The Involvement of Spiritual Organizations in Sustainability Initiatives, as seen in the Transition Towns Movement in the United Kingdom

by

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A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Environmental Studies
in
Environment and Resource Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2011

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract:

Spiritual organizations have historically played an important role in social and civil movements (Aminzade & Perry 2007). This research is one investigation of how spiritual organizations may benefit sustainability initiatives and contribute to increased community resilience. Based on a case study of the Transition Towns movement in the United Kingdom, the research also addresses how to minimize anticipated and actual pitfalls of spiritual organization involvement. Research was conducted through the use of semi-structured telephone interviews with key-informants within Transition Towns in the United Kingdom and with affiliated spiritual organizations. An analysis of themes discussed by participants and relevant literature suggests that the benefits of involving spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives include the following: institutional (benefits derived from well established institutions such as churches); normative (benefits derived from a non-pragmatic based rationale for committing to social change as well as assigning intrinsic values to Nature); motivational (benefits derived from the ability of spiritual organizations to motivate people); leadership/influence (the influence and leadership that individuals with spiritual background can have in sustainability initiatives); bonding/ bridging (benefits to social capital derived from the strengthened community ties that spiritual organizations can create). Of these, the benefit of normative values was identified as most important by interviewees. Based on these findings, this research argues that spiritual capital is an important social capital resource for sustainability initiatives. Anticipated pitfalls of involving spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives reported by interviewees included: fears of division (concern that involvement of spiritual organization could divide members along theological lines); belief that explicit reference to spirituality is "off putting" (people from diverse spiritual backgrounds or who identified as non-spiritual might be less likely to take part in situations identified with one or more specific spiritual groups or traditions) and structural or institutional barriers (based on belief, or traditions of practice, spiritual organizations might be unlikely to take part). A key finding was that Transition Town members were not experiencing these pitfalls. Another key finding was that the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) were very involved in the Transition Towns movement. It was concluded based on these findings that spiritual organizations have been able to benefit Transition Towns sustainability initiatives in the UK. Findings suggest that spiritual organizations which are most able to act as important sources of 'spiritual capital' for sustainability and community resilience initiatives are identified with the following characteristics:

non-proselytizing, socially and theologically inclusive, and emphasizing social and/or environmental justice. By being a source of spiritual capital, spiritual organizations can offer the beneficial components of normative values that motivate, influence and bind communities.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Daniel McCarthy, for all his help throughout this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Susan Wismer for all her valuable feedback that allowed me to bring this paper to defence. And, I would like to thank Dr. Graham Whitelaw for making time for my defense. I would like to thank my parents for their countless support that they have given me throughout my entire academic career. I would also like to thank all the members of the UK transition movement who volunteered their time to be interviewed. Finally, I would like to thank Julia Coburn, Kathleen Little, Shannon Rice and all the others who literally and figuratively sat beside me all through the summer.

Dedication:

I would like to dedicate the memory of Jack Layton whose political and personal life exemplified what it means to be an engaged, conscientious and responsible citizen. His contribution to his community and to his country will not be forgotten.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: Researcher's Perspective

The inspiration for this research came from many sources not the least of which was a life time of running barefoot through the woods, and despite being raised with the tradition of Christianity, a family environment which encouraged me to define spirituality for myself. I have witnessed the good work spiritual organizations can do in terms of outreach to the disadvantaged of the community, but have always been sceptical about many ideologies. Early on in my academic career I became aware and highly involved in the Fair Trade movement. However, no matter how much I tried I could not convince my family to change their consumption behaviour. Eventually they did switch to Fair Trade coffee, in part because of the influence of their Church and a member of the family who was a minister. I noted that the behaviour did not change because "the church told them so" but rather because the argumentation used was one which could appeal to them at a level that mine could not. This was not unique to my family. Thus the question emerged as to what it was that spiritual organizations could offer that could benefit sustainability initiatives that the strictly scientific argumentation could not.

1.2: Introduction

Examining if and how spiritual organizations can help to promote sustainability initiatives is important because sustainability is an international objective and because of the continuing role spiritual organizations play as social motivators (Aminzade & Perry 2007).

The labels "religious," and "spiritual," carries with them a multitude of historical meanings that generate both positive and negative assumptions in diverse audiences (Bruce 2003, Habermas 2006, Walton, 2006). Despite social shifts to a more secular society, however, spiritual organizations remain an important part of many peoples' lives and a medium for encouraging social change that is based on ethics rather than pragmatism (Gardner 2001). This research explores spiritual organizations and their role in sustainability initiatives to gain a better understanding of the perceived and actual benefits and pitfalls of involving spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives.

Spirituality is a subjective term that means different things to different people (Elkin et al. 1988). For

the purpose of this research, spirituality is defined as:

> a way of being and experiencing that comes about through awareness of a transcendent dimension and that is characterized by certain identifiable values in regard to self, others, nature, life and whatever one considers to be the Ultimate (Elkin 1988 pp. 10).

Based on this definition a spiritual organization refers to an organization which exists to unite people with the same or similar spiritual beliefs and/or which exists to connect people of different spiritualities who share similar values.

For the purpose of this research sustainability refers to the ultimate goal of systems which are environmentally, socially and economically compatible and enduring (Walker & Salt 2006, Gibson 2005).

A particular set of desired outcomes in which systems are, or are becoming, environmentally, socially and economically compatible and enduring were identified by Gibson (2005) (explained in greater detail in section 2.2) and were used to select the Transition Town movement as case study of a movement which is attempting to promote sustainability.

The Transition Towns movement arose from the twin threat of climate change[1] and peak oil[2]. Based on the identification of these two critical problems as well as related issues of resource use and vulnerabilities created by over-reliance on global oil-dependent food systems, the Transition Towns movement promotes the idea that the patterns in the way human communities operate must change as oil becomes less available. Transition is based on transitioning society into a state that is less oil dependent and better able to cope with coming environmental and economic realities. The premise is that if communities wait too long, then there is the risk of collapse (Hopkins 2008). The Transition movement tries to inform people and to promote community-based solutions based on lifestyle change. An important premise is that, by changing human action at the community-scale, a gradual shift or transition can be made towards societies that are less reliant on oil, use less carbon and are more

[1] The threat posed by the change of global weather patterns caused by human activity; believed to be primarily caused by the release of carbon into the atmosphere (Hopkins 2008).

[2] Peak oil refers to the threat posed by humanities increase in oil usage and reliance in the face of decreasing yearly oil availability (Heinberg 2003).

locally sufficient. A key goal of the Transition Movement is to create more resilient communities (www.transitiontowns.org).

Transition Initiatives are based on four key assumptions (Hopkins 2008, pp.136):

> 1) that life with dramatically lower energy consumption is inevitable, and that it's better to plan for it than to be taken by surprise;
> 2) that our settlements and communities presently lack the resilience to enable them to weather the severe energy shocks that will accompany "Peak Oil;"
> 3) that we have to act collectively, and we have to act now; and
> 4) that by unleashing the collective genius of those around us to creatively and proactively design our energy descent, we can build ways of living that are more connected, more enriching and that recognize the biological limits of our planet.

The initiatives, projects and working groups that Transition communities adopt vary based on the needs of the individual communities and the interests of the members. Themes of typical projects include: food (i.e. local food, organics and permaculture); transport; local governance; housing; health; energy; effective groups; education; diversity and social justice; arts and crafts; business and economics; and inner transition (www.transitiontowns.org/).

Internationally, Transition Towns have three official partners that are spiritual organizations. These organizations are: Operation Noah, Churches in Transition and Quakers (www.transitiontowns.org/). Churches in Transition is an initiative by the Christian Ecological Link (CEL), an organization based in the United Kingdom that has a goal "of promoting the environment through spiritual and ethical approaches which are grounded in scientific fact" (www.christian-ecology.org.uk/cit.htm). Currently Churches in Transition is involved in 20 of the UK Transition Town communities and was the topic of the CEL November 2009 and February 2010 meetings (www.christian-ecology.org.uk/cit.htm). "Transition Towns involve the whole community (or aim to) - of which the local churches are just one part. CEL resources can be used in Transition Town Activities" (www.christian-ecology.org.uk/cit.htm).

Operation Noah is an internet-based organization which identifies itself as "Science-informed, Faith-motivated and Hope- driven" www.operationnoah.org). Despite the reference to biblical story of Noah, Operation Noah identifies itself as a forum for climate change "for all people of faith....learning from science - through the eye of the sacred - to walk more lightly on the Earth"

www.operationnoah.org). As with Churches in Transition, their official involvement in the Transition Towns movement has not spread beyond the United Kingdom (UK).

The Religious Society of Friends (commonly referred to as Quakers) is an international official partner of the Transition movement. Quakerism is based on belief in equality and compassion, that human fulfillment comes from attempting to live life in the spirit of love, truth and peace. Quakers create testimonies, which are evolving, as an expression of the values of their faith. In a British Quaker 2009 leaflet the testimonies were listed as: Truth and Integrity; Justice Equality, and Community; Peace; Simplicity; and Earth and Environment as a new testimony (Quakers in Britain, 2011).

This research focused on exploring the involvement of spiritual organizations in the Transition movement, as well as more broadly exploring the role that spirituality plays within the Transition Towns movement in the UK. One early finding of the research was that, both officially and unofficially, there is far more involvement by the Religious Society of Friends, than by Operation Noah or Churches in Transition. While specific involvement at the community level is dependent on individual local Quaker Meetings,[3] Quakers as a spiritual group have a long history of faith-based social activism, including being the first activists for women's rights, pacifism and environmentalism (Quakers in Britain 2011).

The research found that Transition Towns are community-based initiatives that rely heavily on positive values being placed on community and nature. In some communities, this has allowed for individuals who are part of a spiritual organization or who had a spiritual background to provide leadership making change and motivating people to change based on intrinsic and/or non-economic values. An important component of these normative values was the idea of social justice. For the purpose of this paper social justice can be seen as being comprised of equality of treatment including recognition and respect for uniqueness and equality of opportunity (Fraser 1999, Himmelman 1996). Organizations which promote social justice are those which promote such things as the equitable treatment and equal rights for all people regardless of race, spiritual beliefs, sex, sexual orientation or place of birth (Himmelman 1996). Organizations which pursue social justice also attempt to aid in the development of equality of opportunity which allows members of society (local and internationally) who are

[3] Quakers refer to local organizations as meetings and in the UK operate without official pastors (Quakers in Britain 2011)

disadvantaged better opportunities to achieve and prosper (Himmelman 1996).

The research also found that the concept of community resilience was one of great importance to the Transition Town members. Whereas Walker and Salt (2006) define resilience as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change, so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks." Hopkins (2008, pp. 55) explains that "[I]n the context of communities and settlements, it refers to their ability to not collapse at first sight of oil or food shortages, and to their ability to respond with adaptability to disturbance."

Community resilience was also addressed by Norris et al. (2007) who described Community resilience as "a process linking a network of adaptive capacities (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity." (pp. 127). A community's ability to adapt is manifested in population wellness comprised of high levels of mental and behavioural health, functioning, and quality of life (Norris et al. 2007). Norris et al. (2007) define community resilience as emerging from four primary sets of adaptive capacities: economic development, social capital, information and communication, and community competence. Transition Towns address these four components directly through projects that target local economy, building stronger community ties, informing and engaging public, and in hard and soft skills development (Hopkins 2008, www.transitiontowns.org/).

A finding of this study is that there is evidence that, not only are spiritual organizations a source of social capital (Smidt 2003; see Chapter 2.5), but also a source of the relatively unexamined concept of spiritual capital (see section 2.6) which fosters non-economic value based rationale for adopting more sustainable behavioural patterns (Zohar & Marshall 2004). Literature and findings give evidence that a deep and/or inner personal transition (behavioural and conceptual) is needed in order to adopt more sustainable practices and obtain a degree of community resilience (Hopkins 2008, Witte 1995). Furthermore, this paper found that the adaptive capacities listed by Norris et al. (2007) did not fully encompass the importance of ecological integrity, social justice and spirituality as contributors to resiliency. For this reason a new list of components, which incorporate resilience and sustainability thinking was created (see section 5.2).

1.3: Research Questions and Purpose

The purpose of this research was to examine the involvement of spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives through analysis of a case study.

Over-arching Questions:

1) What role can spiritual organizations play in sustainability initiatives?

2) What are the expected and experienced benefits and pitfalls for sustainability initiatives of involvement by spiritual organizations?

3) What are some recommendations for maximizing benefits and minimizing pitfalls?

Questions using Transition Towns in the United Kingdom as a case study:

1) To what extent are spiritual organizations involved in the Transition Towns movement in the UK?

2) What are the perceived benefits and pitfalls of spiritual organizations by people involved in the Transition Towns movement?

1.4: Methodological Overview

In order to study relationships between spirituality and sustainability initiatives it was essential to define sustainability initiatives. Gibson's 2005 eight principles for sustainability assessment were used to identify and select initiatives that could be used as lens to view sustainability and its connection to spiritual organizations. The Transition Towns movement was assessed (see Chapter 3) using those criteria and was chosen to be used as the case study. Internationally Transition Towns already have three official partners that are spiritual organizations; Operation Noah, Churches in Transition and Quakers (www.transitiontowns.org/).

Because Transition Towns are a relatively new movement the United Kingdom, where Transition originated and has existed the longest, was chosen as a case study (Hopkins 2008). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key-informants who were involved in the U.K. Transition Towns movement and were also members of affiliated spiritual organizations.

1.5: Overview

Chapter 1 introduces the concepts on which the study was based and outlines the objectives and structure of the study. Chapter 2 gives an overview of relevant literature. Chapter 3 discusses selection of a case study approach and the decision to use Transition Towns in the United Kingdom as an example of a sustainability initiative. Chapter 3 also explains the methodological approach. Chapter 4 identifies findings from the interviews and provides an analysis of themes. Chapter 4 also discusses the implication of these themes individually. Chapter 5 regards the themes cumulatively and gives analysis and conclusions and addresses the overarching theme of resiliency and, moving on from Norris et al. (2007) the creation of list of components which contribute to community resilience and sustainability. Chapter 6 gives recommendations for Transition Towns and future research and discusses the limitations and contributions of this study. The main recommendation involves placing a greater emphasis on the value of spiritual capital in sustainability initiatives; future research into the benefits of spiritual capital in communities and sustainability initiatives is recommended.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1: Spiritual Organizations in Western Social movements

Spiritual organizations have played a historic role in social movements (Aminzade &Perry 2007). Spiritual organizations often become involved in social movement as a result of laws, societal norms or practices which run counter to the organization's beliefs or teachings regarding "what ought to be" or what is right[4] (Aminzade &Perry 2007). Spiritual organizations benefit social movements by providing: trained and experienced leaders, financial resources, congregated participants and preexisting communication channels, authority structures, equipment, and facilities. An example of this drawn upon both by Aminzade &Perry (2007) and Yarnold (1991) is the civil rights movement in the Unites States and how black [*sic*] ministers were able to organize congregations in civil disobedience and demonstrations and played a significant role in progressive legislation. As far back as the 1700s, churches actively spoke out against the slave trade (Bénot 1997). Churches have also been leaders in support of fair trade initiatives, a movement which itself was started by Mennonites as a social justice initiative (http://www.traidcraft.co.uk/).

The benefit of trained leadership operates both internally and externally (Aminzade &Perry 2007). Internally, the design of many religious routines, which has a person of authority (i.e. priest, pastor, imam, rabbi) addressing a group of listeners (i.e. congregation), is very effective because there already exists a mentality of trusting and responding to what the leader is telling the group to do (Smidt 2003). McFarland (1991) citing Yarnold (1991) refers to this as a "captive audience." Externally the benefit comes from the ability of spiritual organizations to recruit outside their members for specific projects. Smidt (2003) describes how the reputation of spiritual organizations as proponents of morality can cause people to take causes more seriously if they are supported by a respected spiritual organization. Yarnold (1991) explains that spiritual organizations are often in a better position to become leaders over other organizations and special interest groups that may be dependent on political systems financially and/or whose structure and activities are largely shaped by the political system. As such, spiritual organizations are often the first or only "voice" of a social movement" (Yarnold 1991).

[4] This is referred to by Yarnold 1991 as "natural law"

Another benefit provided by spiritual organizations is funding (Aminzade &Perry 2007). Yarnold (1991) draws the distinction between this funding and other organizational funding in that many spiritual organizations receive funding from individuals who make regular contributions regardless of whether or not they support all the projects in which their leaders invest. In this way spiritual organizations may continue to support social movements after they have faded from popular public consciousness (Yarnold 1991).

Aminzade and Perry (2007) also describe the benefit of congregated participants, and that people usually join social movements not as isolated individuals but as prior members of communities. Furthermore, involvement in a religious organization makes a person more likely to participate in other volunteer organizations (Smidt 2003).

> Using data from the 1996 Angus Reid Survey of Religion, Politics, and Social Involvement in Canada and the United States, the authors find that both religious tradition and, more importantly, attendance play an important role in fostering civic engagement in both Canada and the United States, and that civic engagement is strongly tied to political participation in both contexts as well (Smidt 2003, pp. 17).

Finally the pre-existing communication channels, authority structures, equipment, and facilities serve not only as useful tools for the development of social movements, they also serve to make social movement more accessible to disadvantaged members of society (Aminzade &Perry 2007). There is also the problem of the predominance of the middle class within the political progressive movements where taking part in a social movement requires time and resources that may be a luxury to which lower-class and "blue-collar" workers cannot easily gain access (Smidt 2003). Existing structures such as buildings also make an organization affiliated or sponsored by a spiritual-based institutions more able to become established (Smidt 2003). Involvement in spiritual organizations to which members are already devoting time and money are ways in which spiritual organizations make social movements more accessible (Aminzade &Perry 2007). Smidt (2003) expresses the belief that religious discourse on issues is different than other methods and can serve to make political and social involvement more accessible to American (applicable to other Western societies) society, "religious language is democratically available; it can serve as a motivating force; and it resonates widely among a variety of populations within American society" (Smidt 2003 pp.18).

However, despite the historic support of human rights, a conflict emerges when social movements are

in conflict with religious dogma, traditions, or individuals' beliefs (i.e. women's fertility rights and sexual orientation). This can result in a divide between traditionally influential spiritual organizations and more liberal members of society (Habermas 2006). While the prominence in American/U.S. society makes them especially effective in spreading core ideas to the general public, policymakers and political entrepreneurs, when messages include those which can be seen as intolerant or absolutist this not only alienates more progressive members of society from specific organizations, but may also cause more liberal spiritual organizations of the same religion to be viewed as holding the same or similar positions as more socially conservative groups of the same faith (Kinnaman & Lyons 2007, Spong 1982, 2006). Furthermore, in the case of Churches, within Western society, and the UK in particular, there is a decline in public involvement in Christian institutions (Bruce 2003). Liberal congregations are declining at a much higher rate and are also declining in areas of the United States where conservative congregations remain steady or grow (Habermas 2006, Bruce 2003).

