 investigating only limited aspects of the CE (Bocken et al. 2017; Cullen 2017; Goldberg 2017).  
28 Conclusions also differ with diverging definitions of the CE. A systematic review identified 3244 peer-  
29 reviewed articles addressing CE and climate change mitigation, but only 10% of those provide  
30 meaningful insights, and most of them find only small potentials to reduce GHG emissions (Cantzler et  
31 al. 2020). Recycling is the CE category most investigated, while reuse and reduce strategies find little  
32 attention (Cantzler et al. 2020).

33 There are three key concerns relating to the effectiveness of the CE concept. First, many proposals and  
34 pamphlets on the CE insufficiently reflect on thermodynamic constraints that limit the potential of  
35 recycling or ignore the considerable amount of energy needed so reuse materials (Cullen 2017). Second,  
36 demand for materials and resources will likely outpace efficiency gains in supply chains, becoming a  
37 key driver of GHG emissions and other environmental problems, rendering the CE alone an insufficient  
38 strategy to reduce emissions (Bengtsson et al. 2018). In fact, the empirical literature points out that only  
39 6.5% of all processed materials (4 Gt yr<sup>-1</sup>) globally originate from recycled sources (Haas et al. 2015).  
40 The low degree of circularity is explained by the high proportion of processed materials (44%) used to  
41 provide energy thus not available for recycling; and the high rate of net additions to stocks of 17 Gt yr<sup>-1</sup>.  
42 Hence, strategies targeting end-of-pipe materials are limited; instead, a significant reduction of societal  
43 stock growth, and decisive eco-design is suggested to advance the CE (Haas et al. 2015). Third, cost-  
44 effectiveness underlying CE activities may concurrently also increase energy intensity and reduce  
45 labour intensity, causing systematically undesirable effects. To a large extent, the distribution of costs  
46 and benefits of material and energy use depends on institutions in order to include demand-side  
47 solutions. Thus, institutional conditions have an essential role to play in setting rules differentiating  
48 profitable from non-profitable activities in CE (Moreau et al. 2017).

1 A report estimates that the CE can contribute to more than 6 GtCO<sub>2</sub> emission reductions from 2016 to  
2 2030, including strategies such as material substitution in buildings (Blok et al. 2016). Reform of the  
3 tax system towards GHG emissions and the extraction of raw materials substituting taxes on labour is  
4 key precondition to achieve such a potential. Otherwise rebound effect will take back high share of  
5 marginal CE efforts. 50% reduction of GHG emissions in industrial processes, including the production  
6 of goods in steel, cement, plastic, paper, and aluminium from 2010 until 2050 are impossible to attain  
7 only with reuse and radical product innovation strategies, but will need to also rely on the reduction of  
8 primary input (Allwood et al. 2010).

9 CE strategies correspond to the “Avoid” strategy (see sections 5.1 and 5.3.2). CE strategies in industrial  
10 settings improve wellbeing mostly indirectly, via the reduction of environmental harm and climate  
11 impact. They also save monetary resources of consumers by reducing the need for consumption. It may  
12 seem counterintuitive, but reducing consumers' need for consumption of a particular product/service  
13 (e.g. reducing energy consumption) may increase a consumption of another one (e.g. travels) associated  
14 with some type of energy use. Hence, carbon emissions could rise if the rebound effect is not considered  
15 (Chitnis et al. 2013; Zink and Geyer 2017).

16 Looking at “Shift” strategy (see sections 5.1 and 5.3.2), the role of individuals as consumers/users has  
17 received less attention than other aspects of the CE (e.g. technological interventions as “Improve”  
18 strategy and waste minimisation as “Avoid” strategy) within mainstream debates to date. One  
19 explanation is CE has roots in the Industrial Ecology that has historically had little focus on the end-  
20 user. By shifting this perspective from the supply-side to the demand-side in the CE, users are, for the  
21 most part, discussed as social entities that now must form new relations with businesses to meet their  
22 needs. That is, as demand-side approach largely replaces the concept of a consumer with that of a user,  
23 who must either accept or reject new business models for service provision, stimulated by the pushes  
24 and pulls of prices and performance (Hobson 2019).

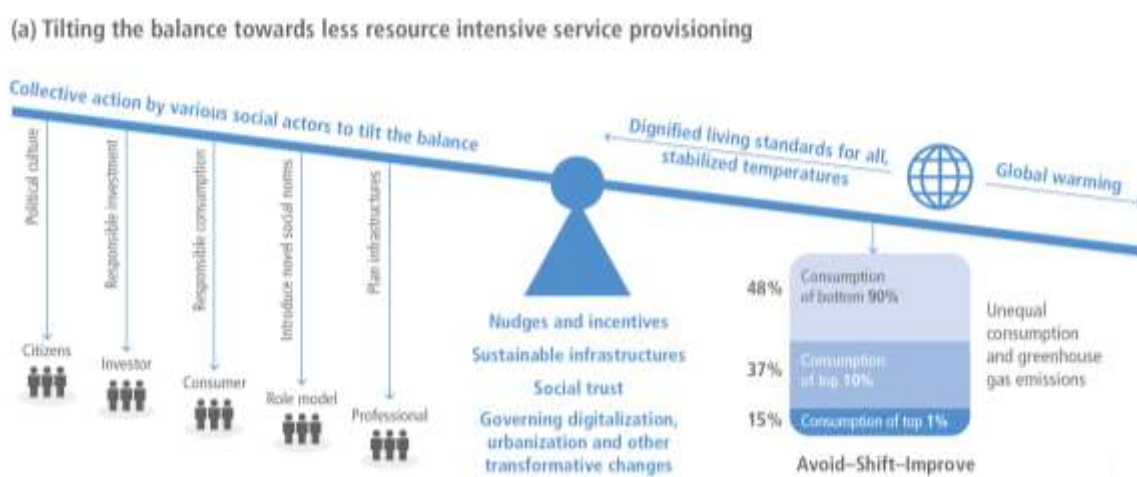
25 Relevant contribution to climate change mitigation at Giga ton scale by the CE will remain out of scope,  
26 if decision makers and industry fail to reduce primary inputs, either by restriction or taxation on GHG  
27 emissions and raw material extraction (*high confidence*). Figure 5.13 shows that total CO<sub>2</sub> reduction  
28 potential is higher in reusing materials in the building sector. Systemic (consequential) analysis is  
29 required to avoid the risk that scaling effects negate efficiency gains; such analysis is however hardly  
30 applied. For example, material substitution or refurbishment of buildings can increase emissions despite  
31 improving or avoiding current materials (Eberhardt et al. 2019a; Castro and Pasanen 2019) Besides, CE  
32 concepts that extend the lifetime of products and increase the fraction of recycling are useful but are  
33 both thermodynamically limited and will remain relatively small in scale as long as demand of primary  
34 materials continue to grow, and scale effects dominate. In spite of presenting a large body of literature,  
35 CE presents a small but growing body of literature on the net effects of its strategies. There is *medium*  
36 *evidence* that CE can reduce overall emissions, energy use, and activity levels (i.e. mostly when reusing  
37 material of building features), with *medium evidence* that sharing economy can reduce overall  
38 emissions, energy use, and activity levels, with *medium agreement* on the scale of potential savings.

#### 39 40 **5.4 Transition toward high wellbeing and low-carbon demand societies**

41 Demand-side mitigation involves individuals (e.g. consumption choices), culture (e.g. social norms,  
42 values), corporate (e.g. investments), institutions (e.g. political agency), and infrastructure change (*high*  
43 *evidence, high agreement*). These five drivers of human behaviour either contribute to the status-quo of  
44 a global high-carbon, consumption, and GDP growth oriented economy or help generate the desired  
45 change to a low-carbon energy-services, wellbeing, and equity oriented economy (Yuana et al. 2020)  
46 (Figure 5.14). Each driver has novel implications for the design and implementation of demand-side

1 mitigation policies. They show important synergies, making energy demand mitigation a dynamic  
 2 problem where the packaging and/or sequencing of different policies play a role in their effectiveness,  
 3 demonstrated in Sections 5.5 and 5.6. The Social Science Primer (Supplementary Material Chapter 5)  
 4 describes theory and empirical insights about the interplay between individual agency, the social and  
 5 physical context of demand-side decisions in the form of social roles and norms, infrastructure and  
 6 technological constraints and affordances, and other formal and informal institutions. Incremental  
 7 interventions on all five fronts change social practices, effecting simultaneously energy and well-being  
 8 (Schot and Kanger 2018). Transformative change will require coordinated use of all five drivers, as  
 9 described in Figure 5.14 and Table 5.4 using novel insights about behaviour change for policy design  
 10 and implementation (*high evidence, high agreement*). Avoid, Shift, and Improve choices will be made  
 11 by individuals and households, instigated by salient and respected role models and novel social norms,  
 12 but require support by adequate infrastructures designed by urban planners and building and transport  
 13 professionals, corresponding investments, and a political culture supportive of mitigation action. This  
 14 is particularly true for many Avoid and Shift decisions that are difficult because they carry major costs  
 15 on dimensions that include sacrifices in the material consequences of changes in lifestyle but also  
 16 psychological barriers of breaking routines, habits and imagining new lifestyles and the social costs of  
 17 not conforming to society (Kaiser 2006). Simpler Improve decisions like energy efficiency investments  
 18 on the other hand can be triggered and sustained by traditional policy instruments complemented by  
 19 behavioural nudges.

20



21

22 **Figure 5.14 Role of people, demand-side action and consumption in reversing a planetary trajectory to a**  
 23 **warming Earth towards effective climate change mitigation and dignified living standards for all**

### 24 5.4.1 Behavioural Drivers

25 Behaviour change by individuals and households requires both *motivation* to change and *capacity* for  
 26 change (option availability/knowledge; material/cognitive resources to initiate and maintain change)  
 27 and is best seen as part of more encompassing collective action. Motivation for change for collective  
 28 good comes from economic, legal, social incentives, regard for deeper intrinsic value of concern for  
 29 others over extrinsic values. Capacity for change varies: people in informal settlements or rural areas  
 30 are incapacitated by socio-political realities and have limited access to new energy-service options.

31 Motivation and effort required for behaviour change increase from Improve to Shift to Avoid decisions.  
 32 'Improve' requires changes in personal purchase decisions, 'shift' involves changes in behavioural  
 33 routines/practices, 'avoid' also involves shifts in deeper values or mindsets. People set easy goals for  
 34 themselves and more difficult ones for others (Attari et al. 2016) and underestimate the energy savings

1 of behaviour changes that make a large difference (Attari et al. 2010). Most personal actions taken have  
2 small mitigation potential (recycling, ecodriving), and people refrain from options with high impact  
3 (less flying, living car free) (Dubois et al. 2019).

4 IPCC models of stakeholders decisions have continuously evolved. From AR1 to AR4, rational choice  
5 was the implicit assumption: agents (*homo economicus*) have perfect information and unlimited  
6 processing capacity to maximise self-focused expected utility and differ only in wealth, risk attitude,  
7 and time discount rate (Persky 1995). AR5 (Kunreuther et al. 2014) introduced a broader range of goals  
8 (material, social, and psychological) and decision processes (calculation-based, affect-based, and rule-  
9 based processes), but its perspective on decisions and action was still individual- and agency-focused  
10 and failed to address structural, cultural, and institutional constraints and the influence of physical and  
11 social context (Thaler and Sunstein 2003; Creutzig et al. 2018; Hayward and Roy 2019). AR6 in the  
12 current chapter and SScP attempt to fill this omission.

13 As individuals pursue a broad set of goals and use calculation-, emotion-, and rule-based processes  
14 when they make energy decisions, demand-side policies can use a broad range of behavioural tools that  
15 complement subsidies, taxes, and regulations (Chakravarty and Roy 2016; Mattauch et al. 2016; Niamir  
16 2019) (*high evidence, high agreement*). The provision of targeted information, social advertisements,  
17 and power of role models like celebrities can be used to create better climate change knowledge and  
18 awareness (Niamir 2019; Niamir et al. 2020c,b). Behavioural interventions like communicating changes  
19 in social norms can accelerate behaviour change by creating tipping points (Nyborg et al. 2016). When  
20 changes in energy-demand decisions (such as switching to a plant-based diet, Box 5.4) are motivated  
21 by the creation and activation of a social identity consistent with this and other behaviours, positive  
22 spillover can accelerate behaviour change (Truelove et al. 2014), both within a domain or across  
23 settings, e.g., from work to home (Maki and Rothman 2017).

#### 24 **Box 5.4 Dietary shifts in UK society towards lower emission foods**

25 Meat eating is declining in the UK, alongside a shift from carbon-intensive red meat towards poultry.  
26 This is due to the interaction of behavioural, socio-cultural and organisational drivers (Vinnari and  
27 Vinnari 2014). Reduced meat consumption is primarily driven by issues of personal health and animal  
28 welfare, instead of climate or environment concerns (Latvala et al. 2012; Dibb and Fitzpatrick 2014;  
29 Hartmann and Siegrist 2017; Graça et al. 2019). Social movements have promoted shifts to a vegan diet  
30 (Morris et al. 2014; Laestadius et al. 2016) yet their impact on actual behaviour is the subject of debate  
31 (Taufik et al. 2019; Harguess et al. 2020; Sahakian et al. 2020). Companies have expanded new markets  
32 in non-meat products (MINTEL 2019). Both corporate food actors and new entrants offering more  
33 innovative ‘meat alternatives’ view consumer preferences as an economic opportunity, and are  
34 responding by increasing the availability of meat replacement products. No significant policy change  
35 has taken place in the UK to enable dietary shift (Wellesley and Froggatt 2015). Agricultural policies  
36 serve to support meat production with large subsidies that lower production cost and effectively increase  
37 the meat intensity of diets at a population level (Simon 2003; Godfray et al. 2018). Deeper, population  
38 wide reductions in meat consumption are hampered by these lock-in mechanisms which continue to  
39 stabilise the existing meat production-consumption system. The extent to which policymakers are  
40 willing to actively stimulate reduced meat consumption thus remains an open question (Godfray et al.  
41 2018). See more in Supplementary Material Chapter 5, SM5.6.4.

42  
43 People’s perceptions of climate risks, first covered in AR5, help create motivation for behaviour change,  
44 though related more proximate and personal concerns such as extreme weather and natural disasters  
45 may be more effective (Bergquist et al. 2019). 67% of individuals in 26 countries see climate change as  
46 a major threat to their country, an increase from 53% in 2013, though 29% also consider it a minor or  
47 no threat (Fagan and Huang 2019). Concern that the COVID-19 crisis may derail this momentum due

1 to a finite pool of worry (Weber 2006) appears to be unwarranted: Americans' positions on climate  
2 change in 2020 matched high levels of concern measured in 2019 (Leiserowitz et al. 2020). Younger,  
3 female, and more educated individuals perceive climate risks to be larger (Weber 2016; Fagan and  
4 Huang 2019). Moral values and political ideology influence climate risk perception and beliefs about  
5 the outcomes and effectiveness of climate action (Maibach et al. 2011). Motivation for demand-side  
6 solutions can be increased by focusing on personal health or financial risks and benefits that clearly  
7 matter to people (Petrovic et al. 2014). Consistent with climate change as a normally distant, non-  
8 threatening, statistical issue (Gifford 2011; Fox-Glassman and Weber 2016), personal experience with  
9 climate-linked flooding or other extreme weather events increases perceptions of risk and willingness  
10 to act (Weber 2013; Atreya and Ferreira 2015; Sisco et al. 2017). Discounting the future matters  
11 (Hershfield et al. 2014): across multiple countries, individuals more focused on future outcomes more  
12 likely engage in environmental actions (Milfont et al. 2012).

13 There is *medium evidence and high agreement* that demographics, values, goals, personal and social  
14 norms differentially determine ASI behaviours, in the Netherlands and Spain (Abrahamse and Steg  
15 2009; Niamir 2019; Niamir et al. 2020b), the OECD (Ameli and Brandt 2015), and 11 European  
16 countries (Mills and Schleich 2012; Roy et al. 2012). Education and income increase Shift and Improve  
17 behaviour, whereas personal norms help to increase the more difficult Avoid behaviours (Mills and  
18 Schleich 2012). Sociodemographic variables (household size and income) predict energy use, but  
19 psychological variables (perceived behavioural control, perceived responsibility) predict *changes* in  
20 energy use; younger households are more likely to adopt Improve decisions, whereas education  
21 increases Avoid decisions (Ahmad et al. 2015). In India and developing countries, Avoid decisions are  
22 made by individuals championing a cause, while Improve and Shift behaviour are increases by  
23 awareness programmes and promotional materials highlighting environmental and financial benefits  
24 (Chakravarty and Roy 2016; Roy et al. 2018a). Cleaner cookstove adoption (see Box 5.5), a widely  
25 studied Improve solution in developing countries (Nepal et al. 2010; Pant et al. 2014), goes up with  
26 income, education, and urban location; the influence of fuel availability and prices, household size and  
27 composition, and gender remains unclear, and potentially important drivers such as credit, supply-chain  
28 strengthening, and social marketing remain unstudied (Lewis and Pattanayak 2012).

29

### 30 **Box 5.5 Socio-behavioural aspects of deploying cookstoves**

31 Universal access to clean and modern cooking energy could cut premature death from household air  
32 pollution by two-thirds, while reducing forest degradation and deforestation and contribute to the  
33 reduction of up to 50% of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from cooking (relative to baseline by 2030) (IEA 2017c; Hof  
34 et al. 2019). However, in the absence of policy reform and substantial energy investments, 2.3 billion  
35 people will have no access to clean cooking fuels such as biogas, LPG, natural gas or electricity in 2030  
36 (IEA 2017c). Studies reveal that a combination of drivers influence adoption of new cookstove  
37 appliances including affordability, behavioural and cultural aspects (lifestyles, social norms around  
38 cooking and dietary practices), information provision, availability, aesthetic qualities of the technology,  
39 perceived health benefits and infrastructure (spatial design of households and cooking areas). The  
40 increasing efficiency *improvements* in electric cooking technologies, together with the ongoing decrease  
41 in prices of renewable energy technologies, could enable households to *shift* to electrical cooking at  
42 mass scale. The use of pressure cookers and rice cookers is now widespread in South Asia and  
43 beginning to penetrate the African market as consumer attitudes are changing towards household  
44 appliances with higher energy efficiencies (Batchelor et al. 2019). *Shifts* towards electric and LPG  
45 stoves in Bhutan (Dendup and Arimura 2019), India (Pattanayak et al. 2019), Ecuador (Martínez et al.  
46 2017; Gould et al. 2018) and Ethiopia (Tesfamichael et al. 2021); and *improved* biomass stoves in China  
47 (Smith et al. 1993). Significant subsidy (Thinley 2019), information (Dendup and Arimura 2019), social

1 marketing and availability of technology in the local markets are some of the key policy instruments  
2 helping to adopt ICS (Pattanayak et al. 2019). There is no one-size-fits-all solution to household air  
3 pollution – different levels of shift and improvement occur in different cultural contexts, indicating the  
4 importance of socio-cultural and behavioural aspects in shifts in cooking practices. See more in  
5 Supplementary Material Chapter 5, SM5.6.2.

6 There is *high agreement in the literature* that the updating of educational systems from a  
7 commercialised, individualised, entrepreneurial training model to an education cognizant of planetary  
8 health and human well-being can accelerate climate change awareness and action (Mendoza and Roa  
9 2014; Dombrowski et al. 2016) (also see Supplementary Material Chapter 5).

10 There is *high evidence and high agreement* that people’s core values affect climate-related decisions  
11 and climate policy support by shaping beliefs and identities (Dietz 2014; Steg 2016; Hayward and Roy  
12 2019). People with altruistic and biospheric values are more likely to act on climate change and support  
13 climate policies than those with hedonic or egoistic values (Taylor et al. 2014), because these values  
14 are associated with higher awareness and concern about climate change, stronger belief that personal  
15 actions can help mitigating climate change, and stronger feelings of responsibility for taking climate  
16 action (Dietz 2014; Steg 2016). Research also suggest that egalitarian, individualistic, and hierarchical  
17 worldviews have their role, and that successful solutions require policy makers of all three worldviews  
18 to come together and communicate with each other (Chuang et al. 2020). Core values also influence  
19 which costs and benefits are considered (Hahnel et al. 2015; Gözl and Hahnel 2016; Steg 2016).  
20 Information provision and appeals are thus more effective when tailored to those values (Bolderdijk et  
21 al. 2013; Boomsma and Steg 2014). Awareness, personal norms, and perceived behavioural control  
22 predict willingness to change energy-related behaviour above and beyond traditional sociodemographic  
23 and economic predictors (Schwartz 1977; Ajzen 1985; Stern 2000). However, such motivation for  
24 change is often not enough, as actors also need capacity for change and help to overcome individual,  
25 institutional and market barriers (Young et al. 2010; Carrington et al. 2014; Bray et al. 2011).

26 Table 5.4 describes common obstacles to demand-side energy behaviour change, from loss aversion to  
27 present bias (for more detail see Supplementary Material Chapter 5). Choice architecture refers to  
28 interventions (“nudges”) that shape the choice context and how choices are presented, with seemingly-  
29 irrelevant details (e.g., option order or labels) often more important than option price (Thaler and  
30 Sunstein 2009). There is *high evidence and high agreement* that choice architecture nudges shape  
31 energy decisions by capturing deciders’ attention; engaging their desire to contribute to the social good;  
32 facilitating accurate assessment of risks, costs, and benefits; and making complex information more  
33 accessible (Yoeli et al. 2017; Zangheri et al. 2019). Climate-friendly choice architecture includes the  
34 setting of proper defaults, the salient positioning of green options (in stores and online), forms of  
35 framing, and communication of social norms (Johnson et al. 2012). Simplifying access to greener  
36 options (and hence lowering effort) can promote ASI changes (Mani et al. 2013). Setting effective  
37 “green” defaults may be the most effective policy to mainstream low-carbon energy choices (Sunstein  
38 and Reisch 2014), adopted in many contexts (Jachimowicz et al. 2019) and deemed acceptable in many  
39 countries (Sunstein et al. 2019). Table 5.3 lists how often different choice-architecture tools were used  
40 in many countries over the past 10 years to change ASI behaviours, and how often each tool was used  
41 to enhance an economic incentive. These tools have been tested mostly in developed countries.  
42 Reduction in energy use (typically electricity consumption) is the most widely studied behaviour  
43 (because metering is easily observable). All but one tool was applied to increase this Avoid behaviour,  
44 with demand-side reductions from 0% to up to 20%, with most values below 3% (see also meta-analyses  
45 by (Hummel and Maedche 2019; Nisa et al. 2019; van der Linden and Goldberg 2020; Stankuniene et  
46 al. 2020; Khanna et al. 2021)). Behavioural, economic, and legal instruments are most effective when  
47 applied as an internally consistent ensemble where they can reinforce each other, a concept referred to  
48 as “policy packaging” in transport policy research (Givoni 2014). A meta-analysis, combining evidence

1 of psychological and economic studies, demonstrates that feedback, monetary incentives and social  
2 comparison operates synergistically and is together more effective than the sum of individual  
3 interventions (Khanna et al. 2021). The same meta-analysis also shows that combined with monetary  
4 incentives, nudges and choice architecture can reduce global GHG emissions from household energy  
5 use by 5-6% (Khanna et al. 2021).

6 Choice architecture has been depicted as an anti-democratic attempt at manipulating the behaviour of  
7 actors without their awareness or approval (Gumbert 2019). Such critiques ignore the fact that there is  
8 no neutral way to present energy-use related decisions, as every presentation format and choice  
9 environment influences choice, whether intentionally chosen or not. Educating households and policy  
10 makers about the effectiveness of choice architecture and adding these behavioural tools to existing  
11 market- and regulation-based tools in a transparent and consultative way can provide desired outcomes  
12 with increased effectiveness, while avoiding charges of manipulation or deception. People consent to  
13 choice architecture tools if their use is welfare-enhancing, policymakers are transparent about their  
14 goals and processes, public deliberation and participation is encouraged, and the choice architect is  
15 trusted (Sunstein et al. 2019).

16

1 **Table 5.3 Inventory of behavioural interventions experimentally tested to change energy behaviours**

Intervention Category	Behavioural Tool	# of Studies	# in Developed Countries	# in Other Countries	Energy Demand Behaviour	Avoid	Shift	Improve	Enhanced Economic Incentive	Effect Size
Choice Architecture	Set Proper Default	23	23	0	<u>Investment in energy efficiency (11)</u> (Ebeling and Lotz 2015; Theotokis and Manganari 2015; Steffel et al. 2016) <u>Energy use (7)</u> (Pichert and Katsikopoulos 2008; Sunstein 2015; Fowlie et al. 2017; Jachimowicz et al. 2019) <u>Energy source (3)</u> (Ebeling and Lotz 2015; Hedlin, S., and Sunstein 2016; Kaiser et al. 2020) <u>Carbon offset program (2)</u> (Löfgren et al. 2012; Araña and León 2013)	3	20	4	8	Increased green behaviour by 4-62%
	Habit Disruption	2	2	0	<u>Energy use (2)</u> (Verplanken and Wood 2006; Verplanken and Roy 2016)	1	0	2	0	Behaviour change more likely after moving house; with a 3-months ‘window of opportunity’



<b>Communication Tools</b>	Timely Feedback & Reminders	41	40	1	<p><u>Energy use (41)</u>                      (McCalley and Midden 2002; McMakin et al. 2002; Wood and Newborough 2003; Mack and Hallmann 2004; Matsukawa 2004; Mosler and Gutscher 2004; Karbo and Larsen 2005; Kurz et al. 2005; Ueno et al. 2005; Benders et al. 2006; Darby 2006; Hydro One 2006; Ueno et al. 2006; Abrahamse et al. 2007; Robinson 2007; Parker et al. 2008; Attari et al. 2010; Glerup et al. 2010; Abreu et al. 2011; AECOM 2011; Carrico and Riemer 2011; Wenham et al. 2020; Grønhøj and Thøgersen 2011; Alahmad et al. 2012; Kua and Wong 2012; Peschiera and Taylor 2012; Torriti 2012; Carroll et al. 2013; Costa and Kahn 2013; Delmas et al. 2013; Houde et al. 2013; D’Oca et al. 2014; Nilsson et al. 2014; DECC 2015; Karlin et al. 2015; Lynham et al. 2016; Henry et al. 2019; Mi and Coffman 2019; Zangheri et al. 2019)</p>	36	1	5	10	1-24% reduction in energy use
	Make Information Intuitive & Easy to Access	32	31	1	<p><u>Energy use (23)</u>                      (Henryson et al. 2000; Jensen 2003; Wood &amp; Newborough 2003; Matsukawa 2004; Benders et al. 2006; Darby 2006; Nexus Energy Software 2006; Abrahamse et al. 2007; Robinson 2007; Schultz et al. 2007; Costa &amp; Kahn 2010; Faruqui et al. 2010; Kua &amp; Wong 2012; Peschiera &amp; Taylor 2012; Vassileva et al. 2012; Carroll et al. 2013; K. K. Chen 2014; D’Oca et al. 2014; Jessoe &amp; Rapson 2014; A. Nilsson et al. 2014; V. L. Chen et al. 2015; Kendel et al. 2017; M. Nilsson et al. 2018; Wong-Parodi et al. 2019; Zangheri et al. 2019)</p> <p><u>Investment in energy efficiency (1)</u>                      (Larrick and Soll 2008)</p> <p><u>Carbon offset program (1)</u>                      (Camilleri and Larrick 2014)</p>	23	2	8	12	0-23% reduction in energy use
	Make Behaviour Observable & Provide Recognition	4	4	0	<p><u>Energy use (3)</u>                      (Schwartz et al. 2013; Yoeli et al. 2013; Delmas and Lessem 2014)</p> <p><u>Investment in energy efficiency (1)</u>                      (Tonn et al. 2015)</p>	3	0	2	1	2-20% reduction in energy use

<b>Methods of Persuasion</b>	Communicate a Norm	20	18	2	<u>Energy use (20)</u> (Mosler and Gutscher 2004; Karbo and Larsen 2005; Abrahamse et al. 2007; Schultz et al. 2007; Dünnhoff and Duscha 2008; Abreu et al. 2011; Allcott 2011; Peschiera and Taylor 2012; Smith et al. 2012; Ayres et al. 2013; Costa and Kahn 2013; Dolan and Metcalfe 2013; Allcott and Rogers 2014; Shen et al. 2016; Whitmarsh and Corner 2017; Dubois et al. 2019; Henry et al. 2019; Mi and Coffman 2019; Bonan et al. 2020)	18	1	3	5	1-12% reduction in energy use; 10-20% decay in effect per year
	Reframe Consequences in Terms People Care About	31	29	2	<u>Energy use (17)</u> (Darby 2006; Nexus Energy Software 2006; Costa and Kahn 2010; Azevedo et al. 2011; Geelen et al. 2012; Vassileva et al. 2012; Dolan and Metcalfe 2013; Yoeli et al. 2013; Ito et al. 2014; Petrovic et al. 2014; Asensio and Delmas 2015; Ito et al. 2015; Asensio and Delmas 2016; Student et al. 2017; Whitmarsh and Corner 2017) <u>Investment in energy efficiency (9)</u> (Griskevicius et al. 2010; Kaenzig and Wüstenhagen 2010; Kunreuther and Michel-Kerjan 2015; Theotokis and Manganari 2015; Hardisty et al. 2016; Ungemach et al. 2017) <u>Mode of transportation (2)</u> (Nepal et al. 2010; Mattauch et al. 2016) <u>Carbon offset program (2)</u> (Camilleri and Larrick 2014)	10	4	12	14	8 - 24% reduction in energy use
	Obtain a Commitment	4	3	1	<u>Energy use (3)</u> (McCalley and Midden 2002; Mosler and Gutscher 2004; Mi and Coffman 2019) <u>Mode of transportation (1)</u> (Matthies et al. 2006)	2	1	1	1	1 - 21% reduction in energy use

1

## 1 5.4.2 Socio-cultural drivers of climate mitigation

2 Collective behaviours and social organisation is part of everyday life, and feeling part of active  
3 collective motion renders mitigation measures efficient and pervasive (Climact 2018). Social and  
4 cultural processes play an important role in shaping what actions people take on climate mitigation,  
5 interacting with individual, structural, institutional and economic drivers (Barr and Prillwitz 2014). Just  
6 like infrastructures, social and cultural processes can ‘lock-in’ societies to carbon-intensive patterns of  
7 service delivery. They also offer potential levers to re-imagine normative ideas and practices in order  
8 to achieve extensive emissions cuts (*high confidence*, see Table 5.4).

9 In terms of cultural processes, we can distinguish two levels of analysis. Specific **meanings** (e.g.  
10 comfort, status, identity and agency) are associated with many technologies and everyday social  
11 practices that deliver energy services, from driving a car to using a cookstove (*high evidence, high*  
12 *agreement*, see section 5.5). Meanings are symbolic and influence the willingness of individuals to use  
13 existing technologies or shift to new ones (Wilhite and Ling 1995; Wilhite 2009; Sorrell 2015).  
14 Underlining their importance for climate mitigation, symbolic motives are more important predictors  
15 of technology adoption than instrumental motives (Steg 2005; Noppers et al. 2014, 2015, 2016) (see  
16 mobility case study on app-cabs in Kolkata, Box 5.7).

17 **Narratives** about climate mitigation circulate within and across societies, as recognised in SR15, and  
18 are broader than the meanings associated with specific technologies (*high evidence, high agreement*).  
19 Narratives enable people to imagine and make sense of the future through processes of interpretation,  
20 understanding, communication and social interaction (Smith et al. 2017). Stories about climate change  
21 can be utopian or dystopian (e.g. *The great derangement* by Amitav Ghosh) (Ghosh 2016), for example  
22 presenting apocalyptic stories and imagery to capture people’s attention and evoke emotional and  
23 behavioural response (O’Neill and Smith 2014). Reading climate stories causes short-term influences  
24 on attitudes towards climate change, increasing the belief that climate change is human caused and  
25 increasing its issue priority (Schneider-Mayerson et al. 2020). Climate narratives can justify scepticism  
26 of science, drawing together coalitions of diverse actors into social movements that aim to prevent  
27 climate action (Lejano and Nero 2020). Narratives have been used by indigenous communities to  
28 imagine climate futures divergent from top-down narratives (Streeby 2018). Narratives are also used in  
29 integrated assessment and energy system models that construct climate stabilisation scenarios, for  
30 example in the choice of parameters, their interpretation and model structure (Ellenbeck and Lilliestam  
31 2019). One important narrative choice of many models involves framing climate change as market  
32 failure (which leads to the result that carbon pricing is required). While such a choice can be justified,  
33 other model framings can be equally justified (Ellenbeck and Lilliestam 2019). This signals the role of  
34 power and agency in shaping which climate stories are told and how prevalent they are (O’Neill and  
35 Smith 2014; Schneider-Mayerson et al. 2020).

36 The uptake of new climate narratives is influenced by political beliefs and trust. Policy makers can  
37 enable emissions reduction by employing narratives that have broad societal appeal, encourage  
38 behavioural change and complement regulatory and fiscal measures (Terzi 2020). Justice narratives  
39 about climate mitigation have been shown in a UK study to polarise individuals along ideological lines,  
40 with lower support amongst individual with right-wing beliefs; by contrast, narratives centred on saving  
41 energy, avoiding waste and patriotic values were more widely supported across society (Whitmarsh and  
42 Corner 2017). Research is needed to assess if these findings are prevalent in other social contexts, as  
43 well the role played by social media platforms to influence emerging narratives of climate change  
44 (Pearce et al. 2019).

45 **Trust** in organisations is a key predictor of the take-up of novel energy services (Lutzenhiser 1993),  
46 particularly when financial incentives are high (Stern et al. 1985; Joskow 1995). If there is low public  
47 trust in utility companies, solutions identified include initiatives led by community-based non-profit  
48 organisations in the US (Stern et al. 1985) or public/private partnerships in Mexico (Friedmann and

1 Sheinbaum 1998). UK research shows that acceptance of shifts to less-resource intensive service  
2 provision (e.g. more resource efficient products, extending product lifetimes, community schemes for  
3 sharing products) varies depending on factors including trust in suppliers and manufacturers,  
4 affordability, quality and hygiene of shared products, and fair allocation of responsibilities (Cherry et  
5 al. 2018). Trust in other people plays an important role in the sharing economy (Li and Wang 2020),  
6 for example predicting shifts in transport mode, specifically car-sharing involving rides with strangers  
7 (Acheampong and Siiba 2019) (sharing economy see section 5.3.4.2).

8 Action on climate mitigation is influenced by our perception of what other people commonly do, think  
9 or expect, known as **social norms** (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Cialdini 2006) (see Table 5.3),  
10 even though people often do not acknowledge this (Nolan et al. 2008; Noppers et al. 2014). Providing  
11 feedback to people about how their own actions compare to others can encourage mitigation (Delmas  
12 et al. 2013), although the overall effect size is not strong (Abrahamse and Steg 2013). Socially  
13 comparative feedback seems to be more effective when people strongly identify with the reference  
14 group (De Dominicis et al. 2019). Descriptive norms (perceptions of behaviours common in others) are  
15 more strongly related to mitigation actions when injunctive norms (perceptions of whether certain  
16 behaviours are commonly approved or disapproved) are also strong, when people are not strongly  
17 personally involved with mitigation topics (Göckeritz et al. 2010), when people are currently acting  
18 inconsistently with their preferences, when norm-based interventions are supported by other  
19 interventions and when the context supports norm-congruent actions (Miller and Prentice 2016). A  
20 descriptive norm prime (“most others try to reduce energy consumption”) together with injunctive norm  
21 feedback (“you are very good in saving energy”) is a very effective combination to motivate further  
22 energy savings (Bonan et al. 2020). Second-order beliefs (perceptions on what others in the community  
23 believe) are particularly important for leveraging descriptive norms (Jachimowicz et al. 2018). Trending  
24 norms that communicate that the number of people engaging in a behaviour is increasing, even if this  
25 concerns only a minority of people, can encourage shifts to the targeted behaviour, although the effect  
26 size is relatively small (Mortensen et al. 2019).

27 **Behavioural contagion**, which describes how ideas and behaviours often spread like infectious  
28 diseases, is a major contributor to the climate crisis (Sunstein 2019). But harnessing contagion can also  
29 mitigate warming. Carbon-heavy consumption patterns have become the norm only in part because  
30 we’re not charged for environmental damage we cause (Pigou 1920). The deeper source of these  
31 patterns has been peer influence (Frank 1999), because what we do influences others. A rooftop solar  
32 installation early in the adoption cycle, for example, spawns a copycat installation in the same  
33 neighbourhood within four months, on average. With such installations thus doubling every four  
34 months, a single new order results in 32 additional installations in just two years. And contagion doesn’t  
35 stop there, since each family also influences friends and relatives in distant locations.

36 Harnessing contagion can also underwrite the investment necessary for climate stability. If taxed more  
37 heavily, top earners would spend less, shifting the frames of reference that shape spending of those just  
38 below, and so on—each step simultaneously reducing emissions and liberating resources for additional  
39 green investment (Frank 2020). Many resist, believing that higher taxes would make it harder to buy  
40 life’s special extras. But that belief is a cognitive illusion (Frank 2020). Acquiring special things, which  
41 are inherently in short supply, requires outbidding others who also want them. When top tax rates rise  
42 in tandem, relative bidding power is completely unchanged, so the same penthouse apartments would  
43 end up in the same hands as before. More generally, behavioural contagion is important to leverage all  
44 relevant social tipping points for stabilising Earth’s climate (Otto et al. 2020).

45 For new climate policies and technologies to be rapidly and extensively implemented, they must be  
46 **socially acceptable** to those directly impacted by them (*medium evidence, high agreement*). Policies  
47 that run counter to social norms or cultural meanings are less likely to be effective in reducing emissions  
48 (Demski et al. 2015; Perlaviciute et al. 2018; Roy et al. 2018b). Implementation of renewable energy

1 technologies will be more acceptable if taking account of cultural meanings, emotional attachments and  
2 identities linked to particular landscapes and places (Devine-Wright 2009) and enabling fairness in how  
3 decisions are taken and costs and benefits distributed (Wolsink, 2007). ‘Top-down’ imposition of  
4 climate policies by governments can translate into local opposition when perceived to be unjust and  
5 lacking transparency (*high evidence, high agreement*). Policy makers can build trust and increase the  
6 legitimacy of new policies by implementing early and extensive **public and stakeholder participation**,  
7 avoiding ‘NIMBY’ (Not In My Back Yard) assumptions about objectors and adopting ‘Just Transition’  
8 principles (Owens 2000; Wolsink 2007; Wüstenhagen et al. 2007; Dietz and Stern 2008; Devine-Wright  
9 2011; Heffron and McCauley 2018). Participatory mechanisms that enable deliberation by a  
10 representative sample of the public (Climate Assembly UK 2020) can inform policy making and  
11 increase the legitimacy of new and difficult policy actions (Dryzek et al. 2019).

12 **Collective action** by citizens can work to enable or to constrain climate mitigation, by arguing for  
13 change to individual, structural, institutional and economic drivers (*high evidence, high agreement*).  
14 Grassroots climate and energy initiatives can reconcile lower carbon footprints with higher life  
15 satisfaction and higher incomes (Vita et al. 2020). Transition Towns and **community energy** initiatives  
16 can lead to improvements in energy efficiency, ensuring a decent standard of living and increase  
17 renewable energy uptake, while building on existing social trust, and in turn, building social trust and  
18 initiating engagement, capacity building, and social capital formation (Hicks and Ison 2018). However,  
19 more evidence is required of the impacts of community energy initiatives (Creamer et al. 2018; Bardsley  
20 et al. 2019). **Religion** plays an important role in enabling collective action on climate by providing  
21 cultural interpretations of change and institutional responses (Roy et al. 2012; Haluza-DeLay 2014;  
22 Hulme 2015). Normative interpretations of climate change for and from religious communities are  
23 found in nearly every geography, and often observe popular movements for climate action drawing on  
24 religious symbols or metaphors (Jenkins et al. 2018). This suggests the value for policy makers of  
25 involving religious constituencies in devising and delivering climate response.

26 **Social movements** can open up windows of opportunity (so called ‘Overton Windows’) to unlock  
27 structural change (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Szalek 2013; Piggot 2018). Ways include: a)  
28 advocating new narratives for climate mitigation (e.g. climate ‘emergency’); b) criticising positive  
29 meanings associated with high emission technologies or practices (see Diet and Solar PV Case Studies,  
30 Box 5.4 and 5.6); c) showing social disapproval for high emission behaviours (e.g. through ‘flight  
31 shaming’); d) advocating behaviour change (e.g. shifting to veganism or flexible diets or shifting from  
32 public transport to car sharing – see Case Study on Mobility in Kolkata, Box 5.7); e) increasing a sense  
33 of agency amongst certain social groups (e.g. young people or indigenous communities) that structural  
34 change is possible. Climate strikes have become internationally prevalent, with the September 2019  
35 strikes involved 7.6 million participants in 183 countries (Rosane 2019; Martiskainen et al. 2020; Fisher  
36 and Nasrin 2020). Enabled by digitalisation, these have given voice to youth on climate (Lee et al. 2020)  
37 and created a new cohort of active citizens engaged in climate demonstrations (Fisher 2019). Social  
38 movements can also work to prevent policy changes, for example in France the Gilet Jaunes objected  
39 to increases in fuel costs on the grounds that they unfairly distributed the costs and benefits of price  
40 rises across social groups, for example between urban, peri-urban and rural areas (Copland 2019).

#### 41 **Box 5.6 Solar PV and the agency of consumers**

42 As an innovative technology, solar PV was strongly taken up by consumers (Nemet 2019). Several key  
43 factors explain its success. First, modular design made it applicable to different scales of deployment  
44 in different geographical contexts (e.g. large-scale grid-connected projects and smaller-scale off-grid  
45 projects) and allowed its application by companies taking advantage of emerging markets (Shum and  
46 Watanabe 2009). Second, culturally, solar PV symbolised an environmentally progressive technology  
47 that was valued by users (Morris and Jungjohann 2016). Large-scale adoption led to policy change (i.e.  
48 the introduction of feed-in tariffs that guaranteed a financial return) that in turn enabled improvements

1 to the technology by companies. Over time, this has driven large-scale reductions in cost and increase  
2 in deployment worldwide. The relative importance of drivers varied across contexts. In Japan, state  
3 subsidies were lower yet did not hinder take-up because consumer behaviour was motivated by non-  
4 cost symbolic aspects. In Germany, policy change arose from social movements that campaigned for  
5 environmental conservation and opposed nuclear power, making solar PV policies politically  
6 acceptable. In summary, the seven-decade evolution of solar PV shows an evolution in which the agency  
7 of consumers has consistently played a key role in multiple countries, such that deriving half of global  
8 electricity supply from solar is now a realistic possibility (Creutzig et al. 2017). See more in  
9 Supplementary Material Chapter 5, SM5.6.1.

10

### 11 **5.4.3 Business and Corporate Drivers**

12 Businesses and corporate organisations play a key role in the mitigation of global warming, through  
13 decisions to invest in researching and implementing new energy technologies and energy efficient  
14 measures, and the supply side interaction with changing consumer preferences and behaviours, e.g. via  
15 marketing. Business models and strategies work both as a barrier to and as accelerator of  
16 decarbonisation. Still existing lock-in in infrastructures and business models advantages fossil fuel  
17 industry over renewable and energy efficient end use industry (Klitkou et al. 2015). The fossil fuel  
18 energy generation and delivery system therefore epitomises a barrier to the acceptance and  
19 implementation of new and cleaner renewable energy technologies (Kariuki 2018). A small number of  
20 corporate agents also aims to derail climate change mitigation by targeted lobbying and doubt-inducing  
21 media strategies (Oreskes and Conway 2011). Corporate advertisement and brand building strategies  
22 also attempt to deflect corporate responsibility to individuals, and/or to appropriate climate care  
23 sentiments in their own brand building; climate change mitigation is uniquely framed through choice  
24 of products and consumption, avoiding the notion of the political collective action sphere (Doyle 2011;  
25 Doyle et al. 2019).

26 Business and corporations are also agents of change towards decarbonisation, as demonstrated in the  
27 case of PV and battery electric cars (Teece 2018). Beyond new low-carbon technologies, strong  
28 sustainability business models (SSBM) are characterised by identifying nature as the primary  
29 stakeholder, strong local anchorage, the creation of diversified income sources, and deliberate  
30 limitations on economic growth (Brozovic 2019). However, SSBM are difficult to maintain if generally  
31 traditional business models prevail, requiring short-term accounting.

32 Liability of fossil fuel business models and insurance against climate damages are key concerns of  
33 corporations and business. Limitations and regulation on GHG emissions will compel the demand for  
34 fossil fuel companies' products (Porter and Kramer 2006). According to a European Systemic Risk  
35 Board (ESRB 2016) report of the Advisory Scientific Committee, insurance industries are very likely  
36 to incur losses due to liability risks. The divestment movement adds additional pressure on fossil fuel  
37 related investments (Braungardt et al. 2019), even though fossil fuel financing remains resilient (Curran  
38 2020). Companies, businesses and organisations might face liability claims for their contribution to  
39 changes especially in the carbon intensive energy sector. A late transition to a low-carbon economy  
40 would exacerbate the physical costs of climate change on governments, businesses and corporations  
41 (ESRB 2016).

42 **Professional actors** play important roles in climate mitigation. Working as building managers,  
43 landlords, energy efficiency advisers, technology installers and car dealers, they influence patterns of  
44 mobility and energy consumption (Shove 2003) by acting as 'middle actors' (Janda and Parag 2013;  
45 Parag and Janda 2014) or 'intermediaries' in the provision of building or mobility services  
46 (Grandclément et al. 2015; De Rubens et al. 2018). As influencers on the process of diffusion of  
47 innovations (Rogers 2003), professionals can enable or obstruct improvements in efficient service

1 provision or shifts towards low-carbon technologies (LCTs) (e.g. air and ground source heat pumps,  
2 solar hot water, underfloor heating, programmable thermostats, and mechanical ventilation with heat  
3 recovery) and mobility (e.g. electric vehicles) technologies.

#### 5 5.4.4 Institutional Drivers

6 The allocation of political power to incumbent actors and coalitions has contributed to lock-in of  
7 particular institutions, stabilising the interests of incumbents through networks that include  
8 policymakers, bureaucracies, advocacy groups and knowledge institutions (*high agreement, high  
9 evidence*). There is high evidence and high agreement in that institutions are central in addressing  
10 climate change mitigation. They shape and interact with technological systems (Unruh 2000; Foxon et  
11 al. 2004; Seto et al. 2014) and represent rules, norms and conventions that organise and structure actions  
12 (Vatn 2015) and help create new path dependency or strengthen existing path dependency (Mattioli et  
13 al. 2020) (also see case studies in Box 5.4-5.7 and Supplementary Material Chapter 5). These drive  
14 behaviour of actors through formal (e.g., laws, regulations, and standards) or informal (e.g., norms,  
15 habits, and customs) processes, and can create constraints on policy options (Breukers and Wolsink  
16 2007). For example, ‘the car dependent transport system’ is maintained by interlocking elements and  
17 institutions, consisting of i) the automotive industry; ii) the provision of car infrastructure; iii) the  
18 political economy of urban sprawl; iv) the provision of public transport; v) cultures of car consumption  
19 (Mattioli et al. 2020).

#### 21 **Box 5.7 Shifts from private to public transport in Indian megacities**

22 In densely populated, fast-growing megacities, policy makers face the difficult challenge of preventing  
23 widespread adoption of petrol or diesel fuelled private cars as a mode of transport. The megacity of  
24 Kolkata, with a long history of good public transport system, in India provides a useful case study. As  
25 many as twelve different modes of public transportation, each with its own system structure, actors and  
26 meanings co-exist and offers means of mobility to its 14 million citizens. Most of the public transport  
27 modes are shared mobility options ranging from sharing between two people in a rickshaw or between  
28 a few hundred in metro or sub-urban trains. Sharing also happens informally as daily commuters avail  
29 shared taxis and neighbours borrow each other’s car or bicycle for urgent or day trips.

30 A key role is played by the state government to improve the system as whole and formalise certain  
31 semi-formal modes of transport. An important policy consideration has been to make Kolkata’s mobility  
32 system more efficient (in terms of speed, reliability and avoidance of congestion) and sustainable  
33 through strengthening coordination between different mode-based regimes (Ghosh 2019) and  
34 comfortable with airconditioned space in a hot and humid climate (Roy et al. 2018b). Policy makers  
35 have introduced multiple technological, behavioural and socio-cultural measures to tackle this  
36 challenge. New buses have been purchased by public authorities (Ghosh and Schot 2019). These have  
37 been promoted to middle-class workers in terms of modernity, efficiency and comfort, and implemented  
38 using premium-fares. Digitalisation and the sharing economy has encouraged take-up of shared taxi  
39 rides (‘app cabs’), being low cost and fast, but also influenced by levels of social trust involved in rides  
40 with strangers (Acheampong and Siiba 2019; Ghosh and Schot 2019). Rickshaws have been improved  
41 through use of LNG and cycling has been banned from busy roads. These measures contributed  
42 positively in bringing down the trend of greenhouse gas emissions per unit of GDP to half in one decade  
43 within the Kolkata metropolitan area, with potential for further reduction (Colenbrander et al. 2016).  
44 However, social movements have opposed some changes due to concerns about social equity, since  
45 many of the new policies cater to middle class aspirations and preferences, at the cost of low income  
46 and less privileged communities.

1 To conclude, urban mobility transitions in Kolkata shows interconnected policy, institutional and socio-  
2 cultural drivers for socio-technical change. Change has unfolded in complex interactions between  
3 multiple actors, sustainability values and megatrends, where direct causalities are hard to identify.  
4 However, the prominence of policy actors as change-agents is clear as they are changing multiple  
5 regimes from within. The state government initiated infrastructural change in public bus systems,  
6 coordinated with private and non-governmental actors such as auto-rickshaw operators, app-cab owners  
7 who hold crucial agency in offering public transport services in the city. The latter can directly be  
8 attributed to the global momentum of mobility-as-a-service platforms, at the intersection of  
9 digitalisation and sharing economy trends. More thoughtful action at a policy level is required to sustain  
10 and coordinate the diversity of public transport modes through infrastructure design and reflecting on  
11 the overall directionality of change (Roy et al. 2018b; Schot and Steinmueller 2018). See more in  
12 Supplementary Material Chapter 5, SM5.6.3.

13

14 Narratives for change emerge from arising political challenges eventually creating new policy  
15 instruments, platforms, insights and producing institutional innovation (*high confidence*). One  
16 important way to understand institutions is that they shape the political context for decision making,  
17 empowering some interests and reducing the influence of others (Steinmo et al. 1992; Hall 1993; Moser  
18 2009). Establishing carbon reduction as a policy priority shared across the political spectrum (UK,  
19 Germany, India, South Africa, now increasingly in the US) and achieving robust cross-party support is  
20 an institutional stepping stone for effective climate policies. Robust climate action, institutions and  
21 governance are essential in shifting political systems toward a positive feedback loop in favour of low  
22 carbon transition in their role as mediators of internal and external interests (Aklin and Urpelainen 2013;  
23 Lockwood et al. 2017; Roberts et al. 2018; Finnegan 2019). Institutions do evolve and can be created,  
24 altered or destroyed, and changes may be triggered by crisis, struggles, leadership in the functioning of  
25 the system or as external triggers such as the threat of climate change (Nilsson et al. 2011).

26

### 27 **5.4.5 Technological/Infrastructural Drivers**

28 Technologies and infrastructures shape social practices and their design matters for effective mitigation  
29 measures (*high evidence, high agreement*). There are systemic interconnections between infrastructures  
30 and practices (Cass et al. 2018), and their intersection explains their relevance (Thacker et al. 2019).  
31 The design of a new electricity system to meet new emerging demand based on intermittent renewable,  
32 can lead to a change in consumption habits and the adaption of lifestyles compliant with more power  
33 supply interruption (Maïzi et al. 2017; Maïzi and Mazauric 2019). The quality of the service delivery  
34 impacts directly the potential user uptake of low-carbon technologies. In the state of Himachal Pradesh  
35 of India, shift from LPG to electricity, with induction stove, has been successful due to the availability  
36 of stable and continuous electricity which has been difficult to achieve in any other Indian state  
37 (Banerjee et al. 2016). In contrast, in South Africa, where people who were using electricity earlier are  
38 now adopting LPG to diversify the energy source for cooking due to high electricity tariff and frequent  
39 blackouts (Kimemia and Annegarn 2016) (see Box 5.5 and Supplementary Material Chapter 5).

40 From a welfare point of view, infrastructure investments are not constrained by revealed or stated  
41 preferences (*high evidence, high agreement*). Preferences change with social and physical environment,  
42 and infrastructure interventions can be justified by objective measures, such as public health and climate  
43 change mitigation, not only given preferences (high agreement, high evidence). Specifically, there is a  
44 case for more investment in low-carbon transport infrastructure than assumed in environmental  
45 economics as it induces low-carbon preferences (Creutzig et al. 2016a; Mattauch et al. 2016,  
46 2018). Changes in infrastructure provision for active travel may contribute to uptake of more walking  
47 and cycling (Frank et al. 2019). These effects contribute to higher uptake of low-carbon travel options,



1 albeit the magnitude of effects depends on design choices and context (Goodman et al. 2013, 2014;  
 2 Song et al. 2017; Javaid et al. 2020). Infrastructure is thus not only required to make low-carbon travel  
 3 possible, but can also be a pre-condition for the formation of low-carbon mobility preferences (also see  
 4 mobility case study in Box 5.7).

5 The dynamic interaction of habits and infrastructures also predict CO<sub>2</sub>-intensive choices. When people  
 6 move from a city with good public transport to a car-dependent city, they are more likely to own fewer  
 7 vehicles due to learned preferences for lower levels of car ownership (Weinberger and Goetzke 2010).  
 8 When individuals moving to a new city with extensive public transport were given targeted material  
 9 about public transport options, the modal share of public transport increased significantly (Bamberg et  
 10 al. 2003). Similarly, an exogenous change to route choice in public transport makes commuters change  
 11 their habitual routes (Larcom et al. 2017).

12 **Table 5.4 Main features, insights, and policy implications of five classes of Drivers of decision and action**

Driver	Why status quo bias?	What needs to change?	Driver’s Policy Implications	Examples
<b>Behavioural</b>	Habits and routines formed under different circumstances do not get updated.	New goals (sustainable lifestyle)	Policies need to be context specific and coordinate economic, legal, social, and infrastructural tools and nudges	India’s new LPG scale up policy. Rooftop solar expansion in Germany (via FITs)
	Present-bias penalises upfront costs and discourages energy efficiency investments.	New capabilities (online real-time communication)	Relate climate action to salient local risks and issues.	Nuclear power in Japan and Germany post Fukushima
	Loss aversion magnifies the costs of change.	Use of full range of incentives and mechanisms to change demand-side behaviour		
	Only personal and dreaded risks trigger action, and climate change distant and not feared.			
<b>Socio-Cultural</b>	Cultural norms (e.g. status, comfort, convenience) support existing behaviour.	Create positive meanings and norms around low-emission service delivery (e.g. mass transit).	Embed policies in supportive social norms.	Communicate descriptive norms to electricity end users.
	Lack of social trust reduces willingness to shift behaviour (e.g. adopt car-sharing).	Community initiatives to build social trust and engagement, capacity	Support collective action on climate mitigation to	Community energy initiative RESCOOP.

Driver	Why status quo bias?	What needs to change?	Driver’s Policy Implications	Examples
	<p>Fear of social disapproval decreases willingness to adopt new behaviours.</p> <p>Lack of opportunities to participate in policy create reactance against ‘top down’ imposition.</p> <p>Unclear or dystopian narratives of climate response reduce willingness to change and to accept new policies and technologies.</p>	<p>building, and social capital formation.</p> <p>Climate movements that call out the insufficient, highly problematic state of delayed climate action.</p> <p>Public participation in policy making and technology implementation that increases trust, builds capacity and increases social acceptance.</p> <p>Positive narratives about possible futures that avoid emissions (e.g. emphasis upon health and slow/active travel).</p>	<p>create social trust and inclusion.</p> <p>Involve arts and humanities to create narratives for policy process</p>	<p>Friday For Future.</p>
<b>Business and Corporate</b>	<p>Lock-in mechanisms that make incumbent firms reluctant to change: core capabilities, sunk investments in staff and factories, stranded assets.</p>	<p>New companies (like Uber, car sharing companies, renewable energy start-ups) that pioneer new business models or energy service provisions.</p>	<p>Influence consumer behaviour via product innovation</p> <p>Provide capital for clean energy innovation.</p>	<p>Electrification of transport opens up new markets for more than a hundred million new vehicles.</p>
<b>Institutional</b>	<p>Lock-in mechanisms related to power struggles, lobbying, political economy.</p>	<p>New policy instruments, policy discussions, platforms, implementation agencies, including capacity.</p>	<p>Feed-in Tariffs and other regulations that turn energy consumers into prosumers.</p>	<p>Mobility case study, India’s LPG policy sequence.</p>
<b>Infrastructural</b>	<p>various lock-in mechanisms such as sunk investments, capabilities,</p>	<p>many emerging technologies, which are initially often more expensive, but may</p>	<p>systemic governance to avoid rebound effects.</p>	<p>Urban walking and bike paths.</p>

Driver	Why status quo bias?	What needs to change?	Driver's Policy Implications	Examples
	embedding routines/lifestyles.	in benefit from learning curves and scale economies that drive costs down.		Stable and continuous electricity supply fostering induction stoves.

## 1 5.5 An integrative view on transitioning

### 2 5.5.1 Demand-side transitions as multi-dimensional processes

3 Several integrative frameworks including social practice theory (Shove and Walker 2014; Røpke 2009),  
4 the energy cultures framework (Stephenson et al. 2015; Jürisoo et al. 2019) and socio-technical  
5 transitions theory (McMeekin and Southerton 2012; Geels et al. 2017) conceptualise demand-side  
6 transitions as multi-dimensional and interacting processes (*high evidence, high agreement*). Social  
7 practice theory emphasises interactions between artefacts, competences, and cultural meanings (Shove  
8 and Walker 2014; Røpke 2009). The energy cultures framework highlights feedbacks between  
9 materials, norms, and behavioural practices (Stephenson et al. 2015; Jürisoo et al. 2019). Socio-  
10 technical transitions theory addresses interactions between technologies, user practices, cultural  
11 meanings, business, infrastructures, and public policies (McMeekin and Southerton 2012; Geels et al.  
12 2017) and can thus accommodate the five drivers of change and stability discussed in Section 5.4.

13 Section 5.4 shows with *high evidence and high agreement* that the relative influence of different drivers  
14 varies between demand-side solutions. The deployment of ‘improve’ options like LEDs and clean  
15 cookstoves mostly involves technological change, adoption by consumers who integrate new  
16 technologies in their daily life practices (Sanderson and Simons 2014; Franceschini and Alkemade  
17 2016; Smith et al. 1993), and some policy change. Changes in meanings are less pertinent for those  
18 ‘improve’-options that are primarily about technological substitution. Other improve-options, like clean  
19 cookstoves, involve both technological substitution and changes in cultural meanings and traditions.

20 Deployment of ‘shift’ options like enhanced public transport involves substantial behavioural change  
21 and transitions to new or expanded provisioning systems, which may include new technologies (buses,  
22 trams), infrastructures (light rail, dedicated bus lanes), institutions (operational licenses, performance  
23 contracts), financial arrangements, and new organisations (with particular responsibilities and  
24 oversight) (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Deng and Nelson 2011; Turnheim and Geels 2019).  
25 Changes in cultural meanings can facilitate ‘shift’ options. Shifts towards low-meat diets, for instance,  
26 are motivated by costs and by beliefs about the undesirability of meat that relate more to issues like  
27 health, nutrition and animal welfare than climate change (De Boer et al. 2014; Mylan 2018).

28 ‘Avoid’ options that reduce service levels (e.g. sufficiency or downshifting) imply very substantial  
29 behavioural and cultural changes that may not resonate with mainstream consumers (Dubois et al.  
30 2019). Other ‘avoid’ options like tele-working also require changes in cultural meanings and beliefs  
31 (about the importance of supervision, coaching, social contacts, or office politics), as well as changes  
32 in behaviour, institutions, and technology (including good internet connections and office space at  
33 home). Because these interconnected changes were not widespread, tele-working did not diffuse widely  
34 before the COVID-19 crisis (Hynes 2014, 2016). As preferences change, new infrastructures and social  
35 settings can also elicit new desirabilities associated with emerging low-energy demand service  
36 provisioning systems (see 5.4.5).