Thus there is historic evidence that the support of spiritual organizations is highly useful in social movements, particularity those which challenge conventional laws and which address social justice. (Smidt 2003) The movements benefit from spreading of information and the support of behaviour and policy-changing initiatives. This is currently happening with fair trade and, to a lesser extent, with a more generic movement towards sustainability that is being espoused by many spiritual leaders. Sustainability, as will be explained the following section, differs from environment and can be described as a social movement (Hopkins 2008).

2.2: Local Sustainability

Sustainability, as it is currently conceived, is more closely related to the idea of "Sustainable development," a concept which grew out of the post-World War II realization that development, which had been so successful in improving peoples' welfare in previous history, was occurring at a scale which was actually having negative effects on much of the world's population (Gibson 2005). The 1972 Club of Rome report entitled "Limits to Growth" introduced the idea that both the First World and the Third World nations were being threatened by rising populations and the inability to sustain them with current methods of development (Meadows 1972). In 1984 the United Nations commissioned a group of individuals from both the "developed world" and the "developing world" to identify international long-term environmental strategies. This resulted in 1987 in the World

Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission, where the term sustainable development was first used. The Commission's report, entitled "Our Common Future" called for sustainable development which was defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987 pg. 43). The report put forward the argument that development and the environment are intertwined. It is therefore impossible to alleviate global poverty in a world of continuing environmental decline. Similarly, it is impossible to address environmental problems in a world plagued with poverty. All 21 commissioners signed the report, indicating its wide-spread acceptance as a valid statement of present conditions and argument on the nature future policy (Gibson 2005). The report became a basis for sustainability theories and for the development of government policies, management techniques and development plans that attempt to take into account both human welfare and environmental sustainability.

Agenda 21 was put forward at the 1992 Unites Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (Evans & Theobald 2003). As a result of that conference a full range of programs ranging from the local to the international scale were developed and put into action. Within the European Union there was tremendous support for the Local Agenda 21 (Evans & Theobald 2003). According to the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) Local Agenda 21 is characterized by:

- The integration of issues: environmental objectives are linked with economic and social objectives;
-The integration of interests: in a culture of dialogue and participation, all groups in society are to be involved;
-Its long-term character: measures and projects are based on long-term objectives keyed to the precautionary principle;
-Its global dimension: impacts of local action on global development are measured, ways of counteracting the global unequal distribution of consumption and wealth are identified. The local contribution to global sustainability is an explicit goal; and
-Sustainable management of resources: utilization of natural resources is based upon the rate at which new resources are formed; substance inputs into the natural regime are based on its capacity to degrade them (ICLEI, 1998).

This lead to the 1994 Local authorities at the Sustainable Cities and Towns Conference in Aalborg, Denmark where the European Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign was established. At that Conference a Charter for LA 21 known as the Aalborg Charter (Appendix E) was produced and signed by approximately 80 of the attending local authorities (Evans & Theobald 2003).

In 2003 a study was conducted. *Local Authorities' Self-Assessment of Local Agenda 21* found that approximately 4000 cities and municipalities were involved in a LA 21 process of some kind at the regional and/or local level (Evans & Theobald 2003). The 2003 report was very positive and highlighted both the support Local Agenda 21 programs received as well as the honesty with which local authorities addressed their progress (Evans & Theobald 2003). One of the difficulties discussed in the 2003 report was that local authorities tended to operate with short (3-5 years) policy timescales with 55% working with a timeframe of less than 8 years (Evans & Theobald 2003). This contrasted with the initial vision where over half were working with a timeframe of over 10 years and 8% were using a timeframe of over 50 years (Evans & Theobald 2003). The likely cause of this was determined to be budget rather than vision; as both the amount allotted and the structure, which is based on annual funding, made working on a multi-decade timeframe difficult (Evans & Theobald 2003).

A report assessing progress in the United Kingdom found that Local Agenda 21 had been useful in targeting the importance of local initiatives for local authorities (Lucas et al. 2003). However it was determined that Local Agenda 21 strategies were not always the most successful in achieving sustainability and that a failure in recruiting has led to an unintentional exclusion of communities including black and minority ethnic groups as well as younger and older sections of the population. Consequently this has led to a perception that LA21 is largely a white, middle-class agenda and has little to offer disadvantaged and marginalized communities (Lucas et al. 2003). The greatest successes in achieving economic, social and environmental improvements were achieved where Local Agenda 21 practitioners linked their programmes to regeneration programmes which allowed local communities to become more engaged, thus basing actions on real community needs (Lucas et al. 2003). It was found that policy development by local authorities is often more influenced by government guidance than community needs and that many strategies disregarded important interactions between the

economic, social and environmental concerns of local communities in deprived areas in their policy planning and delivery activities (Lucas et al. 2003). Despite the success of Local Agenda 21 in establishing strategies and projects within the UK, the nature of the projects maintained a top-down structure that continues to underestimate the community involvement necessary for sustainable development to be achieved (Lucas et al. 2003).

Furthermore, despite the progress made by countries within the EU when Agenda 21 was reviewed 10 years later at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, it was observed that internationally few of the 1992 objectives had been achieved, with many countries either unable or unwilling even to submit progress reports. Failures such as this, as well as others that occur at the international scale, have been attributed to overly high expectation and insufficient time having passed to create global change. However, sustainability objectives also go unmet due to the flexible nature of the concept of sustainability that often results in measures that either lack sufficient focus and/or clout (Gibson 2005). Gibson (2005) examines both sustainability and environmental assessment. Gibson concludes that, despite the complex nature of sustainability and the diversity of the systems, in order to assess and/or implement sustainable initiatives a more uniform and application-appropriate term needs to be developed. "We seem to have reached a stage where more comprehensive and consistent approaches to sustainability are both possible and necessary for serious applications, including sustainability assessment" (Gibson 2005, pp. 39).

Thus Gibson (2005) developed a list of 9 "Essentials to the Concept of Sustainability" (Gibson 2005, pp. 62) that are to be used as defining characteristics for the concept of "sustainability." The Essentials are as follows:

1) a challenge to conventional thinking and practice;
2) about long- as well as short-term well-being;
3) comprehensive, covering all the core issues of decision making;
4) a recognition of links and interdependencies, especially between humans and the biophysical foundations for life-itself;
5) embedded in a world of complexity and surprise, in which precautionary approaches are necessary
6) a recognition of both inviolable limits and endless opportunities for creative innovation;

7) about open-ended process, not a state;

8) about intertwined means and ends- culture and governance as well as ecology, society and economy; and

9) both universal and context dependent.

The above are described by Gibson (2005) as necessary criteria in the establishment of a more universal concept of sustainability. Gibson (2005) went on to describe a set of core requirements or principles for sustainability. The following "Basic Sustainability Assessment Decision Criteria" were created by Gibson (2005) to assess sustainability and sustainability initiatives:

1) Socio-ecological system integrity: "Build human-ecological relations that establish and maintain the long-term integrity of socio-biophysical systems and protect the irreplaceable life support functions upon which human as well as ecological well-being depends" (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

2) Livelihood sufficiency and opportunity: "Ensure that everyone and every community has enough for a decent life and opportunities to seek improvements in ways that do not compromise future generations' possibilities for sufficiency and opportunity" (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

3) Intra-generational equity: "Ensure that sufficiency and effective choices for all are pursued in ways that reduce dangerous gaps in sufficiency and opportunity (and health, security, social recognition, political influence, etc.) between the rich and the poor" (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

4) Inter-generational equity: "Favour present options and actions that are most likely to preserve or enhance the opportunities and capabilities of future generations to live sustainably" (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

5) Resource maintenance and efficiency; "Provide a larger base for ensuring sustainable livelihoods for all while reducing threats to the long-term integrity of socio-ecological systems by reducing extractive damage, avoiding waste and cutting overall material and energy use per unit benefit" (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

6) Socio-ecological civility and democratic governance: “Build the capacity, motivation and habitual inclination of individuals, communities and other collective decision bodies to apply sustainability principles though more open and better informed deliberations, greater attention to fostering reciprocal awareness and collective responsibility, and more integrated use of administrative, market, customary, collective and personal decision making practices” (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

7) Precaution and adaptation: “Respect uncertainty, avoid even poorly understood risks of serious irreversible damage to the foundations for sustainability, plan to learn, design for surprise and manage for adaptation” (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

8) Immediate and long term integration: Attempt to meet all requirements for sustainability together as a set of interdependent parts, seeking mutually supportive benefits” (Gibson 2005, Appendix 3).

Other sustainability definitions and criteria exist. Gibson’s (2005) criteria have been criticized. One main critique is that of focusing on sustainability assessment over environmental impact assessment or strategic environmental assessment. Critics such as Morris-Saunders and Fischer (2006) argue that sustainability assessment will ultimately favour trade-offs towards socio-economic benefits and that this will lead to adverse environmental impacts and as such sustainable assessment processes are actually environmentally unsustainable. Other critiques such as Bina (2007) feel that the language of discourse is still too ambiguous to make assessment or implementation of sustainability feasible.

However based on Gibson's arguments as well as a literature review of failures, including Agenda 21 projects in the UK and across the world, which did not fully take into account actual needs of communities, this paper holds that sustainability which focuses on the integration rather separation of environmental and societal goals is necessary to achieve lasting success. The community-based approach is designed to recognize society's complexity and the need to affect different spheres of society when addressing resilience and sustainability (Hopkins 2008). Thus, despite critiques, Gibson's (2005) criteria remain useful as a framework for sustainability assessment.

2.3: Transition Towns

Transition Towns embody the criteria and essentials of suitability described by Gibson (2005) (see Tables 3.1 & 3.2). Transition Towns refers to community-based initiatives within town, city or region that, in light of the peak oil crisis and climate change are undertaking a series of community-based projects designed to improve local sufficiency and sustainability. The Transition movement is considered to have taken off as a movement in the community of Totnes England. However, the movement actually evolved on the basis of permaculture principles set forward by Bill Mollison's *Permaculture, a Designers Manual* (1988). These principles were adapted by those put forward by David Holmgren (2003) and were put into practice as a project at the Kinsale Further Education College in Ireland, overseen by permaculture teacher Rob Hopkins, who would go on to be the key founder of the transition movement. The term *transition town* was coined by Louise Rooney and Catherine Dunne (www.transitiontowns.org/). The idea was further developed by Rob Hopkins and Naresh Giangrande in 2005 and 2006 when the movement spread to Totnes (www.transitiontowns.org).

Concurrent to the growing interest in Transition, a course called "Life Beyond Oil" at Schumacher College in Devon also triggered a great deal of interest and led to collaboration of Rob Hopkins and Ben Brangwyn.[5] Upon their collaboration, Pete Lipman joined them. They then jointly founded Transition Network "with a simple mission - to inspire, encourage, connect, support and train communities as they adopt and adapt the transition model on their journey to urgently rebuild resilience and drastically reduce CO_2 emissions" (www.transitiontowns.org). The evolution led to the creation of the two main documents of the Transition movement, Hopkins's Transition *Handbook* (2008) and Brangwin and Hopkins' *Transition Initiatives Primer* (2008). The feedback by the initiating communities also led to the development of a Training program by Naresh Giangrande and Sophy Bank (www.transitiontowns.org/).

The goal of Transition Towns (TT) is to find an answer to the question:

> For all those aspects of life that this community needs in order to sustain itself and thrive, how do we significantly rebuild resilience (to mitigate the effects of Peak Oil and economic contraction) and drastically reduce carbon emissions (to mitigate the effects of

[5] Co-authors of *Transition Initiatives Primer* (2008)

Climate Change)? (www.transitiontowns.org)

Transition as a movement is based on the idea that this can/should be accomplished through more local based changes and has adopted a model which is based on individual initiatives which promote the goals of transition within their local communities. This process involves 12 steps:

1) Set up a steering group and design its demise/transformation from the outset;
2) Start raising awareness;
3) Lay the foundations;
4) Organize a Great Unleashing;
5) Form theme (or special interest) groups;
6) Use Open Space;
7) Develop visible practical manifestations of the project;
8) Facilitate the Great Reskilling;
9) Build a bridge to Local Government;
10) Honour the elders;
11) Let it go where it wants to go; and
12) Create an Energy Descent Action Plan

In Rob Hopkins *The Transition Handbook* (2008) he also describes four main stages:

1) Dreaming or visioning;
2) Planning;
3) Doing; and
4) Celebrating and evaluating

The Transition movement is becoming an increasingly researched area for academic study. A recent paper published by Daniele Cohen in September 2010 examines inclusivity in the Transition movement. Cohen's findings suggested an overall lack of diversity within the UK transition movement. This finding was an echo of an early (2009) survey of the Transition movement in Norwich which found that Transition had a proportionally high[6] (50%) number of participants between the ages of 45-64, and an extremely high level of education, 83% holding at least one postsecondary

[6] Compared to population statistics for that region (Seyfang 2009)

degree, yet, with an average economic earning that was just slightly higher than the regional average. Seyfang (2009) also found that 24% of Transition members, compared with 16% of people in the community, worked part-time and 26% of Transition members, compared with 8% within the community, were self-employed.

In her study Cohen (2010) suggested that a possible way to combat the lack of diversity was "Transition should perhaps not be seeking to include others but should be seeking to be included by them" (Cohen 2010, pp. 51). Cohen has suggested that Transition needs to spread into other social communities rather than Transition merely trying to fit every community into its existing infrastructure.[7] In the development of goals, structure and training, the movement has allowed Transition Towns to spread across the United Kingdom (UK) and the world. Totnes remains one of the most productive Transition communities and one that is currently receiving much media and academic attention (www.transitiontowns.org).[8]

2.4: Resiliency

An important concept in resilience is that it is just as important to maintain a natural system's resilience, the ability of a system to absorb and adapt to change without collapse, as it is to manage the supply of a specific resource or product (Walker & Salt 2006). Walker and Salt (2006) suggest that degradation of ecosystems and natural resources is not always due strictly to greed and humanity's consumption addiction. Degradation, as put forward by Walker and Salt (2006) also occurs in allegedly "sustainably" managed systems where optimization of either specific resource returns or, in the case of conservation, diversity is the primary goal. These management structures fail due to the fact that they are based on assumptions that systems will either be incremental or linear. Further, assumptions that there is an "optimal" state of an ecosystem, ignore the complexity of interrelations in nature. In addition to these methods proving unsuccessful due to both to large-scale and unpredicted changes optimizing usually fails to value eco-system services (i.e. air cleaning performed by plants) or the aesthetic and spiritual value natural systems have for many individuals (Walker & Salt 2006).

[7] The latter was a topic of significant discussion in her paper.

[8] The majority of the academic research is currently underway and as such has yet to be published in academic journals.

To define "what might a resilient world look like" (Walker & Salt 2006, pp.145). Walker and Salt (2006), acknowledge previous contribution by Levin (1999) in the creation of 9 components of a resilient world. These components are:

1) Diversity: that a resilient world would promote and sustain all forms of diversity; including biological, landscape, social and economic diversity.
2) Ecological Variability: that a resilient world acknowledges that ecology varies and limits attempts to control this variability. (An example is given of the problems associated by not allowing any forest-fires, where fire resistant species die-out and the forest actually becomes more vulnerable to catastrophic burns)
3) Modularity: that a resilient world would have and maintain a degree a modularity to associate vulnerability which comes from an over connected world.
4) Acknowledging Slow Variables: that a resilient world would have policies focusing on slow variables which control thresholds.
5) Tight Feedbacks: that a resilient world strive to maintain and strengthen feedback so as to better signal consequences of actions and indicate when change is required.
6) Social Capital: that a resilient world is largely dependent on people's ability to respond, and this is strengthened by trust, well-developed social networks, and leadership.
7) Innovation: that a resilient world requires adaption and as such must emphasis learning, experimentation, locally developed rules and embracing change.
8) Overlap in Governance: that a resilient world would have institutions in which redundancy was included in the governance structure so as to increase response diversity and flexibility of the system.
9) Ecosystem Services: that a resilient world would include ecosystems services which are not economically valued or priced in the development of proposals and assessments.

The core message of resilience is that change is necessary in a system and that management practices need to focus how a system is able to respond to changes when they occur rather than fighting the inevitable changes that will occur. While Walker and Salt (2006) acknowledge that this has been a part of sustainability theory for decades, it is only recently that resilience theory has emerged as an approach unto itself.

Thus Walker and Salt (2006) put forward the following model as a way of understanding and managing systems:

Step 1. Use a systems perspective which takes into account that: we are all part of social-ecological systems in which humans and nature are linked, these systems are complex, adaptive and that resilience is key to sustainability within these systems and that a traditional command-and-control approach to these systems is based on placing humans outside these systems and fails to take into account inherent unpredictability and complexity (Walker & Salt 2006).

Step 2. Develop an understanding the two central themes, thresholds and adaptive cycles that underpin resilience. Thresholds refers to the idea that social-ecological systems can exist in more than one kind of stable state and that when systems change too much they cross a threshold and undergoes a regime shift where systems begin behaving in different ways and develop different feedback-loops and different structures (Walker & Salt 2006). Adaptive cycles refers to the idea that social-ecological systems are always changing; these changes can be viewed occurring in four phases (listed in the way in the order in which they most often occur): rapid growth (resources are readily available and species can discover and/or niches and opportunities), conservation (resources become locked up and is less flexibility and responsive to disturbance), release (a disturbance causes chaotic unraveling and release of resources) and reorganization (new species groups can take hold with new methods/ideas; a new system can emerge from this). Reorganization usually leads into another phase of rapid growth. The manner in which these phases progress is crucial to the understanding of the system.

Step 3. Apply this understanding to the "real" world (Walker & Salt 2006).

Following the advice put forward in this third and final step of Walker and Salt's (2006) resilience thinking can be applied to human communities. "Resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure" (Walker & Salt 2006). When applied to a human system this has implications, particularly with regards to societies' ability to maintain order and structure given dwindling resources such as oil, and the threat of unpredictable and/or catastrophic[9]

[9] Used in this context to indicate any weather related occurrence that cannot be handled by the society occupying the area of its occurrence.

weather patterns caused by climatic changes. Transition Towns and other community-based initiatives arise as a direct response to the recognition that communities, in order to maintain their basic structure, must be adaptive and develop resiliency (Hopkins 2008).