1 Demand-side transitions involve interactions between radical social or technical innovations (such as  
2 the avoid, shift, improve options discussed in Section 5.3) and existing socio-technical systems, energy  
3 cultures, and social practices (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Geels et al. 2017; Stephenson et al.  
4 2015). Radical innovations such as tele-working, plant-based burgers, car sharing, vegetarianism, or  
5 electric vehicles initially emerge in small, peripheral niches (Kemp et al. 1998; Schot and Geels 2008),  
6 constituted by R&D projects, technological demonstration projects (Borghei and Magnusson 2016;  
7 Rosenbloom et al. 2018b), local community initiatives or grassroots projects by environmental activists  
8 (Hargreaves et al. 2013a; Hossain 2016). Such niches offer protection from mainstream selection  
9 pressures and nurture the development of radical innovations (Smith and Raven 2012). Many low-  
10 carbon niche-innovations, such as those described in Section 5.3, face uphill struggles against existing  
11 socio-technical systems, energy cultures, and social practices that are stabilised by multiple lock-in  
12 mechanisms (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Klitkou et al. 2015; Clausen et al. 2017; Ivanova et al.  
13 2018; Seto et al. 2016). Demand-side transitions therefore do not happen easily and involve interacting  
14 processes and struggles on the behavioural, socio-cultural, institutional, business and technological  
15 dimensions (see also section 5.4).

16

### 17 **5.5.2 Phases in transitions**

18 Transitions often take several decades, unfolding through several phases. Although there is variability  
19 across innovations, sectors, and countries, the transitions literature distinguishes four phases,  
20 characterised by generic core processes and challenges (*high confidence*) (Rotmans et al. 2001; Markard  
21 et al. 2012; Geels et al. 2017): 1) emergence, 2) stabilisation, 3) diffusion, 4) replacement and  
22 reconfiguration. These four phases do not imply that transitions are linear, teleological processes,  
23 because set-backs or reversals may occur as a result of learning processes, conflicts, or changing  
24 coalitions (*very high confidence*) (Geels and Raven 2006; Messner 2015; Davidescu et al. 2018). There  
25 is also no guarantee that technological, social, or business model innovations progress beyond the first  
26 phase.

27 In the first phase, radical innovations emerge in peripheral niches, where researchers, inventors, social  
28 movement organisations or community activists dedicate time and effort to their development (*high*  
29 *confidence*) (Kemp et al. 1998; Schot and Geels 2008). Radical social, technical and business model  
30 innovations are initially characterised by many uncertainties about technical performance, consumer  
31 interest, institutions and cultural meanings. Learning processes are therefore essential and can be  
32 stimulated through R&D, demonstration projects, local community initiatives or grassroots projects  
33 (Rosenbloom et al. 2018b; van Mierlo and Beers 2020; Hossain 2016; Borghei and Magnusson 2016;  
34 Sengers et al. 2019). Typical challenges are fragmentation and high rates of project failure (den Hartog  
35 et al. 2018; Dana et al. 2019), limited funding (Auerswald and Branscomb 2003), limited consumer  
36 interest, and socio-cultural acceptance problems due to being perceived as strange or unfamiliar  
37 (Lounsbury and Glynn 2001) .

38 In the second phase, social or technical innovations are appropriated or purchased by early adopters,  
39 which increases visibility and may provide a small but steady flow of financial resources (*high evidence,*  
40 *high agreement*) (Zimmerman and Zeitz 2002; Dewald and Truffer 2011). Learning processes,  
41 knowledge sharing and codification activities help stabilise the innovation, leading to best practice  
42 guidelines, standards, and formalised knowledge (*high evidence, high agreement*) (Raven et al. 2008;  
43 Borghei and Magnusson 2018). User innovation may lead to the articulation of new routines and social  
44 practices, often in tandem with the integration of new technologies into people's daily lives (Nielsen et  
45 al. 2016; Schot et al. 2016). Radical innovations remain confined to niches in the second phase because  
46 adoption is limited to small, dedicated groups (Schot et al. 2016), innovations are expensive or do not

1 appeal to wider groups, or because complementary infrastructure are missing (Markard and Hoffmann  
2 2016).

3 In the third phase, radical innovations diffuse into wider communities and mainstream markets. Typical  
4 drivers are performance improvements, cost reductions, widespread consumer interest, investments in  
5 infrastructure and complementary technologies, institutional support and strong cultural appeal (*high*  
6 *evidence, high agreement*) (Wilson 2012; Markard and Hoffmann 2016; Raven et al. 2016; Malone et  
7 al. 2017; Kanger et al. 2019). The latter may be related to wider cultural shifts such as increased public  
8 attention to climate change and new framings like ‘climate emergency’ which gained traction before  
9 the Covid-19 pandemic (Bouman et al. 2020b). These concerns may not last, however, since public  
10 attention typically follows cycles (Downs 1972; Djerf-Pierre 2012).

11 This phase often involves multiple struggles: economic competition between low-carbon innovations  
12 and existing technologies and practices, business struggles between incumbents and new entrants  
13 (Hockerts and Wüstenhagen 2010), cultural and framing struggles in public opinion arenas  
14 (Kammermann and Dermont 2018; Hess 2019a; Rosenbloom 2018), and political struggles over  
15 adjustments in policies and institutions, which shape markets and innovations (Meadowcroft 2011;  
16 Roberts and Geels 2019). The lock-in mechanisms of existing practices and systems tend to weaken in  
17 the third phase, either because competing innovations erode their economic viability, cultural legitimacy  
18 or institutional support (Turnheim and Geels 2012; Roberts 2017; Kuokkanen et al. 2018; Leipprand  
19 and Flachslund 2018) or because exogenous shocks and pressures disrupt the status quo (Kungl and  
20 Geels 2018; Simpson 2019).

21 In the fourth phase, the diffusing innovations replace or substantially reconfigure existing practices and  
22 systems, which may lead to the downfall or reorientation of incumbent firms (Bergek et al. 2013;  
23 McMeekin et al. 2019). The new system becomes institutionalised and anchored in professional  
24 standards, technical capabilities, infrastructures, educational programs, regulations and institutional  
25 logics, user habits, and views of normality, which create new lock-ins (Galaskiewicz 1985; Barnes et  
26 al. 2018; Shove and Southerton 2000)

27 Avoid, shift and improve options vary with regard to the four transition phases. Incremental ‘improve’  
28 options, such as energy-efficient appliances or stand-alone insulation measures, are not transitions but  
29 upgrades of existing technologies. They have progressed furthest since they build on existing  
30 knowledge and do not require wider changes (Geels et al. 2018). Some radical ‘improve’ options, which  
31 have a different technological knowledge base, are beginning to diffuse, moving from phase two to  
32 three in multiple countries. Examples are electric vehicles, light-emitting diodes, or passive house  
33 designs (Berkeley et al. 2017; Franceschini and Alkemade 2016). Many ‘shift’ and ‘avoid/reduce’  
34 options like heat pumps, district heating, passive house designs, compact cities, less meat initiatives,  
35 flight and car use reduction have low momentum in most countries, and are mostly in the first phase of  
36 isolated initiatives and projects (Bergman 2013; Bows-Larkin 2015; Bush et al. 2016; Kivimaa and  
37 Martiskainen 2018; Hoolohan et al. 2018; Morris et al. 2014). Structural transitions in Dutch cities and  
38 Copenhagen, however, demonstrate that transitions towards low-carbon lifestyles, developed around  
39 cycling, are possible (Colville-Andersen 2018). Low-carbon demand-side transitions are often still in  
40 early phases (*high evidence, high agreement*).

41

### 42 **5.5.3 Feasible rate of change**

43 Transitional change is usually slow in the first and second transition phase, because experimentation,  
44 social and technological learning, and stabilisation processes take a long time, often decades, and  
45 remain restricted to small niches (*high confidence*) (Bento et al. 2018b; Bento 2013; Wilson 2012).  
46 Transitional change accelerates in the third phase, as radical innovations diffuse from initial niches into  
47 mainstream markets, propelled by the self-reinforcing mechanisms, discussed above. The rate of

1 adoption (diffusion) of new practices, processes, artefacts, and behaviours is determined by a wide  
2 range of factors at the macro- and micro-scales, which have been identified by several decades of  
3 diffusion research in multiple disciplines (for comprehensive reviews see, e.g. (Tornatzky and Klein  
4 1982; Ausubel 1991; Bayus 1994; Van den Bulte and Stremersch 2004; Comin and Hobijn 2003; Davis  
5 1979; Meade and Islam 2006; Mahajan et al. 1990; Mansfield 1968; Martino et al. 1978; Peres et al.  
6 2010; Grubler 1991; Feder and Umali 1993; Rogers 2003)).

7 Diffusion rates are determined by two broad categories of variables, those intrinsic to the  
8 technology/product/practice under consideration (typically performance, costs, benefits), and those  
9 intrinsic to the adoption environment (e.g., socio-economic and market characteristics).

10 Despite differences, the literature offers three robust conclusions on acceleration (*high evidence, high*  
11 *agreement*): First, size matters. Acceleration of transitions is more difficult for social, economic, or  
12 technological systems of larger size (in terms of number of users, financial investments, infrastructure,  
13 powerful industries) (Wilson 2009, Wilson 2012). Size also matters at the level of the systems  
14 component involved in a transition. Components with smaller unit-scale (“granular” and thus relatively  
15 cheap), such as light bulbs or household appliances, turn over much faster (often within a decade) than  
16 large-scale, capital-intensive lumpy technologies and infrastructures (such as transport systems) where  
17 rates of change involve typically several decades, even up to a century (Grubler 1991; Leibowicz 2018).  
18 Also, the creation of entirely new systems (diffusion) takes longer time than replacements of existing  
19 technologies/practices (substitution) (Grubler et al. 1999); and late adopters tend to adopt faster than  
20 early pioneers (Grubler 1996; Wilson 2012).

21 Second, complexity matters, which is often related to unit-scale (Ma et al. 2008). Acceleration is more  
22 difficult for options with higher degrees of complexity (e.g., carbon capture, transport and storage, or a  
23 hydrogen economy) representing higher technological and investment risks that can slow down change.  
24 Options with lower complexity are easier to accelerate because they involve less experimentation and  
25 debugging and require less adoption efforts and risk.

26 Third, agency, structure and meaning can accelerate transitions. The creation and mobilisation of actor  
27 coalitions is widely seen as important for acceleration, especially if these involve actors with technical  
28 skills, financial resources and political capital (Kern and Rogge 2016; Hess 2019b; Roberts and Geels  
29 2019). Changes in policies and institutions can also accelerate transitions, especially if these create  
30 stable and attractive financial incentives or introduce technology-forcing standards or regulations  
31 (Brand et al. 2013; Kester et al. 2018; Roberts et al. 2018). Changes in meanings and cultural norms  
32 can also accelerate transitions, especially when they affect consumer practices, enhance social  
33 acceptance, and create legitimacy for stronger policy support (Lounsbury and Glynn 2001; Buschmann  
34 and Oels 2019; Rogers 2003). Adoption of most advanced practices can support leapfrogging polluting  
35 technologies (Box 5.8).

#### 36 **Box 5.8 Is leapfrogging possible?**

37 The concept of leapfrogging emerged in development economics (Soete 1985), energy policy  
38 (Goldemberg 1991) and environmental regulation (Perkins 2003), which provides a first critical review  
39 of the concept), and refers to a development strategy that skips traditional and polluting development  
40 in favour of the most advanced concepts. For instance, in rural areas without telephone landlines or  
41 electricity access (cables), a direct shift to mobile telephony or distributed, locally-sourced energy  
42 systems is promoted, or economic development policies for pre-industrial economies forego the  
43 traditional initial emphasis of heavy industry industrialisation, instead of focusing on services like  
44 finance or tourism. Often leapfrogging is enabled by learning and innovation externalities where  
45 improved knowledge and technologies become available for late adopters at low costs. The literature  
46 highlights many cases of successful leapfrogging but also highlights limitations (for a review see  
47 Watson and Sauter (Watson and Sauter 2011); with example case studies for China e.g. Gallagher

1 (Gallagher 2006) or Chen and Li-Hua (Chen and Li-Hua 2011); Mexico (Gallagher and Zarsky 2007);  
2 or Japan and Korea, e.g. Cho et al. (Cho et al. 1998). Increasingly the concept is being integrated into  
3 the literature of low-carbon development, including innovation and technology transfer policies (for a  
4 review see Pigato (2020)), highlighting in particular the importance of contextual factors of successful  
5 technology transfer and leapfrogging including: domestic absorptive capacity and technological  
6 capabilities (Cirera and Maloney 2017); human capital, skills, and relevant technical know-how  
7 (Nelson and Phelps 1966); the size of the market (Keller 2004); greater openness to trade (Keller 2004;  
8 Sachs and Warner 1995); geographical proximity to investors and financing (Comin et al. 2012);  
9 environmental regulatory proximity (Dechezleprêtre et al. 2015); and stronger protection of intellectual  
10 property rights (Dechezleprêtre et al. 2013; Dussaux et al. 2017). The existence of a technological  
11 potential for leapfrogging therefore needs to be considered within a wider context of social, institutional,  
12 and economic factors that influence if leapfrogging potentials can be realised (*high evidence, high*  
13 *agreement*).

14

15 There are also some contentious topics in the debate on accelerated low-carbon transitions. First, while  
16 acceleration is desirable to mitigate climate change, there is a risk that accelerating change too much  
17 may short-cut crucial experimentation and social and technological learning in “formative phases”  
18 (Bento 2013; Bento et al. 2018b) and potentially lead to a pre-mature lock-in of solutions that later turn  
19 out to have negative impacts (Cowan 1990, 1991) (*high evidence, medium agreement*).

20 Second, there is an ongoing debate about the most powerful leverage points and policies for speeding  
21 up change in social and technological systems. Farmer et al. 2019 suggested “sensitive intervention  
22 points” for low-carbon transitions, but do not quantify the impacts on transformations. Grubler et al.  
23 2018 proposed an end-user and efficiency-focused strategy to achieve rapid emission reductions and  
24 quantified their scenario with a leading IAM. However, discussion of the policy implications of such a  
25 strategy have only just started (Wilson et al. 2019a) suggesting an important area for future research.

26 The last contentious issue is if policies can/should substitute for lack of economic/social appeal of  
27 change or for technological risks. Many large-scale supply-side climate mitigation options such as CCS  
28 or nuclear power involve high technological risks, critically depend on a stable carbon price, and are  
29 controversial in terms of social and environmental impacts (cf. the reviews in (Wilson et al. 2020a;  
30 Sovacool et al. 2014) and the comprehensive discussion in (Smith et al. 2016) (*high evidence, medium*  
31 *agreement*). There is continuing debate if and how policies could counterbalance these impacts in order  
32 to accelerate transitions (Nordhaus 2019; Lovins 2015). Some demand-side options like large-scale  
33 public transport infrastructures such as “Hyperloop” (Decker et al. 2017) or concepts such as “Asian  
34 Super Grid” (maglev fast train coupled with superconducting electricity transmission networks) (AIGC  
35 2017) may face similar challenges, which adds weight and robustness to those demand-side options that  
36 are more decentralised, granular in scale and provide potential tangible consumer benefits besides being  
37 low-carbon (like more efficient buildings and appliances, “soft” urban mobility options (walking and  
38 cycling), digitalisation, among others, cf. Grubler et al. 2018).

39 A robust conclusion from this review is that there are no generic acceleration policies that are  
40 independent from the nature of what changes, by whom and how. Greater contextualisation and  
41 granularity in policy approaches is therefore important to address the challenges of rapid transitions  
42 towards zero-carbon systems (*high evidence, high agreement*).

43

## 1 **5.6 Governance and policy**

### 2 **5.6.1 Governing mitigation: participation and social trust**

3 In demand side mitigation, governance is key to drive the multidimensional changes needed to meet  
4 service needs within a society that provide people with a decent living while increasingly reducing  
5 resource and energy input levels (Rojas-Rueda et al. 2012; Batchelor et al. 2018; OECD 2019).  
6 Impartial governance, understood as equal treatment of everyone by the rule of law, creates social trust  
7 and is thus a key enabler of inclusive and participatory demand-side climate policies (Rothstein 2011).  
8 Inclusive and broad-based participation itself also leads to greater social trust and thus is also a key  
9 enabler of demand-side climate mitigation (see Section 5.2 for details). Higher social trust and inclusive  
10 participatory processes also reduce inequality, restrain opportunistic behaviour and enhance  
11 cooperation (Drews and van den Bergh 2016; Gür 2020) (see also Section 5.2). Altogether, broad-  
12 based participatory processes are central to the successful implementation of climate policies (Rothstein  
13 and Teorell 2008; Klenert et al. 2018) (*high evidence*, *medium agreement*). A culture of cooperation  
14 feeds back to increase social trust and enables action that reduce GHG emissions (Carattini et al. 2015;  
15 Carattini and Jo 2018), and requires including explicit consideration of the informal sector (Box 5.9).  
16 More equitable societies also have the institutional flexibility to allow for mitigation to advance faster,  
17 given their readiness to adopt locally appropriate mitigation policies; they also suffer less from policy  
18 lock-in (Tanner et al. 2009; Lorenz 2013; Chu 2015; Cloutier et al. 2015; Martin 2016; Seto et al. 2016;  
19 Vandeweerd et al. 2016; Turnheim et al. 2018).  
20

#### 21 **Box 5.9 The informal sector and climate mitigation**

22 The informal economy represents a large and growing portion of socio-economic activities (Muchie et  
23 al. 2016; Mbaye and Gueye 2018), including much of the work done by women worldwide. It accounts  
24 for an estimated 61% of global employment in the world; 90% in developing countries, 67% in  
25 emerging countries, and 18% in developed countries (Berik 2018), representing roughly 30% of GDP  
26 across a range of countries (Durán Heras 2012; Narayan 2017). Due to its importance, policies which  
27 support informal-sector climate mitigation activities may be extremely efficient (Garland and Allison  
28 M. 2015; Paz et al. 2015; Satterthwaite et al. 2020). For example, environmental and energy taxes may  
29 have negative gross costs when the informal sector dominates economic activity; informal production  
30 may substitute for energy-intensive goods, with strong welfare-enhancing effects (Bento et al. 2018a).  
31 Constraints on small and informal-sector firms' ability to build climate resilience include financial and  
32 data barriers, limited access to information technology, and policy exclusion (Crick et al. 2018a,b).

33 Informal-sector innovation is often underrated. It gives marginalised people access to welfare-  
34 enhancing innovations, building on alternative knowledge and socially-embedded reciprocal exchange  
35 (Jaffe and Koster 2019; Sheikh 2019; Sheikh and Bhaduri 2020). Large improvements in low-emission,  
36 locally-appropriate service provision are possible by facilitating informal-sector service providers'  
37 access to low-energy technologies (while taking care not to additionally burden the unpaid and  
38 marginalised), through such means as education, participatory governance, government policies to  
39 assist the informal sector, social services, healthcare, credit provision, and removing harmful policies  
40 and regulatory silos. The importance of the informal economy, especially in low-income countries,  
41 opens many possibilities for new approaches to DSL service provision along with climate resilience  
42 (Rynikiewicz and Chetaille 2006; Backstränd et al. 2010; Porio 2011; Kriegler et al. 2014; Taylor and  
43 Peter 2014; Brown and McGranahan 2016; Chu 2016; Boran 2019; Hugo and du Plessis 2019;  
44 Satterthwaite et al. 2018; Javaid et al. 2020).

45 Public information and understanding of the CO<sub>2</sub>-eq emissions implied by consumption patterns can  
46 unleash great creativity for meeting service needs fairly and with lower emissions (Darier and Schüle



1999; Stermann and Sweeney 2002; Lorenzoni et al. 2007; Billett 2010; Marres 2011; Zapico Lamela et al. 2011; Polonsky et al. 2012; Williams et al. 2019). Community-based mapping, social learning, green infrastructure development, and participatory governance facilitate such information-sharing (Tauhid and Zawani 2018; Mazeka et al. 2019; Sharifi 2020), strengthening mitigation policies (Loiter et al. 1999; Stokes and Warshaw 2017; Zhou et al. 2019).

Since informal settlements are usually dense, upgrading them supports low-carbon development pathways which leapfrog less-efficient housing, transport and other service provision, using locally-appropriate innovations (Satterthwaite et al. 2018). Examples of informal-sector mitigation include digital banking in Africa; mobility in India using recycled motors and collective transport; food production, meal provision, and reduction of food waste in Latin America (e.g. soup kitchens in Brazil, community kitchens in Lima, Peru); informal materials recycling, space heating and cooling, and illumination (Hordijk 2000; Baldez 2003; Maumbe 2006; Gutberlet 2008; Chaturvedi and Gidwani 2010; Nandy et al. 2015; Rouse and Verhoef 2016; Ackah 2017).

## 5.6.2 Policies to strengthen Avoid-Shift-Improve

There is high untapped potential of demand-side mitigation options if considered holistically within the domains of avoid-shift-improve (Section 5.3, Table 5.4). Within the demand-side mitigation options opportunity space, policies currently focus more on efficiency and ‘improve’ options and relatively less on ‘shift’ and ‘avoid’ options (Dubois et al. 2019; Moberg et al. 2019). Current demand side policies are fragmented, piecemeal and too weak to drive demand-side transitions commensurate with 1.5°C or 2°C climate goals (Wilson et al. 2012; Fawcett et al. 2019; Moberg et al. 2019; Mundaca et al. 2019) (*high evidence, high agreement*). Policies that are aimed at behaviour and lifestyle changes carry a perception of political risks for policy makers, which may explain why policy instruments focus more on information provision and adoption of incentives than on regulation and investment (Rosenow et al. 2017; Moberg et al. 2019). Acceleration of demand-side transitions would thus require both a broadening of demand-side options and the creation of comprehensive and targeted policy mixes (Kern et al. 2017; Rosenow et al. 2017; IPCC 2018) that lower the barriers to change identified in Section 5.4, Table 5.4 and in the tables below (*high evidence, high agreement*). Demand-side transitions in developing and emerging economies would also require stronger administrative capacity as well as technical and financial support (UN-Habitat 2013; Creutzig et al. 2016b).

Systematic categorisation of demand-side policy options in different sectors and services through the avoid-shift-improve (ASI) framework enables identification of major entry points and possible associated social struggles to overcome for the policy instruments/interventions as discussed below.

### 5.6.2.1 Avoid policies

There is *high evidence and agreement* that “Avoid” policies that affect lifestyle changes offer opportunities for cost-effective reductions in energy use and emissions, but would need to overcome political sensitivities around government efforts to shape and modify individual-level behaviour (see Table 5.5) (Rosenow et al. 2017; Grubb et al. 2020). These policies include ways to help avoid travel growth through integrated city planning or building retrofits to help avoid demand for transport, heating or cooling (Bakker et al. 2014; Lucon et al. 2014; de Feijter et al. 2019), which interact with existing infrastructure. Dense pedestrianised cities and towns and medium-density transit corridors are better placed to implement policies for car reductions than ‘sprawled’ cities characterised by low-density, auto-dependent and separated land uses (Bakker et al. 2014; Seto et al. 2014; Newman and Kenworthy 2015; Newman et al. 2017).

1 Cities face pressing priorities like poverty reduction, meeting basic services and building human and  
 2 institutional capacity. These are met with highly accessible walkable and cyclable cities, connected with  
 3 public transit corridors, enabling equal accessibility for all citizens, and enabling a high level of service  
 4 provisioning (UN-Habitat 2013; Colenbrander et al. 2016; Creutzig et al. 2016b). Infrastructure  
 5 development costs less than for car dependent cities. However, it requires a mindset shift for urban and  
 6 transport planners (*medium evidence, high agreement*).

7 Policies that support the avoidance of higher emission lifestyles and improve wellbeing are facilitated  
 8 by the introduction of smart technologies, infrastructures and practices (Amini et al. 2019). They  
 9 include regulations and measures for investment in high-quality ICT infrastructure, regulations to  
 10 restrict number plates as well as company policy around flexible working conditions (Lachapelle et al.  
 11 2018; Shabanpour et al. 2018). Working-from-home arrangements may advantage certain segments of  
 12 society such as male, older, higher educated and highly paid employees, potentially exacerbating  
 13 existing inequalities in the labour market (Lambert et al. 2020; Bonacini et al. 2021). In the absence of  
 14 distributive or other equity-based measures, the potential gains in terms of emissions reduction may  
 15 therefore be counteracted by the cost of increasing inequality. This potential growth in inequality is  
 16 likely to be more severe in poorer countries that will additionally suffer from a lack of international  
 17 funding for achieving the SDGs (Barbier and Burgess 2020; UN 2020) (*high evidence, medium*  
 18 *agreement*).

19 **Table 5.5 Examples of policies to enable “avoid” options**

Mitigation Option	Perceived struggles to overcome	Policy to overcome struggles (nudge/incentives)
<b>Reduce passenger km</b>	Overcoming existing paradigms and planning practices and car dependency (Rosenow et al. 2017; Grubb et al. 2020).  Financial and capacity barrier in many developing countries.	Integrated city planning to avoid travel growth, car reduction, building retrofits to avoid heating or cooling demand (Bakker et al. 2014; Lucon et al. 2014; de Feijter et al. 2019).  Public-private partnership to overcome financial barrier. (see Box 5.7) (Roy et al. 2018b).
<b>Reduce/avoid food waste</b>	Little visible political and social momentum to prevent food waste in the Global North.	Strengthen national nutrition guidelines for health safety, Improve education/awareness on food waste; policies to eliminate ambiguous food labelling include well-defined and clear date labelling systems for food (Wilson et al. 2017); policies to support R&D to improve packaging to extend shelf life (Thyberg and Tonjes 2016). Charging according to how much food households throw away.
<b>Reduce size of dwellings</b>	Size of residents/dwelling getting smaller in many countries.	Compact city design, putting a ceiling on per person property ownership.
<b>Reduce/avoid heating, cooling and lighting in dwellings</b>	Change in individual behaviour in dress codes and working times	Temperature set point as norm; building energy codes that set building standards; bioclimatic or/and zero emissions; cities set building energy that incorporate features like daylighting and increased building depth, height, and compactness (Steemers 2003; Creutzig et al. 2016a).

<b>Sharing economy for more service per product</b>	Inclusivity and involvement of users in design. Digital divide, unequal access and unequal digital literacy (Pouri and Hilty 2018). Political or power relations among actors involved in the sharing economy (Curtis and Lehner 2019).	Discount for public parking lot space, and subsidies towards the purchase of electric vehicles providers of electric vehicle (EV) sharing services were given subsidies towards the purchase of electric vehicles (Jung and Koo 2018).
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1 Note: Please see Section 5.3.1.1 and Table 5.1 for details on options. For direct and indirect benefits and links  
 2 with wellbeing and SDG dimensions please see Section 5.2, Figure 5.6.

3

4 **5.6.2.2 Shift policies**

5 As indicated in Table 5.6, ‘Shift’ policies have various forms such as the demand for low carbon  
 6 materials for buildings and infrastructure in manufacturing and services and shift from meat-based  
 7 protein, mainly beef, to plant-based diets of other protein sources (Willett et al. 2019; Ritchie et al.  
 8 2018; Springmann et al. 2016a) (*high evidence, high agreement*). Governments also play a direct role  
 9 beyond nudging citizens with information about health and wellbeing. While the effectiveness of these  
 10 policies on behaviour change overall may be limited (Pearson-Stuttard et al. 2017; Shangguan et al.  
 11 2019), there is some room for policy to influence actors upstream, i.e. industry and supermarkets which  
 12 may give rise to longer-term, structural change.

13

14 **Table 5.6 Examples of policies to enable “shift” options**

<b>Mitigation Option</b>	<b>Perceived struggles to overcome</b>	<b>Policy to overcome struggles (nudge/incentives)</b>
<b>More walking, less car use, train rather air travel</b>	Adequate infrastructure may be absent, speed a part of modern life.	Congestion charges (Pearson-Stuttard et al. 2017; Shangguan et al. 2019); deliberate urban design including cycling lanes, shared micromobility, and extensive cycling infrastructure.  Fair street space allocation (Creutzig et al. 2020).
<b>Multifamily housing,</b>	Zonings that favour single family homes have been dominant in planning (Hagen 2016).	Taxation, relaxation of single-family zoning policies and land use regulation (Geffner 2017).
<b>Shifting from meat to other protein</b>	Minimal meat required for protein intake, especially in developing countries for population suffering from malnutrition and when plant-based protein is lacking (Garnett 2011; Sunguya et al. 2014; Behrens et al. 2017; Godfray et al. 2018); Dominance of market-based instruments limits governments’ role to nudging citizens with information about health and wellbeing, and point-of-purchase labelling (Pearson-Stuttard et al. 2017; Shangguan et al. 2019).	Tax on meat/beef (Edjabou and Smed 2013; Säll and Gren 2015).  Nationally recommended diets (NRDs) (Garnett 2011; Sunguya et al. 2014; Behrens et al. 2017; Godfray et al. 2018).

<b>Material-efficient product design, packaging</b>	Resistance by architects and builders who might perceive risks with lean designs. Cultural/ social norms. Policy measures not keeping up with changes on the ground such as increased consumption of packaging.	Embodied carbon standards for buildings (IEA 2019c). For packaging, policies focusing on total reduction of environmental impacts through a reduction of material used (Worrell and Van Sluisveld 2013).
<b>Architectural design with shading and ventilation</b>	Lack of education, awareness and capacity for new thinking, local air pollution.	Incentives for increased urban density and incentives to encourage architectural forms with lower surface-to-volume ratios and increased shading support (Creutzig et al. 2016a).

1

2 Mobility services is one of the key areas where a combination of market-based and command-and-  
3 control measures have been implemented to persuade large numbers of people to get out of their  
4 automobiles and take up public transport and cycling alternatives (Gehl et al. 2011). Congestion charges  
5 are often complemented by other measures such as company subsidies for bicycles to incentivise the  
6 shift to public mobility services. Attracting people to public transport requires sufficient spatial  
7 coverage of transport with adequate level of provision, and good quality service at affordable fares  
8 (Sims et al. 2014; Moberg et al. 2019) (*high evidence, high agreement*). Cities such as Bogota, Buenos  
9 Aires and Santiago have seen rapid growth of cycling, resulting in an 6-fold of cyclists (Pucher and  
10 Buehler 2017). Broadly, the history and type of city determines how quickly the transition to public  
11 modes of transport can be achieved. For example, cities in developed countries enjoy an advantage in  
12 that network of high-quality public transport predating the advent of automobiles, whereas cities in less  
13 developed countries are latecomers in large-scale network infrastructure (UN-Habitat 2013; Gota et al.  
14 2019).

15

### 16 5.6.2.3 *Improve policies*

17 ‘*Improve*’ policies focus on the efficiency and enhancement of technological performance of services  
18 (Table 5.7). In mobility services, ‘*improve*’ policies aim at improving vehicles, comfort, fuels, transport  
19 operations and management technologies; and in building, they include policies for improving  
20 efficiency of heating systems and retrofitting existing buildings. Efficiency *improvements* in electric  
21 cooking appliances, together with the ongoing decrease in prices of renewable energy technologies, is  
22 opening policy opportunities to support households to adopt electrical cooking at mass scale (IEA  
23 2017c; Puzzolo et al. 2019) (*medium evidence, medium agreement*). These actions towards cleaner  
24 energy for cooking often come with cooking-related reduction of GHG emissions, even though the  
25 extent of the reductions is highly dependent on context and technology and fuel pathways (Martínez et  
26 al. 2017; Mondal et al. 2018; Rosenthal et al. 2018; Serrano-Medrano et al. 2018; Hof et al. 2019) (*high*  
27 *evidence, high agreement*) (see Box 5.5).

28

29 **Table 5.7 Examples of policies to enable “improve” options**

Mitigation Option	Perceived struggles to overcome	Policy to overcome struggles (nudge/incentives)
<b>Lightweight vehicle, hydrogen car, electric vehicles, ecodriving</b>	Adequate infrastructure may be absent, speed a part of modern life.	Monetary incentives and traffic regulations favouring EVs; investment in public charging infrastructure; car purchase tax calculated by a combination of weight, CO <sub>2</sub> and NO <sub>x</sub> emissions (Haugeland and

		Kvisle 2015; Globisch et al. 2018; Gnann et al. 2018; Lieven and Rietmann 2018; Rietmann and Lieven 2019).
<b>Use low carbon materials in dwelling design</b>	Manufacturing and R&D costs, recycling processes and aesthetic performance (Orsini and Marrone 2019). Access to secondary materials in the building sector (Nußholz et al. 2019).	Increasing recycling of construction and demolition waste; Incentives must be available to companies in the waste collection and recovery markets to offer recovered material at higher value (Nußholz et al. 2019).
<b>Better insulation and retrofitting</b>	<p>Policies to advance retrofitting and GHG emission reductions in buildings are laden with high expectations since they are core components of politically ambitious city climate targets (Haug et al. 2010).</p> <p>Bringing building owners to implement measures identified in auditing results</p> <p>Lack of incentive for building owners to invest in higher efficiency than required norms (Trencher et al. 2016).</p>	Grants and loans through Development Banks, building and heating system labels, and technical renovation requirements to continuously raise standards (Ortiz et al. 2019; Sebi et al. 2019); disclosure of energy use, financing and technical assistance (Sebi et al. 2019).
<b>Widen low carbon energy access</b>	Access to finance, capacity, robust policies, affordability for poor households for off-grid solutions until recently (Rolffs et al. 2015; Fuso Nerini et al. 2018; Mulugetta et al. 2019).	Feed-in-tariffs and auctions to stimulate investment. Pay-as-you-go (PAYG) end-user financing scheme where customers pay a small up-front fee for the equipment, followed by monthly payments, using mobile payment system (Yadav et al. 2019; Rolffs et al. 2015).
<b>Improve illumination related emission</b>	Supply side solution for low carbon electricity provision.	Building energy codes that set building standards; grants and other incentives for R&D.
<b>Improve efficiency of cooking appliances</b>	Reliability of power in many countries is not guaranteed; electricity tariff is high in many countries; cooking appliances are mostly imported using scarce foreign currency.	Driven by a combination of government support for appliance purchases, shifting subsidies from kerosene or LPG to electricity; community-level consultation and awareness campaigns about the hazards associated with indoor air pollution from the use of fuelwood and kerosene, as well as education on the multiple benefits of electric cooking (Yangka and Diesendorf 2016; Martínez-Gómez et al. 2016; Martínez et al. 2017; Gould and Urpelainen 2018; Dendup and Arimura 2019; Pattanayak et al. 2019).

<b>Shift to LED lamp</b>	People spend increasing amounts of time indoors, with heavy dependence on and demand for artificial lighting environment (Ding et al. 2020).	Government Incentive, utility incentive (Bertoldi et al. 2020). EU bans on directional and non-directional halogen bulbs (Franceschini et al. 2018).
<b>Solar water heating</b>	Dominance of incumbent energy source i.e. electricity; cheap conventional energy; high initial investment costs and long payback (Joubert et al. 2016).	Subsidy for solar heaters (Li et al. 2013; Bessa and Prado 2015; Sgouridis et al. 2016).

1  
2 Table 5.7 highlights the significant progress made in the uptake of the Electrical Vehicle (EV) in  
3 Europe, driven by a suite of incentives and policies. Increased activity in widening Electric Vehicle  
4 (EV) use is also occurring in developing countries. The Indian Government's commitment to reach the  
5 target of a 100% electric vehicle fleet by 2030 has stimulated investment in charging infrastructure that  
6 can facilitate diffusion of larger EVs (Dhar et al. 2017). India's large and growing two-wheeler market  
7 has benefitted from this policy drive, showing a significant potential for increasing the share of electric  
8 two-and three-wheelers in the short-term (Ahmad and Creutzig 2019). Similar opportunities exist for  
9 China where e-bikes have replaced car trips and are reported to act as intermediate links in multimodal  
10 mobility (Cherry et al. 2016).

11 In recent years, policy interest has arisen to address the energy access challenge in Africa using low-  
12 carbon energy technologies to meet energy for poverty reduction and climate action simultaneously  
13 (Rolffs et al. 2015; Fuso Nerini et al. 2018; Mulugetta et al. 2019). This aspiration has been bolstered  
14 on the technical front by significant advances in appliance efficiency such as light-emitting diode (LED)  
15 technology, complemented by the sharp reduction in the cost of renewable energy technologies, and  
16 largely driven by market stimulating policies and public R&D to mitigate risks (Alstone et al. 2015;  
17 Zubi et al. 2019) (*high evidence, high agreement*).

18

### 19 **5.6.3 Policies in transition phases**

20 Demand-side policies tend to vary for different transition phases (*high evidence, high agreement*)  
21 (Roberts and Geels 2019; Sandin et al. 2019). In the first phase, which is characterised by the emergence  
22 or introduction of radical innovations in small niches, policies focus on: a) supporting R&D and  
23 demonstration projects to enable learning and capability developments, b) nurturing the building of  
24 networks and multi-stakeholder interactions, and c) providing future orientation through visions or  
25 targets (Brown et al. 2003; López-García et al. 2019; Roesler and Hassler 2019). In the second phase,  
26 the policy emphasis shifts towards upscaling of experiments, standardisation, cost reduction, and the  
27 creation of early market niches (Borghei and Magnusson 2018; Ruggiero et al. 2018). In the third and  
28 later phases, comprehensive policy mixes are used to stimulate mass adoption, infrastructure creation,  
29 social acceptance and business investment (Fichter and Clausen 2016; Geels et al. 2018; Strauch 2020).  
30 In the third phases, transitions can also be stimulated through policies that weaken or phase-out existing  
31 regimes such as removing subsidies (for cheap petrol or fuel oil), increasing taxes on carbon-intensive  
32 products and practices, or substantially tightening regulations and standards (Kivimaa and Kern 2016;  
33 David 2017; Rogge and Johnstone 2017).

#### 34 **Box 5.10: Carbon pricing and fairness**

1 Whether the public supports specific policy instruments for reducing greenhouse gas emissions is  
2 determined by cultural and political world views (Alberini et al. 2018; Cherry et al. 2017; Kotchen et  
3 al. 2017) and national position in international climate negotiations with major implications for policy  
4 design. For example, policy proposals need to circumvent "solution aversion": that is, individuals are  
5 more doubtful about the urgency of climate change mitigation if the proposed policy contradicts their  
6 political worldviews (Campbell and Kay 2014). While carbon pricing is the most efficient way to reduce  
7 emissions, a recent literature – focusing on populations in Western Europe and North America and  
8 carbon taxes – documents that efficiency feature alone is not what makes citizens like or dislike carbon  
9 pricing schemes (Kallbekken et al. 2011; Carattini et al. 2017; Klenert et al. 2018).

10 Citizens tend to ignore or doubt the idea that pricing carbon emissions reduces GHG emissions  
11 (Kallbekken et al. 2011; Douenne and Fabre 2019; Maestre-Andrés et al. 2019). Further, citizens have  
12 fairness concerns about carbon pricing (Büchs and Schnepf 2013; Douenne and Fabre 2019; Maestre-  
13 Andrés et al. 2019), even if higher carbon prices can be made progressive by suitable use of revenues  
14 (Rausch et al. 2011; Williams et al. 2015; Klenert and Mattauch 2016). There are also non-economic  
15 properties of policy instruments that matter for public support: Calling a carbon price a "CO<sub>2</sub> levy"  
16 alleviates solution aversion (Kallbekken et al. 2011; Carattini et al. 2017). It may be that the word "tax"  
17 evokes a feeling of distrust in government and may have high costs, low benefits and distributional  
18 effects (Strand 2020). Trust in politicians is correlated with higher carbon prices (Hammar and Jagers  
19 2006; Rafaty 2018) and political campaigns for a carbon tax can lower public support for them  
20 (Anderson et al. 2019). Few developing countries have adopted carbon taxes, probably due to high  
21 costs, relatively low benefits, and distributional effects (Strand 2020).

22 To address these realities regarding support for carbon pricing, some studies have examined whether  
23 specific uses of the revenue can increase public support for higher carbon prices (Carattini et al. 2017;  
24 Beiser-McGrath and Bernauer 2019). Doubt about the environmental effectiveness of carbon pricing  
25 may be alleviated if revenue from carbon pricing is earmarked for specific uses (Kallbekken et al. 2011;  
26 Carattini et al. 2017) and higher carbon prices may then be supported (Beiser-McGrath and Bernauer  
27 2019). This is especially the case for using the proceeds on "green investment" in infrastructure or  
28 energy efficiency programmes (Kotchen et al. 2017). Further, returning the revenues to individuals in  
29 a salient manner may increase public support and alleviate fairness proposals, given sufficient  
30 information (Carattini et al. 2017; Klenert et al. 2018). Perceived fairness is one of the strongest  
31 predictors of policy support (Jagers et al. 2010; Whittle et al. 2019).

#### 32 33 **5.6.4 Policy sequencing and packaging to strengthen enabling conditions**

34 Policy coordination is critical to manage infrastructure interdependence across sectors, and to avoid  
35 trade-off effects (Raven and Verbong 2007; Hiteva and Watson 2019), specifically requiring the  
36 consideration of interactions among supply-side and demand-side measures (Kivimaa and Virkamäki  
37 2014; Rogge and Reichardt 2016; de Coninck et al. 2018; Edmondson et al. 2019) (*high evidence, high  
38 agreement*). For example, the amount of electricity required for cooking can overwhelm the grid which  
39 can lead to failure, causing end-users to shift back to traditional biomass or fossil fuels (Ateba et al.  
40 2018; Israel-Akinbo et al. 2018); thus grid stability policies need to be undertaken in conjunction.

41 Policy makers operate in a politically dynamic national and international environment, and their policies  
42 often reflect their contextual situations and constraints with regards to climate-related reforms (Levin  
43 et al. 2012; Copland 2019), including differentiation between developed and developing countries (Beer  
44 and Beer 2014; Roy et al. 2018c) (*high evidence, high agreement*). Variables such as internal political  
45 stability, equity, informality (Box 5.9), macro-economic conditions, public debt, governance of policies,

1 global oil prices, quality of public services, and the maturity of green technologies play important roles  
2 in determining policy directions.

3 Sequencing policies appropriately is a success factor for climate policy regimes (*high evidence, high*  
4 *agreement*). In most situations policy measures require a preparatory phase that prepares the ground by  
5 lowering the costs of policies, communicating the costs and benefits to citizens, and building coalitions  
6 for policies, thus reducing political resistance (Meckling et al. 2017). This policy sequencing aims to  
7 incrementally relax or remove barriers over time to enable significant cumulative increases in policy  
8 stringency and create coalitions that support future policy development (Pahle et al. 2018). German  
9 policies into renewables began with funding for RD&D, then subsidies for demonstration projects  
10 during the 1970s and 1980s, and continued to larger-scale projects such as ‘Solar Roofs’ programmes  
11 in the 1990s, including the scaled-up FITs for solar power (Jacobsson and Lauber 2006). These policies  
12 led to industrial expansion in wind and solar energy systems, giving rise to powerful renewables interest  
13 coalitions that defend existing measures and lend political support for further action.

14 As a key contending policy instrument, carbon pricing also requires embedding into policy packages  
15 (*high evidence, medium agreement*). Pricing may be regressive and perceived as additional costs by  
16 households and industry, making investments into green infrastructure politically feasible, as examples  
17 from France and Australia show (Copland 2019; Douenne and Fabre 2020). Reforms that would push  
18 up household energy expenses are often left aside for fear of how citizens, especially the poor, would  
19 react or cope with higher bills (Martinez and Viegas 2017; Tesfamichael et al. 2021) (*high evidence,*  
20 *medium agreement*). This makes it important to precede carbon pricing with investments into renewable  
21 energy and low carbon transport modes (Biber et al. 2017; Tvinnereim and Mehling 2018), and  
22 especially support developing countries by building up low-carbon energy and mobility infrastructures  
23 and technologies, thus reducing resistance to carbon pricing (Creutzig 2019). Additionally, carbon  
24 pricing receives higher acceptance if fairness and distributive consideration are made explicit in revenue  
25 distribution (see Box 5.10).

26 The effectiveness of a policy package is determined by design decisions as well as the wider governance  
27 context that include the political environment, institutions for coordination across scales, bureaucratic  
28 traditions, and judicial functioning (Howlett and Rayner 2013; Rogge and Reichardt 2013; Rosenow et  
29 al. 2016) (*high evidence, high agreement*). Policy packages often emerge through interactions between  
30 different policy instruments as they operate in either complementary or contradictory ways, resulting  
31 from conflicting policy goals (Cunningham et al. 2013; Givoni et al. 2013). An example includes the  
32 acceleration in shift from traditional biomass to the adoption of modern cooking fuel for 80 million  
33 households in rural India over a very short period of 4 years (2016-2020), which employed a  
34 comprehensive ‘policy package’ including financial incentive, infrastructural support and strengthening  
35 of the supply chain to induce households to shift towards a clean cooking fuel from the use of biomass  
36 (Kumar 2019). This was operationalised by creating a LPG supply chain by linking oil and gas  
37 companies with distributors to assure availability, create infrastructure for local storage along with an  
38 improvement of the rural road network, especially in the rural context (Sankhyayan and Dasgupta  
39 2019). State governments initiated separate policies to increase the distributorship of LPG in their states  
40 (Kumar et al. 2016). Similarly, policy actions for scaling up electric vehicles need to be well designed  
41 and coordinated where EV policy, transport policy and climate policy are used together, working on  
42 different decision points and different aspects of human behaviour (Barton and Schütte 2017). The  
43 coordination of the multiple policy actions enables co-evolution of multiple outcomes that involve  
44 shifting towards renewable energy production, improving access to charging infrastructure, carbon  
45 pricing and other GHG measures (Wolbertus et al. 2018).

46 Design of policy packages should consider not only policies that support low carbon transitions but also  
47 those that challenge existing carbon-intensive regimes, generating not just policy “winners” but also  
48 “losers” (Carley and Konisky 2020) (*high evidence, high agreement*). The winners include low carbon



1 innovators and entrepreneurs, while the potential losers include incumbents with vested interests in  
2 sustaining the status quo (Mundaca et al. 2018; Monasterolo and Raberto 2019). Low carbon policy  
3 packages would benefit from looking beyond climate benefits to include non-climate benefits such as  
4 health benefits, fuel poverty reductions and environmental co-benefits (Ürge-Vorsatz et al. 2014;  
5 Sovacool et al. 2020b). The uptake of decentralised energy services using solar PV in rural areas in  
6 developing countries is one such example where successful initiatives are linked to the convergence of  
7 multiple policies that include import tariffs, research incentives for R&D, job creation programmes,  
8 policies to widen health and education services, and strategies for increased safety for women and  
9 children (Kattumuri and Kruse 2019; Gebreslassie 2020).

10 The energy efficient lighting transition in Europe represents a good case of the formation of policy  
11 coalitions that led to the development of policy packages. As attention for energy efficiency in Europe  
12 increased in the 1990s, policymakers attempted to stimulate energy-saving lamp diffusion through  
13 voluntary measures. But policies stimulated only limited adoption. Consumers perceived CFLs as  
14 giving ‘cold’ light, being unattractively shaped, taking too long to achieve full brightness, unsuitable  
15 for many fixtures, and unreliable (Wall and Crosbie 2009). Still, innovations by major CFL and LED  
16 multinationals continued. Increasing political attention to climate change and criticisms from  
17 environmental NGOs (e.g. WWF, Greenpeace) strengthened awareness about the inefficiency of  
18 incandescent light bulbs (ILBs), which led to negative socio-cultural framings that associated ILBs with  
19 energy waste (Franceschini and Alkemade 2016). The combined pressures from the lighting industry,  
20 NGOs and member states led the European Commission to introduce the 2009 ban of ILBs of more  
21 than 80W, progressing to lower-wattage bans in successive years. While the ILB ban initially mainly  
22 boosted CFL diffusion, it also stimulated LED uptake. LED prices decreased quickly by more than 85%  
23 between 2008 and 2012 (Sanderson and Simons 2014), because of scale economies, standardisation and  
24 commoditisation of LED chip technology, and improved manufacturing techniques. Because of further  
25 rapid developments to meet consumer tastes, LEDs came to be seen as the future of domestic lighting  
26 (Franceschini et al. 2018). Acknowledging these changing views, the 2016 and 2018 European bans on  
27 directional and non-directional halogen bulbs explicitly intended to further accelerate the LED  
28 transition and reduce energy consumption for residential lighting.

29 In summary, more equitable societies are associated with high levels of social trust and enables action  
30 that reduce GHG emissions. To this end, people play an important role in the delivery of demand-side  
31 mitigation options within which efficiency and ‘improve’ options dominate. Policies that are aimed at  
32 behaviour and lifestyle changes come with political risks for policy makers. However, the potential  
33 exists for broadening demand-side interventions to include ‘avoid’ and ‘shift’ policies. Longer term  
34 thinking and implementation that involves careful sequencing of policies as well as designing policy  
35 packages that address multiple co-benefits would be critical to manage interactions among supply-side  
36 and demand-side options to accelerate mitigation.

## 37 38 **5.7 Knowledge gaps**

### 39 **Knowledge gap 1: Climate action as if people matter**

40 Knowledge on climate action that starts with the social practices and how people live in various cultures,  
41 contexts and attempts to improve their wellbeing, is still in its infancy. In models, climate solutions  
42 remain supply-side oriented, and evaluated against GDP, without acknowledging the reduction in  
43 wellbeing due to climate impacts. GDP is a poor metric of human wellbeing, and climate policy  
44 evaluation requires better grounding in relation to decent living standards and or similar benchmarks.  
45 Actual solutions will invariably include demand, service provisioning and end use. Literature on how  
46 gender, informal economies, and solidarity and care frameworks translate into climate action, but also

1 how climate action can improve the life of marginalised groups remains scarce. The working of  
2 economic systems under a wellbeing driven rather than GDP driven paradigm requires better  
3 understanding.

4

#### 5 **Knowledge gap 2: Evaluation of the digital economy**

6 The digital economy, as well as shared and circular economy, is emerging as template for great  
7 narratives, hopes and fears. Yet, there is few systematic evaluation of what is already happening and  
8 what can govern it towards a great narrative. Research needs to better gauge energy trends for rapidly  
9 evolving systems like data centres, AI, blockchain, implication of digital divide on wellbeing.  
10 Governance decisions on AI, indirectly fostering either climate harming or climate mitigating activities  
11 remain unexplored. Better integration of mitigation models and consequential life cycle analysis is  
12 needed for assessing how digitalisation, shared economy and circular economy change material and  
13 energy demand.

14

#### 15 **Knowledge gap 3: Scenario modelling of services**

16 Scenarios start within parameter-rich models carrying more than a decade-long legacy of supply side  
17 technologies that are not always gauged in recent technological developments. Service provisioning  
18 systems are not explicitly modelled, and diversity in concepts and patterns of lifestyles rarely  
19 considered. A new class of flexible and modular models with focus on services and activities, based on  
20 variety of data sources including big data collected and compiled is needed. There is scope for more  
21 sensitivity analysis on which socio-behavioural aspects/ organisation changes has biggest impact on  
22 energy/emissions reductions, and on the scale for take-back effects, to better guide subsequent detailed  
23 studies on mechanisms and policy responses and policy feedbacks due to interdependence on inclusion  
24 or exclusion of groups of people. Models mostly consider behavioural change free, and don't account  
25 for how savings due to "avoid" measures may be re-spent.

26

#### 27 **Knowledge gap 4: Dynamic interaction between individual, social, and structural drivers of** 28 **change**

29 Better understanding is required on: (1) More detailed causal mechanisms in the mutual interactions  
30 between individual, social, and structural drivers of change and how these vary over time, i.e. what is  
31 their relative importance in different transition phases; (2) how narratives associated with specific  
32 technologies, group identities, and climate change influence each other and interact over time to enable  
33 and constrain mitigation outcomes; (3) how social media influences the development and impacts of  
34 narratives about low carbon transitions; (4) the effects of social movements (for climate justice, youth  
35 climate activism, fossil fuel divestment, and climate action more generally) on social norms and  
36 political change, especially in less developed countries; (5) how existing provisioning systems and  
37 social practices destabilise through the weakening of various lock-in mechanisms, and resulting  
38 deliberate strategies for accelerating demand-side transitions; (6) a dynamic understanding of  
39 feasibility, which addresses the dynamic mechanisms that lower barriers or drive mitigation options  
40 over the barriers. The debate on the most powerful leverage point/s and policies for speeding up change  
41 in social and technological systems need to be resolved with more evidence. Discussion on the policy  
42 interdependence and implications of end-user and efficiency focused strategies have only just started  
43 suggesting an important area for future research.

44

#### 45 **Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)**

**1 FAQ 5.1 What can every person do to limit warming to 1.5°C?**

2 People act in different roles, and in each role everyone can contribute to limit global warming to 1.5°C.  
3 As citizens, we can organise and put political pressure on the system. As role models, we can be  
4 examples to others. As professionals (e.g., engineers, urban planners, teachers, researchers) we can  
5 change professional standards in consistency with decarbonisation; e.g., urban planners and architects  
6 can design physical infrastructures to facilitate low-carbon mobility and energy use by making walking  
7 and cycling safe for children. As investors, for those rich enough, we can divest from fossils and invest  
8 in carbon-neutral technologies. As consumers, especially if we belong to the top 10% of the world  
9 population in terms of income, we can limit excessive consumption, especially in mobility, and explore  
10 the good life consistent with responsible consumption.

11 Policy makers support individual action not only by economic incentives, such as carbon pricing, but  
12 also by interventions that understand complex decision making processes, habits, and routines. Highly  
13 relevant examples include choice architectures and nudges that set green options as default. Removing  
14 subsidies for cheap petrol, increasing taxes on carbon-intensive products, or substantially tightening  
15 regulations and standards support shifts in social norms, and thus can be effective beyond the direct  
16 economic incentive.

17

**18 FAQ 5.2 How does society perceive transformative change?**

19 Man-made global warming, together with other global trends and events, such as digitalisation and  
20 automation, and the COVID-19 pandemic, induces changes in labour markets, and bring large  
21 uncertainty and ambiguity. This makes people anxious. History and psychology reveal that societies  
22 can thrive in these circumstances if they openly embrace uncertainty on the future and try out ways to  
23 improve life. Tolerating ambiguity can be learned, e.g., by interacting with history, poetry and the arts.

24 As a key barrier, established meanings, values and discourses help to legitimise and normalise the status  
25 quo. For example, discourses that frame cars as status symbols that embody success, power, freedom,  
26 and autonomy help to entrench auto-mobility and hinder shifts to public transport. Discourses that  
27 portray dairy milk and animal protein healthy and natural stabilise particular diets and hinder transitions  
28 to plant-based milk. Novel narratives and inclusive processes help strategies to overcome these barriers.  
29 Case studies demonstrate that citizens support transformative changes if participatory processes enable  
30 a design that meets local interests and culture. Promising narratives specify that even as speed and  
31 capabilities differ humanity embarks on a joint journey towards wellbeing for all and a healthy planet.

32

**33 FAQ 5.3 Is demand reduction compatible with economic growth?**

34 Economic growth measured by total or individual income growth is a main driver of GHG emissions.  
35 Only a few countries with low economic growth rates have reduced both territorial and consumption-  
36 based GHG emissions from, typically by switching from fossil fuels to renewables, but until now at  
37 insufficient rates and levels for stabilising global warming at 1.5°C. High deployment of renewables  
38 and associated rapid reduction in demand and use of coal, gas, and oil can further reducing the  
39 interdependence between economic growth and GHG emissions.

40 There is a growing realisation that income growth is insufficient to measure national welfare and  
41 individual wellbeing. Hence, any action towards climate change mitigation is best evaluated against a  
42 broader set of indicators that represent a variety of needs to define individual wellbeing, macroeconomic  
43 stability, and planetary health. This chapter shows that many solutions that reduce primary material and  
44 fossil energy demand provide better services to help achieve wellbeing for all while reducing GHG  
45 emissions drastically.

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5

## Supplementary Material Chapter 5: Social Science Primer

Supplementary Material of Chapter 5 (Social Science Primer) aims to present multiple fundamental frameworks and concepts that help explain the variety in social aspects of demand side responses to climate mitigation. It does not aim to resolve any debates about the diversity in perspectives and approaches on this topic in the literature. Instead its goal is to describe more fully some common concepts and terminologies that are mentioned in this first-ever full chapter (Chapter 5) in an IPCC report on demand-side, energy-service, and social aspects of mitigation. Chapter 5 uses social science perspectives to examine societal level challenges and opportunities for mitigation options that involve end-users, with an eye on policy relevant insights about the drivers' processes and potential of demand-side solutions. Glossary definitions provide insufficient background information for new concepts used in this IPCC report to present social science perspectives. This primer is not meant to be complete and comprehensive, but is an easily accessible short handbook and a living document in the IPCC process.

There has been continuous advancement in the way demand-side choice processes have been viewed and modelled in the IPCC and energy and carbon mitigation policy community. From AR1 to AR4, rational decision making as defined by microeconomics was the implicit assumption, where homogeneous individual agents maximise self-focused utility/ expected utility, with the only consequential variations of this *homo economicus* relating to income, wealth, risk attitude, and time discount rate (Persky 1995). AR5 (Kunreuther et al. 2014) introduced a broader range of goals that are held by *homo sapiens* (material goals like those of *homo economicus*, but also self- and other-regarding social goals, and psychological goals such as confidence and feeling in control). It also considered a broader range of decision processes (calculation-based, but also affect-based, and role- and rule-based processes) designed to allow timely decisions within a context of bounded rationality as the result of attentional and processing limitations. AR5's perspective on decisions and action, like the rational choice perspective, remained individual- and agency-focused and thus did not explicitly address the role of structural, cultural, and institutional constraints and the pervasive influence of physical and social context, beyond simple choice-architecture interventions that modify the context or format in which choice alternatives are presented (Thaler and Sunstein 2003).

AR5 (Kunreuther et. al 2014) reviewed how experts and the general population differed in their responses to risky and uncertain climate information and the importance for experts/scientists/policy makers to understand and predict the public's reaction in order to communicate climate risks and uncertainties effectively. Its introduction of a broader range of goals and decision processes than those of *homo economicus* has important implications for IPCC scenarios by introducing additional uncertainty about the effects of climate change (e.g., temperature increases or extreme weather) on human behaviour and hence future GHG emissions (Beckage et al. 2018). At the same time, an agency-based framework that includes the many influences on individual decisions that go beyond rational choice and rational expectations (e.g., responses to extreme events, perceived behavioural control, and perceived social norms) explains many anomalies observed by ecologists in the field (Schlüter et al. 2017; Beckage et al. 2018) and generates a broader set of demand-side policy options and more effective ways of implementing them.

Given the focus in AR6 on assessing growing social inequity but need for participation in managing the global common good, the need for increased used of energy and materials to bridge the gap in wellbeing in some parts of the world while there is co-existing reality of wasteful consumption and production systems, while at the same time the need for accelerated emissions reduction and socio-economic transitions, this Social Science Primer strives to provide frameworks for understanding the challenges of systemic change, emergent transition phases and patterns, and what determines technological choice. So it is not just about socio-technical relations alone, but also includes social groups, justice, wellbeing,

1 normative goals for growth in terms of desirability and sufficiency and effective policy frameworks as  
2 important factors in mitigation, drawing from various domains of social science. The **societal**  
3 **perspective** in Chapter 5 of AR6 very broadly focuses on human society and human agency, where  
4 political power structures, infrastructure, and technology interact to deliver services that provide  
5 dignified living for all, irrespective of geographical location, which is compatible with cosmopolitan  
6 justice theories.

7 The following figure (Figure SM5.15) summarises key results of papers in the social science literature  
8 with the highest topic score (highest amount of references to key social science topics) and/or highest  
9 citation count, organised by mitigation sector. It builds on 34 search queries on demand-side climate  
10 change mitigation and 99,065 unique papers, which were fed into a machine learning algorithms to  
11 identify 60 topic models (vectors of 10 co-occurring key words) (Creutzig et al. 2021a). Expert  
12 judgement identified the 24 topics models most relevant to demand-side climate change mitigation (see  
13 also Figure 5.2). In a next step, the key papers from the topic models were summarised, selected from  
14 the ten most cited of each topic model with topic score > 0.1, and the 10 with highest topic score, finding  
15 a wide array from insights, ranging from the importance of consumption-based carbon footprints, to  
16 sectoral interventions, to policy instruments, and the key insight that demand and supply are  
17 interdependent and require joint consideration. Figure SM5.1 further condenses these insights into  
18 headline statements in a clustered summary.