When applying the critique of optimization practices to human society, it can be noted that, in a society that has attempted to become more efficient, values such as human relations and the values of community are often neglected (Milbrath 1993). Thus a resilience approach requires that adaptability, flexibility and redundancy exist not only with how communities use resources and prepare for climate changes, but also in the social structure and inter-relations of individuals in the community. This community-based approach of building resilience is designed to recognize society's complexity and the need to affect different spheres of society when addressing sustainability. In this way resiliency reflects not only the environmental components of sustainability, but also the social and community.

Community resilience can be defines as "a process linking a network of adaptive capacities (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity," (Norris et al. 2007, pp.127) or, when specifically applied to current environmental crises, as the "ability [of communities or settlements] to not collapse at first sight of oil or food shortages, and to their ability to respond with adaptability to disturbance." (Hopkins 2008, pp. 55) Both Norris et al. (2007) and Hopkins (2008) describe community resilience not in terms of a community's ability to be stable but in a community's ability to adapt in the face of changing circumstances, particularly disasters. Norris et al. (2007) in a review of dominant literature identified four primary sets of networked resources, which allow communities to be development adaptive capacity. These sets were further divided into component parts (Table 2.1) some of which make similar points as Gibson's (2005) criteria for sustainability assessment (see chapter 2.2).

Table 2.1: Components for Resilient Communities

	Sub-components
Economic Development	-Resource volume and diversity -Resource equity
Social Capital	-Received and perceived social support -Social embeddedness -Organizational links and cooperation: -Citizen participation and leadership -Sense of community -Attachment to Place
Community Competence	-Community action -Critical reflection and problem solving skills -Flexibility and creativity -Collective efficiency and empowerment -Political partnerships
Information and Communication	-Narratives -Responsible media -Skills and infrastructure -Trusted sources of information

(Based on Norris et al. 2007)

The main point made by Norris et al. (2007) in their analysis of community resilience theory was that successful adaptation, would be reflected in healthy patterns of behaviour, adequate role functioning, and satisfactory quality of life. Furthermore, similar to Gibson's (2005) description of criteria for sustainability (see Chapter 2.2), community resilience also requires limited disparities in "mental and behavioural health, between rich and poor, young and old, White [*sic*] and not, men and women, and so forth" (Norris et al. 2007 pp. 146).

In addition to limited disparities strengthening the interconnectedness between people within groups and between groups (social capital) is also described in the University of Queensland and Southern

University of Queensland (2008) *Building Resilience in Rural Communities Toolkit* as a way of enhancing community resilience. Walker and Salt (2006) and Gibson (2005) also describe the importance of social capital in fostering connections between individuals in a community as being an essential part of adaptive capacity which allows for the enhancement of both resilience and sustainability.

Thus, institutions, initiatives or social movements, which strengthen the adaptive capacity of a community, aid in fostering community resilience (Norris et al. 2007). Similarly, while sustainability and resilience are different concepts it can be argued that they are connected both in the criteria to move towards them and in that a system must be resilient to have sustainability (Gibson 2005) and sustainability and/or sustainable behaviour patterns and resource is required to develop community resiliency (Norris et al. 2007).

2.5: Social Capital

While research in the past tended to focus on the environmental and economic components, the social dimension of sustainability, or "social sustainability" has become an increasingly recognized part of sustainable development (Colantonio 2009). Furthermore, in addition to a focus on social sustainability the traditional or "hard" social indicators of employment and poverty alleviation are being complemented by "soft" concepts such as happiness, social mixing (social capital) and sense of place (Colantiono 2009). These "soft" concepts, while being harder to measure are being increasingly recognized as indicators of both sustainability and quality of life (Colantiono 2009).

Social capital, along with happiness and a sense of place, is one of the indicators of social sustainability (Colantino 2009). At its broadest, social capital is a measure of social cohesion (Pichler & Wallace 2006). Social capital is the way in which people participate in their society and the forms of social bonding that take place (Pichler & Wallace 2006). Putnam (2000) describes social capital as coming in two forms: *bonding social capital* and *bridging social capital.* Bonding refers to the value of the ties between individuals within a social group or network (Putnam 2000). Bridging is seen as more important by Putnam (2000) and refers to the value of ties between heterogeneous groups or other social networks. Social norms, trust and reciprocity are described by Putnam (2000, 1993) as

being necessary to establishing social capital.

Pichler and Wallace (2006) in their analysis of social capital in communities in Europe divide social capital into informal and formal. Informal social capital refers to social ties that exist between friends and family and formal social capital refers to associative relationships existent in more formal networks and institutions (Pichler & Wallace 2006). One of their conclusions was that while social capital is theoretically a measure of social ties, quantitative literature has concentrated predominantly upon the measurement of formal social capital associative ties and generalized trust (Pichler & Wallace 2006). They also argued that while formal social capital is important, so too is informal social capital which "has been neglected in quantitative studies and yet we show that this is also an important dimension, without which some countries would appear to be lacking in social cohesion" (Pichler & Wallace 2006). It is proposed that both formal and informal are important in establishing vibrant communities and regions. The UK was determined to have moderate levels of both, as opposed to Nordic countries, which were determined as having high rates of both formal and informal capital, or the Baltic regions, which were seen as having low level of informal capital (Pichler & Wallace 2006).

The main critiques of social capital are summarized by Patulny and Svendsen (2007) as "a lack of conceptual clarity, issues with causality and measurement, and ignorance as to the 'downside' of social capital." Social capital is criticized because it is inherently abstract and as such requires indicators, which themselves may be abstract, to be used as evidence of the existence, type and strength of social capital. As such, there is no consensus on how to measure social capital and social capital is defined and measured differently depending on the researcher and research being conducted and is often consequently measured inconsistently (Patulny and Svendsen 2007). Furthermore, there is no consensus, and little or no research on the negative components of social capital and as such there is no measure for what too much social capital would be or what the risks are in having an overly connected society (Kadushin 2004). Some critiques also focus on the possible negative effect of high bonding social capital without complimentary bridging social capital could cause, and that in such cases groups could become increasingly socially isolated and internally co-dependent (Pichler & Wallace 2006). Despite these critiques, social capital continues to be studied and used as tool to assess communities. Most critics agree that acknowledgement of current limitations will lead to possible consensus on the concept of social capital as well more empirical tools for its measurement (Patulny & Svendsen 2007).

Social capital is an important concept for examining sustainability and resilience in communities because social capital can be used as a measure of the adaptive capacity of a community (Pelling & High 2005). In addition to the social sustainability to which social capital contributes (Colantino 2009), the importance of social capital in adaption to natural disasters resulting from climate change is also an increasingly studied area (Pelling & High 2005). Areas with strong social capital have increased public awareness and public engagement in policy-making which ultimately contributes to the development of a society which is better able to adapt to unpredictable changes in a timely manner (Pelling & High 2005, UNDP 2000).

Therefore, upon accepting that social capital, especially bridging social capital, is beneficial for communities (Putnam 1993), it can be identified that spiritual organizations are a source of social capital (Levit 2008, Smidt 2003, Putnam 1993). Smidt (2003) cites Putnam (1993), and describes how, in building social capital, there are two crucial elements: trust and reciprocity. Smidt (2003), focusing on churches, describes how in some communities, particularly in poor ghettos, the church is the only institution (depending on the neighbourhood), which people still trust.

Smidt (2003) also describes how the most useful "trust" is that which is built up between individuals through continuous interaction. In this way, churches can serve as important areas of building social capital. This can be seen in some rural areas where a church is the only source of community (Smidt 2003).

Reciprocity is not "an eye for an eye," but rather an embedded notion that "good deeds will not go unrewarded". In some cases, this is seen as rewards that a Christian God will bestow (Protestant) in the present, or in the next life (Catholic) or the idea that we all benefit from actions that make the world better. Smidt also concludes that religious participation fosters civic engagement that in turn "spurs political participation" (Smidt 2003, pp.17).

"Not only is church affiliation the most common in American life, but these associations provide important services and resources to their members and others in community-i.e., by providing physical care, social support, and social networks" (Smidt 2003, pp. 2). Churches are responsible for

motivating charitable donations both to their own foundations and in motivating their members to donate to others. In this way they may offer safety nets for member of society "at risk."

While Smidt (2003) focussed primarily on the role of Christian churches, the same rationale is employed by Levit (2008) in her explanation of religion as a source of civic engagement. Levit (2008) focuses on immigrant populations including Hindus, Muslims, Protestants and Catholics. Levit (2008) concluded that despite the perception that members of spiritual organization associate primarily with members of the same faith, most individuals and groups were open to collaborating with other groups in major social issues such as health, employment and education (Levit 2008). Levit (2008) concluded that there was tremendous unexplored potential in spiritual organizations as a positive force in the generation of civic involvement, particularly for new citizens for whom involvement in a spiritual organization is often the first form of social community involvement.

Furthermore, Smidt (2003) indicates the need to study the social capital generated by spiritual institutions because it is different than that generated in the rest of society. Smidt (2003) points out that spiritual contributions to social capital are not organized or motivated by "self-interest of the market" nor "by the coercive potential of the state" (Wolfe 1998 cited by Smidt 2003). Smidt (2003) stresses the importance of social capital in general in transforming self-interested society into members of a community. Furthermore spiritual organizations create multiple levels of community involvement. Smidt (2003) explains how individuals develop the community of the church; which is part of a community faith group and is part of local community (community outreach programs are very common in religious institutions) and which encourages global citizenry. A level of responsibility is inherent in being a member of these communities, encouraging social responsibility.

Thus spiritual organizations not only contribute to social capital, but they do so in a unique and positive way that encourages bonding and bridging forms of social capital at multiple levels of society (Levit 2008, Smidt 2003,). While spiritual organizations are a recognized source of social capital (Levit 2008, Smidt 2003, Pichler & Wallace 2006, Putnam 1993, 2000) there exists little research exploring or attempting to measure their contribution (Levit 2008).

2.6: Spiritual Capital and Sustainability

As described, spiritual organizations (institutions and networks) are recognized as a source of social capital, however spirituality itself has been described as a form of capital. Spiritual capital differs from the social capital generated by spiritual organizations as the spirituality itself, rather than the human interactions it creates, is seen as socially beneficial (Zohar & Marshall 2004). Furthermore, the independent British think tank Ekklesia, published an article by Beard (2009) which referred to "Spiritual Capital." Beard (2009) defines spiritual capital as "the amount of knowledge and expertise relating to meanings, values and fundamental purposes available to an individual or culture," and refers to the positive benefits of spiritual, psychological and moral development to individuals, organisations and communities. When describing benefits Beard refers to work done by Zohar and Marshall (2004, 1994) and their research into spiritual capital and the related concept of Spiritual Intelligence. He describes how spiritual capital "plays a vital role in steering organisations and societies through transition and change" and how "high levels of spiritual capital allow for the injection of new ideas into an organisation or culture without causing it to fracture or divide into chaos" and how "Spiritual Capital improves the ability of the market to meet the real needs of society, rather than its material needs alone" (Beard 2009 pp.1 citing Zohar and Marshall 2004). Beard (2009) also describes how followers of view social capital as being a key component of societal norms and Zohar and Marshall (2004,pp. 2) see a decline in spiritual capital as resulting in a decline in morality and contributing to the "destructive nature of materialist ideology, both capitalist and socialist."

The study Beard (2009) conducted was attempting to objectively measure spiritual capital in society. Tentative findings included:

1. Despite a decline in the numbers claiming to belong to the large Christian denominations in the UK, Spiritual Capital remains high.

2. It is not essential to belong to a religious organisation to develop Spiritual Capital, even when this is measured in terms of belief in and relationship with God.

3. Belonging to a religion is not enough to ensure high levels of Spiritual Capital, and religions must work on developing the spiritual, moral and psychological lives of their adherents.

4. It is not accurate to talk of any general 'collapse' of morality. The picture is more of transformation, led by a combination of greater support for personal autonomy in sexual and reproductive issues alongside many values that are more traditional.

Based on these findings recommendations were made.

> The first is that policy makers looking to build Spiritual Capital should not confuse or conflate it with religion, let alone any particular religion (Beard 2009).
>
> The second is that religions should not seek to portray themselves as the single representatives for all spiritual individuals or of spirituality in general (Beard 2009).

Thus Beard's (2009) finding support the development of spirituality that is internally guided and ideologically accepting of differing points of view. Although spiritual organizations may be a part of this, they may also cause conflict if religious ideology prevents the growth of individual spiritual intelligence (Zohar & Marshall 2004).

The links made by Zohar and Marshall (2004) that correlate a decline in spiritual capital and an increase in materialism may be particularly relevant to sustainability. Zohar and Marshall (2004) describe spiritual capital as capital that can be amassed through "serving, in both corporate philosophy and practice, the deeper concerns of humanity and the planet." Zohar and Marshall (2004) distinguish spiritual capital as being different than either material or spiritual capital in that its focus is on answering internal questions of what it means to human and what responsibilities are inherent as a member of a community. Because internal growth as an individual is the goal, rather than material wealth high spiritual capital leads to more sustainable consumption, as the motivations are ethical. The argument is made that the world is in crisis because spiritual capital has been ignored and/or undervalued and a focus only on material capital has resulted in overconsumption (Zohar & Marshall 2004). Zohar and Marshall (2004) go on to explain that the critical mass of individuals "using spiritual intelligence to act from higher motivations, can shift the dominant features of a whole culture, be it that of the family, a community, an organization, or of a whole global culture like capitalism.

2.7: Differing Perspectives on Spirituality and Sustainability

Falvey (2005) and Verkliej (1995) and White (1967) describe the decline of sustainable livelihood in the context of the rise of the "man opposed to nature perspective." This perspective is anthropocentric and based on the notion that man must conquer nature in order not to be conquered by it. Theologically, the "man opposed to nature perspective" is derived from two dominant theologies, both

of which are derived from the Abrahamic traditions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism). The first is a theology that opposes the natural because it takes the view that, since man is "made in the image of God" the knowledge of God can be deduced from our knowledge of the world. The danger in this is that it implies that God cannot be known in nature and we must therefore distrust nature (Verkliej 1995). The second is grounded in Genesis I (26-28) in which God created man in his image and then gave dominion over the rest of the world to man (White 1967, Verkliej 1995 & Falvey 2005).

In 1967 Lynn White identified this submission of nature within Christianity, although it has since been identified in many other monotheist religions (*dominium errata).* However, White also identifies that there is a tradition of stewardship within the concept of *dominium terrae* that has lead to the more sustainable use of resources. This can be seen in many of the religious agrarian communities such as the Amish and Mennonite that are disapproving of commercial agriculture and many technological advances.

Verkleij (1995) goes deeper by describing mediaeval theology where God was felt to be present in all creation, and, therefore, there was a "kinship" between humans and other creatures. Thomas Aquinas described *vestigia dei* (vestiges of God in all creatures) and imago *dei* (image of God in mankind). While this link became more fragile as we left the Middle Ages this theology became less prevalent and the bond between man and nature was denied by William Ockham (as cited by White 1967 and Verkleij 1995) who described man as standing alone in creation. Thus, humanity grew apart from nature and European based spirituality emphasized *dominium terrae* ideologies which, without the knowledge of the long-term environmental effects of industrial advancement and industrial agriculture, lead to a decline in sustainability (White 1967).

Despite the traditionally secular nature of environmental activism in popular culture (Habermas 2006), there are many groups that are pushing for more spiritual approaches to both conventional development[10] and sustainable development.[11] An early manifestation of this, the rising interest in the role of spirituality in sustainability, was the Crossroads Conference on Spirituality and Agriculture at

[10] "Development" is used in this context to mean any form of directed societal change.
[11] "Sustainable development" is used to refer to directed societal change designed to be more environmental and/or social enduring than conventional development.

the Wageningen Agriculture University on March 9th 1994. While the focus of the conference was spirituality in sustainable agriculture, the dialogue created by the conference has been particularly useful in understanding the relationship between sustainability and spirituality. The nature of a conference lent itself well to the development of ideas around spirituality in sustainability because it was conducted in a setting where an open dialogue from people of different backgrounds could be established (Witte 1995). Attending the conference were many of the leading academics in the fields of spirituality and sustainability. The two main issues that arose at the conference were the relationship between "God/s," humans and nature, and the limitations of an objectifying attitude towards nature and agriculture.

Rob Witte (1995), who acted as a moderator, described the problems which existed both at the conference and in the global discourse regarding spirituality and sustainability. Witte (1995) describes how the largest problem with a broader more culturally encompassing discussion on the role of spirituality and agriculture is the expression of ideas in a manner which will be understandable to other people, and which will also be respectful of their possibly different viewpoints and cultural values. Witte describes how, despite an unexpected interest in the topic, discussion was often shallow and repetitive, as people were afraid to bring up meaningful ideas due to fear of being judged by others with differing views, as well as out of fear of offending. "Spirituality means a multitude of things to a multitude of people, and, as such, remained undefined throughout the entire conference" (Witte 1995).

Attendees described spirituality as, "a sense of relatedness and connectedness in all-encompassing terms (creation, nature, stars) and in concrete elements (land, soil, plants, livestock, other people)," "a sense of ethics and values," "an experience in security, beauty, the presence of God/s" and "as a sense of belonging" (Witte 1995). The main ideas were regarding how spirituality related to nature, humanity and in struggles for social justice (Witte 1995). A reoccurring theme was the need for social justice, which was seen as taking precedence, "even over environmental objectives." "To have a good intercultural dialogue with other people we need (the same values of) openness, resignation, listening, love and respect for the other" (Witte 1995). Witte (1995) also commented that, despite the need for consensus, in all cases motives must be clear, and that attempts to convince or persuade other participants would be treated with suspicion. The main point of Witte's comment was that the focus of any dialogue must be on understanding other points of view, not in creating a congruity of belief.

Shiva (1995) summed up both the inherent problems and the inherent need for spirituality in her analysis of faith perspectives on science, agriculture and the environment. Shiva (1995) explained the Indian perspective by using the word "precriti," which is the word for nature as derived from Sanskrit and means "the original activating force," as well as creativity. In Indian cosmology nature is divine, and the self-organizing of nature is built into "life-itself" and this capacity for self-organization is "what divinity is all about". Shiva (1995) also expressed the fundamental difference between monotheistic religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) and other religions is that they maintain God as subject (as Creator), while other religions see nature itself as Divine. Verkleij (1995) added to this by explaining how the Christian tradition as shifting in the Middle Ages from being based on immanence to being based on transcendence. As such the idea of intrinsic good was lost and this intrinsically separated humanity from nature and therein limited some components of sustainability.

Shiva (1995) also critiques purely secular methods of achieving sustainability. Shiva (1995) described how Western science treats living nature as material only; as such it and we will ultimately die.