19



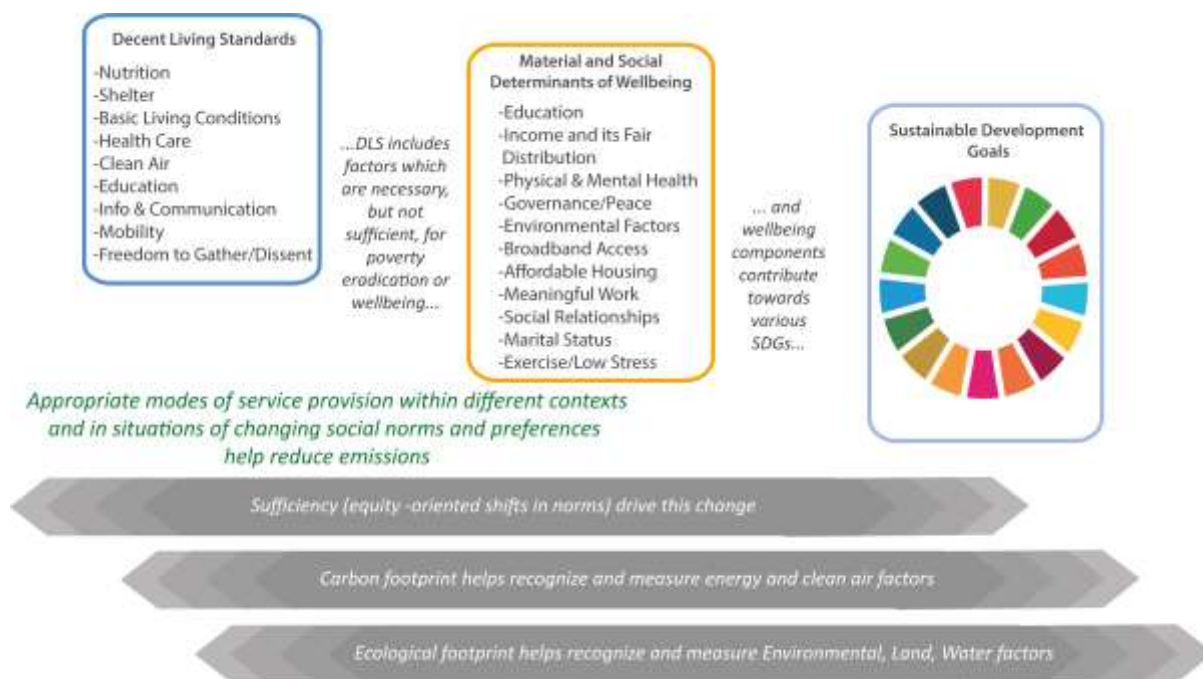
1  
2 **Figure SM5.15 Cluster-oriented summary of key messages drawn from academic publications in social**  
3 **science literature. Source: (Creutzig et al. 2021a)**

4  
5 Low-carbon ways of producing the services that are necessary for everyone's wellbeing are the  
6 foundation of the post-carbon societal transition. Advancing this transition depends not just on progress  
7 indicators that measure wellbeing, equity, and sufficiency in relation to emissions and ecological health,  
8 but also on technological innovations, evolving social norms, policy frameworks, and global  
9 networking to share successful ways of building global socioeconomic equity while reducing global  
10 emissions. The tight links between equity, wellbeing for all, and emissions reductions are demonstrated  
11 in growing interdisciplinary literatures, (also outlined in AR6 Chapter 5, Section 5. 2). This Social  
12 Science Primer provides the theoretical underpinnings for these concepts, drawing from various social  
13 sciences (see also (Creutzig et al. 2018; Hayward and Roy 2019; Jorgenson et al. 2019; Hess and  
14 Sovacool 2020)).

1 From an economics perspective, for example, expanding concepts of value to include nonmarketed  
2 social and ecological factors, unpaid work, and informal-sector production makes possible a broader  
3 participation and more inclusive view of economic activity and its total benefits and costs. Individual  
4 and collective choices, including not only what to consume but how best to foster local contexts for  
5 wellbeing, are reflected in new literatures on relative provisioning, sufficiency, decent standards of  
6 living for all, and the costs of socioeconomic inequality. Sufficiency in economics (also discussed in  
7 AR6 Chapter 9 of this reports, GEA 2012 chapter 21 on lifestyles, wellbeing and energy) expresses the  
8 idea that ecological limits necessitate restraint to prevent overconsumption; short and longterm risks  
9 including those related to climate change can only be mitigated by going beyond cooperation and  
10 efficiency to sufficiency (Princen 2003; Mongsawad 2012; Bierwirth and Thomas 2019; Fawcett and  
11 Darby 2019; Hayward and Roy 2019; Monyei et al. 2019). Behavioural changes that reduce energy  
12 consumption can lead to rebound and spillover effects that can partially counter the benefits, or enhance  
13 welfare depending on the context (Chakravarty et al. 2013; Brockway et al. 2017; Van Lange et al.  
14 2018; Rogelj et al. 2018; Shao et al. 2019; Yan et al. 2019; Court and Sorrell 2020; Saunders et al.  
15 2021). Intersectional inequities related to geography, gender, race, Indigeneity, ethnicity and other  
16 factors interrupt the fair distribution of income, resources, energy access and emissions, further  
17 restricting the margin of manoeuvre for climate action and the urgency of operationalising sufficiency  
18 norms. One way to foster this is through multi-dimensional affordability, which includes not only  
19 economic affordability but also social, motivational, and institutional/environmental affordability, as  
20 part of consumption choice processes-all influenced by policies (Spangenberg and Lorek 2019).  
21 Information for consumers, communities and policy-makers about the equity and emissions  
22 implications of their decisions, such as that provided by the Ecological Footprint (Kopp and Dorn 2018;  
23 Lin et al. 2018; Yunani et al. 2020) and the Carbon Footprint (Wiedmann and Minx 2008), can facilitate  
24 multi-dimensional choice processes (Beattie and Sale 2009; González-García et al. 2018; Wood et al.  
25 2020). Empirical social sciences research is addressing earlier discrepancies in methods and challenges  
26 in estimating these indicators across global supply chains, income levels, energy technologies, time  
27 frames, and systems boundaries (Matthews et al. 2008; Chen et al. 2016; Kanemoto et al. 2016; Bello  
28 et al. 2018; Fenner et al. 2018; Lenzen et al. 2018; Pichler et al. 2019; Zheng and Suh 2019). Decent  
29 Living Standards (DLS) is another way to express the socio-political goal of prioritising necessities  
30 over luxuries while limiting emissions (Dearby 2007; Gorge et al. 2014; Rao and Pachauri 2017; Otto  
31 et al. 2019; Rao et al. 2019; Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020). Like the early footprint indicators, DLS  
32 omits intermediate service provision and some important components of wellbeing such as collective,  
33 land-based cultural values (Ikuenobe 2016; Bullock et al. 2018; Choy 2018; Richardson et al. 2019;  
34 Raymond et al. 2019) in its focus on material prerequisites of wellbeing (Rao and Min 2018). Socially-  
35 determined and contextual measures of value and individual/collective wellbeing also interrelate with  
36 social norms regarding acceptable or expected consumption levels, as shown in Figure SM5.16. This  
37 has implications for emissions, since appropriate modes of service provision within different cultural  
38 contexts, and in situations of changing social norms and preferences, can facilitate the effective  
39 decoupling of service provision from energy use (Jackson 2005; Akenji 2014; Komiyama 2014; Brand-  
40 Correa and Steinberger 2017; Mastrucci and Rao 2017; O'Neill et al. 2018; Rao and Min 2018a;  
41 Mastrucci and Rao 2019; Vita et al. 2019a, 2020; Wiedenhofer et al. 2020).

42





**Figure SM5.16 The relationships among indicators of Decent Living Standards, Wellbeing, Footprints, Sufficiency and the Sustainable Development Goals**

Demand-side contributions to mitigation – or those related to what consumers choose to buy—are more promising than Supply-side contributions – or those related to what producers choose to offer for sale, exactly because they allow consumers/users to select the best way to further their own wellbeing, making trade-offs across sectors and technologies as best suits their needs and contexts (Creutzig et al. 2021b).

There are multiple components of systemic change, and one way to dynamically represent change in the demand for GHG-emission-intensive products and services is to map it across the key concepts of agency, structure, meaning, relations, and norms (Sovacool and Hess 2017, Hess and Sovacool 2020). This involves the potential of individuals to change their consumption patterns and to act collectively in driving institutional change (agency), the redesign of infrastructures and technologies to foster low-carbon consumption patterns (structure), and the (re)establishment of cultures and social norms in alignment with consumption patterns that have few associated GHG emissions (meaning). Even a broad set of individual-based decision factors accounts at best for 30-40% of the variance in climate action, suggesting that behavioural change is not only a function of individual agency but also depends on other enabling factors, such as infrastructures, social norms, and professional roles (Bamberg et al. 2007b; Whitmarsh et al. 2017). Chapter 5 reflects this more inclusive view of different disciplinary and philosophical perspectives on individual and collective energy decisions (Grubb 2014; Riahi et al. 2015; Grubler et al. 2018; Mundaca et al. 2019; Creutzig et al. 2018, 2016). It broadens the individually-focused agency framework of micro- and behavioural economics and psychology by also including considerations of structure and meaning, i.e., the hardware and software of the social, cultural, and physical context studied by disciplines like geography, ecology, sociology, urban planning, and anthropology.

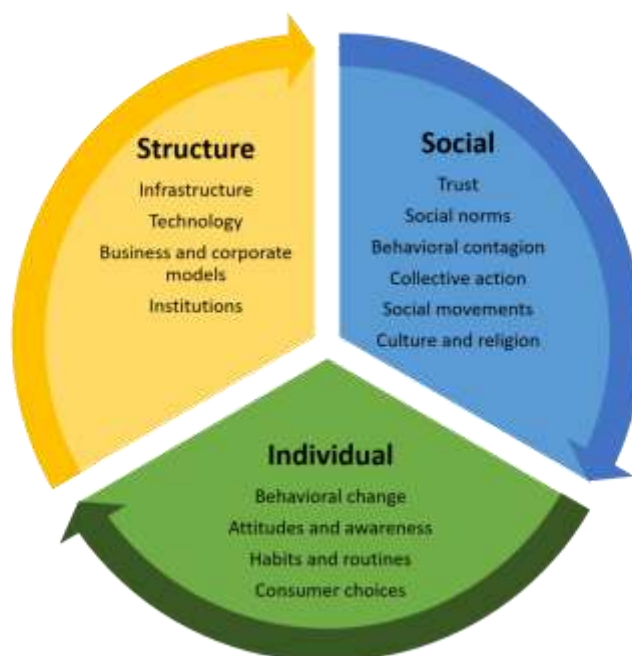
**Disciplines** vary in their approaches and research questions on demand side issues. For example, psychologists and behavioural economists focus on emotional factors and cognitive biases in decision making (Poortinga et al. 2019; Mills and Schleich 2012; Niamir et al. 2020a; Bamberg et al. 2007a); economists elaborate on how, under rational decision-making, carbon pricing and other fiscal instruments can trigger change in demand (Ameli and Brandt 2015) and help transitions to low carbon



1 futures (Roy et al. 2013); normative economics focuses on enabling conditions for sustainable human  
 2 development; sociologists emphasise every-day practices, structural issues, and socio-economic  
 3 inequality; anthropologists address the role of culture in energy consumption; urban planners take the  
 4 role of infrastructures as an entry point; and studies in technological innovation consider socio-technical  
 5 transitions and the norms, rules and pace of adoption that support dominant technologies. Political  
 6 scientists consider the roles of ideology, democracy, institutions, and politics in shaping societal  
 7 transformation. Generally, social sciences share a focus on interpersonal and collective outcomes—how  
 8 people shape their cultures and livelihoods together. Social practice theory emphasises interactions  
 9 between artefacts, competences, and cultural meanings (Shove and Walker 2014; Røpke 2009). The  
 10 energy cultures framework highlights feedbacks between materials, norms, and behavioural practices  
 11 (Stephenson et al. 2015; Jürisoo et al. 2019). Socio-technical transitions theory addresses interactions  
 12 between technologies, user practices, cultural meanings, business, infrastructures, and public policies  
 13 (McMeekin and Southerton 2012; Geels et al. 2017a) and thus accommodates the five drivers of change  
 14 and stability discussed in Section 5.4 and 5.5 in chapter 5 of WGIII of AR6.

15 This primer provides additional information about key concepts and processes described in AR6  
 16 Chapter 5. Section SM5.1 elaborates on key concepts from Section 5.2 of Chapter 5: well-being, equity,  
 17 and decent living standards. Sections SM2-4 then provide background information on the five drivers  
 18 of change introduced in Section 5.4 of Chapter 5, divided into the three categories shown in: Individual  
 19 concepts and processes provide background on the behavioural drivers of change; social concepts and  
 20 processes elaborate on the socio-cultural drivers of change; and structure elaborates on the business,  
 21 technology, and institutional drivers of change (see (United Nations Environment Programme 2020))  
 22 (Figure SM5.17). Section SM5.5 provides additional background on transitions and Section SM5.6  
 23 provides several case studies as illustrative examples drawn from both developed and developing  
 24 countries of social processes in various contexts of technology uptake, service provisioning and shifts  
 25 in choices.

26



27

28

**Figure SM5.17 Drivers of change: Perspectives and underlying concepts and processes**

29

## 1 **SM 5.1 Wellbeing, equity, decent living standards**

2 **Wellbeing** for all is a cornerstone of sustainable development (Princen 2003; Dasgupta and Dasgupta  
3 2017) and directly underpins the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A focus on human wellbeing  
4 improves upon GDP, which is an inadequate and incomplete goal for socio-economic activities (Faber  
5 et al. 2012; Zimmerer 2012; Arrow et al. 2013; Dasgupta 2013; Griggs et al. 2013; Hobson 2013;  
6 Dasgupta 2014; Gabriel and Bond 2019; Hayward and Roy 2019). Human wellbeing is a description  
7 of the state of individuals' life situation in multiple dimensions that captures their life circumstances  
8 (Mcgillivray and Clarke 2006). Constituents of well-being include health, happiness, meaningful work  
9 and social relationships, freedom and liberty, while determinants are the inputs that enable wellbeing  
10 such as food, shelter, water, access to knowledge and information (Dasgupta 2001). A well-being focus  
11 emphasises equity and universal need satisfaction, compatible with SDG progress (Lamb and  
12 Steinberger 2017). GDP is dominating the current economic wellbeing driven development literature,  
13 assuming that welfare is still predominantly associated with increased levels of consumption of products  
14 and services (Roy et al. 2012). However, GDP only measures economic activity and neglects inequality  
15 and services delivered by current capital stocks (Haberl et al. 2019); it is therefore, a poor proxy for  
16 societal well-being (Ward et al. 2016). Instead, several new indices have emerged to measure well-  
17 being (i.e. Human Development Index, OECD better life initiative, QoL Index, Gallup Health, Well-  
18 Being Index, Gross National Happiness, Happy Planet Index) but finding a single measure represents a  
19 challenge due the lack of data (Sugiawan and Managi 2019). Economic growth in equitable societies is  
20 associated with lower emissions than in inequitable societies (McGee and Greiner 2018), and income  
21 inequality is associated with higher global emissions (Ravallion et al. 1997; McGee and Greiner 2018;  
22 Rao and Min 2018b; Diffenbaugh and Burke 2019; Fremstad and Paul 2019; Liu and Hao 2020).  
23 Relatively slight increases in energy consumption and carbon emissions produce great increases in  
24 human development and wellbeing in less-developed countries, and the amount of energy needed for a  
25 high global level of human development is dropping (Steinberger and Roberts 2010).

26 Policies designed to foster higher well-being for all via climate mitigation include reducing emissions  
27 through wider participation in climate action, building more effective governance for improved  
28 mitigation, and including social trust, greater equity, and informal-sector support as integral parts of  
29 climate policies. Better education, health care, valuing of social diversity, and reduced poverty –  
30 characteristics of more equal societies—all lead to resilience, innovation, and readiness to adopt  
31 progressive and locally-appropriate mitigation policies, whether high-tech or low-tech, centralised or  
32 decentralised (Martin 2016; Chu 2015; Cloutier et al. 2015; Vandeweerd et al. 2016; Mitchell 2015;  
33 Tanner et al. 2009; Turnheim et al. 2018; Lorenz 2013). There is less policy lock-in in more equitable  
34 societies (Seto et al. 2016). International communication, networking, and global connections among  
35 citizens are more prevalent in more equitable societies, and these help spread promising mitigation  
36 approaches (Scheffran et al. 2012). Climate-related injustices are addressed where equity is prioritised  
37 (Klinsky and Winkler 2014). Thus, there is high confidence in the literature that addressing inequities  
38 in income, wealth, and DLS not only raises overall wellbeing and furthers the SDGs but also improves  
39 the effectiveness of climate change mitigation policies.

40 Recently, measures such as inclusive wealth (the sum of capital assets that form the productive base of  
41 an economy) are proposed as an indicator to replace GDP for measuring well-being (Arrow et al. 2013;  
42 Dasgupta et al. 2015; UNEP 2018; Sugiawan and Managi 2019). Another measure for considering  
43 aspects of social progress beyond economic activity is the recently established social progress index  
44 (SPI), a composite index based on a dashboard of outcome-oriented indicators of fulfilment of basic  
45 human needs and foundations of well-being (Haberl et al. 2019) considering opportunities such as  
46 nutrition, shelter, water, safety, access to knowledge and information, health, education, freedom, rights  
47 and environmental quality. All of these considerations have been fully or partially reflected in the

1 United Nation’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), politically agreed upon goals of human  
2 wellbeing and planetary stability for the year 2030.

3 **Decent Living Standards (DLS)** is a tool for assessing wellbeing for all as need satisfiers. It is defined  
4 as the minimum set of inputs required for a decent human livelihood, anywhere in the world (Doyal and  
5 Gough 1991; Neri 2002; Adema 2006; Antony and Visweswara Rao 2007; Saramet 2007; Acs and  
6 Turner 2008; Rao and Baer 2012; Frye 2013; Saramet et al. 2009; Brand-Correa and Steinberger 2017;  
7 Rao and Min 2018c) (see also Chapter 9.1). The DLS goes beyond existing multidimensional poverty  
8 indicators by addressing living conditions and social participation, and offers a normative basis to assess  
9 environmental impacts and climate change (Rao and Min 2018c). It is based on human needs theory,  
10 which argues that material dimensions of well-being correlate with needs satisfaction, but only up to a  
11 threshold, after which additional needs satisfier use does not result in significant improvements in needs  
12 satisfaction (Frank 2010; Stiglitz 2012; Oishi et al. 2018; Xie et al. 2018; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009,  
13 2019a; Doyal and Gough 1991). It is also closely related to eudaimonic wellbeing approaches focused  
14 on realising human potential, not just seeking pleasure and avoiding pain (Lamb and Steinberger 2017).  
15 DLS services include adequate nutrition, shelter, hygiene, clothing, healthcare, mobility, education,  
16 communication, and information access.

17 **Services** are activities that help satisfy human wants or needs. While they usually involve interactions  
18 between producers and consumers, services are less tangible and less storable than goods, and may  
19 involve personal relationships(Arent et al. 2015; Millonig and Haustein 2020). Wellbeing needs are met  
20 through services. Provision of services associated with low-energy demand is a key component of  
21 current and future efforts to reduce carbon emissions. Services can be provided in various culturally-  
22 appropriate ways, with diverse climate implications. People demand services for dignified survival,  
23 sustenance, mobility, communication, comfort and material wellbeing (Nakićenović et al. 1996;  
24 Johansson et al. 2012; Creutzig et al. 2018). Access to services is fundamental, rather than only physical  
25 resources (biomass, energy, materials, etc.) and technologies (e.g. cars, appliances). Two key concepts  
26 for evaluating the efficiency of service provision systems are: resource cascades and exergy(Grubler et  
27 al. 2012). These concepts provide powerful analytical lenses through which to identify and substantially  
28 reduce energy and resource waste in service provision systems both for decent living standards (see  
29 section .in the main chapter) and higher wellbeing levels 5.3.3

30 **Equity and ASI framework.** Mitigation, equity and wellbeing go hand in hand. Both distributive  
31 justice and procedural justice are important in mitigation action (Roy et al. 2018a). Given the current  
32 level of inequity both within and between countries in access to services needed for dignified living for  
33 effective policy/mitigation action while increase in current overall service provision in considered at  
34 the same time how irresponsible consumption, waste reduction can also be avoided is gaining attention  
35 in the literature to tilt the balance towards sustainable future (more in sections 5.2 and 5.4 of Chapter 5  
36 of WGIII, AR6). The options for avoid (A), shift (S) and improve (I) in relatively adequately currently  
37 provided service access is also considered. ASI add wider range of perspective and options. Inclusion  
38 of various social categories/groups is also attached importance keeping in view the role of trust in  
39 collective action for governing mitigation action. Endogenous Preference Framing is one of the corner  
40 stone of the chapter 5. People drive social change by making choice of actions with varying outcome.

41

## 42 **SM 5.2 Individual perspectives**

### 43 **SM 5.2.1 Agency**

44 Agency is defined as the capacity to act, both individually and collectively, as shaped by different  
45 physical, social, historical, cultural, and other contexts. Using their agency, people engage in existing  
46 social practices, and also may step outside routines and engage in new behaviours. Agency is realised

1 through different social roles for action, which include as citizen, role model, community member,  
2 worker, investor, professional, household member, consumer, etc. In the demand-side mitigation  
3 options space, agency is expressed by actors (individuals and households) who differ in motivations  
4 and goals, and in their capacities for change as shaped by different physical, social, historical, and  
5 cultural contexts.

### 7 **SM 5.2.2 Behaviour change**

8 Decisions or action that directly or indirectly reduce energy demand can be motivated by market- and  
9 non-market forces, and can be either legally vs. socially vs. ethically binding. It has long been thought  
10 useful to conceive of consumers as “rational actors,” attentive to incentives, including all relevant costs  
11 and benefits (Becker 2013). If the price of certain goods increases, people will buy less of them. Under  
12 this framework, moral commitments, and social norms, may or may not matter (Becker and Murphy  
13 2000). If they do, it is because violations of a social norm operate as a kind of “tax”, leading a consumers  
14 to take steps to avoid such violations. The large point is that demand-side behaviour is above all  
15 reflection of what consumers perceive as costs and benefits. If, for example, consumers believe that it  
16 is in their interest to engage in consumption patterns that lead to a high-carbon economy, then a high-  
17 carbon economy is much more likely. A transition to a low-carbon economy will require a significant  
18 shift in incentives. This understanding of consumer behaviour has clear implications for policy –  
19 suggesting, for example, that appropriate taxes or subsidies can lead to major reductions in greenhouse  
20 gas emissions. But it misses important features of human judgment and decision making (Kahneman  
21 2011; Thaler 2015), with relevant implications for environmental policy (Sunstein and Reisch 2014;  
22 Creutzig et al. 2016). For example, people may show “status quo bias,” which means that they might  
23 continue to do what they have been doing, even if it would be in their interest to change (Samuelson  
24 and Zeckhauser 1988). Consumers may show “present bias,” in the sense that they might focus on the  
25 short-term, even if it would be in their interest to consider the long-term (O’Donoghue and Rabin 2015).  
26 Whether consumers are responsive to incentives depends on whether those incentives are salient  
27 (Gabaix and Laibson 2018). Some characteristics of activities and products are “shrouded,” even though  
28 they matter to consumer’s wellbeing, and consumer may not pay a great deal of attention to them. In  
29 addition, norms matter, and can greatly affect behaviour (Lessig 1995). To influence consumer demand,  
30 policymakers have an assortment of tools, including prohibitions, mandates, taxes, fees, subsidies, and  
31 “nudges” (Thaler and Sunstein 2009), defined to include such choice-preserving interventions as  
32 information, warnings, reminders, uses of social norms, and default rules, such as automatic enrolment  
33 in “green energy,” such as wind or solar (Ebeling and Lotz 2015). It would make little sense to say, in  
34 the abstract, that one tool is better than another; the choice of tool depends on its effects on wellbeing  
35 in the relevant context. In principle, a carbon tax has many advantages over any other approach, because  
36 it forces consumers to bear the cost of their activities (Nordhaus 2013). But automatic enrolment in  
37 green energy might be a useful complement to a carbon tax, especially if that tax is too low. Responses  
38 and actions by these actors interact in complex ways that differ from the more linear integration in  
39 conventional (integrated assessment) models or macroeconomic computable general equilibrium  
40 models. Novel ways of capturing these influence and feedback processes (Stern 2016; Niamir et al.  
41 2018, 2020b) that include complex adaptive systems models (Levin et al. 2013) or agent-based models  
42 (Lamperti et al. 2018) allow for emergence of tipping points or other nonlinear change dynamics that  
43 may be necessary to bring about behaviour change on energy at the speed and scale required (Nyborg  
44 et al. 2016). Correctly understanding the roles, goals, and needs of these different actors, their  
45 perceptions and decision processes (Kunreuther et al. 2014), and the feedback between their actions is  
46 imperative in designing effective policies and decision support systems (Roelich and Gieseckam 2019).

### 1 **SM 5.2.3 Consumer decisions**

2 On a global scale, households influence, directly and indirectly, 72% of GHG emissions (Hertwich and  
3 Peters 2009; Roy et al. 2012). Energy use is disproportionately dominated by electricity in developed  
4 countries, and most cities in the developing countries, whereas non electric cooking fuels constitute the  
5 largest share of energy use in rural areas of developing countries; energy use for mobility is significant  
6 and rising most rapidly (Ahmad et al. 2015). Demand side solutions require both the motivation to  
7 change and the capacity for change, in the form of availability and knowledge about change options  
8 and the resources to consider, initiate and maintain change. Existing willingness to change (to lower  
9 carbon sources of energy (Shift) or energy efficient devices (Improve) or to reduce energy use (Avoid))  
10 is motivated by different factors in different demographics and geographies. For some, perceptions of  
11 climate risks and concerns about the environment and future generations trigger action. For others,  
12 prices drive energy decisions and subsidies of carbon energy can be problematic, as they set up cultural  
13 norms and individual habits, a path-dependence of sorts that requires additional interventions to be  
14 overcome. Individuals' perceptions of climate risks, first covered in AR5, continue to be studied as a  
15 perhaps necessary if not sufficient condition for behaviour change.

16 **Core Human Value.** Social change is a complex process that tries to integrate value and interest of  
17 people. Much of human behaviour is goal directed and core values reflect the general goals that people  
18 strive for. Four classes of values are most relevant to understand climate actions, and people differ in  
19 the extent to which they hold these values and goals: hedonic values (with the goal to seek pleasure,  
20 convenience and comfort), egoistic values (with the goal to safeguard personal resources), altruistic  
21 values (with the goal to protect the wellbeing of other people) and biospheric values (with the goal to  
22 protect nature and the environment (Steg et al. 2014).

23 Group differences in climate risk perception and motivation to act suggest the need for segmentation in  
24 information or climate action campaigns, with age, education, core values, political ideology, and  
25 personal experience being important segmentation variables. Such segmentation is not always easily  
26 accomplished; however, information relevant for different segments (e.g., metrics that allow individuals  
27 reduce their energy consumption for different reasons) can be provided in the same display. The fuel-  
28 economy sticker issued by the US Environmental Protection Agency in 2013 displays a car's energy  
29 requirements in monetary terms for buyers interested in financial savings, in technical terms for buyers  
30 interested in car performance, or in GHG ratings for buyers interested in climate impacts. These  
31 multiple ratings are almost perfectly correlated and their high-density display on a single label could be  
32 seen as confusing. However, consumers selectively attend to the information that conforms to their  
33 motivation (Ungemach et al. 2017). The full EPA fuel-economy label resulted in the highest  
34 willingness-to-pay for fuel economy, suggesting that duplication of information in slightly different  
35 formats is a communication asset rather than liability (Kormos and Sussman 2018).

36 **Professional actors** play important roles in climate mitigation. Working as building managers,  
37 landlords, energy efficiency advisers, technology installers and car dealers, they influence patterns of  
38 mobility and energy consumption (Shove 2003) by acting as 'middle actors' (Janda and Parag 2013;  
39 Parag and Janda 2014) or 'intermediaries' in the provision of building or mobility services  
40 (Grandclément et al. 2015; De Rubens et al. 2018). As influencers on the process of diffusion of  
41 innovations (Rogers 2003), professionals can enable or obstruct improvements in efficient service  
42 provision or shifts towards low-carbon technologies (LCTs) (e.g. air and ground source heat pumps,  
43 solar hot water, underfloor heating, programmable thermostats, and mechanical ventilation with heat  
44 recovery) and mobility (e.g. electric vehicles) technologies.

45

## 1 **SM 5.3 Social perspectives**

### 2 **SM 5.3.1 Lifestyles**

3 ‘Lifestyle’ means a coherent pattern of behaviours and cognitions consistent with certain situational  
4 factors (Axsen et al. 2012; Hedlund-de Witt 2012). Behaviours include actions, activities, technology  
5 adoption, and consumption choices. Cognitions include values, worldviews, concerns and beliefs.  
6 Lifestyles typically apply to individuals, but can also be used to describe households. Lifestyles also  
7 depend on situational factors, which shape the accessibility of certain behaviours or the achievability of  
8 certain cognitive goals. Geography, infrastructure, and culture are all examples of situational factors  
9 relevant to lifestyles. Behaviours, cognitions and situational factors are common elements of lifestyle,  
10 but are emphasised differently depending on the perspective taken. Three common perspectives  
11 emphasise patterned behaviour, cognitive direction, or reflexive identity.

12 A *patterned* view sees lifestyle as manifest in routine, habitual patterns of behaviour (Darnton et al.  
13 2011). These behavioural patterns are situational, in that they may vary between home, work, travel,  
14 leisure and other domains of everyday life (Barr et al. 2011). This patterned view lends itself to the  
15 identification of lifestyles through consumption activity and other observable behaviours (Schipper  
16 1989). Put simply, lifestyle describes “*how people spend their money and their time*” (Mowen and  
17 Minor 1998).

18 A *cognitive* view similarly sees lifestyle as a regular pattern of behaviour, but rather than being primarily  
19 situational, it is led by intentions and so is directed towards an overarching goal (Jensen 2009).  
20 Intentions can be antecedent to specific choices such as where to live (Frenkel et al. 2013), or can be  
21 linked to broader cognitive constructs such as values or worldviews (Hedlund-de Witt 2012). This  
22 cognitive view is consistent with the idea of individuals pursuing a ‘low-carbon lifestyle’ to reduce their  
23 impact on climate change.

24 A *reflexive* view sees lifestyle as a way for individuals to organise and express their self-identity through  
25 their behaviour, while the behaviours then reflexively help constitute an individual’s identity. This  
26 reflexive view is associated with the work of the sociologist, Anthony Giddens, who defined lifestyles  
27 as “*routines that include the presentation of self, consumption, interaction and setting*” (Giddens 1991).

28 Despite differences in emphasis, all three of these views recognise that lifestyle is shaped by context  
29 and so is both dynamic and plural. As examples, lifestyles change when people migrate from the  
30 countryside into cities (Chen et al. 2019), or when there is easier access to certain infrastructures like  
31 bike lanes or bus routes (Etminani-Ghasrodashti et al. 2018).

32 In the context of climate change, lifestyle is used both *descriptively* to identify clusters of low-carbon  
33 behaviours and quantify their emissions impact, and *normatively* to explore individuals’ efforts to  
34 reduce their carbon footprint. As lifestyles are situational as well as behavioural and cognitive, these  
35 efforts can be strongly shaped by public policy and infrastructure. In all these applications, lifestyle can  
36 sometimes be used interchangeably with behaviour. This is not appropriate as behaviours are discrete  
37 actions, whereas lifestyles comprise coherent sets of actions linked in a consistent way to cognitions  
38 and identity (Lawson and Todd 2002).

39 Lifestyles can be identified and measured using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative  
40 methods explore self-identity, situational influences, and the dynamics of how lifestyles are expressed.  
41 Common qualitative methods used to research lifestyles include interviews (Barr et al. 2011) and  
42 narratives (Hagbert and Bradley 2017). Quantitative methods link lifestyles to outcomes and impacts,  
43 and identify segments and variation in a population. Common quantitative methods include cluster  
44 analysis, factor analysis (Kuan et al. 2019), hierarchical tree analysis (Baiocchi et al. 2015), and  
45 decision tree analysis (Le Gallic et al. 2018). These methods identify groups of individuals, who share  
46 similar sets of cognitions and behaviours in certain contexts. Quantitative methods are commonly

1 applied to survey datasets, which combine information on behaviours with self-reported cognitions.  
2 Examples of datasets include national social surveys, household expenditure surveys, and time use  
3 surveys. These allow lifestyle groups or types to be identified in a population, and linked to  
4 sociodemographic, geographic or other widely-available indicators. For example, a recent study in  
5 France used census, housing, travel and household budget surveys to identify lifestyles grouped along  
6 eight dimensions: cohabitation, relationship with technology, mobility practices, attitude to work,  
7 dwelling location, living standard, leisure practices and demographics (Millot et al. 2018).

8 Measuring lifestyles is useful for different reasons. First, lifestyles can be tested as predictors or  
9 explanations of an outcome of interest such as risk of dementia (Lourida et al. 2019), food preferences  
10 (Nie and Zepeda 2011), or propensity to buy an electric vehicle (Axsen et al. 2012). The outcome of  
11 interest varies widely across research fields. Second, lifestyles can descriptively characterise common  
12 patterns of behaviour in specific domains or ‘sites of practice’ like shopping, food, domestic living, or  
13 energy and water consumption (Barr and Gilg 2006). This allows the relationship between lifestyles  
14 and situational factors to be explored in more depth. Third, lifestyles can explain variation between  
15 households in a population. This captures an important dimension of heterogeneity which can then be  
16 applied in modelling and scenario studies of how lifestyles may change into the future (Le Gallic et al.  
17 2018; van den Berg et al. 2019). Fourth, lifestyles can also explain variation between populations in  
18 different countries or cultures. Data from the periodic World Values Survey reveals systematic  
19 differences in lifestyles between regions with certain cultural characteristics such as pragmatism or  
20 respect for tradition. Variation can also be situational. For example, housing-related lifestyles were  
21 found to be similar across different European countries whereas food-related lifestyles were not  
22 (Thøgersen 2017a, 2018).

23 Pro-environmental, green, sustainable, or ‘low-carbon’ lifestyles have two different interpretations,  
24 broadly distinguished by intention and impact (van den Berg et al. 2019). Emphasising intentions, a  
25 green lifestyle has been defined as “*a collection of practices by which people today try to address an*  
26 *interrelated set of environmental problems*” (Lorenzen 2012). Applied to climate change, ‘low-carbon’  
27 lifestyles can be identified by the values, intentions or goals of individuals seeking to reduce their carbon  
28 footprint. Emphasising impacts, low-carbon lifestyles can also be identified by reductions in energy and  
29 material use or other consumption-based reductions in greenhouse gas emissions (Le Gallic et al. 2018).

30 These two interpretations of low-carbon lifestyles can be in tension as low-carbon intentions do not  
31 always translate into low-carbon impacts (e.g., a globetrotting IPCC scientist), and low-carbon impacts  
32 may not be the result of low-carbon intentions (e.g., a low income household living in fuel poverty).  
33 Such tensions between cognitions, behaviours and impacts on emissions are almost always evident in  
34 population-level analyses of low-carbon lifestyles. This reinforces that lifestyles are situational as well  
35 as cognitive and behavioural, and that lifestyles are multiple and reflexively constructed so can never  
36 offer a single unifying explanation for an individual's impact on emissions.

37 Research focused on very specific low-carbon lifestyle groups characterised by self-sufficiency,  
38 frugality or voluntary simplicity can avoid these tensions between intention and impact (Lorenzen 2012;  
39 Hagbert and Bradley 2017). Here the challenge is in scaling or replicating this type of intentional low-  
40 carbon lifestyle more widely. Conversely, research focused on resource-efficient consumption across  
41 the population as a whole is more widely applicable but is also more uncertain and contingent in terms  
42 of its emissions impact (Vita et al. 2019b). Low-carbon lifestyles can be defined broadly or situationally.  
43 Studies taking a broad view seek to generalise low-carbon lifestyles that are consistent across multiple  
44 domains of everyday life. Such studies inform social marketing and educational campaigns to encourage  
45 more sustainable lifestyles (Darnton et al. 2011; DEFRA 2011). Other studies test whether low-carbon  
46 lifestyles are generalisable explanations for technology adoption decisions in multiple domains, such as  
47 electric vehicles, solar panels and green electricity tariffs (Axsen et al. 2012). Recognising the  
48 importance of situational factors, many studies focus on low-carbon lifestyles in a specific domain of

1 resource-intensive activity. This includes domestic energy use and waste generation (Tudor et al. 2016),  
2 dwelling location and type (Frenkel et al. 2013; Thøgersen 2017b), mobility and travel (Lanzendorf  
3 2002; Thøgersen 2018), leisure and tourism (Barr et al. 2011), and food (Thøgersen 2017a; Hur et al.  
4 2010). Some studies find that much of the variation in energy or resource consumption can be explained  
5 by domain-specific lifestyle factors (Sanquist et al. 2012). However it is hard to generalise insights  
6 across domains as relationships between low-carbon lifestyles and emissions tend to be heterogeneous  
7 as well as situational or context-dependent.

8 In addition to heterogeneity and the tension between intention and impact, a third limitation of low-  
9 carbon lifestyles research is its concentration in technophile and/or environmentally-conscious  
10 population segments in the global North. Available studies in emerging economies tend to place less  
11 emphasis on intentions, and more emphasis on demographic, social or institutional factors which shape  
12 emissions-intensive lifestyles such as migration from countryside to cities (Chen et al. 2019) or literacy,  
13 theft and corruption (George-Ufot et al. 2017).

14 The 'consumer lifestyle approach' assigns upstream or indirect emissions to the final consumption of  
15 energy, materials, food or other resources by individuals and households (Ding et al. 2017; Chen et al.  
16 2019). Similar to consumption-based accounting, this approach typically finds that over three quarters  
17 of emissions are attributable to the consumption activities which constitute lifestyles (Bin and  
18 Dowlatabadi 2005). Lifestyle change is therefore a potential means of delivering significant emission  
19 reductions.

20 Scenario and modelling studies confirm this potential by taking examples of low-carbon behaviours  
21 and scaling them up to the population level to determine aggregate system outcomes (van Sluisveld et  
22 al. 2016; Van Vuuren et al. 2018). Common examples of low-carbon behaviours amenable to modelling  
23 analysis include reducing meat in diets, substituting driving for active travel modes or public transport,  
24 and turning thermostats down. Scenario narratives that describe why such behaviours become more  
25 common tend to emphasise the spread of green values, environmental consciousness, or awareness of  
26 climate risks. This implies an intentional understanding of lifestyle change, and deemphasises the  
27 influence of situational factors.

28 Differences underlying lifestyle choices influence efforts to meet targets for emissions reduction. A  
29 combined assessment of costs, lifestyles and technologies in France up to the year 2072 showed that an  
30 individualistic lifestyle with high take-up of digital technologies led to increased GDP but not carbon  
31 neutrality, in contrast to a society characterised by more collective lifestyles that resulted in less growth  
32 but greater emissions reductions (Millot et al. 2018). Voluntary lifestyle change typically focuses on  
33 relatively low impact behaviours (e.g. switching off lights at home, recycling) in a piecemeal manner  
34 instead of high impact behaviours (e.g. adopting a low meat diet or long-haul flights (Nash et al. 2019;  
35 Dubois et al. 2019). Changes in social, technological or demographic factors can also be enshrined in  
36 scenario narratives of future lifestyle change. Examples include a shift in consumption culture from  
37 owning goods to using services including through sharing economies (Vita et al. 2019b), and a  
38 demographic shift from rural to urban, from physical to virtual work, and from analogue to digital  
39 (Millot et al. 2018; Le Gallic et al. 2018). Such studies in the controlled environment of a simulation  
40 model show significant emission reduction potentials from low-carbon lifestyle change. This is not just  
41 limited to the direct impact of lifestyle change on emissions, but also to the indirect impact of reducing  
42 the speed of required transformation upstream in energy and land-use systems (Grubler et al. 2018).

43 Turning scenarios into reality is inevitably more complex and contingent. There is good evidence that  
44 interventions targeting specific behaviours can be effective, particularly if they combine different  
45 mechanisms such as price, norms, information, competences, and infrastructure (Stern et al. 2016).  
46 Robust principles for designing effective interventions for low-carbon behaviour change also benefit  
47 from a large body of evidence from public health (Michie et al. 2011). However interventions targeting  
48 low-carbon lifestyles in general rather than specific low-carbon behaviours are harder to define beyond



1 general informational, educational, and marketing strategies (Haq et al. 2008). The signal of low-carbon  
2 lifestyle change is also difficult to detect amidst the noise of a continually changing technological, social  
3 and demographic landscape. This is particularly the case in emerging economies with rapidly changing  
4 income distributions, urban settlements, and living standards (Hubacek et al. 2007; Chen et al. 2019).

### 6 **SM 5.3.2 Education**

7 Modifying climate change awareness and perception help the dynamics of this radical shift (Halady  
8 and Rao 2010; Dombrowski et al. 2016; Odjugo and Ovuyovwiroye 2013; Niamir et al. 2020a). This  
9 requires a complete remodelling of educational methods, where the barriers to be tackled include  
10 not only a lack of funding, but the conservative environment of the educational system itself (Ferrer-  
11 Balas et al. 2009; Fisher and McAdams 2015; Velazquez et al. 2006; Leal Filho et al. 2018).

12 Traditional education is still structured on mercantilist and neoliberal ideologies and delivered in  
13 politicised educational institutions where environmental issues are invisible most of the time  
14 (Mendoza and Roa 2014). This situation calls for a move away from this commercial, individualised  
15 and entrepreneurial training model towards the commitment to education for solidarity and care that  
16 was highlighted by (Anderson et al. 2019) in the specific context of food, but that can be applied to  
17 the climate crisis. Even if the role of universities in climate change education has been acknowledged  
18 as extremely important there is few investment to embed climate change education in a higher  
19 education context. When achieved, there is a variety of approaches and it is difficult to identify a  
20 clear pattern at the country or even university level (Molthan-Hill et al. 2019). This is why there is  
21 a need to achieve or/and reinforce a culture of climate awareness through new educational forms  
22 based on a convergence between education and communication (educommunication) (Rodrigo-Cano  
23 et al. 2019) could be used as a base for action and social and environmental intervention unlike  
24 communication and disinformation campaigns that use the environment to convey a commercial  
25 message (Delmas and Burbano 2011; Megias-Delgado et al. 2018).

### 26 **SM 5.3.3 Religion**

27 As a central component of many cultures, religion interacts with climate change in numerous and  
28 diverse ways (Jenkins et al. 2018). Some religious identities are associated with the denial of climate  
29 change, notably White US Evangelical Christians (Smith and Leiserowitz 2013). Different religions  
30 interpret climate change in different ways, but nearly all contain elements related to the protection of  
31 divine creation, including the environment. Faith groups are both social institutions and sites of  
32 collection action on climate change (Haluza-DeLay 2014). They can draw on shared symbols, identities  
33 and narratives to promote collective action on climate change (Bomberg and Hague 2018; Roy et al.  
34 2012). Pope Francis' encyclical (2015) reframes climate action from being an economic and  
35 technological issue to one of moral stewardship of public goods. Understanding religion helps in  
36 understanding attitude towards climate change across communities and traditions (Jenkins et al. 2018).  
37 However, further research is required to capture the heterogeneous practices of diverse faith groups  
38 globally in relation to climate mitigation (Haluza-DeLay 2014).

39 Religious groups can communicate with social groups not necessarily involved in climate change  
40 action. However, most educational programs that train clergy remain silent on climate change or  
41 ecological issues; in North America only 24% of program included instructions (Heistein et al. 2017).  
42 Joint programs between academia and clergy has potential to bring climate action to communities that  
43 otherwise lack resources to interact with non-subsistence issues and to connect climate change  
44 mitigation with local contexts.

### 1 **SM 5.3.4 Civil society, NGOs, and social movements**

2 People, governed by values and social norms, make individual decisions on how to live, eat, travel, etc.:  
3 what they need in life, why and how they need it, and (within their means) what forms of consumption  
4 they choose. Collectively, the same values and social norms affect voting, politics, private sector and  
5 informal sector decision-making and policy, with the potential to induce even faster change (Adger  
6 2003).

7 Collective action by individuals as part of formal social movements or informal ‘lifestyle movements’  
8 (Haenfler et al. 2012) can significantly impact climate mitigation. Both AR5 and SR15 reports  
9 recognised the role of collective action as part of cultural shifts in consumption patterns and dietary  
10 change. Collective action has the potential to both enable and constrain societal shifts in emissions  
11 reduction. Movements that shift social norms can produce ‘tipping points’ towards lifestyles with  
12 reduced emissions, for example veganism (Cherry 2006). On the other hand, landscape conservation  
13 groups have opposed the deployment of onshore wind turbines in several European countries (McLaren  
14 Loring 2007; Toke et al. 2008).

15

### 16 **SM 5.3.5 Meaning**

17 A people-centred view of mitigation recognises that individuals and groups make sense of climate  
18 change through meanings, not just information processing (Jerome 1990). Meanings associated with  
19 climate mitigation are not neutral, but part of an active process of constructing possible futures in which  
20 some actors have more influence over shared narratives than others. Meanings are associated with  
21 climate mitigation at different levels – from an individual person’s values or identity (e.g. choosing to  
22 describe oneself to others as a vegan), to the symbolism associated with low-carbon technologies (e.g.  
23 how cook stoves or solar panels confer status on their owners), to the level of collective imaginary  
24 futures at community, city, national or global levels (e.g. stories about smart urban futures or  
25 environmental catastrophes).

26 SR15 recognised that narratives and storytelling can enable the imagining of novel visions of place-  
27 based 1.5°C futures, creating space for agency, deliberation and the co-construction of meaning around  
28 desirable pathways of transition (Veland et al. 2018). Stories about climate change are ways of  
29 collectively making sense of uncertain futures, involving processes of interpretation and understanding  
30 through communication and social interaction (Smith et al. 2017). Culture – including religious beliefs  
31 - is central to climate mitigation, influencing how individuals perceive demand for services in relation  
32 to emissions and their expectations about what is both possible and desirable (Moezzi et al. 2017; Batel  
33 2018).

34 Collective narratives about climate change refer to imaginary futures that can be either utopian or  
35 dystopian (e.g. Amitav Ghosh 2016), often presenting apocalyptic stories and imagery in an effort to  
36 capture attention and evoke emotional and behavioural response (O’Neill and Smith 2014). The idea of  
37 the Anthropocene has gained traction as a way of imagining a new era of human-environment relations  
38 characterised by unprecedented human influence over natural ecosystems, and to mobilise a sense of  
39 grief at the potential for mass extinction of species, including humanity (James Lovelock 2007; Head  
40 2016; Heise 2017). In turn, epistemic evolution, the increasing dependency of global society in further  
41 developments in knowledge and technology to continue surviving in the Anthropocene, mirrors a  
42 narrative of opportunity (Renn 2018).

43 While climate stories themselves do not have agency in driving societal transformations, they can open  
44 up new ways of involving people in conversations about systemic changes that can provide motivation  
45 and confidence for people to participate in more inclusive ways (Smith et al. 2017). Science fiction has  
46 afforded indigenous communities a creative means to imagine climate futures divergent from

1 conventional top-down narratives (Streeby 2018), signalling the role of power in shaping which climate  
2 stories are told and how prevalent they are (O'Neill and Smith 2014). Further research is required to  
3 study the impact of social media platforms on emerging narratives of climate change within societies  
4 and local communities (Pearce et al. 2019).

### 6 **SM 5.3.6 Discourse and narratives**

7 Meanings play a number of roles, both enabling and constraining action on mitigation (Buschmann and  
8 Oels 2019). At the societal level, imaginaries about the cities or homes of the future play important  
9 roles in enabling innovation by attracting attention, legitimating certain technology choices, rejecting  
10 or undermining others and attracting investment e.g. (Tozer and Klenk 2019). These imaginaries have  
11 been shown to be important in the innovation of wind and solar energy, biopower, nuclear energy and  
12 smart meters (Sovacool et al. 2018). Analysis of shifts in discourse over time has revealed 'turning  
13 points' that facilitate change in systems of energy provision, providing the basis for new narratives to  
14 emerge and to become legitimate (Buschmann and Oels 2019).

15 One aspect of current unsustainable societies is the prevalence of common sense assumptions about  
16 systems of provision that effectively lock-in (Unruh 2002) social actors to certain patterns of thinking  
17 or behaviour, limiting awareness and take up of alternatives (e.g. assuming that domestic heating must  
18 come from household boilers instead of district heating systems) (Owens and Driffill 2008). Political  
19 beliefs play an important role in influencing the uptake of narratives. 'Climate justice' narratives  
20 polarise individuals along ideological lines, while narratives that centre on saving energy, avoiding  
21 waste and embedding the uptake of low carbon energy in patriotic values were more widely supported  
22 (Whitmarsh and Corner 2017).

23 Climate policies need to go beyond an emphasis upon the rational provision of information and the  
24 functional attributes of new services, to place greater emphasis on symbolic meanings and emotions as  
25 a means to encourage social change. Presenting narrative meanings instead of factual information can  
26 lead to greater public engagement and pro-environmental action on climate change through arousing  
27 emotional responses (Morris et al. 2019).

### 29 **SM 5.3.7 Meanings of technology**

30 At the design stage, expectations of potential users of energy technologies and services (e.g. cookstoves,  
31 meters, thermostats) are scripted into the appearance and functionalities of those devices. Experts and  
32 designers hold common assumptions that public users are characterised by deficits of knowledge,  
33 competence and interest in energy systems (Burningham et al. 2015; Skjølvold and Lindkvist 2015;  
34 Owens and Driffill 2008). These assumptions shape pathways of technology development and  
35 deployment (Marvin et al. 1999) leading to smart technologies with passive roles for users rather than  
36 smart users playing more active roles in systems of provision, distribution, storage and consumption  
37 (Goulden et al. 2014).

38 Contrasting meanings signal more active roles, including 'prosumers' who act as producers as well as  
39 consumers in decentralised energy systems (Espe et al. 2018), 'energy citizens' who are motivated by  
40 altruistic and environmental concerns, not only self-interest (Devine-Wright 2007; Ryghaug et al. 2018)  
41 and collectives such as 'clean energy communities'(Gui and MacGill 2018) engaged in peer-to-peer  
42 trading of energy services (Fell et al. 2019). Policy has an important role to play in communicating  
43 which of these expectations are preferred pathways of low carbon transition.

44 Meanings shape the willingness of individuals to use existing technologies or adopt new ones.  
45 Individuals develop attachments to material possessions (Belk 1988), which symbolise consumer-

1 related identities (Dittmar 2008). Use of private cars for commuting is influenced by emotional and  
2 symbolic assumptions about driving (e.g. ideas of status, freedom and independence) as much as  
3 instrumental motives (Steg 2005). When new technologies are installed (e.g. feedback displays, smart  
4 meters), they become ‘domesticated’ into pre-existing daily routines (Monreal et al. 2016; Shove and  
5 Southerton 2000) that can involve negotiation and sometimes conflict within households (Hargreaves  
6 et al. 2013). Smart meters raise concerns about reduced autonomy and independence (Wilson et al.  
7 2017). Failure of policy to recognise these emotional and symbolic processes can lead to overestimates  
8 of technology potentials, including emissions reduction.

9 When energy technologies are resisted by the public, meanings about objectors influence the responses  
10 of policy makers and energy companies. ‘NIMBY’ (Not In My Back Yard) is both a label used to  
11 describe objectors and an explanation for why protests over the siting of low carbon energy technologies  
12 take place (Burningham 2000). The concept suggests that objectors are characterised by ignorance,  
13 irrationality and selfishness (Devine-Wright 2005; Wolsink 2007; Burningham et al. 2015). When  
14 developers hold these views, it leads to strategies of community engagement that prioritise the provision  
15 of factual information and financial incentives as well as the avoidance of ‘angry’ crowds (Barnett et  
16 al. 2012; Walker et al. 2010). Engagement that overlooks technology meanings can produce unintended  
17 consequences, prolonging social conflict and reducing trust (Devine-Wright 2011; Wolsink 2007).  
18 Adopting alternative meanings of communities, e.g. viewing them as repositories of expertise and local  
19 knowledge, and enabling genuine participation and benefit sharing can reduce conflict and increase  
20 acceptance (Bell et al. 2013; Walker and Baxter 2017).

### 21 22 **SM 5.3.8 Meanings of place and landscape**

23 Renewable energy resources are widely dispersed across geographical areas, leading to consequences  
24 for patterns of development in rural areas (Pasqualetti 2000). ‘Energy landscapes’ refer to ways that  
25 meanings associated with rural areas evolve as land use changes from conventional agriculture to  
26 technological systems of heat and power generation and new ‘energy crops’ (Pasqualetti and Stremke  
27 2018). Since landscapes are important symbols of cultural and social identity (Woods 2003; Short  
28 2002), changes to their meaning influence the acceptability of technology siting (Devine-Wright 2009).

29 Locations perceived as pristine and natural are considered less suitable for the siting of large scale  
30 energy infrastructures such as wind turbines and power lines (Wolsink 2010). Objections are often  
31 based on fears that technologies will ‘industrialise’ or ‘urbanise’ rural areas and are opposed by  
32 individuals with strong emotional attachments to those places (Devine-Wright and Howes 2010). Novel  
33 wave and tidal energy technologies have been positively associated with place attachments and public  
34 support, in part due to the ways they enhance a sense of local distinctiveness (Devine-Wright 2011).

### 35 36 **SM 5.3.9 Social norms**

37 Human behaviour is affected by the social environment, and in particular by what people commonly do  
38 or what other people think and expect (Cialdini 2006), even though people often do not acknowledge  
39 this (Nolan et al. 2008; Noppers et al. 2014); social influence seems more influential in some countries  
40 than others (Pettifor et al. 2017). Specifically, injunctive norms reflect perceptions of which behaviour  
41 is commonly approved or disapproved, and guide behaviour, as people are motivated to gain social  
42 approval and avoid social disapproval. Injunctive norms are related to a wide range of mitigation  
43 behaviours, including limited meat consumption, limited car use, the use of energy-saving light bulbs  
44 (Harland et al. 1999), energy use (Farrow et al. 2017) and recycling (Geiger et al. 2019), although the  
45 effects are not always strong (Gardner and Abraham 2008; Farrow et al. 2017).

1 Descriptive norms refer to behaviour commonly shown by others, and affect behaviour because it  
2 provides information about which behaviour is most sensible in a given situation. Descriptive norms  
3 (or peer effects) are related to different mitigation behaviours, including household energy savings  
4 (Nolan et al. 2008), car use (Gardner and Abraham 2008), energy use (Farrow et al., 2019), the adoption  
5 of electric vehicles and participation in smart energy systems (Noppers et al. 2019), and recycling  
6 (Geiger et al. 2019). Similarly, descriptive norm information or socially comparative feedback (in which  
7 case one's own performance is compared to the performance of others) can encourage mitigation  
8 actions, although the overall effect size is not strong (Abrahamse and Steg 2013). A study in Uganda  
9 suggests that peer effects mostly affect attitudes towards cookstoves, but not the actual purchase of  
10 cookstoves (Beltramo et al. 2015). Socially comparative feedback seems more effective when people  
11 more strongly identify with the reference group (De Dominicis et al. 2019). Descriptive norms are more  
12 strongly related to mitigation actions when injunctive norms are strong too, when people are not  
13 strongly personally involved with mitigation topics (Göckeritz et al. 2010), when people are currently  
14 acting inconsistent with their preferences, when norm-based interventions are supported by other  
15 interventions and when the context support norm-congruent actions (Miller and Prentice 2016). Weak  
16 descriptive norms, in which case people think others do not act on climate change, may inhibit  
17 mitigation actions (Schultz et al. 2007). Yet, trending norms that communicate that the number of  
18 people engaging in a behaviour is increasing, even if this concerns only a minority of people, can  
19 encourage the targeted behaviour, although the effect size is relatively small (Mortensen et al. 2019).

20 Human behaviour and choices are a function of personal and social norms and the content of norms  
21 depends on the context (Sunstein 1996; Thaler and Sunstein 2009; Niamir 2019). Climate change  
22 challenges pose major collective action problems, where a group benefits from a certain action, but no  
23 individual has sufficient incentive to act alone (Nyborg et al. 2016; Niamir 2019). Here, formal  
24 institutions (e.g., laws and regulations) are not always able to impose collectively desirable outcomes.  
25 Instead, informal institutions, such as social norms, can play a crucial role. If conditions are right, policy  
26 can support social norm changes, helping address global problems (Nyborg et al. 2016; Niamir 2019).  
27 Sunstein (Sunstein 1996) appraise people's choices and preferences in terms of *intrinsic value*,  
28 *reputational effects*, and *effects on self-conception*. Law and regulations potentially play an important  
29 role, by which the function of law in expressing social values with the goal of shifting social norms.  
30 There can be a serious obstacle to freedom in the fact that individual choices are a function of social  
31 norms, social meanings, and social roles, which individuals may deplore, and over which individuals  
32 have little or no control (Sunstein 1996). Here collective action and movements may be necessary to  
33 enable people to change norms that they do not like (Bamberg et al. 2015; Sunstein and Reisch 2014;  
34 Niamir et al. 2020a). Some norms are obstacles to human well-being and autonomy. It is appropriate  
35 for law to alter norms if they diminish well-being and autonomy (Thaler and Sunstein 2009; Sunstein  
36 1996).

37 Being part of a group or organisation that values the environment and advocates mitigation actions  
38 promotes mitigation actions (Ruepert et al. 2017; Sloot et al. 2018), particularly when individuals  
39 strongly identify with the peer group (Biddau et al. 2016; Fielding and Hornsey 2016; Jans et al. 2018)  
40 or have strong ties with this group (Weenig and Midden 1991). When people feel strongly connected  
41 to a group, they may come to adopt the goals of the group as their own goals (Jans et al. 2018). Similarly,  
42 block leader approaches in which change is initiated from the bottom-up are effective in promoting  
43 mitigation behaviours (Abrahamse and Steg 2013); local ambassadors are more successful at  
44 convincing others when they already adopted the promoted behaviour or programmes themselves as  
45 this increases their credibility (Kraft-Todd et al. 2018).

46

## 1 **SM 5.4 Structural perspectives**

2 Sociological and historical analyses of energy demand (Royston et al. 2018) deduce that patterns and  
3 dynamics of consumption are shaped by shifting configurations of infrastructures, technologies and  
4 collective conventions (Frantzeskaki and Loorbach 2008). When the aim is to reverse the current  
5 growing trend in demand, it is imperative to effectively activate and combine the three leverage points  
6 underlying structures (rules, organisations and infrastructures) to trigger social consistent with  
7 mitigation targets. If these leverage points are activated separately there is a high probability that path  
8 dependencies and behavioural lock-ins cannot be overcome; if they are activated together but  
9 independently, they can cause unwanted bounce effects or induce unexpected trends. There is a high  
10 probability that the ex-ante design of a relevant combination of infrastructures, organisations and rules,  
11 together with collective change of behaviours and adapted governance, will enable a real change in  
12 demand-side mitigation. Past lessons are helpful to fine-tune the required combination.

13

### 14 **SM 5.4.1 Infrastructures and technologies**

15 Infrastructures, defined in relation to organised practices (Star and Ruhleder 1996), should not be treated  
16 as independent systems, levers and drivers of change as it is often the case, but rather as systemic  
17 interconnections between infrastructures and practices (Cass et al. 2018). Indeed, the ways in which  
18 infrastructures intersect explain their potential influence (Thacker et al. 2019). For instance, the  
19 introduction of cycling lanes is embedded within multiple systems in flux, including the staged societal  
20 transformations with specific forms of governance and intervention associated with each phase of  
21 cycling lane history a study (Oldenziel et al. 2016). Similar results can be derived from an analysis of  
22 district heating systems (Hawkey 2012) or at urban level (Bulkeley et al. 2014). In the power sector,  
23 huge investments in electricity generation are foreseen, due to both the strong growth in emerging  
24 countries and a shift in usage towards “decarbonable” sources. Therefore, there is a need for the  
25 transformation of networks because of urban concentration and more dispersed electricity generation  
26 resulting from the rise of renewables. It implies that a compromise has to be found between two  
27 transition options: the design of a new electricity system to maintain its qualities of supply and sustain  
28 its current levels of reliability; a change in consumption habits and the adaption of lifestyles compliant  
29 with more power supply interruption (Maïzi and Mazaurec 2019; Maïzi et al. 2017). This illustrates the  
30 multiple-level relationships between infrastructures, technology choices, economic development and  
31 individual choices.

32 Disciplines identify different drivers of technology adoption. Using rational choice models, mainstream  
33 economists propose relative costs and performance of new technologies compared to existing ones as  
34 the main driver of adoption (Nelson et al. 2004). Adding to this, evolutionary economists and innovation  
35 scholars suggest that technological development experiences positive feedbacks and increasing returns  
36 to adoption (like scale economies, learning-by-using, network externalities, informational increasing  
37 returns, and technological interrelatedness) that improve a technology’s price/performance  
38 characteristics as more people adopt (Arthur 1989; Creutzig et al. 2017). Psychologists argue that  
39 adoption decisions are shaped by people’s attitudes and beliefs with regard to instrumental  
40 considerations (perceived usefulness and ease of use) and wider norms and values (Davis 1989; Ajzen  
41 1991). These disciplines conceptualise adoption as one-off purchase decisions, which is particularly  
42 useful with regard to ‘improve’ options that do not require wider changes in lifestyles and user routines.