> This idea, as well as the experimental method has led to treating nature as something which must be conquered. However, this mechanistic science is in itself a type of materialist religion which relies on belief in the unprovable, yet is so self-assured that it prevents dialogues with other points of view. (Shiva 1995)

However, as touched upon by Witte (1995), the issues are not merely science versus spirituality or sustainability versus religion. The relationships between sustainability initiatives and spiritual organizations are also heavily clouded by divisions between spiritual groups, which leads to both mistrust of one another and an inward rather than outward focus within many religious communities. The "historical wounds" which exist between scientific and religious communities are also very present within the religious communities. Centuries of theological and dogmatic divisions have led to hatred. While much of the religious world has mellowed, and there are within Western countries more accepting attitudes towards differing faiths, it is easy to find conflicts which continue to exacerbate the mistrust and tension within the religious communities. These tensions also lead to mistrust by non-religious peoples who view many of these global problems as being caused by religion (Gottlieb 2006).

In addition to a history of killing each other, many spiritual groups compete with one another on the spiritual level. Cohen-Kiener (2009) in an analysis of how spiritual groups can contribute to communities, describes how religious groups are, in effect, in competition with each other to save souls, and as such tend to act out of self-preservation. Cohen-Kiemer's argument is that spiritual organizations, specifically churches, synagogues and mosques, have become very inward looking in terms of proving their own correctness alongside the competing religions. As such many spiritual organizations may be too focused on increasing their own membership and promoting their own values to contribute to a dialogue on the need for sustainability.

Furthermore, an argument is put forward by Habermas (2006) in the article "Religion in the Public Sphere" in the *European Journal of Philosophy* postulates that both secular and religious citizens can only "fulfill the normative expectations of the liberal role of citizens" if they apply a complimentary learning process in which they understand and adapt cognitively to the corresponding view. While Habermas (2006) is critical of extremist religion, particularly in the United States, Habermas (2006) is also critical of the idea that spirituality can be separated from politics or that public practices can and/or should be entirely secularized. Habermas (2006) postulates that the normative values espoused by spiritual organizations are needed to understand the societal norms and practices of a society. "Religious traditions have a special power to articulate moral intuitions, especially with regard to vulnerable forms of communal life" (Habermas 2006 pp. 10). However, Habermas (2006) also describes a need for spiritual organizations, particularly fundamentalist religions, to also learn from the rationality- based practices of purely secular practices. Thus, Habermas (2006) is in effect arguing for both ends of the secular-spiritual perspective to cognitively meet in the middle, to achieve social progress that is theologically open, but grounded in normative values.

Thus, some level of spirituality can contribute to, and may be necessary in, creating a social shift towards more sustainable practices. However, fundamentalist beliefs, which are controversial and regarded as bigoted by secular liberal society, such as those regarding homosexuality, female fertility rights and gender roles, be they perceived or actually espoused will only increase the alienation of spirituality and positive normative values from secular society (Habermas 2006).

2.8: Spiritual Organizations in Sustainability Initiatives

There are common grounds for collaboration between environmentalists and religious communities. Both share a view of the world from a moral perspective, with emphasis on peoples' responsibilities to other people, places and future generations. Both view nature as having value that transcends economics and both oppose excessive consumption (Gardner 2002). In a World Watch paper in 2005, Gardener comments on the rising trend of environmental groups and religious and spiritual groups to collaborate on endeavours. An example of this is a joint venture between the Sierra Club and the National Council of Churches that sponsored advertisements arguing against drilling for oil in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR).

> Over magnificent shots of seacoast, forests, and mountains, the narrator intones a Jewish prayer in which God says, "This is a Beautiful World I have given you. Take care of it; don't ruin it." The ad then argues against the drilling in ANWR and proposes that America's energy needs be met through conservation, higher fuel efficiency standards, and greater use of solar and wind power (Gardner 2002, pp. 7).

Gardner (2002) sees this collaboration as having the potential to work towards eliminating the barriers which centuries of mistrust based on divergent world-views have caused.

Another example of this that is particularly prevalent in the U.K. is the involvement of Quakers in sustainability initiatives. Quakers see God in everyone and they see the sacred in all life. (The Quaker Testimonies) The belief in "Truth," as it is understood in the context of there being a "greater Truth," led Quakers to insist that scripture be interpreted through "the aid of the Spirit that gave it forth," and as such must come from direct experience of God by individuals and the faith community. (Guilford College). Rather than adopting creeds of past generations, Quakers developed Testimonies that were derived from their own "individual and corporate experience of God's leading"(Guilford College). Thus, Testimonies grew and changed over centuries as Quakers wrestled with their own leadings into truth, the changing culture around them and fresh insights into scripture (Guilford College). Quakers testimonies vary; however, there are five internationally held testimonies.

-Testimony of Direct access to God/Truth[12]: "Primary to Quaker faith is a conviction that God continues to communicate with all that God has created" (Guilford College 2011).

[12] Truth with a capital (T) is referring to the greater Truth

-Testimony of Peace: "The peace testimony is not essentially a political statement. It is a testimony to the power of a divine experience that does away with the root of all violence - our own selfish passions - and excites our endeavours to mend the world" (Guilford College 2011).

-Testimony of Integrity (or truth[13]): Typically, the concern for integrity is articulated in terms of honesty and truthfulness.

-Testimony of Equality: "Equality has its origins in the spiritual experience of Friends that each person has the capacity to know and respond to the will of God" (Guilford College 2011). It has been interpreted by many Quakers as the idea that if God created and is in everyone then everyone must be treated with all the rights and respects of a person of God (Healey 2006).

-Testimony of Simplicity: "Fundamentally, the testimony of simplicity is a spiritual one. If the primary focus of a Quaker's life is to harmonize that life around the promptings of the Inward Light, then all that distracts from that focus needs to be pruned away" (Guilford College).

These testimonies vary by name and whether or not they are listed as stand-alone or whether they are grouped together.

The British yearly Meeting amended these testimonies to better reflect their current view of their role in society. In a Quaker 2009 leaflet the testimonies were listed as:

-Truth and Integrity;
- Justice Equality, and Community;
-Peace;
-Simplicity; and
-Earth and Environment as a new testimony (Quakers in Britain 2011).

The "emerging" Testimony of Earth and the Environment is closely linked with the Testimony of Peace and the Testimony of Simplicity (Quakers in Britain 2011). The description by Quakers in

[13] In this instance truth is referring truth in the context of telling the truth.

Britain (2011) is as follows:

> The world is a wonderfully rich resource for our material and spiritual needs. We should treasure it and preserve its capacity to sustain and inspire. That, in turn, calls for a creative responsibility towards the earth we have inherited and for proper sharing. It means seeing "that of God" in the natural world around us, and being moved by considerations other than commercial gain. Habitats and species are sacrificed to products and services which often are far from essential. The future is constantly sacrificed to the present and the needs of others to the wants of the self. It cannot be right to leave the world poorer than we found it in beauty or in the rich diversity of life forms, or to consume recklessly in the knowledge that our actions are bound to lead to future tragedy (http://www.quaker.org.uk/earth-and-environment).

Current sustainability initiatives by the Britain Yearly Meeting include: making sustainability a central part of activities, changing habits of Friends' meetings by encouraging different behaviour, using appropriate alternative technologies (including changing usage patterns of heat, energy, water, food, consumer goods, and transportation, and retrofitting buildings to become more sustainable in both design, material use and incorporation of green spaces) and working with others (including both internal collaboration to promote sustainability within local and national Friends' and in outreach to local and international communities) (Quakers in Britain 2011). The motivating factor behind these initiatives is a faith-based ethic of social justice and responsibility to nature that are usually considered part of the Testimony on Equality and the Testimony on Simplicity, but are also represented in the UK by the newer Earth and Environment Testimony.

Quakers in Transition has arisen as leading part of the UK Quaker commitment to sustainability and the environment. On 24th-26th June of 2011 a meeting was held for Quakers in Transition in Woodbrooke in Brimingham and was organized jointly by the Quaker and Transition community. The 40 members who attended came both form the local area as well other Meeting Houses in in the UK and US. The flip-chart of visions created at that meeting included the following (Quakers in Britain 2011):

-Food Co-ops and Community Supported Agriculture in Meeting Houses;

-Free Transition Libraries sited at Meeting Houses;

-Meetings very enthusiastic and supportive of Transition Initiatives;

-Pockets of Quakers orchestrating all the above activities;

-Using Quaker land to grow food;

-Recycle, reuse site at Meeting Houses;

-Building Solar panels on Meeting House roofs and improving insulation;

-Workshops including conflict reduction;

-Carbon neutral Yearly Meeting Gathering;

-Greening the Meeting Houses;

-Sharing transport;

-Seeing what else can be done;

-Get backing for making Meeting Houses an eco-centre as well as pushing the "greening" of the Meeting House faster;

-Create "T" group (Transitions) within Meeting Houses;

-Setting an example of how to live simply and positively;

-Awareness raising;

-Organic vegetable gardening at Meeting House; and

-Having a Living Witness group, if not already there

The Living Witness Project is the most wide-spread of the Quaker sustainability initiatives and has been implemented by 80 meeting houses in communities across the U.K. (Living Witness Website). The Living Witness project's aim is to connect the spiritual life of Quakers in a community with a "witness for a sustainable world" (Living Witness Website). This is carried out by Quakers working together with other community groups to "green their lives and Meetings," creating and/or contributing to practical community projects, and engaging with local and national government (http://www.livingwitness.org.uk/index.html).

Furthermore other spiritual groups in the UK are also involved in sustainability activities, examples listed by internet organization "Green Spirit" (http://www.greenspirit.org.uk.shtml) include:

-Centre for Women, the Earth, the Divine: An organization dedicated to exploring the parallels that exist between the imaging and treatment of Women and of the Earth, and how our images of the Divine are related to these parallels.

-Christian Ecology Link: An organization offering insights into ecology and the environment to Christian people and churches and offers Christian insights to the Green movement.

-Churches Together in Britain and Ireland: An organization that aims to raise levels of awareness on issues relating to the environment and sustainability. It also helps member churches and other organisations explore theological understandings of creation and its ethical implications for environmental policy and action.

-Forum on Religion and Ecology: An organization that calls for the world's religions to participate in changes toward a more sustainable planetary future.

-The Network Alliance of Congregations Caring for the Earth (NACCE): An ecumenical, volunteer-run, non-profit organization established in 1986 to encourage the many strands of Christian tradition in the work of healing the damaged Earth.

-The Network of Engaged Buddhists: A network is founded on the belief that genuine practice requires an active involvement in society. It integrates the practice of Buddhism with social actions for a healthy, just and peaceful world. It is the integration of spiritual and social transformation, the joining of inner meditative life and outer activism.

-Operation Noah: A network designed to raise awareness of climate change amongst the Christian community.

- Unitarian Earth Spirit Network: An organizations dedicated to developing creative ways of worship for body, mind and spirit and in affirming a Pagan spiritual perspective as being fully compatible with the human quest for self-knowledge and ultimate meaning. They also encourage ways of practical action on social issues that are directly related to a nature-centred faith and philosophy.

- Unitarian Univeralist Ministry for Earth: An organization which aims to provide Unitarian Universalist churches and their congregations with organized ways to connect energy, ideas, and information about how their lives relate to the living Earth, environmental justice, and future generations.

Thus, spiritual organizations hae recognized both a theological link to sustainability and care for the

earth and/or asocial justice as something which is in accordance with the values they espouse, as well as a practical need to address issues such as climate change and peak oil.

2.9: Framework for Thematic Analysis

Connection between sustainability and spirituality

V

Role of spirituality and spiritual organizations in the development of sustainability

V

Role of spiritual organization in "sustainable" initiatives

V

Role of spiritual organization in Transition Towns

V

The relationship exists between spiritual organizations and sustainability initiatives

V

Implications for collaboration

Figure 1.1:Approach to and Framework for Thematic Analysis

The above diagram illustrates how the broader issue of the "connection between spirituality and sustainability," which was the basis of the initial literature review, can be narrowed down to the specific role of spiritual organizations, which can be better seen through the role of spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives. From this question "the role of spiritual organizations in "sustainable initiatives" it was then possible to select a sustainability initiative to use as a lens to investigate the specific role of spiritual organizations. This question (in bold) is one that can be feasibly researched and investigated. Based on the case study, theory and the literature, this research is then able to offer suggestions about the nature of the relationship that spiritual organizations have with sustainability initiatives and future implications for collaboration.

2.10: Themes: Benefits and Pitfalls of Involving Spiritual Organizations in Sustainability Initiatives

The following table is a summary of the themes produced from the literature which indicate a benefit or a pitfall to the involvement of a spiritual organization in a sustainability initiative.

Table 2.2: Thematic Overview of Benefits and Pitfalls in Literature

THEME	Sub themes
BENEFITS:	
Institutional: This refers to the information-spreading ability of spiritual organizations as well as the access to capital; both of which are derived from existing infrastructure.	-Networking/preexisting communication structures (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Smdt 2003, Yanold 1991) -Independently funding (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Yanold 1991) -Congregational support (Aminzade &Perry 2007) -Social Capital (Smidt 2003) -Reputation (Smidt 2003) -Legitimacy (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Smidt 2003)
Normative: Normative values refer primarily to the emphasis on non-tangibles which are a focus of spiritual organizations and which can contribute to rationale for pursuing sustainability.	-Shared beliefs in value beyond economics (Gardner 2002, Shiva 1995) -Spiritual teachings about simplicity, equality and responsibility to community (Gardner 2002, Quakers in Britain and White 1967) -Commitment to social justice (Witte 1995) -Spiritual Capital (Beard 2009)
Motivation: This refers to spiritual organizations' ability to “reach” people. It is comprised of benefits which could be classifies as either institutional or normative as a spiritual organization's	-Captive audience (MacFarland 1991, Yarnold 1991 and Smidt 2003) -Leadership (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Smidt 2003, Yanold 1991) -Reciprocity (Smidt 2003)

ability to motivate people to change behaviour is a reflection of both the normative values they expound and the infrastructure and community atmosphere that exist within.	
Bonding: This refers to the community-building component of spiritual organizations as well as the benefit of involving an already exiting community. This overarching benefit also includes the benefit of bringing together smaller communities that exist independently within a larger existing community.	-Healing relationship between environmental and spiritual groups (Gardner 2002) -Correlation between religious involvement/attendance with civic involvement (Smidt 2003) -Bring together secular and spiritual components of society (Habermas 2006).
PITFALLS:	
Division This refers to how the involvement of spiritual organizations could divide and/or polarize issues within sustainability initiatives.	-Suspicion of religious groups by non-religious people (Gottlieb 2006) -Past history (Falvey 2005, Gottlieb 2006, Verliej 1995, White 1967) -Blame for current lack of sustainability (Gottlieb 2006, Falvey 2005, Verliej 1995, White 1967) -Fear of extremism (Cohen-Keiner 2009) -Suspicion between religious communities (Cohen-Keiner 2009)
Alienation/Suspicion/Off-Putting: This refers to how affiliation with religious organizations could cause people to leave or prevent people from joining a specific sustainability	-Suspicion of religious groups by non-religious people (Gottlieb 2006) -Past history (Gottlieb 2006, Falvey 2005, Verliej 1995, White 1967) -Blame for current lack of sustainability (Gottlieb 2006,

initiative or which might colour a person's perspective of an issue based on the involvement of a spiritual organization.	Falvey 2005, Verliej 1995, White 1967) -Fear of extremism (Cohen-Keiner 2009) -Suspicion between religious communities (Cohen-Keiner 2009)
Barriers: This refers to barriers or difficulties in actually getting spiritual organizations involved.	-"Inward Looking" focus in many religious communities (Cohen-Kiener 2009) -Apathy within religious community (White 1967) -Disbelief of science (Gottlieb 2006, Falvey 2005, Verliej 1995, White 1967) -*Dominium errata* mentality (Falvey 2005, Verliej 1995, White 1967)

Thus, the main benefits of involving spiritual organizations to sustainability initiatives indicated by literature include the institutional, normative (value-based), motivational and bonding components of spiritual organization. The main pitfalls include division, alienation and barriers. While included in the benefits, it should be noted that within sustainability and resilience theory there is an emphasis on the importance of social justice and social capital in the development of community adaptive capacity, which allows for enhancement of sustainability and community resilience (Walker & Salt 2006, Queensland University 2008, Norris et al. 2007, Gibson 2005).

Chapter 3: Methods and Approach

3.1: Introduction

In order to contextual the themes discovered in literature and to better understand the relationship between spiritual organizations and a specific sustainability initiative, a case study case study approach was adopted (Yin 2003). Primary data collection was conducted using semi-structured telephone interviews with key-informants. Themes in from the data and emergent themes were analysed using qualitative analysis based on five rounds of coding.

3.2: Case Study Approach

A case study approach was chosen as it answers "how" and "why" questions which focus on contemporary events, but which do not require control of behavioural events (Yin 2003).

Investigating the link between spiritual organizations and Transition Towns is a contemporary issue and does not require manipulation over behavioural events. Yin (1984) also describes the purpose of the case study as being the contribution of knowledge of individual, organizational and social, and political phenomena. Connections between spiritual organizations and sustainability initiatives are forms of organizational and social phenomena. Thus, a case study was the most appropriate method given the nature of the research.

Based on Gibson's (2005) criteria and components of sustainability (Table 3.1 and 3.2) Transition Towns were chosen as an appropriate sustainability initiative.

Table 3.1: Transition Towns Movement and Relationship to Essentials of Sustainability

Gibson's (2005) Essentials to Concept of Sustainability	Transition Towns (Brangwyn & Hopkins 2008, www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
1) A challenge to conventional thinking and practice	Transition Towns purpose is changing/"transitioning" the status quo, towards a more community-based sustainable society.
2) About long- as well as short-term well-being	Transition has long term goals of maintaining well-being in light of long-term issues such as peak-oil and climate change, but also focuses on short-term

	wellbeing including reducing energy use to save money, supporting local farmers and developing stronger community support networks.
3) Comprehensive, covering all the core issues of decision making	*Transition Towns are limited in that they have no formal governmental power. However, as the movement progresses, communities have influenced policy change through pressure by TT members.
4) A recognition of links and interdependencies, especially between humans and the biophysical foundations for life	Transition Towns are based on the idea that humans are dependent on resources and the environment for basic survival and that humans must find a balance in order to both alleviate pressure on environment as well as ensure their own well-being.
5) Embedded in a world of complexity and surprise, in which precautionary approaches are necessary	Transition Towns are based on transitioning to a state that is less dependent on oil, before oil shortages become overly disruptive to society.
6) A recognition of both inviolable limits and endless opportunities for creative innovation	Transition Towns are based on recognition that society cannot continue using resources in the current manner, yet they are based on the hope that solutions and alternatives are possible.
7) About open-ended process, not a state	Transition Towns structure is based on “steering committees” who report from different segments of the movement. The members change based on need as well as according to predetermined terms in order to ensure the processes remain open and flexible to diverse ideas and methods.
8) About intertwined means and ends- culture and governance as well as ecology, society and economy	The community-based approach is designed to recognize society's complexity and the need to affect different spheres of society when addressing resilience and sustainability.
9) Both universal and context dependent	The local-based nature of Transition makes it adaptable to individual communities, yet the movement itself is international and uses fundamental steps and practices that can be utilized internationally.