43 Offering a broader and more longitudinal view, sociologists of innovation and social practice theorists  
44 focus on the co-evolution of technologies with lifestyles, social practices and user routines (Hand et al.  
45 2005; Gram-Hanssen 2008; McMeekin and Southerton 2012; Hyysalo et al. 2013; Shove et al. 2014),  
46 which is particularly relevant for ‘shift’ and ‘avoid/reduce/’ options. On the one hand, new technologies

1 are not just purchased, but also integrated into daily life routines and user practices, which involves  
2 several activities (Shove and Southerton 2000; Monreal et al. 2016): a) cognitive activities involve the  
3 learning of new skills and competencies, b) interpretive and sense-making activities imbue new  
4 technologies with meanings, c) practical activities involve adjustments in everyday routines and  
5 material contexts. On the other hand, users do not just adopt new technologies, but can also actively  
6 contribute to development and innovation processes by: a) providing feedback to engineers about how  
7 technologies function in real-world user contexts (Heiskanen and Lovio 2010; Schot et al. 2016; Sopjani  
8 et al. 2019), b) tinkering themselves with the technology (Hyysalo et al. 2013; Nielsen et al. 2016), c)  
9 developing new organisational templates and business models (Truffer 2003; Ornetzeder and Rohracher  
10 2013; De Vries et al. 2016).

11 Moving beyond adoption, sociologists of innovation have shown that new technologies need to be  
12 embedded in multiple contexts (Ó Tuama 2015; Kanger et al. 2019; Mylan et al. 2019), which involve  
13 not just user environments but also: a) business environments, including the development of business  
14 models, supply chains, repair facilities and infrastructures (Markard 2011; van Waes et al. 2018), b)  
15 civil society, including discourses, narratives, and public debates that shape cultural legitimacy and  
16 societal acceptance of new technologies (Geels and Verhees 2011; Rosenbloom et al. 2016), and c)  
17 institutional environments, including safety regulations, reliability standards and performance  
18 requirements (Reddy et al. 1991; Bohnsack et al. 2016; Andrews-Speed 2016).

19

## 20 **SM 5.4.2 Institutions**

21 Policymaking is a political process in that policies are conceived and implemented by governments and  
22 their policy coalitions with particular political priorities and values, and within a wider socio-economic  
23 context (Eyre and Killip 2019). Government policy contributes to shaping demand for energy services,  
24 travel and mobility, and given range of energy-using activities, the policy agenda involves reaching out  
25 to a wide range of actors that includes practitioners and the general public. Doing this effectively will  
26 require a systematic deployment of effective regulatory and enforcement framework, consisting of  
27 regulations, market-based instruments, and information based instruments to voluntary agreements at  
28 various governance levels to address a wide range of stakeholders and their concerns (Park 2015;  
29 Mundaca and Markandya 2016).

30 The function of institutions in shaping policies and the interaction of various policy instruments is  
31 critical for the transition to a low carbon economy (O’riordan and Jordan 1999). One important  
32 characteristic of institutions, understood as ‘rules of the game in society’, consists of formal rules such  
33 as laws and regulations and informal norms or conventions that set the incentive structure for decision  
34 making (Vatn 2015). For example, Feed-in Tariffs and similar regulations set rules that enable citizens  
35 to participate in energy transitions as energy prosumers (Inderberg et al. 2018) (see also 5.4.4.3). The  
36 literature around policy processes and implementation with respect to demand and services relates that  
37 timing and policy choice is dynamic. At certain times there may be ‘policy windows’ for ambitious  
38 climate change policies, but such windows may also close unpredictably (Carter and Jacobs 2014).  
39 Another way to understand institutions is that they shape the political context for decision making,  
40 empowering some interests and reducing the influence of others (Steinmo et al. 1992; Hall 1993; Moser  
41 2009). An example of this is the fossil fuel subsidy that advantages incumbent actors in this sector over  
42 those from the renewable, leaving individuals or businesses who wish to invest in green energy,  
43 receiving much less support (Lockwood 2015; Healy and Barry 2017; Rentschler and Bazilian 2017).  
44 In some countries, establishing carbon reduction as a policy priority is shared across the political  
45 spectrum (UK, Germany, India, South Africa), but even then much of the consensus has remained in  
46 single issue areas of intervention such as expansion of renewable energy; and rarely around structural  
47 change in areas such as sustainable prosperity in a circular economy (Jackson 2017) or sufficiency  
48 (Darby and Fawcett 2018; Thomas et al. 2019). These are both politically contentious and suffer from

1 institutional inertia where the tendency is that institutions move slowly and resist change in challenges  
2 that call for structural and system-wide change (Munck af Rosenschöld et al. 2014).

3

## 4 **SM 5.5 Transition**

### 5 **SM 5.5.1 Transition perspectives**

6 The literature offers several integrative frameworks. Social practice theory emphasises interactions  
7 between artefacts, competences, and cultural meanings (Shove and Walker 2014; Røpke 2009). The  
8 energy cultures framework highlights feedbacks between materials, norms, and behavioural practices  
9 (Stephenson et al. 2015; Jürisoo et al. 2019) highlights. And socio-technical transitions theory, which  
10 spans both provisioning systems and use contexts, addresses interactions between technologies, user  
11 practices, cultural meanings, business, infrastructures, and public policies (McMeekin and Southerton  
12 2012; Geels et al. 2017b).

13 Cultural meanings and discourses shape the beliefs, preferences and motivations of various actors and  
14 what they consider to be desirable, legitimate or acceptable (Stryker 1994; Phillips et al. 2004).  
15 Structural elements such as regulations, institutions, technologies and infrastructures provide the more  
16 tangible contexts within which actors act (Currie and Spyridonidis 2016; Solér et al. 2020). Actors like  
17 households, firms, civil society organisations, and policymakers reproduce or transform cultural and  
18 structural contexts through storytelling, political lobbying, innovation activities and infrastructure  
19 building (Lounsbury and Glynn 2001; Dolata 2009; Battilana et al. 2009).

20 The energy cultures framework and socio-technical transitions theory both understand demand-side  
21 transitions as involving interactions between: 1) radical social or technical innovations, which deviate  
22 in one more dimensions from dominant configurations, 2) relatively stable dominant energy cultures or  
23 socio-technical systems, 3) external influences such as shocks or gradually increasing pressures.

24 Radical demand-side innovations like new technologies, new business models or alternative  
25 behavioural practices initially emerge in small, peripheral niches (Kemp et al. 1998; Schot and Geels  
26 2008). These projects and initiatives offer protection from mainstream selection pressures and nurture  
27 the development of radical innovations (Smith and Raven 2012). Dominant energy cultures, social  
28 practices or socio-technical systems resist radical change, because they are stabilised by multiple lock-  
29 in mechanisms (Klitkou et al. 2015; Clausen et al. 2017; Ivanova et al. 2018; Seto et al. 2016).

30

### 31 **SM 5.5.2 Lock-in mechanisms of existing systems and practices**

32 Although there are many demand-side mitigation options, low-carbon transitions do not happen easily  
33 because multiple lock-in mechanisms stabilise existing systems of service provision and social practices  
34 and thus hinder major change (Clausen et al. 2017; Ivanova et al. 2018; Seto et al. 2016; Klitkou et al.  
35 2015). Existing activities and demand patterns are often stabilised by behavioural lock-in mechanisms  
36 identified by psychological and economic literature: a) routines and habits tend to be repeated over time  
37 as ‘normal’ dietary, heating or travel patterns (Barnes et al. 2004; Maréchal 2010; Kurz et al. 2015;  
38 Hoolohan et al. 2018); b) preferences and attitudes can orient people positively towards existing  
39 practices over alternatives, e.g. private car travel over public transport (Sheller 2004); and c) cost-  
40 benefit calculations make people purchase technologies that are more practical or cheaper than  
41 alternatives (e.g. cars over public transport in rural areas; petrol cars over electric cars).

42 Structural elements of existing systems and practices are also stabilised by lock-in mechanisms as  
43 sociological, political science and innovation literature have demonstrated. Institutional lock-in  
44 mechanisms can stabilise existing policies that support existing technologies and demand patterns: a)



1 policy networks facilitate interactions between policymakers, specialists, and established business  
2 interests and tend to shape policymaking towards status quo protection or incremental reform rather  
3 than more radical policy change (Walker 2000; Knox-Hayes 2012; Geels 2014; Normann 2017; Roberts  
4 and Geels 2019); b) existing policy paradigms shape how policymakers frame problems and think about  
5 solutions (Kern et al. 2014; Rosenbloom 2018; Schmidt et al. 2019; Buschmann and Oels 2019), often  
6 leading to a focus on upstream technologies, market-based instruments, and hands-off policy styles  
7 (Whittle et al. 2019), c) incumbent firms use corporate political strategies and resistance tactics to delay  
8 or water down strong climate policies (Kolk and Pinkse 2007; Smink et al. 2015; Ferguson et al. 2016;  
9 Supran and Oreskes 2017; Geels 2014). Technological lock-in mechanisms such as core competencies  
10 and sunk investments in factories and employees generate vested interests and technological regimes  
11 that incumbent firms will try to protect through incremental innovation (Berkhout 2002; Raven and  
12 Verbong 2004; Vanloqueren and Baret 2009). Infrastructural lock-in mechanisms such as capital-  
13 intensity, asset durability, obduracy, and systemic interrelatedness (van der Vleuten 2004; Markard  
14 2011) means that infrastructure-related technologies and practices are difficult to change. Existing  
15 roads, petrol stations and land-use patterns stabilise car-based mobility patterns (Seto et al. 2016), while  
16 gas infrastructures stabilise home-based boiler heating practices (Gross and Hanna 2019).

17 Existing meanings may also lock-in existing systems and practices. Discourse and cultural studies  
18 literature have found that established meanings, values and discourses help legitimise and normalise the  
19 status quo (Bosman et al. 2014; Buschmann and Oels 2019). For example, discourses that frame cars  
20 as status symbols that embody success, power, freedom, and autonomy help entrench auto-mobility and  
21 hinder shifts to public transport (Stephenson et al. 2015). Discourses that portray dairy milk as healthy  
22 and natural stabilise particular diets and hinder transitions to plant-based milk (Mylan et al. 2019). Most  
23 people and communities hold a plurality of cultural values; environmental protection and climate  
24 mitigation is only one value cluster amongst others such as efficiency, security and stability, social  
25 justice and fairness, autonomy and freedom, and improved quality of life (Plumecocq et al. 2018;  
26 Demski et al. 2015).

27

### 28 **SM 5.5.3 Phases in transitions**

29 The transitions literature distinguishes four phases, characterised by generic core processes (Rotmans  
30 et al. 2001; Markard et al. 2012; Geels et al. 2017a). These four phases do not imply that transitions are  
31 linear, teleological processes, because set-backs or reversals may occur as a result of learning processes,  
32 conflicts, or changing coalitions (Geels and Raven 2006; Messner 2015; Davidescu et al. 2018).

33 The emergence of radical innovations in the first phase is characterised by open-ended learning  
34 processes and the building of social networks to nurture and support the innovations (Kemp et al. 1998;  
35 Schot and Geels 2008). Radical innovations are characterised by many uncertainties about technical  
36 performance, consumer interest, and social acceptance. Research, development and demonstration  
37 projects, local community initiatives or grassroots projects, therefore, act as carriers of early niches to  
38 enable learning about these dimensions (Rosenbloom et al. 2018b; van Mierlo and Beers 2020; Hossain  
39 2016; Borghei and Magnusson 2016; Sengers et al. 2019). Learning processes and network building are  
40 also important for the transfer of established technologies, like improved cookstoves, to developing  
41 countries, because new-to-the-country innovations require contextualisation, adaptation, capability  
42 building, and the creation of local supply chains and innovation systems (Ockwell and Byrne 2016;  
43 Tigabu et al. 2017; Watson et al. 2015). Typical challenges of radical innovations in the first phase are  
44 fragmentation and high rates of project failure (den Hartog et al. 2018; Dana et al. 2019), limited funding  
45 (Auerswald and Branscomb 2003), limited market demand, and social acceptance problems due to  
46 being perceived as strange or unfamiliar (Lounsbury and Glynn 2001).

1 In the second phase, innovations find a foothold in small market niches, where early adopters provide  
2 a small but steady flow of financial resources (Zimmerman and Zeitz 2002; Dewald and Truffer 2011).  
3 Learning processes, knowledge sharing and codification activities help stabilise the innovation, leading  
4 to best practice guidelines, design standards, and formalised technical knowledge (Raven et al. 2008;  
5 Borghei and Magnusson 2018). Supporting social networks also expand and roles become more  
6 formalised, resulting in the creation of engineering communities, industry associations or ‘intermediary  
7 actors’ like energy or innovation agencies (Mignon and Kanda 2018; Kivimaa et al. 2019). User  
8 innovation may lead to the articulation of new routines, functionalities, and practices, as people  
9 integrate new technologies into their daily lives (Nielsen et al. 2016; Schot et al. 2016). Radical  
10 innovations remain confined to small niches in the second phase because they tend to be more expensive  
11 than existing technologies, complementary infrastructure may be missing (Markard and Hoffmann  
12 2016), market demand is limited to small, dedicated groups (Schot et al. 2016).

13 In the third phase, radical innovations diffuse into wider communities and mainstream markets. Typical  
14 drivers are performance improvements, cost reductions, strong cultural appeal, widespread consumer  
15 interest, investments in infrastructure and complementary technologies, and institutional support  
16 (Wilson 2012; Markard and Hoffmann 2016; Raven et al. 2016; Malone et al. 2017; Kanger et al. 2019).  
17 The third phase often involves multiple struggles between diffusing innovations and associated actors  
18 and the existing system and incumbent actors, for instance, economic competition in markets, business  
19 struggles between incumbents and new entrants (Hockerts and Wüstenhagen 2010), discursive and  
20 framing struggles in civil society arenas, which affect cultural meanings and public opinion about low-  
21 carbon transitions (Kammermann and Dermont 2018; Hess 2019; Rosenbloom 2018), political  
22 struggles over adjustments in policies and institutions, which shape markets and innovations  
23 (Meadowcroft 2011; Roberts and Geels 2019). These struggles may erode and weaken the  
24 technological, institutional and cultural lock-in mechanisms that stabilise existing systems (Turnheim  
25 and Geels 2012; Roberts 2017; Kuokkanen et al. 2018; Leipprand and Flachslund 2018).

26 In the fourth phase, the diffusing innovations replace or substantially reconfigure the existing system,  
27 which may lead to the downfall or reorientation of incumbent firms (Bergek et al. 2013; McMeekin  
28 et al. 2019). The new system becomes institutionalised and anchored in professional standards, technical  
29 capabilities, infrastructures, educational programs, regulations and institutional logics, user habits, and  
30 views of normality, which create new lock-ins (Galaskiewicz 1985; Barnes et al. 2018; Shove and  
31 Southerton 2000).

32

### 33 **SM 5.5.4 Rates of change, acceleration**

34 Rates of change are usually slow in the first and second transition phase, because experimentation,  
35 social and technological learning, the creation of standards, and the reduction of uncertainty take a long  
36 time, often decades (Bento et al. 2018; Bento 2013; Wilson 2012). Rates of change increase in the third  
37 phase, as radical innovations diffuse from initial niches into mainstream markets, propelled by the self-  
38 reinforcing mechanisms, discussed above. The rate of adoption (diffusion) of new practices, processes,  
39 artefacts, and behaviours is determined by a wide range of factors at the macro- and micro-scales, which  
40 have been identified by several decades of diffusion research in multiple disciplines (for comprehensive  
41 reviews see, e.g., Tornatzky and Klein, 1982; Feder & Umali, 1993;). (Ausubel 1991; Bayus 1994; Van  
42 den Bulte and Stremersch 2004; Comin and Hobijn 2003, 2010; Davis 1979; Meade and Islam 2006;  
43 Mahajan et al. 1990; Mansfield 1968; Martino et al. 1978; Peres et al. 2010; Rogers 2003; Grubler  
44 1991).

45 Diffusion rates are determined by two broad categories of variables, those intrinsic to the  
46 technology/product/practice under consideration (typically performance, costs, benefits), and those  
47 intrinsic to the adoption environment (e.g., socio-economic and market characteristics).

1 The literature on systems or macro-determinants of diffusion (technology growth and behavioural  
2 change) rates comprises three streams: historical energy transition research (e.g., Fouquet 2008; Geels  
3 2002), systems theories of technological change (Grübler et al. 1999), as well as the recent literature on  
4 scaling(-up) dynamics of technologies (Wilson 2009) which has also been applied for validation of  
5 climate mitigation scenarios (Wilson et al. 2013). Common to them all is the recognition of the  
6 importance of scale, or market size, as well as time and place as determinants of rates of change. Three  
7 main conclusions emerge from this literature. *Ceteris paribus*, a) larger systems take more time to  
8 evolve, grow, and change compared to smaller ones; b) the creation of entirely new systems (diffusion)  
9 takes longer time than replacements of existing technologies/practices (substitution); and c) late  
10 adopters tend to adopt faster than early pioneers.

11 The micro-level literature on technology- (or product-) specific rates of adoption is vast (for reviews  
12 see, (Tornatzky and Klein 1982; Grübler et al. 1999; Peres et al. 2010; Rogers 2003)) and has identified  
13 three clusters of variables: a) relative advantage; b) adoption effort required and complexity; and c)  
14 compatibility, observability, and trialability. All variables, except adoption effort, are positively  
15 correlated with (rapid) rates of change.

16 The acceleration of transitions is a complex issue, because of the multitude and combination of both  
17 macro- (societal, economic, markets) and micro- (e.g., firm- or consumer-) level determinants. A recent  
18 debate (Sovacool 2016) vs. (Grubler et al. 2016) led to a special journal issue on the duration and  
19 acceleration of energy transitions from a variety of (opposing) perspectives, which ranged from political  
20 urgency and malleability (Bromley, 2016) to inertia in large-techno-economic systems (Smil 2016); for  
21 a summary of the debate cf. (Sovacool and Geels 2016).

22

### 23 **SM 5.5.5 Feasibility and barriers of demand-side transitions**

24 While demand-side solutions have very high mitigation potential, the widespread diffusion and  
25 transitioning of many options is challenging. Table SM5.8 provides a high-level assessment of  
26 feasibility barriers for avoid, shift and improve options on behavioural, technological, business,  
27 institutional and socio-cultural dimensions. This assessment shows that improve options, which are  
28 mostly about technical component substitutions that do not require wider changes, face low to medium  
29 feasibility barriers. related to higher costs (especially if new technologies also require new  
30 infrastructures), limited consumer interest, and some industry reluctance. Shift options, which involve  
31 different ways of fulfilling desired services, face medium to large feasibility barriers, due to substantial  
32 required changes in behavioural routines, technologies, institutions, and investments. Avoid options,  
33 which involve deep changes in lifestyles and social practices, face large feasibility barriers in  
34 behavioural routines, institutions and cultural meanings, small to medium technical barriers and variable  
35 economic barriers.

36 There is variability within this high-level assessment of feasibility and speed of transition. Some  
37 improve options may diffuse rapidly (e.g. LED lightbulbs), but other improve options, such as improved  
38 cooking stoves remain at low levels due to mismatch with cultural practices or cost barriers. Avoid and  
39 shift options often require longer time scales, especially if new infrastructures, such as tram lines or  
40 building retrofits, are involved. Sometimes they unfold rapidly, however. For example, digital service  
41 provision models ranging from communication to entertainment, retail, or banking via integrated digital  
42 platforms (typically via smartphone apps) diffused quickly, replacing conventional analogue and/or  
43 physical service provisioning systems (home entertainment systems, bank offices, or shops (TWI2050  
44 2019)).

45 Demand-side transitions thus face the dilemma that improve options are in some cases more feasible,  
46 but only exploit part of the solution space, because they are less deep. Shift and avoid options have  
47 higher mitigation potential, but face larger feasibility barriers, for instance for living car-free and

1 restricting long-haul flights (Dubois et al. 2019). While the diffusion of most demand-side options is  
 2 likely to be slow without stronger policies, this dilemma means that the diffusion of shift and avoid  
 3 options would particularly benefit from stronger policy support that also address social norms.  
 4 Importantly, feasibility barriers are not fixed or static, but malleable and evolving over time. Obstacles  
 5 and feasibility barriers are high in early transition phases. But over time, the various barriers decrease  
 6 as a result of technical and social learning processes, network building, scale economies, cultural  
 7 debates and institutional adjustments.

8

9 **Table SM5.8 Assessment of feasibility/barriers for the diffusion of demand-side mitigation options**

	<b>Behavioural</b>	<b>Technology, infrastructure</b>	<b>Business</b>	<b>Institutional</b>	<b>Socio-cultural</b>
<b>Improve options:</b> Electric vehicles, light-weight vehicles, wood as building material, solar thermal devices, insulation, energy-efficient appliances and light bulbs, low carbon fabrics, improved clean cookstoves	<b>Small-medium</b> -Small change in behavioural routines -Costs or lack of interest may hold back purchase	<b>Small-medium</b> -Most component substitutions are technically feasible. -Some options require infrastructure change (e.g. recharging)	<b>Medium</b> -More expensive than existing technologies (although learning curves reduce costs) -Infrastructure change would increase costs - Incumbent firms may delay reorientation to new technical capabilities.	<b>Small</b> -No major institutional change needed (as existing systems mostly remain intact) -Diffusion slow without policy support and financing models	<b>Small</b> - No major cultural change needed
<b>Shift options:</b> <b>Shift from cars to public transport or cycling, less material-intensive construction, district heating, passive house, smaller devices, circular economy, shift towards from meat to other protein sources</b>	<b>Medium-large</b> -Medium change in behavioural routines -Not widespread consumer interest	<b>Small-Medium</b> -Increased use of existing or new technologies -New provisioning systems and sometimes new infrastructures	<b>Medium-large</b> - Investments in technologies, supply chains, business models, infrastructure - Resistance from incumbent industries	<b>Medium-large</b> -Medium institutional change (new agencies, responsibilities) -Large policy change (new goals, programs, instruments) - Substantial political resistance and struggle	<b>Medium-large</b> - Large scale cultural change for some shift options (e.g. less meat)
<b>Avoid options:</b> Integrated transport and land-use planning, tele-working, compact	<b>Large</b> -Large change in	<b>Small-medium</b> -Limited technical change (except	<b>Variable</b> High costs for some options (e.g. compact cities), low	<b>Large</b> -Large institutional change (e.g. overcoming	<b>Large</b> -Large cultural change in many options

cities, smaller apartments, shared common spaces, multi-generational housing, change dress codes, change work times, change temperature settings, consume less goods, keep calories in line with health guidelines, daylighting	behavioural routines	for some options)	costs for others (e.g. change dress codes)	silos-problem, new agencies)	(e.g. smaller apartments, consume less in some contexts)
	-Small to limited consumer interest	-Mostly using existing proven technologies		-Large policy change for some options (e.g. compact cities, tele-working)	

1

## 2 SM 5.6 Case studies

### 3 SM 5.6.1 Consumer-led innovation in solar photovoltaics (CS1)

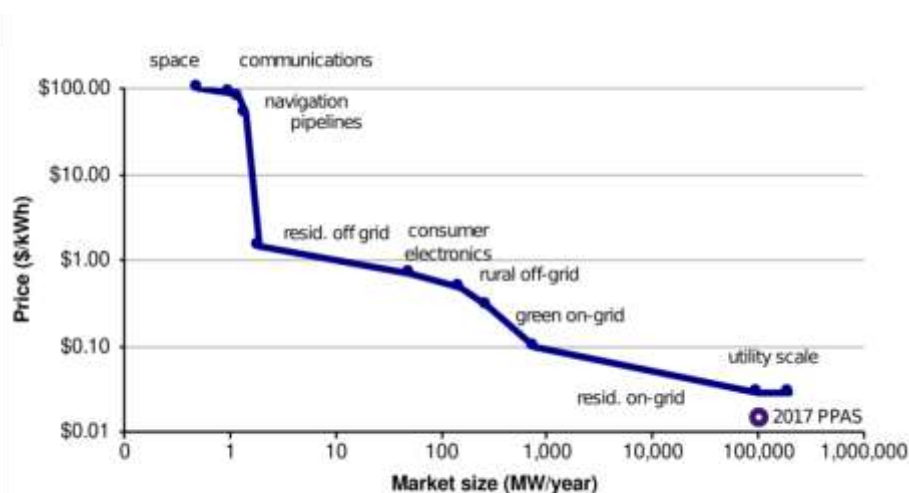
4 Although solar PV has attained massive scale as an energy supply technology, its success in becoming  
5 a low-cost mitigation option is attributable in large part to the collective agency of energy consumers  
6 who embraced the unique services that PV's modularity provides. These bottom-up socio-cultural  
7 forces catalysed a supportive policy environment, which enabled improvements in the technology by  
8 innovative firms. PV's technological evolution can be summarised as the result of distinct contributions  
9 by the US, Japan, Germany, Australia, and China—in that sequence over seven decades (Nemet 2019)  
10 (Figure SM5.18).

11 Since its first commercial application in 1958, PV has provided distinct energy services to a sequence  
12 of increasingly large consumer niche markets with high but decreasing willingness to pay (Dracker and  
13 De Laquil III 1996; Jacobsson and Lauber 2006). Modularity is among PV's most consequential  
14 attributes; the smallest electronics application to utility-scale spans nine orders of magnitude (Shum  
15 and Watanabe 2009). Nearly every scale in between has been applied to provide needed services—often  
16 serving not a policy-driven market but one arising from idiosyncratic consumer needs, for which PV  
17 was well suited. In the 1950s, the US Navy bought cells for early satellites from an electronics  
18 entrepreneur who had been selling solar-power radios (NRC 1972; Perlin 1999). In India in early days  
19 activist entrepreneurs marketed solar-powered lanterns in rural areas with unreliable electricity (Roy  
20 1997; Roy and Jana 1998). Off-grid housing, water pumps in Mali, and electronics provided important  
21 consumer niche markets (Perlin 2013). It has played a substantial role in reducing poverty in China  
22 (Zhang et al. 2020).

23 Institutionally, the most important policy for the improvements observed in PV was Germany's  
24 Erneuerbare-Energie Gesetz (EEG) passed in 2000, guaranteeing prices paid to prosumers (i.e. citizens  
25 acting as both producers and consumers) of renewable electricity for 20 years (RESA 2001). The EEG  
26 quadrupled the size of the German solar market in one year and stimulated corporate actors to invest in  
27 designing PV-specific production equipment that was crucial for subsequent improvements and cost  
28 reductions accomplished by Chinese producers (Palz 2010; Wu and Mathews 2012). In India in 1982  
29 the Department of Non-conventional Energy Sources was set up which eventually got transformed into  
30 Ministry of Non-conventional Energy Sources (MNES) in 1992 and in 2006 to MNRE in 2006. Indian  
31 Renewable Energy Development Agency (IREDA) was established in 1987 to finance renewable  
32 energy projects (Bhattacharya and Jana 2009).

1 The EEG adopted the policy innovation of guaranteed long term contracts that California regulators had  
 2 designed to provide grid access to small energy producers in the 1980s (CPUC 1983; Hirsch 1999). It  
 3 also adopted the Japanese innovations of a declining subsidy and the first national rooftop top solar  
 4 program in 1995 (Kimura and Suzuki 2006). The adoption behaviour of the 200,000 Japanese  
 5 households who installed PV in the next ten years showed the world that consumer demand for PV  
 6 energy services was strong (Shimamoto 2014). The Japanese subsidy was far less generous than the  
 7 subsequent German program and surveys of adopters indicate that environmental values were a stronger  
 8 driver than economics (Kimura and Suzuki 2006). Corporate actors, in the form of Japanese electronic  
 9 conglomerates, became the world's largest PV producers using experience incorporating PV's unique  
 10 attributes, scale and mobility, into consumer products, like watches, calculators, and electronic toys  
 11 (Honda 2008).

12



13

14 **Figure SM5.18 Technological learning curve of photovoltaic solar energy. Prices decline with production**  
 15 **and associated innovation and economics of scale. As granular technology that can be matched to diverse**  
 16 **settings, technological learning is faster than in most other technologies. Source: (Nemet 2019)**

17 The EEG only became politically feasible in Germany because of an environmental activist social  
 18 movement, originating in the 1968 student protests, advocating a shift to consumer-led green energy  
 19 production (Morris and Jungjohann 2016). PV had the potential to avoid: environmental damage, oil  
 20 dependence, hegemony of electric utilities, nuclear power, and later climate change. PV thus attained  
 21 meaning beyond its technical elegance; its main advocate in the German Parliament, Hermann Scheer  
 22 emphasised the importance of its “emancipatory motivation” (Palz 2010). In 1998, when a policy  
 23 window opened, broad social acceptability existed, cities had de-risked the technology, and policy  
 24 implementation details had been worked leading to a cascade of technology adoption, performance  
 25 improvement, and cost reductions that set the stage for broader systemic change (Lauber and Jacobsson  
 26 2016).

27 Today's massive utility-scale PV projects are now a factor of 10,000 cheaper than the first PV cells in  
 28 satellites. They are also inextricably linked to a seven-decade evolution in which the agency of  
 29 consumers has consistently played a key role in multiple countries, such that deriving half of global  
 30 electricity supply from solar is now a realistic possibility (Creutzig et al. 2017).

31

32 **SM 5.6.2 Energy services for cooking - Improve cookstoves and shift to new forms of**  
 33 **energy (CS2)**

1 The majority of households in developing countries use traditional solid biomass fuel through  
2 inefficient and incomplete combustion for cooking and heating (Bhattacharya and Cropper 2010; Nepal  
3 et al. 2010; Bonjour et al. 2013; IEA 2017; Wester et al. 2019). This has been a major concern for  
4 deforestation (Kissinger et al. 2012) and for health, gender relations, and economic livelihood  
5 (Batchelor et al. 2019). For example, about 85% of the fine particulate matter (PM<sub>2.5</sub>) emission in  
6 Africa in 2018 came from the burning of biomass indoors (IEA 2019).

7 Cleaner and safer cooking solutions in South Asia and Africa can obtain a range of benefits: reduce  
8 firewood collection from the forest (Pattanayak et al. 2004); reduce the burden on women (Hazra et al.  
9 2014); deliver better health (Pant 2008; Bikram and Thakuri 2009); higher labour productivity  
10 (Kalyanaratne 2014) for the users and reduce emissions of greenhouse gases (Zhang et al. 2013;  
11 Somanathan and Bluffstone 2015). Studies have shown that net reduction in emission for the switch  
12 from biomass as a cooking fuel to LPG has clear climate and non-climate benefits (Anenberg et al.  
13 2017; Singh et al. 2017; Ghilardi et al. 2018; Goldemberg et al. 2018). In India during 2001 and 2011  
14 increase in LPG use has led to a net emissions (Kyoto and non-Kyoto Gases) reduction of 6.73 MtCO<sub>2</sub>-  
15 eq (0.94 MtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq in rural area and 5.79 MtCO<sub>2</sub>-eq in urban area ) with fuel wood displaced 7.2  
16 million tons (0.99 million tons in rural area and 6.19 million tons in urban area)(Singh et al. 2017).

17 To improve the affordability of the cleaner fuel and cook stove choice, actors at the households level  
18 need motivation through pricing policy like subsidies and installation cost waiver (Troncoso and Soares  
19 da Silva 2017; Dickinson et al. 2018; Sankhyayan and Dasgupta 2019). The decision towards actual  
20 transition to a cleaner cooking fuel and technology is often governed by other demand-side  
21 drivers/barriers like lifestyle and socio-cultural norms and practices.

22 The useful energy demand for cooking is a crucial component of the choice between various cooking  
23 technology options and has been the subject of numerous studies (Balmer 2007; Nerini et al. 2016).  
24 Daioglou et al. (Daioglou et al. 2012) conclude that a mean of 3 MJ cap<sup>-1</sup> day<sup>-1</sup> (range 0.77 to 7.22) of  
25 useful energy is required for cooking (equivalent to 125 kWh month<sup>-1</sup> for a household of 5.  
26 Accommodating cooking energy services in off-grid electrification technologies, Zubi et al. (Zubi et al.  
27 2017) estimate that a three litre multi-cooker needs just 0.6 kWh day<sup>-1</sup> to cook lunch and dinner for a  
28 household of six, which is equivalent to 0.36 MJ cap<sup>-1</sup> day<sup>-1</sup>. Similarly, according to Batchelor et al.  
29 (Batchelor et al. 2018) 0.2 kWh could be enough to cook rice for a household of four in a rice cooker.

30 *Shifts* towards electric and LPG stoves in Bhutan (Dendup and Arimura 2019), India (Pattanayak et al.  
31 2019), Ecuador (Gould et al. 2018; Martínez et al. 2017) and Ethiopia (Tsfamichael et al. 2021); are  
32 taking over now compared to past trend towards *improved* biomass stoves in China (Smith et al. 1993).  
33 Significant subsidy (Litzow et al. 2019), information (Dendup and Arimura 2019), social marketing and  
34 availability of technology in the local markets are some of the key instruments helping to adopt ICS  
35 (Pattanayak et al. 2019), through supply chain creation availability was scaled up enormously in India  
36 (Sankhyayan and Dasgupta 2019). Shift in use of energy efficient cooking appliances like pressure  
37 cookers and rice cookers is now almost universal in South Asia and beginning to penetrate the African  
38 market as consumer attitudes are changing towards household cooking appliances with higher energy  
39 efficiencies (Batchelor et al. 2019).

40 There is substantial evidence that more awareness programs are needed to break the behavioural  
41 barriers towards usage of modern cooking fuel (Giri and Aadil 2018). While designing ICS, along with  
42 technical aspects like energy efficiency, emission mitigation, and improving health outcomes  
43 researchers are also needed to factor in functionality, aesthetics and consumers' need and preference. A  
44 tailoring in the technology is also needed based on the region, climate and culture (Bielecki and  
45 Wingenbach 2014). Many of the families who are first time users of LPG often find safety issues as a  
46 barrier to use it. Studies from Senegal and Mexico shows that even though households are complaining  
47 of smoke and itchy and watery eyes during cooking with solid fuels, and are aware of the health benefits  
48 of using LPG or other efficient technology, they still find traditional cooking practices using solid fuels

1 to be more desirable (Pine et al. 2011; Hooper et al. 2018). Many country-specific studies have also  
2 shown that the types of diet, modes of cooking and types of utensils, vessels used have an impact on  
3 the choice of cooking fuel and technology (Ravindranath and Ramakrishna 1997; Atanassov 2010;  
4 Mukhopadhyay et al. 2012; Bielecki and Wingenbach 2014; Troncoso et al. 2019) the perception of  
5 food tastes (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2012; Wiedinmyer et al. 2017; Hooper et al. 2018), differences in the  
6 housing-style and location of the cooking area-indoor or outdoor (Chattopadhyay et al. 2017) delays  
7 transition to a cleaner fuel or new technology . In Mozambique the dissemination of solar cookstove  
8 has seen limited success as its design failed to capture end-user need of cooking process like boiling,  
9 steaming or frying and how the food is prepared like standing versus sitting (Otte 2014).

10 Universal access to clean and modern cooking energy could cut premature death from HAP by two-  
11 third relative to baseline in 2030 while reducing forest degradation and deforestation and contribute to  
12 the reduction of up to 50% of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from cooking relative to baseline by 2030 (Hof et al. 2019;  
13 IEA 2017). However, in the absence of policy reform and substantial energy investments, 2.3 billion  
14 people will have no access to clean cooking fuels such as biogas, LPG, natural gas or electricity in 2030  
15 (IEA 2017). The increasing efficiency *improvements* in electric cooking technologies, together with the  
16 ongoing decrease in prices of renewable energy technologies, could enable households to shift to  
17 electrical cooking at mass scale (Figure SM5.19a).

18

### 19 **SM 5.6.3 Shift in mobility service provision through public transport in Kolkata (CS3)**

20 In densely populated cities in India, mobility is still predominantly dependent on public transport,  
21 walking and cycling modes (Tiwari et al. 2016). There is an increasing shift of narratives towards  
22 comfortable, affordable public transport systems in public policy, which is translated into infrastructure  
23 investments, procurement of equipment, road safety legislation, and even public consultations on  
24 mobility in smart cities (Roy et al. 2018b; Ghosh and Arora 2019). This transition in mobility systems  
25 in historically public transport dominated cities like Kolkata and Mumbai is happening through ‘fit and  
26 conform’ strategies, but also by ‘stretch and transform strategy’ in new cities like Ahmedabad,  
27 Bangalore, Pune (Ghosh et al. 2018; Roy et al. 2018b; Ghosh and Schot 2019).

28 In the megacity Kolkata, as many as twelve different modes of public transportation ‘regimes’ - each  
29 with its own system, structure, network of actors and meanings - co-exist and offer means of mobility  
30 to its 14 million citizens. Most public transport modes are shared mobility options ranging from sharing  
31 between two people in a rickshaw or between a few hundred in metro or sub-urban trains. Sharing also  
32 happens as daily commuters avail shared taxis organised by organically formed local taxi associations  
33 and neighbours borrow each other’s car or bicycle for urgent or day trips. However, there are also formal  
34 efforts by several actors and initiatives to transform the existing systems in sustainable directions. Many  
35 factors have contributed to transformative changes in Kolkata’s public transport regimes, including  
36 socio-cultural awareness generated through mass-media like television and newspaper reports, research  
37 and communication by NGOs on the detrimental effects of existing standards of fuel and equipment,  
38 environmental campaigns by civil society organisations involving school children, students and the  
39 elderly. There were efforts to improve efficiency in managing fleets and service provision through  
40 smart, real time and integrated display and fare collection system etc. A crucial driver of this policy has  
41 been to discourage users to shift their demand from public to private mobility and new meaning to  
42 buses, autorickshaws were getting added continuously. Many of these changes were driven by new  
43 policy at national and urban levels, for instance the National Urban Renewal Mission (2005) (Ministry  
44 of Housing and Urban Affairs 2005), National Urban Transport Policy (2006) (Ministry Of Urban  
45 Transport 2006) and Kolkata’s comprehensive urban mobility plan (2008) (IDFC 2008).

46 A key role is played by the state government to improve the system as whole and formalise certain  
47 semi-formal modes of transport. An important policy consideration has been to make Kolkata’s mobility



1 system more efficient (in terms of speed, reliability and avoidance of congestion) and sustainable  
2 through strengthening coordination between different mode-based regimes as each of these regimes are  
3 transformed individually and collectively over the past 10 years (Ghosh 2019). Such transformations  
4 within the regimes arose from a broad range of drivers such as need for new infrastructure, increased  
5 fuel efficiency, digitalisation of operation, and pollution mitigation. Many of these interventions were  
6 to address wider sustainability challenges such as increasing demand for individual mobility, high  
7 concentration of pollutants in the air, lack of affordability etc. Each of Kolkata's diverse public transport  
8 regimes have changed along different pathways in the past decade owing partly to new standards and  
9 regulations, but also to new values, beliefs and expectations-(cognitive and normative meanings. Four  
10 distinctive regime level change processes are: improvements and new meaning to public buses, greening  
11 and formalisation of auto-rickshaws, the institutional and socio-cultural support to the emergence of  
12 'app-cab' niche, a cycling ban policy in major arterial roads of Kolkata.

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14 decade owing partly to new standards and regulations, but also to new values, beliefs and expectations  
15 (cognitive and normative meanings). Four distinctive regime level change processes are elaborated  
16 here: 1) improvements and new meaning to public buses; 2) greening and formalisation of auto-  
17 rickshaws; 3) the institutional and socio-cultural support to the emergence of 'app-cab' niche; 4) a  
18 cycling ban policy in major arterial roads of Kolkata.

19 **Public Buses attracting the middle class:** Supported by the National Urban Renewal Mission in 2010,  
20 the West Bengal government rolled out 1200 new fuel efficient, low floor buses with an aim to provide  
21 'modern and efficient bus service to the urban middle-class citizens of Kolkata, who will be willing to  
22 pay a premium fare for a comfortable and reliable bus service'(Ghosh and Schot 2019). Several changes  
23 in the state bus regime followed this effort to improve public bus infrastructure to match the demands  
24 for a new urban lifestyle. There were efforts to improve efficiency in managing fleets and service  
25 provision through smart, real time and integrated display and fare collection system etc. A crucial driver  
26 of this policy has been to discourage users to shift their demand from public to private mobility. The  
27 primary focus on these strategies have been to cater to their preferences for safety, reliability and  
28 comfort. A way to incentivise the middle class, urban population of Kolkata to keep using public buses  
29 was through transforming the socio-cultural meaning of the public bus regime by rebranding and  
30 advancing a new image of the bus as a comfortable and efficient mode of transport.

31 **Auto-rickshaws and new meanings:** While the transformation of the public bus was triggered by  
32 social pressures like affordability, safety and reliability, transformation in the auto-rickshaw regime  
33 started off in response to the environmental challenges from the unsustainable fuel used in these  
34 vehicles. Emissions from auto-rickshaws operated with a cheap toxic mixture of petrol, kerosene and  
35 naphtha accounted for 60% of the city's air pollution. Since 2009, new legislation has mandated the use  
36 of single mode liquified petroleum gas (LPG). This improvement in fuel infrastructure coupled with  
37 consequent initiatives by the state government to formally recognise and integrate auto-rickshaws as  
38 part of the public transport portfolio of the city, resulted in a transformation of the socio-cultural  
39 meaning of auto-rickshaws from one considered to be noisy, polluting, unregulated and informal  
40 paratransit mode into an environment-friendly, fast and efficient mode of shared mobility.

41 **Emergence of 'app-cab' niche:** Public buses started attracting middle classes, Autorickshaws got new  
42 meaning and with digitalisation Taxi services got transformed. The existing social norm of sharing  
43 public transport modes coupled with a rapid uptake of smartphones facilitated the emergence of 'app-  
44 cabs' in Kolkata (Ghosh 2019). Since 2014, the global mobility platform, Uber and the Indian app-cab  
45 company, Ola started operating services in Kolkata, gaining quick momentum in shifting the demand  
46 of users from yellow taxis to app-based taxi services. Both Uber and Ola have 'pool' (ride-sharing)  
47 options which are considerably cheaper than booking the entire car. Commuters could even buy a  
48 monthly pass for cheaper daily access. Owing to these facilities, transparency of payment and safety

1 promises, shifts have taken place in the expectations and routines of commuters from “car is the only  
2 comfortable way of travelling” to “sharing a cab is much faster and efficient” (Ghosh and Schot 2019).  
3 Such deeper shifts in the beliefs of the more affluent urban population are crucial for transitioning  
4 towards sustainable mobility in coherence with emerging lifestyle preferences in megacities like  
5 Kolkata. However, there is also a change in behaviour of the urban middle-class, who are willing to  
6 replace their bus, metro or auto-rickshaw rides with app-cabs because of additional benefits like door  
7 to door service.

8 **Cycling ban policy:** While the effect on social justice, equity and inclusion is clear in the cases of the  
9 bus, auto-rickshaw or app-cabs, some recent policy actions in Kolkata are directly related to socio-  
10 economic exclusion. Since 2014, Kolkata police have banned cycling in many major arterial roads as a  
11 traffic management strategy under the pressure of congestion and to avoid road accidents in over  
12 crowded narrow streets. Civil society activists and NGOs have protested against the ban on grounds of  
13 environmental impacts and injustice against the poor. The ban was partially retracted in 2016 (Ghosh  
14 2019). Scholars have argued that such policy measures exacerbate inequalities by disadvantaging the  
15 urban poor, and hence are undesirable, even though it might seem to be a congestion mitigation strategy  
16 in the short term (Raven et al. 2017; Sur 2017). The agency of political actors in implementing  
17 regulatory policies in individual bus, auto or taxi regimes is important, but not enough to maintain the  
18 existing sustainable practices of shared mobility. The transformation processes in state bus and auto-  
19 rickshaw regimes highlight that policies need to align with specific user demands (for safety, reliability,  
20 comfort) and focus on changing deeper beliefs and practices across multiple mobility regimes in the  
21 city. The emergence of the app-cab service suggests the role of digitalisation beyond policies and  
22 markets to renew the taxi regime, following the existing ride sharing culture that already exists in  
23 Kolkata. The cycling ban case highlights the exclusionary effects of policy, which the agency of civil  
24 society actors in social movements can hold into account in a democratic context.

25 To conclude, more thoughtful action at a policy level is required to sustain and coordinate the diversity  
26 of public transport modes through infrastructure design and reflecting on the overall directionality of  
27 change (Roy et al. 2018b; Schot and Steinmueller 2018). The case of urban mobility transitions in  
28 Kolkata shows interconnected policy, institutional, socio-cultural and behavioural drivers for socio-  
29 technical change. Change has unfolded in complex interactions between multiple actors, sustainability  
30 values and megatrends, where direct causalities are hard to identify. However, the prominence of policy  
31 actors as change-agents is clear as they are changing multiple regimes from within. The state  
32 government initiated infrastructural change in public bus systems, coordinated with private and non-  
33 governmental actors such as auto-rickshaw operators and app-cab owners who hold crucial agency in  
34 offering public transport services in the city. The latter can directly be attributed to the global  
35 momentum of mobility-as-a-service platforms, at the intersection of digitalisation and sharing economy  
36 trends. However, sensitivity of the policy actors in the developing countries to local needs and  
37 capabilities are important, instead of chasing global trends, especially if such trends increase inequality  
38 at the cost of improved standard of living for a selected section of people. It is a fact that many of these  
39 policy changes cater to middle class aspirations and preferences, at the cost of lower income and less  
40 privileged communities (Figure SM5.19b).

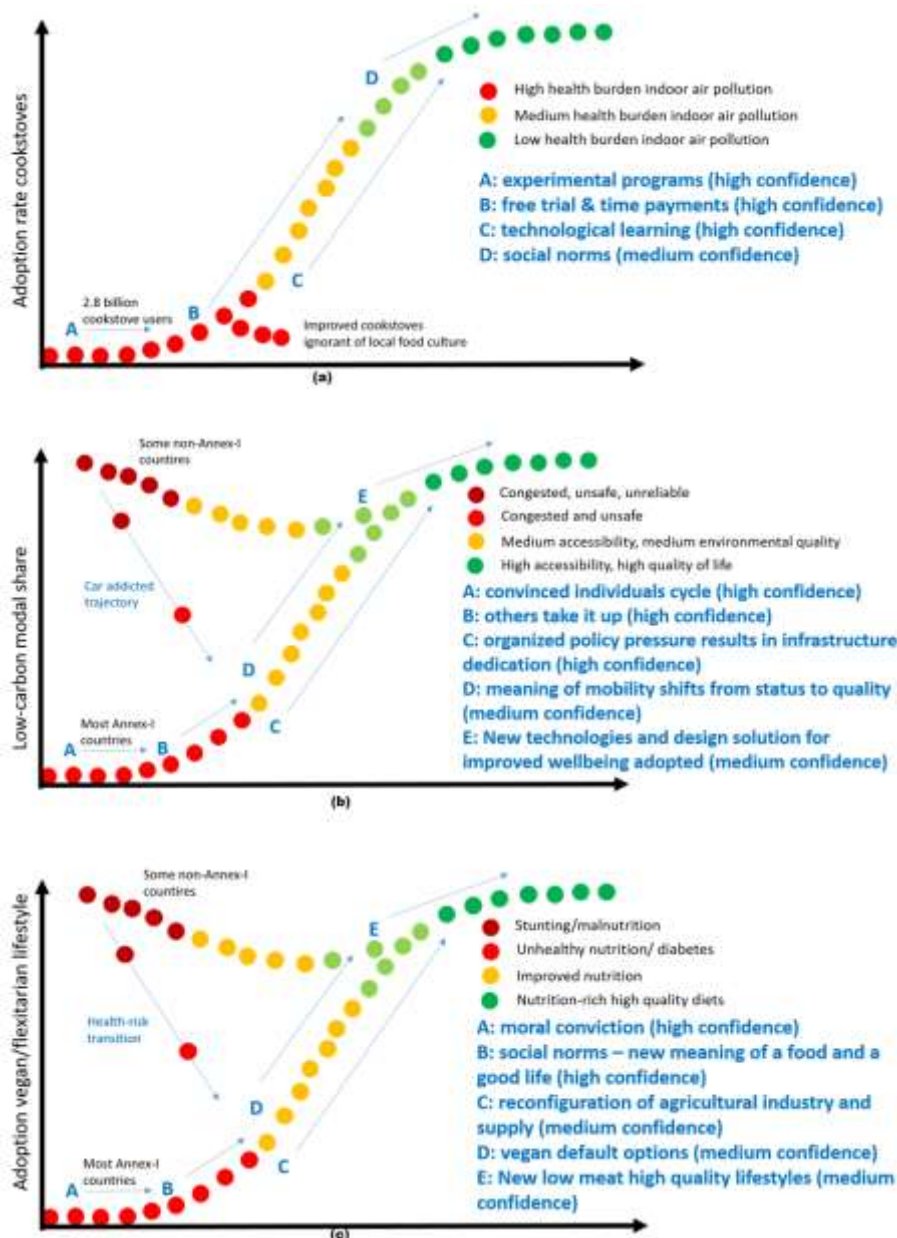
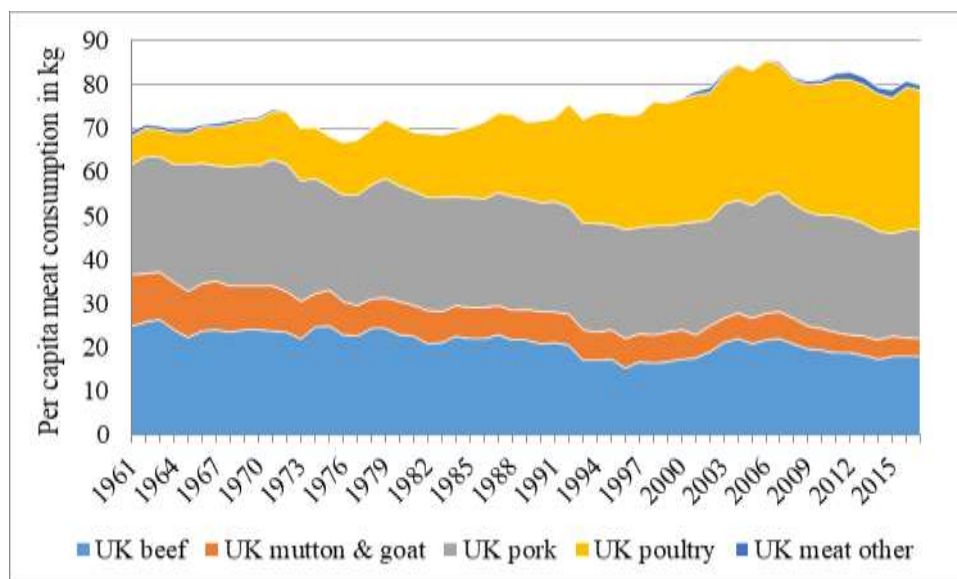


Figure SM5.19 Exemplary transition dynamics for the cases of improved cookstoves, modal shifts, and diet shift

### SM 5.6.4 Dietary change and reduced meat consumption (CS4)

UK per capita meat consumption increased from 69.2 kg yr<sup>-1</sup> in 1961 to 85.7 kg yr<sup>-1</sup> in 2006, and then declined to 78.6 kg yr<sup>-1</sup> in 2015 (= 8.3%), followed by a small increase in 2016 and decline in 2017 (see Figure SM5.20). Despite ups and downs, the trend since 2006 is downward. Another long-term trend is a relative shift from carbon-intensive red meat towards poultry. Research indicates that this shift away from meat consumption is likely to have resulted from interactions between several actors and multiple dimensions (Vinnari and Vinnari 2014).



1  
2 **Figure SM5.20 UK per capita meat consumption (kgs; constructed from FAO Food Balances database)**

3 A substantial body of literature indicates that self-reported consumer motivations for shifting away from  
4 meat are primarily linked to concerns for personal health. Food safety, cost, and animal welfare, are  
5 also important, with concerns about climate change less so (Latvala et al. 2012; Dibb and Fitzpatrick  
6 2014; Hartmann and Siegrist 2017; Graça et al. 2019). However, there is little evidence to link these  
7 motivations to actual behaviour change (Bianchi et al. 2018; Graça et al. 2019). This can be attributed  
8 to lock-in mechanisms, such as established habits of food provision; skills deficits in preparing non-  
9 meat meals (Pohjolainen et al. 2015); positive socio-cultural meanings attached to meat eating,  
10 including vitality and sociality (Mylan 2018) and limitations in the availability of non-meat options  
11 when eating out of the home (Graça et al. 2019).

12 NGO campaigns that aim to change public discourses and attitudes toward meat production and  
13 consumption (Laestadius et al. 2016), have gained prominence in UK over the past decade, drawing  
14 attention to issues including health, climate change and animal welfare. There has also been a  
15 proliferation of behaviour change initiatives led by social movements including ‘meat-free-Mondays’  
16 and ‘Veganuary’ which, in addition to information provision, aim to encourage behaviour change by  
17 providing practical guidance and creating normative pressures (Morris et al. 2014). The effectiveness  
18 of these civic-led interventions, and accompanying attempts to ‘nudge’ consumers toward meat  
19 reduction by altering the visual appeal, position, or size of meat offerings at the point of purchase, is  
20 being debated in the literature (Garnett et al. 2015; Godfray et al. 2018; Taufik et al. 2019; Harguess et  
21 al. 2020; Sahakian et al. 2020).

22 Companies have started to respond to the growing demand for ‘meat free’ products, with 16% of new  
23 UK food products launched in 2018 presenting ‘non animal’ claims – a doubling since 2015 (MINTEL  
24 2019). These ‘meat alternatives’ vary in material form, with more ‘radical’ products such as cultured  
25 meat, or algae and insect-based proteins, facing substantial structural barriers (technological,  
26 organisational, institutional), which presently hinder their widespread diffusion (van der Weele et al.  
27 2019). Nevertheless, it is clear that both corporate food actors and new entrants offering more innovative  
28 ‘meat alternatives’ view consumer preferences as an economic opportunity, and are responding by  
29 increasing the availability of meat replacement products. Farmers and meat industry actors have  
30 opposed these developments through political lobbying, which in 2019 led the European Parliament’s  
31 agriculture committee to prohibit these new companies from using the terms “burger” or “sausage” to  
32 describe products that do not contain meat.

1 Policy support for meat alternatives or behavioural change has remained limited in the UK, where  
2 reduced meat consumption is low on the political agenda (Wellesley and Froggatt 2015). The extent to  
3 which policymakers are willing to actively stimulate reduced meat consumption thus remains an open  
4 question(Godfray et al. 2018). Agricultural policies in the UK serve to support meat production with  
5 large subsidies that lower production cost and effectively increase the meat intensity of diets at a  
6 population level (Simon 2003; Godfray et al. 2018). Deeper, population wide reductions in meat  
7 consumption are hampered by these lock-in mechanisms which continue to stabilise the existing meat  
8 production-consumption system.

9 To conclude, analysis of the dynamics across the UK food provisioning system which have  
10 accompanied the observed decline in UK meat consumption, indicates that this has resulted from  
11 interaction between multiple behavioural, socio-cultural, and corporate drivers (Figure SM5.19c).

12

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## Supplementary Material II Chapter 5

**Table SM5.1 Climate change mitigation potentials classified in socio-behavioural, infrastructural, and technological options.**

Sector	Gt CO <sub>2</sub> in 2050	Mitigation Strategy	Changes in CO <sub>2</sub> for SIT	References
<i>Building</i>  <b>(total mitigation potential: 64.4%, 5.7 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b> Sufficiency	10-40% <b>[median: 25%]</b>	(IEA 2020a; Ürge-Vorsatz et al. 2020; Niamir et al. 2020b; Ahl et al. 2019; Institute for Global Environmental Strategies et al. 2019; Climact 2018; Virage-énergie Nord-Pas de Calais 2016) see also Chapter 9
		<b>Infrastructure:</b> Architectural design	<b>[median: 5%]</b>	(IEA 2020a; Climact 2018; Mastrucci and Rao 2019; Niamir et al. 2020a; Mata et al. 2018; Institute for Global Environmental Strategies et al. 2019) see also Chapter 9
		<b>Technology:</b> Efficiency	30-70% <b>[median: 50%]</b>	(IEA 2020a; Climact 2018; Institute for Global Environmental Strategies et al. 2019; Ellsworth-Krebs et al. 2019; Mata et al. 2020) see also Chapter 9
<i>Land Transport</i>  <b>(total mitigation potential: 44.2%, 6.5 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b> Teleworking, Walking/Cycling	1-15% <b>[median: 10%]</b>	(Brand et al. 2020; Creutzig 2015; Creutzig et al. 2016; Ivanova et al. 2020; Riggs 2020) see also 5.3.3, 5.3.4 and Chapter 10
		<b>Infrastructure:</b> Services (urban design, compact city, public transport, shared mobility)	20-50% <b>[median: 30%]</b>	(ITF 2020a, 2019; International Transport Forum 2016; ITF 2017a,b,c,d; Creutzig et al. 2016; ITF 2020b) see also 5.3.3, 5.3.4 and Chapter 10
		<b>Technology:</b> Vehicle technology	-50-100% <b>[median: 50%]</b>	(Plötz et al. 2017; EEA 2018; Hill et al. 2019; Khalili et al. 2019) see also Chapter 10
<i>Aviation</i>  <b>(total mitigation potential: 55%, 0.99 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b> Less/avoided flights	<b>0-47%</b> <b>[median: 40%]</b>	(IATA 2020; Schäfer et al. 2019; Gössling and Humpe 2020) see also Chapter 10
		<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>[median: 0%]</b>	
		<b>Technology</b>	<b>10-30%</b> <b>[median: 25%]</b>	(IATA 2020; Schäfer et al. 2019; Gössling and Humpe 2020) see also Chapter 10

<i>Shipping</i> <b>(total mitigation potential: 64.4%, 1.2 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b>	<b>40-60%</b>	(Bouman et al. 2017; McKinnon 2018; ITF 2018) see also Chapter 10
		<b>Reduce demand</b>	<b>[median: 40%]</b>	
		<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>[median: 1%]</b>	
		<b>Technology</b>	<b>30-50%</b>	(Bouman et al. 2017; McKinnon 2018; ITF 2018) see also Chapter 10
			<b>[median: 40%]</b>	
<i>Food</i> <b>(total mitigation potential: 44.2%, 7.9 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b>	<b>18-87%</b>	(Poore and Nemecek 2018; Schanes et al. 2018; Springmann et al. 2018; Willett et al. 2019; Parodi et al. 2018; Semba et al. 2020; IPCC 2019) see also Chapter 7
		<b>Diet shifts, avoid food waste</b>	<b>[median: 40%]</b>	
		<b>Infrastructure:</b>	<b>[median: 7%]</b>	
		<b>Choice architectures</b>		
		<b>Technology</b>	<b>[median: 0%]</b>	
<i>Industry</i> <b>(total mitigation potential: 42%, 6.2 GtCO<sub>2</sub>)</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>Socio-behavioural:</b>	<b>3-22%</b>	(IEA 2020a,b, 2019; Material Economics 2018; Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2019) see also Chapter 11
		<b>Materials efficient services</b>	<b>[median: 17%]</b>	
		<b>Infrastructure:</b>	<b>[median: 5%]</b>	
		<b>Reuse and recycling</b>		(IEA 2020a,b, 2019; Material Economics 2018; Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2019) see also Chapter 11
		<b>Technology:</b>	<b>25-28%</b>	(IEA 2020a,b; Material Economics 2018) see also Chapter 11
		<b>Efficiency</b>	<b>[median: 26%]</b>	

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1 **Table SM5.2: Electricity sector demand-side mitigation potential**

Sector	Gt CO <sub>2</sub> in 2050	Mitigation Strategy	Changes in Gt CO <sub>2</sub>	References
<i>Electricity</i>	<b>18.2</b> <b>(without sector coupling)</b>	<b>Sector coupling additional emissions</b>	<b>+8.3</b>	(BloombergNEF 2020)
		<b>Building sector demand reduction (indirect emissions)</b>	<b>-3.3</b>	(IEA 2020a,c) see also Chapter 9
		<b>Transport sector demand reduction (indirect emissions)</b>	<b>-1</b>	(IEA 2020a,d)
		<b>Industry sector demand reduction (indirect emissions)</b>	<b>-3</b>	(IEA 2020a, 2019, 2020b)
		<b>Load management</b>	<b>-1</b>	(IRENA 2018; Eurelectric 2017) see also Chapter 6

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