Table 3.2: Transition Towns Movement and Relationship to Criteria for Sustainability

Sustainable Assessment Criteria (Gibson 2005)	How Transition Towns (TT) fulfil criteria (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
1) Socio-ecological integrity	TT are based on the idea that it is essential to improve both social and environmental (as well as economic) components of local community. "Integrity" by establishing stronger connections between people and people and people and the environment.
2) Livelihood sufficiency and opportunity	Goals of TT are self-sufficiency as well as the creation of job opportunities.
3) Intra-generational equity	Improved social equity which can be sustained is a goal of TTs. This refers to both equity between generations and between people of the same generation.
4) Intergenerational equity	Outreach activities include youth outreach, involvement of elderly.
5) Resource maintenance and efficiency	TT are based on the idea of peak oil and the need to maintain resources through localization, efficiency and conservation.
6) Socio-ecological civility and democratic governance	As a bottom-up initiative, TTs rely on citizens participation. TTs call for people to take action in its various initiatives as well as to take part in democratic process to ensure supportive legislation.
7) Precaution and adaptation	Resilience, one of the main goals of TT is precaution and adaption.
8) Immediate and long term integration	Within Transition Towns there are stages which call for immediate action as well as long-term planning. Projects derived form these are designed to be sustained and built upon over time.

Thus Transition Towns were chosen as a case study. Because Transition has existed longest in the UK, research focused on determining the relationship between spiritual organizations in the UK and Transition Towns in the UK.

Other institutions were examined using Gibson's (2005) criteria and were abandoned due to either not meeting the criteria. One such organization was the Christian Famers Association, which was initially explored in order to determine whether it as a spiritually based organization might be used as a case

study itself, however, brief discussion with a member of the organization gave evidence that it was not based on sustainability, but existed more as a collection of individuals who were Christian Farmers. The Fair Trade movement was also considered as a case study and met with most of Gibson's (2005) criteria, however it was not chosen due to the complexity of the movement which is comprised of too many components such as suppliers in developing countries, co-ops in developing countries, certification organizations, distributors of Fair Trade products, brands that carry Fair Trade options, retailers and consumers, that it was decided that it went beyond the scope of the study. While it can be argued that the Transition movement is also complex, Transition exists primarily at the community level.

3.3: Data Collection

Semi-Structured Interviews

The use of interviews is an essential component of case-study research when investigating human affairs (Yin 2003). The literature review found that there has been no previous systematic research regarding the relationship between Transition Towns and spiritual organizations, thus interviews were used as the source of primary data and provided a foundation for analysis. Supplementary information was gathered through monitoring of local and international Transition websites (www.http://www.transitionnetwork.org/). Interviewees were selected based on their involvement with Transition Towns or with an affiliated spiritual organization. Initial contact information was gathered on Transition Town websites and with contact information from Churches in Transition (http://www.christian-ecology.org.uk/cit.htm). After initial recruitment, snowball sampling allowed additional key informants to be contacted. All interviews were recorded digitally.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they allow specific information to be gathered while allowing the flexibility to follow important trains of thought and pursue information directly (Yin 1984). While having pre-set questioned allowed the topic of spiritual organizations and specific benefits and pitfalls of their involvement to be pursued, the open-ended nature of the questions allowed a greater depth and breadth of information to be acquired (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). Because spirituality is a highly personally interpretive and complex topic, this depth was required to give participants adequate flexibility. Furthermore, the qualitative nature of the research required that

interviewees speak about what they felt was most important. A more structured interview or survey would limit interviewees' abilities to speak about the topic components they felt were most significant (Denzin & Licoln 2008, Yin 1984).

Yin (2003) describes how interviews "of an open-ended nature" are usually ideal when semi-structured interviews rely on key informants who can give their own insights as to how and why events are occurring, as well as suggest other key-informants and sources of information. This form of data gathering has the possible limitations of bias due to formation of questions, response bias, inaccuracies on the part of interviewees due to poor recall and reflexivity - where interviewees responded in a way that they consciously or sub-consciously think is in accordance with the desires of the interviewer (Yin 2003).

A copy of the interview questions can be found in Appendix B.

Sampling

The nature of the research demanded that interviewees have knowledge of interpersonal and organizational relationships within their own local Transition initiatives and/or have knowledge of affiliated spiritual organizations.

Purposive sampling was conducted where recruitment was designed to recruit interviewees from the organization Churches in Transition, which appeared based on internet research to be the most active of the three affiliated spiritual organizations, (Churches in Transition, Religious Society of Friends/Quakers and Operation Noah), as well as with members of three chosen representative Transition communities and with Transition members active in coordination of initiatives in the U.K. The three communities ranged in size and geographic location and had all existed for at least two years.[14] Emails were sent to the "contact us" members of Churches in Transition, the three communities and to the Transition Network.

Responses from the three communities and the Transition Network were inadequate.[15] Thus,

[14] The names of the communities have been omitted due to lack of contact and therein lack of consent to be named.
[15] This is believed to be a result of the increasing popularity of the Transition as a focus of research and media attention.

snowball-sampling was employed, in which a key member was identified and contacted and through this individual other key-informants were successfully contacted. Snowball sampling proved to be effective as key informants were mainly identifiable only by people already involved in the Transition movement (Yin 2003). Furthermore, snowball sampling is also the most convenient way of accessing hard to reach populations (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003) and was thus highly useful in accessing Transition members, some of whom, due to an increase in interest in Transition towns, were becoming selective regarding responses to research.[16] Seventeen interviews were conducted with eighteen individuals, all of which were, or had previously been, active in Transition initiatives. Two of these interviews were with members of Churches in Transition, four were with interviewees who self-identified as Quakers, three were with individuals who were involved in Transition at the National level, other interviewees included a noted member of the academic community who was very involved in Transition, two individuals who were very involved in the Inner Transition (also referred to as the Heart and Soul) working group, as well as other members who were suggested by other interviewees as having insight into the organization. Interviewees came from a variety of spiritual backgrounds including Agnostic, atheist, Baha'i, Buddhist, Christian (unspecified denominations), Pagan, Religious Society of Friends (Quaker), Wiccan and several individuals who did not indicate their spiritual background. While research focussed on the UK movement as a whole the following communities were represented by the interviews, Totnes, Lancaster, Cleeve, Tring, Richmond and Yorkshire, Crediton, Evesham, Taunton Kirkbymoorside Environment Group and Hollywood (Northern Ireland).[17] Specific communities were not isolated due to the overlap that existed where a single key-informant was active in several Transition communities.

Conducting and Handling Interviews

Telephone interviews were conducted due to the physical limitation of being on a different continent than the interviewees. Other research techniques including in-person interviews as well as participant observation were considered but rejected. Rejection of in person interviews was based on the limited additional information that could be gathered by observing facial reaction and the amount of bias that might be added if interviewees were able to consciously or sub-consciously observe and respond to unintentional facial responses of the interviewer (Birks & Mills 2011, Yin 2003). Given the length of

[16] The majority of this research is currently underway and has yet to be published.
[17] See Appendix F for map depicting location of communities and statistical information.

time between Transition meetings and the limited likelihood that spirituality would emerge as a topic of discussion, it was also deemed unlikely that participatory observation would add much useful information. Furthermore, the financial and environmental cost of overseas travel for the purpose in-person interviews and/or participant observation was seen as too high given the limited value it could add to data collection.

All interviews were transcribed manually by the researcher. A copy of their transcribed interview was sent to the individual participants along with additional questions (Appendix C) designed to give the interviewees the opportunity clarify and/or add additional information to their responses. Each participant was given two weeks to read and respond with changes or modifications to the transcript. Three of the seventeen interviews were returned with minor modifications. Modifications included corrections to words which were misheard by the researcher, definitions of concepts the interviewee felt might be unclear to the researcher and rephrasing of sentences to improve flow. No changes were made that altered the researcher's perception of the interviews.

3.4: Qualitative Analysis

Analysis of the data utilized a mixed coding system that was greatly influenced by grounded theory. Grounded theory allows a deep and rigorous understanding of peoples' experiences, beliefs, motivations and inter/relationships, which are not well-explained by current theory (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, 2008). Due to the importance of exploring literature-based themes and the importance of allowing for emergent themes, an adapted form of grounded theory was used in order to incorporate emergent themes.

The first step of analysis involved a verbatim transcription of the interviews. Five rounds of coding were conducted to identify the themes (See Table 3.4). The first and second round coding was conducted using open coding, comprised of a line-by-line coding of the data. This was used as the first type of coding because as Glaser (1992) postulates, other forms of coding such as constant comparative analysis have the potential to force data into the theoretical framing of the researcher's making.[18] This type of coding was conducted within each question individually in the first round, as

[18] Using an initial set of data to create codes which are then used to code the rest of the data.

well as on the interview as a whole in the second round. The rationale for doing both was that often in the interviews, interviewees would return to a topic in the middle of another question.

The codes derived from both rounds were then used in the intermediate stage of coding, where selective coding allowed concepts to emerge. At this stage, concepts that had no relevance to the research topic[19] were not further analyzed or included in the research. The concepts were then used to form categories which integrated the concepts into overarching themes. These themes were compared to the themes existent in the literature and classified as literature based or emergent. Themes existent in the literature that did not appear in the data were also noted and used in the third and fourth round of coding.

The third round of coding, theoretical coding, was conducted using the themes identified in the data and themes identified in the literature. The transcripts were read individually and coded through the identification of themes existent in both individual statements and in overarching topics. This allowed the researcher to review which themes emerged in the individual interviews and which interviews produced some of the codes, yet could not be classified as having addressed an overarching theme. Further grouping of concepts that existed at a lower level of coding and were not yet classified into categories or themes were thematically categorized. Concepts that proved unrelated to dominant themes and research focus were dropped. The researcher could then identify instances where the thematic organization of concepts was in conflict with the way in which the interviewee understood concepts and themes. The dropped concepts included personal anecdotes, shared experiences, names of people recommended for interviews and important literature. These themes are not listed because there is little benefit by including them and further description increases the likelihood of individual participants being personally identified. Finally, the primary reason of this form of coding was to ensure that the higher-order concepts, categories and themes derived from lower-order coding actually existed in their higher form, in the data (as cited by Birks & Mills 2010, Glaser 1978).

The fourth round of coding was conducted by listening to the original audio recordings of the interviews; in this round the tone interviewees use when addressing specific topics was noted. Analysis derived from the tone in the interviewee's voice was used to gain a better understanding of

[19] Due to the anecdotal nature of the most interviewees answers a significant amount of these concepts emerged.

which themes were considered relevant to the interviewees and was taken into account when interpreting the data. The importance implicit in tone tended to match the frequency in which themes arose; the more eager a person sounded when speaking about a topic, the more interviews the theme tended to be found in. However, due to the highly subjective nature of tone interpretation, this information was used as a supplementary aid in identifying codes and in flagging concepts or themes which may have emerged due to over-prompting and/or the hypothesized limitation of an interviewee's desire to agree with researcher (Yin 2003)

The fifth round of coding consisted of simultaneously listening to audio and reading interviews as a way of ensuring accuracy. On specific interviews, including Interview 4, where two people were interviewed at the same time, as well as Interview 6, where many relevant themes were identified, the steps involved in the third and fourth were repeated to ensure accuracy.

Table 3.3: Rounds of Coding

Round	Coding Types Employed	Medium	Analyzed by:	Literature Considered
1	-Open -Selective	-Transcript	-Answer	No
2	-Open -Selective	-Transcript	-Complete Interview	No
3	-Theoretical	-Transcript	-Complete Interview	Yes
4	-Theoretical	-Audio	-Complete Interview	Yes
5	-Theoretical	-Audio & Transcript	-Complete Interview	Yes

All rounds of coding were conducted using manual coding rather than software such as Nvivo. The choice of manual coding was due to the importance of the analysis of how themes interrelated. In terms of searching through the thematic ideas themselves in order to gain a deep understanding of the data, NVivo is less useful than manual coding because of the type of searching it is capable of doing, which by nature lacks the fluidity and creativity of manual coding (Welsh 2002). Although software analysis can sometimes be useful in order to validate themes found manually (Welsh 2002), given the relatively small number of interviews and the redundancy inherent in the use of five rounds of manual coding, software analysis was deemed unnecessary.

Chapter 4: Results, Analysis and Implications

4.1: Findings

Analysis of the interviews identified 17 themes which addressed: expected benefits, expected pitfalls, recommended methods of spiritual organization involvement, situational trends in UK Transition Towns, and emergent themes. An overarching theme was that of community resilience and the best way to create resilience within the community.

Table: 4.1: Findings indicate 17 dominant themes that emerged in the individual interviews. Seven (7) of these themes are those found and described in the literature (See Chapter 2). Emergent include 5 themes found indicating people's awareness of spiritual organizations, 3 themes indicating the nature of involvement interviewees felt Transition Towns should take, 1 emergent benefit and 1 emergent pitfall. Because the questions were open-ended an absence of a theme does not mean that the person did not see a specific benefit or pitfall, it merely indicates that the interviewee did not mention it; the exception being "Aware of CIT" which was a direct question as to whether a person had heard of Churches in Transition. The percentages listed in Table 4.1 indicate how often a certain theme emerged in the 17 interviews. Due to the fact that 4a and 4b were interviewed together it was determined that percentages would be determined based on frequency they occurred in the 17 interviews rather than by the 18 interviewees.

The order in which the 17 themes are listed does not reflect their importance, the order is based on where themes fall into the overarching categories of benefit, pitfall, method and situational. The order within these categories is based on grouping the themes so that the ones most closely related are described sequentially.

Not listed in the table is the over-arching theme of resiliency. Resiliency was a theme that was directly or indirectly brought up in all the interviews because community resiliency is a goal of Transition Towns. The impact of spiritual organizations on resiliency is thus separated from the other themes and addressed in Section 5.2. It should be noted that the theme of Leadership, which was grouped as part of motivation in the literature review emerged as its own theme and will be discussed in greater detail

in Section 4.2. It should also be noted that a new theme emerged indicating that the possible pitfalls were unlikely to occur in the Transition movement.

Table 4.1: Themes Found in Interviews

Benefits:	Pitfalls:	Method:	Situational:[20]
Institutional: 35%	Division: 65%	Supportive: 47%	Aware of CIT: 41%
Normative: 82%	Off-Putting: 47%	All involved: 18%	CIT involved: 12% 28%[21]
Motivation: 53%	Barriers: 29%	None involved: 6%	Individual Quakers: 76%
Leadership: 88%	Fear of Pitfalls unwarranted: 24% 45%[22]		Organizational Quaker Involvement: 71% 86%[23]
Bonding: 47%			As Individuals: 94%

More detailed findings are located in Appendix G.

[20] Refers to people's awareness of religious organizations that are involved in Transition; Operation Noah was left out as it was only mentioned once by one interviewee and not discussed.
[21] Emerged in 28% of interviews where individuals were aware of Churches in Transition
[22] Emerged in 45% of all interviews in which pitfalls were discussed
[23] Emerged in 86% of the interviews in which interviewees discussed Quaker involvement

4.2: Benefits

Institutional (6/18)

Institutional benefits, refer to benefits such as infrastructure, networking and preexisting communication structures (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Smdt 2003, Yanold 1991), independent funding (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Yanold 1991), congregational support (Aminzade &Perry 2007), social capital (Smidt 2003), reputation (Smidt 2003) and legitimacy (Aminzade &Perry 2007, Smidt 2003). These specific themes were usually lumped in the category of there being benefit to having "churches on board" (Interview 1). Interview 6, was the only interviewee to mention infrastructure and networking as separate benefits and was the only interviewee to specifically mention credibility.

> "I think, like a lot harder transition in grass roots community movements you have to earn credibility, it takes time to build up that capacity and so on. Whereas churches are vehicles who are in a way good with moving people in a particular direction." (Interview 6)

However, as the quote shows, this benefit was also tied to the theme of motivation. Furthermore, the majority of interviews did not explain why it was good to have religious groups (in all cases referring specifically and, usually exclusively, to churches) "on board."

A common theme in the interviews was the benefit of congregational support (Aminzade & Perry 2007). Rationales given by interviewees always (where institutional benefits were mentioned) included a mention of the fact that they were pre-existing and in many cases had significant membership. Similar to points made by Aminzade & Perry (2007) and Yarnold (1991), it was seen by some interviewees that, by attracting the organization, you would be attracting the individuals.

> So we would, in terms of the benefits, well the benefits to us and to them, is that there will be a lot more people there. In [name of town] we have about six churches and they all have quite a lot of people in them and that is a whole big constituency (Interview 10).

Thus, the majority of people who identified a benefit in having institutional involvement gave the explanation that by attracting religious organizations Transition would be attracting large numbers of people who were already active members of the community.

While both Aminzade & Perry (2007) and Yarnold (1991) mentioned that independent finances are important, this came up as a sub-theme in only two of the interviews, both of which noted that it would be more significant to have spiritual organizations "on board" if there were membership fees. Because there is no membership fee, contribution to Transition Towns must come in the form of becoming active in one of the working groups or an initiative.

> "The only way to get involved in transition is to join a Transition group and get involved in the projects…. You can't be a member of (name of Transition Town) you can be who's active in doing things or you can be a well-wisher and you can be somewhere in between…. Sometimes we talk about whether we should have some sort of joining fee, because we could use money and I might make people feel nice if they could say of 'I'm a member of (name of Transition Town).' But you can't be a member, and actually the point isn't…that's not what we want. What we want is people to follow through things that will then move towards an objective." (Interview 11)

As indicated by this quote, financial support was seen as useful in supporting individual projects but the main goal of Transition Towns is not to gain membership but to change people's behaviour. Thus, while there was acknowledgement that established spiritual organizations as institutions could contribute to Transition initiatives, emphasis was on how to influence an individual's actions.

Normative Values 15/18

The term "normative values" was never specifically used by any of the participants, however 15/18 interviews referred to benefits which are based on religious and spiritual organizations' normative contributions. These normative values include those found in literature: shared beliefs in value beyond economics (Gardner 2002, Shiva 1995), spiritual teachings about simplicity, equality and responsibility to community (Gardner 2002, Quakers in Britain 2011, White 1967) and a commitment to social justice (Witte 1995). Interviewees also referred to how the spiritual organizations offered non-pragmatic and non-science based views on why Transition was a good idea that was very valuable in creating a commitment to change. Interviewees described how these beliefs were the same or similar to those embodied by transition, which also emphasized "care of the earth," the value of community, and what peoples' responsibilities were as members of society.

> The other aspect of it that comes up to me, is about nature being sacred ... But I think all spiritual groups, I think all spiritualities I've come across were on the grounds that you have to take care of our earth, you've got to be a good person, you've got to live a good life and

> you've got to take care of the planet. And so I would be interested in looking at what sort of common ground we can find, and how other people can be encouraged to go back to their particular faith organizations and raise (indiscernible), you know as a theme that people should be paying more attention to. (Interview 11)

Interviewees identified that there would be benefit in having groups which shared values on what "ought" to be, as well as having links to organizations which have traditionally encouraged "ethical" approaches rather than the strictly pragmatic. In some interviews specific quotes did separate spiritual teachings and shared values. However, in all of these cases they were used by the speakers in support of the value of spiritual approach and considered as one of the benefits, not two separate benefits.

Interview 6, who identified as atheist, spoke the most passionately about the "tremendous value" in involving groups that could reach people on a spiritual level.

> "I've always been of the view that these Judeo-Christian ideas around stewardship and so on and being somebody who's caring for creation and so forth could certainly chime with and helps support initiatives such as transition" (Interview 6)

> **"**And I do think in times of crisis and people feeling anxious about these things I think certainly that, you know, elements of the narrative the faith communities can tell can help reassure and also give people direction in what they're doing. So I do think there is a great potential in tapping into these already existing sustainability or green faith (indiscernible) and stories and principles and so on" (Interview 6).

Despite a widespread agreement on the benefit of having individuals who were spiritual and/or who had a "spiritual" approach to sustainability there was much division as to how this would be best expressed within transition. Many (8/18) people felt that the "Inner Transition", formerly "Heart Soul", working group was a good way for spirituality to manifest itself as it gave a forum for both people comfortable with the idea of spirituality as well as to people who preferred to take a "cognitive psychological" approach, which was focused more on changing the way people thought of and related to the environmental, sustainability and consumption. However, the latter of these approaches actually moves away from the normative benefits, and focuses more on the pragmatic. In two separate Interviews from two different Transition Towns interviewees related that people who wanted to focus on spiritual components continued to have "no voice" in their group.

The implications of this are that, as Shiva (1995) expressed in her critique of agriculture and the over-emphasis on science, there are recognized benefits to having people concerned for the environment for a reason beyond their own survival. Whereas, Shiva (1995) refers to "the divinity in the self-organization of Nature," in Interview 11 references were made to the Pagan "love of nature, which was derived from spirituality."

> "And as a Pagan ... [description of spiritual practices] ... the most fundamental important thing in my spirituality is the natural world, the land, the planet whatever you want to call it. And two things arise out of that, one is a huge need to therefore protect it, because if you really love the earth, not just in your head you think it needs to be safe-guarded, but if really love ... the beachwoods and the bluebells and all those things that are going to go with climate change, then that gives you a huge spur to do something about it, because you can't bear the things that you love you can't bear to see them hurt." (Interview 11)

Furthermore, the interviews also give evidence of a strong desire for transition to move people at a spiritual level.

> I do believe that if we are really going to embrace these changes, these challenges ahead and operate out of love rather than fear, that actually a deeper spiritual convincement is important. That doesn't mean to say it has to be linked to any particular religion, that in a sense if we try and work with our heads, rather than our heads and our hearts, I think we will go for short-term solutions, and panicky measures, which can be as problematic as the solutions they think they are. (Interview 16)

The rationale given for this is the same as the "social capital" described by Smidt (2003) and its role in transforming self-interested society into community members with multi-fold levels of community-building which encourage responsibility as both a local and a global citizen.

The phenomenon of the transformative power of spirituality was also described by Plotikin (2008). He framed his analysis in terms of stages of development of humanity, with progression from one stage to another independent of biological age and instead based on progress with psychological and spiritual tasks. Plotkin (2008) associates many of the problems and crisis occurring to the environment and to people with a decline in individual human development. Similar to the interviewees, Plotkin's argument is not describing the benefits of spiritual organizations, but of the importance of individual spirituality. This argument is similar to those put forward by McIntosh (2008, 2001) and Macy (1998) that will be discussed in the subsection Spiritual Leadership/Influence.

Finally, the importance of normative values affirms what Beard (2007) and Zohar and Marshall (2004) describe as spiritual capital. Thus in addition to being a source of social capital spiritual which is beneficial to Transition initiatives, spiritual capital was also described, through a description of the benefits of spirituality, as being highly beneficial to Transition Towns as well as to a more general promotion of sustainability.

Motivating 10/18

The ability of religious and spiritual organizations to "reach" or "motivate" people was in all but one case described as a result of normative values.

In Interview 6, it was stated "...churches are vehicles who are in a way good with moving people in a particular direction." This indicates that the speaker saw value in the structure that exists within churches to motivate people.

Another interviewee mentioned that it was important to have church leadership involved, thus indicating a perceived benefit in a minister's or a priest's ability to motivate a congregation. However, in a later interview it was expressed that having church leaders interested was not proving useful because congregations remained apathetic.

Other sub-themes identified in literature were not mentioned as motivational benefit. Reciprocity was mentioned in three interviews, but in the context of a barrier to religious involvement. Interviewees expressed the concern that evangelical Christians might not want to join because they believed that if the world was doomed then "God would come to save them."

This indicates that, while interviewees believe spirituality is a motivating factor, and spiritual organizations can motivate people based on spirituality, there was no evidence that people believed that the formalized or dogmatic components of spiritual organizations would be useful in motivating people to adopt more sustainable practices. This supports Beard's (2009) description of spiritual capital as something that does not require involvement by organized religion or a spiritual group, although it may include organizations as resources.

Spiritual Leadership/Influence 16/18

This theme refers to the motivations, people and literature interviewees described as having been influential in either their decision to join a Transition initiative or in their personal understanding of sustainability. The most commonly cited literature by these individuals was *Soil and Soul* by McIntosh (2001), *Hell and High Water* by McIntosh (2008) as well as *Coming Back to Life* (1998) and other work by Macy. Interviewees identified McIntosh as a Quaker, who, even in cases where the interviewee came from a different spiritual back ground, "spoke to them." Similarly Macy was described as "an American Buddhist, but you don't have to be Buddhist to appreciate what she's saying" (Interview 16). In three separate interviews interviewees described attending workshops designed by Macy as well as workshops based on her work as part of either leadership training or as part of the Heart and Soul/Inner Transition working group.

> … so I got a few people to go to do a Joanna Macy workshop here … She's an American lady and she's lead lots of workshops about connecting back together and experiencing and the stress of what is happening in the world and moving on to try and make a difference...And why I mention this is because quite a lot of people there ended up in the original steering group (Interviewee 8).

In addition to the mention of specific authors individuals were also mentioned as being highly influential. While interviewees did not express the idea that the spiritual organization from which individuals came were themselves influential, people described the benefits of having members who were spiritually oriented as leading members in their transition communities. Some of this was expressed in description of McIntosh's work that calls upon the human soul as a tool in combatting global issues such as consumerism and the need to re-ground ourselves in what "is truly meant to be human" (McIntosh 2008). Similar to McIntosh (2001), who described the role of traditional Gaelic spirituality, interviewees described a reintegration with nature that was based on care of the earth and stewardship, which acknowledged hunter-gather origins, and which deeply respected peoples who continued to incorporate holistic approaches to nature in their culture. "… and it's really the whole thing about creation care and looking at climate change from a Christian perspective" (Interview 3). "And I'm happy than to think that even me from a secular position can share in the idea repairing, what I call people, planet and place" (Interview 6).

As (Smidt 2003) and (Levit 2008) mentioned in their description of the role of spiritual organizations and social capital, individuals with spiritual background can be highly influential both in motivating others and in providing leadership and guidance within sustainability initiatives.

Bonding 9/18

This theme, as it emerged in the interviews, reflected spirituality[24] as being a way to bring people together within a community. In the majority of interviews in which this theme was mentioned it was in the context of accessing an existing active community and how this would benefit the movement.

What is unique about this result is that there was an emergent sub-theme in which interviewees described how using spirituality gave common ground to connect with others. When referring to meeting people of different faiths while collecting "Transition Tales," stories of people involved in transition, one interviewee said "Faith has helped me find common ground with other people of faith" (Interview 17). This result was unexpected because, while the literature indicated that religion has historically been used or resulted in the creating of stronger social ties, this has historically been through sharing the same religion. Historically, differences of religions or spirituality have been a source of conflict rather than camaraderie (Cohen-Kiener 2009 and Gottlieb 2006).

This additional sub-theme is significant because it gives evidence of the healing relationship between religious groups brought up by Cohen-Keiner (2009) and of people "moving beyond the need to be right." In light of the finding that most people see significant value in the normative components of spirituality, this could be indicative of spiritual organizations' ability to collaborate together and with non-spiritual organizations to achieve their goals. Witte (1995) described such collaboration as a necessary step in pursuing any global conversation of spirituality in sustainability (particularly agriculture).

[24] It is unclear whether this was seen by the interviewees as a benefit from spiritual organization or a more generic benefit from having personal spirituality

4.3: Pitfalls

Divisive (11/18)

A pitfall feared by individuals was that involving spiritual organizations would have a divisive or "polarizing" effect akin to those found between political parties. "People could polarize issues and lose sight of main objectives of sustainability, resilience, peak oil and climate change" (Interview 1),

It is important to note that in 4 interviews that this was described as being a risk, but which they did not expect to occur. In 2 interviews (from separate communities) incidents of division between church and non-church was reported, and were said to have been resolved with time.

Furthermore, despite the fear that religious groups could cause transition to become divided or polarized, where division was actually seen was along political and organizational divides. 3 people mentioned divides between anarchists and institutionalists; 2 of these 3 people expressed the fear that involving different spiritual groups would result in similar conflicts.

> And it wasn't really religious groups, it was more political ideologies, I guess, that were at odds with the direction of how you did this. So there was more an anarchist tendency that didn't really want to engage with any type of current local council or government. And then there were people who wanted to be more sort of reformist and work through the system. And it was very difficult to hold to a commonality that people felt they could organize around. Really people didn't really want to make some of the compromises that would be necessary, in their personal beliefs and views. So that was problematic, and I think that could be problematic if you have any, you know, if you have a transition group and you know you have Muslims in one corner, Sikh in another, Buddhists in another, Christians in another and Pagans, and that there they were all pulling in different directions to influence the way the organization went. I think that would be problematic (Interview 1).

This fear of division reflects an idea to which Witte (1995) referred when he addressed what needs to be overcome in order to have an open discussion on spirituality in agriculture. Witte (1995) listed putting aside agendas and "the need to be right" as crucial to any form of spiritual involvement within sustainability. The fears expressed by interviewees are that this may not occur.

However, the actual experiences of Transition members, as well as members of Churches in Transition indicate that when spiritual organizations have taken part, they have done so in a manner which purposefully does not promote individual beliefs (see involvement of CIT). Thus, the risk of

spirituality becoming a divisive issue appears to be causing a degree of caution amongst spiritual organizations that are involved in Transition that may not be required.

The implication of this for the Transition movement is that spiritual organizations can participate in Transition without causing significant division, providing, that as an organization and as individual members, they maintain an open and accepting mindset which embraces ideas which may differ widely from their own. This is supported by arguments put forward by Beard (2009) on the role of social capital, Witte (1995) and the discussion on precursors for spirituality and sustainability (Chapter 2.7).

Alienation/Suspicion/Off-Putting (9/18)

The most commonly expressed pitfall was the fear that involvement by spiritual organizations would cause other individuals not to take part in the movement. The rationale for this fear is identical in many cases to fears regarding transition becoming divided. The key difference is that, whereas a fear of spiritual groups promoting their own agendas above the ideas of transition or the beliefs and ideas of other members can be worked through, if people are "put-off" from joining because of suspicion of the motivations of spiritual organizations, then they will not be able to resolve these issues.

> "There's quite a lot of suspicion among people who're outside church. And in my initial meeting ... one person there said "well if this is to be church led than I want no part of it ... Fortunately he got over that" (Interview 2).

It is important to note, that while interviewees thought fear of extremism might alienate people, only 1 interviewee mentioned any actual fear of religious groups trying to evangelize. Furthermore, 9 people specifically commented that they felt extremism by religious groups was an unwarranted fear.

A greater fear was that, even if spiritual organizations were open and fully supportive of all other beliefs and approaches, institutional attachment to a specific organization could cause a "branding" or association of Transition with a specific spirituality rather than as "something that is for everybody." Thus, although suspicion between spiritual communities and spiritual and secular communities is based on historic and current ideological barriers that may not be relevant to current Transition Towns experience, such as extremism (Cohen-Keiner 2009, Falvey 2005, Gottlieb 2006, Verliej 1995, White 1967), a real pitfall is the impact of public perceptions of spiritual organizations as possibly extreme, or evangelical (Habermas 2006, Spong 1982).

Barriers 5/18

Often referred to as "difficult" or "frustrating"[25] this pitfall refers to the difficulties in establishing a relationship with religious organizations. While the questions and most answers referred to religious organizations, examples given by interviewees were usually specific to relationships with churches and Christians. The most common barriers described were apathy and suspicion by church members of sustainability and environmental movements. "Those who believe are reluctant to get church involved, evangelical don't believe in the science behind it" (Interview 1).

Interviewees described specifically how member of churches felt that there was nothing they could do or, in the case of Evangelical Christians, this was all part of the coming apocalypse. Interview 5 described the resistance he/she had encountered, "well it's the end of the world and Christ will come to save us" (Interview 5). This was given as reason by both non-Christians and members of the CIT as why it was difficult to get some Christians involved.

> Because I think most people in churches, you know what side they're on, they're on the side of saying, you know, there isn't much we could do or can do, which is what most people think as well. It's the problem we face in transition, most people don't really agree, don't really believe this is major problem or if it is a major problem, there isn't much that we can do about it; and the churches are very much in that category so I think that's the biggest problem (Interview 10).

Furthermore, interviewees also described how certain Christians disbelieve the science behind climate change and peak oil. There was also the belief that some Christians view sustainability initiatives as being "hippie" or a fad. Interview 2 described how the initial response to sustainability initiatives by a member of the clergy, "All this environmental stuff, it's a five-day wonder."

This indicates that, while there may be benefits in involving spiritual organizations, getting the individual within spiritual organizations involved carries with it the same difficulties as getting people outside spiritual organizations involved. Whereas organizational attachment may make individuals within the organization more likely to be aware of Transition (Yarnold 1991) and may also give incentives based on trust and reciprocity (Smidt 2003) to live more sustainably, "at the end of the day it

[25] 5/18 referred to the relationship between the transition movement and spiritual organizations as being "frustrating" or "difficult"

depends entirely on the individuals" (Interview 15).

Fear of pitfalls unwarranted (4/18)

This theme emerged based on participants' descriptions of pitfalls. When describing pitfalls the interviewees would follow by saying that they did not expect this to occur or that it had not occurred. This was used in reference to the divisive or off-putting nature of possible pitfalls, and was used usually in reference to the possibility that spiritual organizations would promote their own beliefs above the interests of their Transition Town. However, all but one individual felt that religious organizations would not do this and, if they did, it would not be accepted. "It would go down like a lead balloon. And we would say bless you but send them on their way. But I don't see that happening either" (Interview 13). While for some people, particularly those involved in organizations such as CIT, the fear of "evangelizing" alone might dissuade people from joining, 4 people expressed that this was not likely to be an issue. Furthermore, 2 people described an initial-clash or resistance by members to the incorporation of spirituality (in one case) and "church-led" activities (in the other case) that was resolved; interviewees claimed nobody left the group as a result of these issues.

This finding is significant because it indicates that, despite the fear that their presence alone would be a source of conflict, this is not occurring. This gives evidence of what Gardner (2002) described as healing the relationship between environmental and spiritual groups. If this is truly the case, then many of the pitfalls described in this paper might not occur or might be resolvable. However, as will be discussed in section 4.6, it is important to note that this finding is highly influenced by the nature of the spiritual organizations which become involved and the manner (also see section 4.4: Methods) by which these organizations participate.

4.4: Methods

This section refers to the method or manner of involvement by spiritual organizations that interviewees felt would be most beneficial to Transition Towns. While there were no questions that specifically asked about methods, when asked about benefits and pitfalls, interviewees often elaborated as to the best way for religious groups to be involved. There were three themes found in these answers, significant overlap exists between these themes.

Supportive (7/18)

Interviewees described a need for religious organizations to be involved, in an indirectly supportive way, by bringing transition into their organizations and supporting sustainable initiatives rather than joining as organizations. This relates directly back to the study (see section 4.1) conducted by Cohen (2010) who suggested the need to spread into other social communities rather than the Transition movement trying to fit every community into its existing infrastructure. Within the Transition movement the overall feeling amongst interviewed participants was that one of the best ways for religious and spiritual organizations to promote Transition as well as other sustainability initiatives was to do so through their own organizations rather than by collectively attempting to partner with Transition.

> I think Christians, I believe, should get involved in Transition Towns and many are; but it's not a case of "we're Christians and we're kind of... we've got the answers..." we just have to be very sensitive about that. We should go in a supportive way (Interview 2).

This indicates that both spiritual organization and Transition members would like spiritual organizations to promote Transition and/or sustainability and resilience, but official partnership or affiliation with Transition is not seen as necessary to obtain the possible benefits.

Let all be involved (3/18)

Interviewees expressed the belief that all organizational support should be welcomed. A proviso was that it was clear that these organizations were there to support transition goals and not to pursue their own agendas. Another proviso was that everyone must be respectful and open to the beliefs of others.

> Well my take on it is that you just include as many religions and different strands of thought as you, as you feel are appropriate for the moment, you know. You could devise a programme of readings and music for instance that is very inclusive and nobody could feel offended by. I don't know if that makes sense, to me that seems to be the way into making ... bringing spirituality more directly into the work that we do as opposed to shying away from it and saying that this is a bit too difficult and we don't want to exclude anybody, which I think is perhaps a tendency (Interview 7).

This is in keeping with the provisos Witte (1995) described of having an open dialogue in which people who discuss spirituality in sustainability must do so in manner that is inclusive. The fear from

participants seemed to be that this might not be possible. The implication of this is that integration of spirituality, if it is to occur, must occur in a manner which is completely inclusive and where no one perspective claims to be the "right" approach.

None 1/18

Only one interview indicated a complete aversion to the involvement of spiritual organizations in the transition movement. The rationale for this was based on the idea that it would be too divisive and off-putting to members and potential members. The individual felt there would be no way to be fully representative of every spirituality and therefore they should not include any spiritual organizations in Transition. It was also felt by this individual that the connotation to spirituality would also take away from the credibility of the organization as one that was based on sound science.

This finding contrasts with others in which there was agreement that some form of "spiritual" component was required to engage people fully.

> I mean, to be honest, because this is something I feel quite strongly about, and I think if people were, if anybody were to say, look we just don't want go there, this is not, you know, we don't want to be doing this and wanted to keep spirituality right out of it, I would be much less inclined to be involved in it. I would probably walk away at that point. Because it such an important integral part of a person's life, that you can't just sort of say, you know, don't go there. But I haven't found that. Rather I would say the reverse is true. So I don't think you can do it without really (Interview 7).

This finding supports the findings discussed in the previous two themes (Supportive & Let all be involved), which indicated that integration of spiritual organizations must occur in a manner which is either strictly supportive, or in manner which is completely inclusive and where no one perspective claims to be the "right" approach.

4.5: Situational

The following refer to themes that were indicative of the movement in the U.K., but were not classified as either a benefit or pitfall.

Involvement of Churches in Transition

Interviews with active members (interviews 2 and 5) of Churches in Transition (CIT) as well as the

interviews with other transition members illustrated a much looser connection between transition initiatives and CIT than with transition initiatives and Quakers. While 7 of 18 interviewees were aware of CIT, the only 2 who were aware of CIT involvement in their community were members of CIT.[26]

CIT involvement illustrated two types of involvement in Transition. The first form of involvement was in awareness-raising in the broader community, and this, while hosted by CIT or CIT members, was purely secular in nature and aimed at the larger community. This included activities such as hosting educational films and inviting the community. "When we have put on events, films, talks, or whatever, by and large the people who come to attend them have not been church people." (Interview 2)

The second type of involvement was in a more direct attempt to engage Christians who were already interested in the Transition movement. This included leaflets and discussion forums on the CIT website as well as a forum on the Transition Network for interfaith discussion on spirituality and Transition. The focus of these forums is to discuss the challenges and unique perspective of being a Christian (or other religion) in Transition Towns and the things Christianity and the other faiths have in common with the ideals and goals of the Transition movement.

Quaker Involvement 15/18

The data shows that the main involvement by a spiritual group is involvement by the Religious Society of Friends. Their involvement exists both as individual Quakers in all the individual transition communities as well as at the organizational level. Two interviewees mentioned that while they were aware of individual involvement, they were unaware of involvement at the organizational level. This finding, while initially somewhat surprising, can be explained, given the involvement of the Religious Society of Friends in social movements. The British yearly meeting, the national Quaker organization for Britain, has become involved in Transition as have the local meetings.

Many of the participants, particularly those from smaller communities, described how the Quaker meeting houses were used for the Transition committee meetings. While not all participants were aware of the organizational commitment of the Religious Society of Friends, all but 2 of the

[26] Although one person had been in e-mail contact with CIT

participants mentioned strong support from individuals in the Quaker community. Finally, it is important to note that several participants answered that they were unaware of any spiritual organizations involved in the Transition movement, but, when questioned directly about Quaker involvement, answered that their local Meetings[27] were involved. This was in some ways explained by comments by interviewees who were Quakers and described how Quakers were seen more as an activist organization than a religious organization.

> "Because we tend not to have that kind of reputation- at least in this country...We tend to be seen as very neutral; we are not seen as evangelizing ... I think we would be seen more as activists on peace and justice issues than as proseletyers [*sic*]" (Interview 4a).

Furthermore, an examination of the Religious Society of Friends, revealed that, in addition to existing testimonies on Truth, Peace, Justice and Simplicity, a new testimony on Earth and the Environment has become part of the organizational ideologies within the movement in Britain. (Quakers in Britain) This indicates adaptability in the UK branch of Quakerism which is responsive to global issues and how they relate to the core values of the group. It is perhaps this adaptability and openness to change which have allowed Quakers to become an integrated part of the Transition movement, without arousing the suspicions and ideological polarization feared by members who are afraid that spiritual organizations would cause division and/or be "off-putting."

Individuals not Organizations 16/18

When describing spirituality in the transition movement a common response was that individuals from spiritual organizations were involved, but they were unaware of involvement at the organizational level.[28] However, the individuals who were in spiritual organizations were described as having "spiritual motivations" for their involvement. In all 16 of the interviewees in which this arose as a theme the interviewees described that they were completely open to having individuals of faith be part of Transition. Fifteen (15) of these people also described that the perspectives that individual spiritual people brought as being beneficial to Transition. The "Heart and Soul," also called by its new name "Inner Transition," was described as being partly an embodiment of spiritual motivations and

[27] Refers to organized gathering of Quakers for worship; similar to congregations within churches but with no clergy.
[28] Several of these people went on to describe Quaker involvement at the organizational level.

approaches without attachment to a specific organization or faith.

Where there were differences was in the perceptions of numbers of people who were involved. Whereas some interviewees described a few people they knew to be spiritual, others described a Transition community mainly comprised of people who were Quakers or, in another community, who all attended one of three churches. Furthermore, in 5 interviews, including 2 where interviewees indicated that members of spiritual groups were not a majority, there was a description of a common "Gaia-centred spirituality." This implies that spirituality, either individual or organizational, is important to at least some of the Transition towns in the UK.

4.6 Cumulative Findings and Conclusions:

Table 4.2 summarizes the themes which emerged in the interviews. The bolded themes indicate the themes which added the most to the understanding and interpretation of the role of spiritual organizations in sustainability initiatives.

Table 4.2: Sumary of Themes Found in Interviews

Benefits	-Institutional -Normative -Motivational -Leadership -Bonding
Pitfalls	-Division -Off-Putting -Barriers -Fear of Pitfalls unwarranted
Method	-Supportive -All Involved -None
Situational	-Aware of CIT -CIT involved -Individual Quaker involvement -Organizational Quaker involvement -Individuals

The interviews as well as literature such as that put forward by Brownlee (2010) agree that Transition goals would be better served if Transition Towns could appeal to spiritual organizations. There is division about the best way to accomplish this. While 16 of 18 interviewees described benefits to a more formal partnership, 9 of 16 also expressed the fear that there will be negative consequences. There is some fear that these factors will cause the aforementioned pitfalls of "division" and "off-putting." However the prominence and manner in which individuals discussed the benefit of Normative value illustrates there is agreement that appealing to the ethics of a more community-oriented lifestyle would be aided if organizations which have traditionally been concerned with ethical conduct were to be carrying on the message of Transition, that communities must develop local resilience and infrastructure in order to reduce impact of climate change and peak-oil. Tied into this was the emergent of leadership as an independent theme. This theme is important because it illustrated that many individuals with spiritual backgrounds became better leaders to others. This again emphasized the importance of spirituality in the development of non-economically based reasons for pursuing sustainability.

The "Inner Transition," formerly called "Heart and Soul," is a working group that deals with concepts of spirituality as well as more concrete science-based ideas surrounding eco-psychology and peoples' psychological (rather than spiritual) relationship to the environment, community and consumption. The degree to which "Inner Transition" groups, where they exist, are spiritually or psychologically-oriented is dependent on the members who join. Interviewees expressed some fear that in groups where no "Inner Transition" group exists, people may not have a venue to express more "spiritual approaches" and as a result might not develop the normative rationale for change that was described as by interviewees as being an important creating the ideological shift requires to alter behaviour patterns.

The emergent of the theme that fear of pitfalls was unwarranted reflects the idea that, despite the fear that the presence of spiritual organizations alone would be a source of conflict, this conflict is not occurring. When interviewees referred to possible pitfalls they usually included that they did not expect religious organizations to promote their interests above Transition, or, if they did, it would not be successful. Pitfalls tended to revolve around fears of polarization and the fear of polarization or the

fear of extremism rather than an actual tension within the group. A reason for this can be seen by the emergent themes of Organizations are not causing these pitfalls because they are taking part ion Transition in a "supportive" manner in which organizations take part in Transition either by organizationally in a manner which does not promote their own ideology or proselytize and/or which, as Cohen (2010) suggests in her research, "brings transition into themselves." Interviewees described the valuable contribution made by spiritual organizations which promoted the messages and values of environmental sustainability and community resilience within their own forums. Thus, despite the historic suspicion that exists in literature and in both religious and environmental communities, religious organizations are involving themselves in ways that either spread the message of Transition in a secular way through existing mediums or spreads it according to their own religious doctrines to their own members only. In this way, their actions are displaying what is recommended in the literature as a way for them to interact (Cohen 2010, Habermas 2006).

An example of how effective this has been can be seen through the theme of Quakers, both as individuals and as an organization. Quakerism, due to its history of adopting spiritual and ethical values of traditional Christianity, while leaving behind much of the ceremony and dogma found in other parts of the institution of the Christian Church, does not incite the fears associated with many other spiritual groups. As such it has been able to promote Transition and use its facilities to host Transition events without speculation or accusation of having "hidden agendas."
Thus, based on the themes it can be seen that spiritual organizations, which are expected to be beneficial to Transition Towns without causing pitfalls would have the following characteristics:

-Be non-proselytizing, as this would cause the pitfalls of alienation and be divisive;

- Be socially and theologically inclusive, so as not to divide or alienate;

-Emphasize social justice and/or environmental justice, so as to be providing the spiritual capital and therein normative rational for pursuing sustainability and resilience; and

-Be perceived by the community as having the afore-mentioned characteristics.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Reconceptualization

5.1: Conclusions

The primary finding of this data indicates that spiritual organizations have been contributing to Transition Towns and that the organizations best suited to do so are ones which contribute to social capital within the community and spiritual capital of individuals. Organizations, which have been able to do this effectively, have the following characteristics:

- Be non-proselytizing, as this would cause the pitfalls of alienation and be divisive;
- Be socially and theologically inclusive, so as not to divide or alienate;
- Emphasize social justice and/or environmental justice, so as to be providing the spiritual capital which is useful for sustainability and resilience; and
- Be perceived by the community as having the aforementioned characteristics.

These characters are indicative of the key finding that spiritual capital is useful in promoting normative values such as social justice and "care-of the earth." These characteristics are also indicative of the finding that people with high spiritual capital can motivate and be leaders to others with regards to changing behaviour based on normative rationale. Because environmental and social justice are such important parts of both sustainability (Gibson 2005) and community resilience (Norris et al. 2007), the promotion of normative values actually allows spiritual capital to contribute to people's pursuit of sustainability and resilience.

Social capital is an important part an important part of both resilience and sustainability (Norris et al. 2007, Walker & Salt 2006, Gibson 2005). However unlike spiritual capital in which the primary benefit is to the individual and individual pursuit of sustainability objective, social capital specifically benefits a community dynamics and therein community resilience (Norris et al 2007). Furthermore social capital is recognized by the literature as a contributor to community resilience whereas the spiritual capital remains relatively unexplored (Beard 2009). The proceeding section builds upon the work of Walker and Salt (2006), Gibson (2005) and Norris et al. (2007) to create a new list of components which build a communities adaptive capacity and therein community resilience.

5.2: Reconceptualising Community Sustainability and Resilience

The following table was created based on the components of community resilience put forward by Norris et al. (2007) and which incorporates Walker and Salt (2006) concepts of ecological resilience, the complementary component of sustainability put forward by (Gibson 2005) and the findings of this paper. It should be noted that the component Norris et al. (2007) listed as "Economic Development" has been removed in favour of "Resource and Ecological Integrity." While this section incorporates the sub-components of "resource volume and diversity" and "resource equity" put forward by Norris et al. (2007) it goes further by including non-resource biological diversity and ecological integrity. The component "Community Competence" has been change to "Community Competence and Governance" to better reflect the need for both competence and redundancy in and between governmental structures and community. It should also be noted that two additional components of social justice and spiritual capital have been added. Finally it should be noted that the components listed are those, which contribute to both community resilience and sustainability. While these sustainability and resilience are separate concepts, in the context of a community, adaptive capacity can be seen as contributing to both.

Table 5.1: Components of a Resilient and Sustainable Community

	Sub-components
Resource and Ecological Integrity	-Resource volume and diversity (Norris et al. 2007) -Resource equity (Norris et al. 2007) -Resource maintenance and efficiency (Gibson 2005) -Socio-Ecological integrity (Gibson 2005) -Ecosystem services (Walker & Salt 2006) -Diversity (Walker & Salt 2006)
Social Justice	-Equality of opportunity -Equality of treatment -Inter-generational equity (Gibson 2005) -Intra-generational equity (Gibson 2005) - Livelihood sufficiency and opportunity (Gibson 2005)
Spiritual Capital	-Normative rational for: - Social justice

	-Community responsibility -Care of earth or stewardship approach to environment -Intrinsic value, divinity and/or sacredness of nature (Shiva 1995) -Value of non-zero sum goods time with family, experiencing nature etc. (Milbrath 1993)
Social Capital (Norris et al. 2007)	-Received and perceived social support (Norris et al. 2007) -Social embeddedness (Norris et al. 2007) -Organizational links and cooperation (Norris et al. 2007, Smidt 2003), or bridging capital (Smidt 2003) -Citizen participation and leadership (Norris et al. 2007) -Sense of Community (Norris et al. 2007) -Attachment to Place (Norris et al. 2007)
Community Competence and Governance	-Community action (Norris et al. 2007) -Critical reflection and problem solving skills (Norris et al 2007) -Flexibility and creativity (Norris et al 2007); Innovation (Walker & Salt 2006) -Collective efficiency and empowerment (Norris et al 2007) -Political partnerships (Norris et al 2007) - Overlap in Governance (Gibson 2005) - Socio-ecological civility and democratic governance (Gibson 2005)
Information and Communication (Norris et al. 2007)	-Narratives (Norris et al. 2007) -Responsible media (Norris et al. 2007) -Skills and infrastructure (Norris et al. 2007) -Trusted sources of information (Norris et al. 2007) -Tight feed-back loops (Walker & Salt 2006)

By contributing to the development of spiritual capital, the pursuit of social justice and social capital spiritual organizations can benefit add to the adaptive capacity of a community and as such increase a communities ability to be resilient and sustain itself. This is illustrated both through the analysis of literature as well as in the case study of Transition Towns.

Transition Towns emerge out of a recognized need for sustainability and community resilience in the face of the threats posed by climate change and peak oil (Hopkins, 2008). Many interviewees pointed out that being a part of Transition is not the goal of Transition, but rather the goal is to create community changes, awareness and individual behaviours which are more sustainable and resilient. Therefore, the real question many interviewees attempted to answer was do spiritual organizations make the community more resilient? The answer to this question, as portrayed through the described benefits is that spirituality or spiritual capital contributes greatly to community resilience (Beard 2009).

> For me, actually that's probably the most powerful aspect and the important aspect of any transition movement. Forget about the peak oil, climate change and all the rest of it, and the biodiversity declining. It really is about re-weaving community, because that's where the real resilience lies. And certainly for me and for all of us, I'd have to say, involved in it, there is a quazi, well very deep ethical sense that this…it is not only, you know, we need to recreate a community instrumentally because the only way were actually going to have any sense of resilience. We can get through this on our own, just with our own families. There is an instrumental need for community. But beyond that, every person I've come across in the transition movement in Britain and Ireland, it really is a movement back towards the intrinsic value of what community represents (Interview 6).

While the words "spiritual capital" were not mentioned, all interviewees acknowledged the need to move beyond pragmatics. For the purpose of this research, the component themes of normative values, motivation, spiritual leadership/influence and bonding are all considered part of spiritual capital (Beard 2009, Zohar & Marshall 2004). While spiritual organizations can be a source of these components, and therein a source of social capital that is beneficial for resilience, it is the spirituality itself which is most beneficial.

Thus another question which arises from this; are spiritual organizations an appropriate source of the type of spiritual capital which will promote resilience? What the themes indicate is that they can be. However, spiritual organizations are not the only source of spiritual capital, and not all spiritual organizations produce beneficial spiritual capital, from a community resiliency point of view (Beard 2009, Zohar & Marshall 2004). This research suggests that the type of organization must be one that has the beneficial components without the pitfalls:

- Be non-proselytizing, as this would cause the pitfalls of alienation and be divisive;
- Be socially and theologically inclusive, so as not to divide or alienate;
- Emphasize social justice and/or environmental justice, so as to be providing the spiritual

capital which is useful for sustainability and resilience;

- Be perceived by the community as having the afore mentioned characteristics

If these criteria are met it is possible for spiritual organizations to be an active part of transition. As such, they can contribute as institutions to building social capital (Smidt 2003) that is beneficial for community resiliency (Norris et al. 2007, Walker & Salt 2006). By being a source of spiritual capital to individuals, they can offer the beneficial components of normative values that motivate, influence and bind communities.

Chapter 6: Recommendations, Contributions and Limitations

6.1: Recommendations for Transition Towns

The working group Inner Transition, while a good forum for addressing the psychological, the emotional and components of the spiritual which are not specific to a religion or group, does not provide an adequate platform to encompass the complete diversity of spirituality as a resource beneficial to Transition Towns. Religions are a part of community diversity and diversity is core to resilience (Norris et al. 2007, Walker & Salt 2006). Their involvement is a way of showcasing how important Transition principles are to society by showing how they exist in multiple cultures and traditions, if it is based on open sharing of ideas; this must be clear to Transition members and to the general public (Witte 1995).

One possible way to do this would be through festivals, gatherings or conferences in which spiritual organizations are welcome to participate by illustrating how Transition goals of sustainability, resilience and environmental and community health are embodied in their spiritual practices and beliefs. In this manner the spiritual organizations would exist in a supportive way that relies on, as Cohen (2010) recommends, having groups adopt Transition ideals into their own practices, but also emphasizes the role of Transition organizers and members in providing a forum for the expression of spiritual components.

Identifying groups with similar values and objectives should be a priority for the Transition movement. It may not be feasible for some groups to become official affiliates or member organizations. However, identification of like or sympathetic organizations could greatly improve interconnectedness and therein foster a more widespread behavioural pattern shift (Ball 2004). Identification of spiritual groups, and creating a forum for them to openly and inclusively share their beliefs, could also aid in fostering empowerment amongst members of minority spiritual groups and therein make them more able to confidently participate in community-based initiatives including but not exclusive to Transition initiatives (Gilchirst 2009).

Better networking with spiritual organizations could also be used to initiate the Transition movement

into smaller rural communities in the UK as well as in areas such as the Southern United States where spiritual organizations, such as Christian Churches, continue to be an important source of influence within the community (Marty 1991). As Brownlee (2010) postulates, appealing to peoples' emotions and ethics and moving people on a deeper, non-pragmatic level may be the best way to pursue Transition in many communities in the United States. Spiritual organizations could utilize their existing infrastructure to spread goals of environmental and community sustainability and resilience in a manner which echoes the spread of other social movements through churches in the United States (Yarnold 1991). This could result in either an expansion of the Transition movement, the emergence of other movements, or the adoption of more sustainable practices by community members, all of which achieve the aims of sustainability and resilience that is at the core of Transition.

Thus, it is recommended that Transition Towns and other sustainability initiatives create forums and venues for spiritual organizations to participate. The venues must lend themselves to the expression of ideas but not in the promotion of agendas. The onus must also be on spiritual organizations that accept the science and principles, on which Transition and other sustainability initiatives are based, to participate in manner that is supportive; as Habermas (2006) concluded the cognitive process must be mutual. Furthermore, it must be made clear that the Transition movement embraces social justice. All involvement by spiritual organizations, regardless of possible religious disagreement with aspects of social liberties, must respect diversity within Transition. Spiritual organizations and members with spiritual beliefs should be made welcome to express how the environment, sustainability and/or community are part of their spiritual beliefs, but not, within Transition forums and events, in the expression of beliefs regarding social liberties or the promotion of their ideas above others. Based on successes of spiritual organizations in previous social movements and those that are currently involved in Transition in the UK, this appears to be an achievable goal.

6.2: Future Research

This research gave evidence that people within the Transition movement believed an emphasis on the intrinsic value of nature and the valuing of inter-human relationships was crucial to shifting people's patterns of behaviour. A larger scale survey which focuses on people's perceptions of the environment and community, as well as perceived roles and responsibilities to both environment and community,

should be conducted in Transition communities and communities attempting to adopt Transition practices and other sustainability and resilience-oriented community initiatives. This information could be used to formulate working groups or collaboration with existing spiritual organizations that could best accommodate the diversity of "spiritual" or normative approaches to community outreach and involvement. It would also be useful in determining which people may have very strong environmental and community values that coincide with the aims of Transition. Identifying these people could lead to a better understanding of barriers which may exist among minority groups which discourage them from joining sustainability initiatives and community-based initiatives.

Other studies could also focus on the motives current Transition members had for joining the Transition movement. This could take the form of a questionnaire in which members are asked to identify how they became aware of Transition and why they decided to join. This data could be used both in identifying existing promotional strategies which are effective as well as identifying methods of appealing to people which are not currently being effectively utilized. This data could also be used to determine whether Transition is being adopted by people who were previously unaware or inactive with respect to the impacts of climate change and peak oil. Evidence given in this study and Cohen's (2011) study indicated a strong correlation between people who had been involved in sustainability and/or environmental initiatives in the past and current activism; the "ex-hippies." In contrast, Seyfang's *Report of the 2009 Membership Survey, Transition Norwich* found that there were people who had not been previously active in environmental, social or political movements joining Transition. These people were described as generally being younger and in a lower-income bracket than those who had been involved in other movements. Additional information could be used in addition to existing data to better understand the dynamics of the existing membership, and recommendations could be made on how to expand this to become more inclusive; "to reach more people."

It is also recommended that future investigation examine the history and current social perception of Quakerism in the UK and internationally. Currently, the Religious Society of Friends gives evidence of being able to promote and to host Transition initiatives without attracting suspicion of their motives. To what extent this situation may be unique to Quakerism in the UK should be determined. Examining other spiritual organizations with a strong and well-known commitment to social justice, such as Mennonites within Canada and the United States, may also prove useful. Mennonites successfully

initiated the Fair Trade movement through the development of the first Fair Trade retail store, Ten-Thousand Villages, which went on to produce many more secular and spiritual organization-supported Fair Trade retailers (Lyon 2006). As a retail store Ten Thousand Villages have been actively involved in supporting suppliers in the global south without apparent promotion of other agendas or suspicion as to their involvement (www.tenthousandvillages.ca/). Data garnered within this study indicated that the recognition of these organizations as promoters of social justice and normative positives could be useful in promoting sustainable initiatives providing that the involvement of these organizations is not viewed as "suspicious."

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this thesis contributes to theoretical understandings of spiritual capital and its relationship to community resilience. Spiritual capital remains a relatively unexplored area in social capital research (Beard 2009) and is also virtually unexplored in regards to sustainability and resilience. This thesis has separated spiritual capital as separate from social capital and as an important component of community resilience. It is recommended that future research focus on how spiritual capital contributes to community health, vibrancy and resilience. A possible case study could address evolution of Transition in the United States. Transition has been referred to as a "global social experiment" (Hopkins 2008). Another area of study could focus on traditional and evolving sources of spiritual capital and on where and how increasingly secularized (in terms of religion) societies such as the UK (Bruce 2007) can build spiritual capital.

6.3: Limitations

The greatest limitation of this research is that it is based on a series of concepts including: sustainability, resilience, spirituality, social capital and spiritual capital that lack universal definitions and measurements. Furthermore this research was based on the interpretation, both of terms and of situations by a relatively small number of individuals in one case study context. Finally a lack of literature which properly connects the complimentary concepts of resilience and sustainability makes analysis of existing literature reliant on drawing sustainability criteria form resilience theory and resiliency criteria fro sustainability theory. A symptom of this is the emphasis on resilience rather than strictly sustainability in the analysis and implications of the findings of this study.

Therefore this research offers suggestions and recommendations based on exploration of a relatively sparse literature and one case study. What this research contributes is an examination of existing literature on sustainability, spirituality, spiritual organizations, social capital and spiritual capital as well as a practical case study of spiritual organizations in Transition Towns in the UK to analyse and explain the connection and potential of spiritual organizations for sustainability initiatives. Based on the findings that suggest an important role for spiritual capital as a form of social capital, discussion recommendations focus on how spiritual capital can be pursued in Transition Towns and other sustainability initiatives.

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Appendix A: Definitions and Concepts

Community Resilience:

A process linking a network of adaptive capacities (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity. (Norris et al. pp. 127)

Peak Oil:

Refers to the concept that there is a point of maximum/optimum oil production, after which point oil will be increasingly less available as it becomes scarcer and more costly to extract. This concept carries with it the implications that there will be a crisis as a result of the decline in availability and increase in cost if societies oil reliance does not also decline (Hopkins 2008).

Resiliency:

The ability of a system to absorb and adapt to change without collapse (Walker & Salt 2006)

Social Justice

Equity of opportunity and of treatment regardless of race, religion, spirituality, age, sex, gender, sexual orientation or place of birth (Fraser 1999, Himmelman 1996).

Spirituality :

Spirituality which comes from the Latin, *Spiritus,* meaning "breath of life," is a way of being and experiencing that comes about through awareness of a transcendent dimension and that is characterized by certain identifiable values inn regard to self, others, nature, life and whatever one considers to be the Ultimate. (Elkin et al. 1988, pp 10).

Spiritual organization:

Spiritual organization refers to an organization which exists to unite people with the same or similar spiritualities and/or which exists to connect people of different spiritualities.

Sustainability:

For the purpose of this research sustainability refers to the ultimate goal of systems which are environmentally, socially and economically compatible and enduring (Walker & Salt 2006, Gibson

2005).

Sustainability Initiative:

An initiative which claims to be based on sustainability and creating more sustainable communities (ecological or human). For the purposes of this research a project or initiative was considered "sustainable" if it fulfilled Gibson's (2005) Essentials for the concept of sustainability and criteria for sustainability (see section 1.1 or section 2.2).

Transition Towns:

A Transition Initiative is a community-led response to the pressures of climate change, fossil fuel depletion and increasingly, economic contraction (www.transitiontowns.org/).

Transition Initiatives are based on four key assumptions:

1) That life with dramatically lower energy consumption is inevitable, and that it's better to plan for it than to be taken by surprise

2) That our settlements and communities presently lack the resilience to enable them to weather the severe energy shocks that will accompany "Peak Oil".

3) That we have to act collectively, and we have to act now.

4) That by unleashing the collective genius of those around us to creatively and proactively design our energy descent, we can build ways of living that are more connected, more enriching. and that recognize the biological limits of our planet.

(Hopkins 2008 & O'Rourke 2008)

The goal of Transition Towns (TT) is to Find an answer to question: "for all those aspects of life that this community needs in order to sustain itself and thrive, how do we significantly rebuild resilience (to mitigate the effects of Peak Oil and economic contraction) and drastically reduce carbon emissions (to mitigate the effects of Climate Change)?" (www.transitiontowns.org/)

Appendix B: Interview Questions

The following questions were asked to members of Transition Towns in the UK:

1)How did you first become involved with Transition Towns?
-Prompt: What motivated you?

2) What is your role in Transition Towns?
-Prompt: Has that role changed since you first joined?

3) Are you aware of any spiritual organizations involved in Transition Towns?

4) Are you aware of Churches in Transition?

5) Are there any other groups you consider "spiritual" involved in Transition Towns?
-Prompt: Are there any specific projects related to Transition Towns which religious and/or spiritual groups became involved?

6) What benefits or pitfalls have you experienced with the involvement of religious groups in the Transition Towns movement?

7) Is there anything that I should read related to the content of this interview?

8) Who else should I talk to?

The following questions were asked to members of Churches in Transition:

1)How and why did Churches in Transition get established?
-Prompt: What were the motivating factors?

2) What is the role of Churches in Transition in Transition Towns?
-Prompt: What type of initiatives does Churches in Transition tend to participate?

3) How have you been received by Transition Towns?

4) What benefits and pitfalls have you experienced involving religious groups in the Transition Towns movement?

5) Is there anything that I should read related to the content of this interview?

6) Who else should I talk to?

Additional prompts and follow-up questions were asked based on individual interviewees responses.

Appendix C: Interviewees Follow Up Sheet

The following sheet was emailed to participants along with the transcribed copies of their interviews.

Follow Up Sheet:

** All questions are optional and you can answer them in any manner (one word, paragraph etc.) you feel comfortable with**

Basic Information:

Age:

Gender/Sex:

If you feel comfortable, how would you define your religious or spiritual orientation (i.e.: Buddhist, Pagan, Gia Hypothesis). Please be as specific or detailed as you wish:

What Transition Town/City/Community are you apart of?

The following are just some follow up questions regarding your interview, they exist only if you wish to elaborate on your answers.

What were your motivations for joining the transition movement?

Are there any groups you consider "spiritual" involved (formally or informally) in your Transition Community?

How do you feel about religious and spiritual organizations becoming involved in the transition movement?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix D: Holmgren's 12 Design Principles

Taken from David Holmgren's Permaculture: Principles and Pathways Beyond Sustainability (2003, pp. 7-8)

Observe and interact - By taking the time to engage with nature, we can design solutions that suit our particular situation.

Catch and store energy - By developing systems that collect resources when they are abundant, we can use them in times of need.

Obtain a yield - Ensure that you are getting truly useful rewards as part of the work that you are doing.

Apply self-regulation and accept feedback - We need to discourage inappropriate activity to ensure that systems can continue to function well.

Use and value renewable resources and services - Make the best use of nature's abundance to reduce our consumptive behaviour and dependence on non-renewable resources.

Produce no waste - By valuing and making use of all the resources that are available to us, nothing goes to waste.

Design from patterns to details - By stepping back, we can observe patterns in nature and society. These can form the backbone of our designs, with the details filled in as we go.

Integrate rather than segregate - By putting the right things in the right place, relationships develop between those things, and they work together to support each other.

Use small and slow solutions - Small and slow systems are easier to maintain than big ones, making better use of local resources and producing more sustainable outcomes.

Use and value diversity - Diversity reduces vulnerability to a variety of threats and takes advantage of the unique nature of the environment in which it resides.

Use edges and value the marginal - The interface between things is where the most interesting events take place. These are often the most valuable, diverse and productive elements in the system.

Creatively use and respond to change - We can have a positive impact on inevitable change by carefully observing, and then intervening at the right time.

Appendix E: The Aalborg Charter

Notion and Principle of Sustainability

The idea of sustainable development is to achieve social justice, and sustainable economies, without overburdening nature and destroying natural capital. Our standard of living, and way of life should therefore reflect this.

Local Strategies towards Sustainability

Sustainability will not be achieved by an *ad hoc* approach. It requires the incorporation of sustainability principles into all the policies and practices which affect the operation of a city or town.

Sustainability as a Creative, Local, Balance-seeking Process

The wide-ranging activities of a city constitute its overall ecosystem. The activities inter-relate and create an organic whole.

Resolving Problems by Negotiating Outwards

The town or city should attempt to find environmentally sustainable solutions within its own boundary. However, if the town or city is unable to resolve problems or imbalances itself, it works together with other municipalities, or the wider region or nation to develop sustainable solutions.

Urban Economy Towards Sustainability

A clean and healthy environment is a pre-requisite for investment and for the future economic development of a city or town. If the natural capital or a city/town is reduced or destroyed, economic sustainability will not be guaranteed. How is the natural capital maintained or preserved in the light of new forms of economic development?

Social Equity for Urban Sustainability

The basic social needs of citizens, such as access to water, food, housing, healthcare, education and employment are essential if sustainable forms of society are to be maintained in towns and cities.

Sustainable Land-use Patterns

Land-use planning provides a mechanism to ensure that new developments are designed with sustainable concepts at their core. At the same time, the land-use planning system considers the relationship between the city, the rural hinterland, regional and national planning.

Sustainable Urban Mobility Patterns

The need for less congested and polluted cities is a key objective for a more sustainable city. A less congested city is a more efficient and cleaner place and also ensures a healthier living environment.

Responsibility for the Global Climate

Climate change is a serious concern for the future of the planet, and its causes are varied.

The local level has a key role to play in ensuring that adverse climate change is decelerated and ultimately reversed.

Prevention of Ecosystems Toxification

Prevention of the pollution of ecosystems and human health toxification.

Local Self-governance as a Pre-condition

The sustainable development of cities and towns is largely the responsibility of the individual city or town, therefore the necessary powers and opportunities are needed at the local level if appropriate decisions for a sustainable future are to be made.

Citizens as Key Actors and the Involvement of the Community

A consensus on the future sustainable development of the town or city requires that all sectors work together and recognize their individual responsibilities in delivering their local objectives for sustainable development. This also requires education, training and access to information for all sectors.

Instruments and Tools for Urban Management Towards Sustainability

In developing strategies and actions for sustainable development it is also necessary to be able to assess their success/failure and to measure whether sustainable development is being incorporated within the overall urban management of the city or town.

Appendix F: Details on Home Transition Initiatives of Interviewees

Table.F.1: Communities to which Interviewees Belonged

Town	Classified as: (Office of National Statistics)	County/City/District (Office of National Statistics)	Official Status in Transition (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)	Number of Members (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)	Interest Groups
Totnes	market town[29]	Devon	Official (1st)	3300	-Arts -Food -Building and Housing -Health and Wellbeing -Business and Livelihoods -Heart and Soul -Education -Transport -Energy -TTT Services (TTT website)[30]
Ashburton	Town	Teignbridge	Official member (9th)	Data not available	Data not available
Holywood	Town	County Down (Northern Ireland)	Official (46th)	4[31]	Data not available
Tring	market town	Hertfordshire	Official (51st)	100	-Education -Energy -Transport (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
Crediton[32]	Town (rural)	Mid Devon	Official as (52nd)	400	-Women's Environmental Network

[29] A legal term referring to the right to host markets as a way of distinguishing it from a village or city. The term originated in the medieval period but is still used

[30] http://www.transitiontowntotnes.org/groups

[31] These numbers of people registered on http://transitiontownsireland.ning.com/profiles/members/ there are 714 in Northern Ireland

[32] Called Transition initiative referred to as Sustainable Crediton

					-Economics -Education and Public Awareness -Energy -Food and Farming -National Interest -Transport -Tree Planting -Waste Action (Sustainable Crediton website)[33]
Taunton	county town[34]	Taunton Deane	Official (86th) member)	500	-Arts & Crafts, -Business & -Economics, -Energy, -Food, -Housing, -Inner Transition, -Local -Government, -Transport (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
City of Lancaster	City	N/A	Official (121st)	350[35]	-Deep Ecology, -Energy Building and Design for Life, -Food and Growing -Heart and Soul -Real Wealth and Livelihoods -Skills for Community Building, -Transition Arts --Transition Education, -Travel and Transport, -TLC Networking -Steering Group[36]

[33] http://www.sustainablecrediton.org.uk/
[34] Capital of a county.
[35] Optainaed from http://www.transitioncitylancaster.org/ due to lack of information on
[36] Most groups have a "steering group or committee" usually they are not listed as a group along with the others because

					(TLC website)[37]
Kirkbymoorside[38]	market town	North Yorkshire	Official (132nd)	Data not available	Data not available
Evesham	market town (rural)	Worcestershire	Official (216th)	50	-Energy -Food -Inner Transition -Local Government -Transport (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
Richmond	market town	North Yorkshire	Official (261st)	80	-Arts & Crafts -Business & -Economics -Education -Energy -Food -Health -Inner Transition -Housing -Local Government -Transport (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)
Cleeve	village	Somerset	Official (341st)	80	-Energy, -Food, -Recycling, -Reskilling, -Transport, (www.transitiontowns.org/, 03/03/10)

they are formed of the representatives from the other groups as well as others who may be responsible for development of the transition town as a whole

[37] http://www.transitioncitylancaster.org/groups.html

[38] TT initiative called Kirkbymoorside Environment Group

APPENDIX G: Detailed Findings

Table G.1: Detailed Findings of Themes Found in Interviews

	Benefits							Pitfalls				Method			Situation				
	Institutional	Normative	Motivational	Leadership/Influenced by:			Bonding	Division	Off-Putting	Barriers	Pitfalls unwarranted	Supportive	All involved	None involved	Aware of CIT	CIT involved	Individual Quakers	Org. Quaker Involvement	As Individuals
				Macy	MacIntosh	Other													
1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0[39]	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
4 a	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
4 b	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
5	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
6	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
8	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
9	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
10	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
12	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
13	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
14	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
16	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
17	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
/#people /**#int'ws**	6/18 6/17	15/18 14/17	10/18 9/17	5/18 5/17	3/18 3/17	16/18 15/17	9/18 8/17	11/18 11/17	9/18 8/17	5/18 5/17	4/18 4/17	7/18 8/17	3/18 3/17	1/18 1/17	7/18 7/17	2/18 2/17	15/18 14/17	13/18 12/17	16/18 16/17

[39] Specifically said: "I see no barriers", but also said that members of many churches were apathetic