

7. Transversal Reasoning on Change of Identity

Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to continue transversal reasoning (TR) with a conversation between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity, and between Sacks and Ariely on the governance of change of identity. The reason for TR is to explore its relevance for a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change. The relevance of the conversation between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity is that it highlights the need for time, expressed as a journey of two stages. The first stage of the journey is based on who we are, the identity underlying the actions that caused climate change. The second stage of the journey orients us to a new and liberating identity, a new 'we'. It is about who humans and non-humans want to be with one another. Hope does not accentuate the outcome of a response to climate change, but the process towards the outcome. TR shows that other-regarding motivation, an essential ingredient for a social response, can be crowded out by monetary incentives. TR also shows that there is not yet an institution that can stimulate wise combinations of self-interest and other-regarding motivation in order to develop prudent policies. TR between Sacks and Ariely highlights a public Sabbath, a 'workplace of hope', as a possible key public institution to coordinate a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change for all involved, not just religious people. A workplace of hope can also deepen existing meetings and summits by providing rituals to embrace radical uncertainty in the context of climate change.

Keywords: Transversal reasoning, Jonathan Sacks, Samuel Bowles, Dan Ariely, change of identity, crowding out, public Sabbath

7.1 Introduction

This chapter continues TR with a conversation on change of identity, one of the critical assumptions of Sacks' understanding of hope. In TR Sacks'

concept of change of identity will be brought into conversation with the concept of social preference 2, derived from the work of the economist Samuel Bowles. This is followed by TR on the governance of change of identity in a conversation between Sacks and Dan Ariely. We start by presenting the concept of social preference 2 constructed out of the work of Bowles.

7.2 Bowles on social preference 2

In this section I focus on the concept of social preference 2, constructed out of Bowles' book *The Moral Economy*. Social preference 2 refers to the central role of the social context in the shaping of people's preferences. Social preference 2 is distinguished from social preference 1, a concern, positive or negative, for others (section 6.2). Bowles argues that people do not act in a vacuum. The social context plays a central role in people's preferences and therefore their actions. He considers preferences the "reasons for behaviour". For Bowles, preferences include a heterogeneous melange of "tastes (food likes and dislikes, for example), habits, emotions (such as shame or anger) and other visceral reactions (such as fear), the manner in which individuals construe situations (or, more narrowly, the way they frame a decision), commitments (like promises), socially enforced norms, psychological propensities (for aggression, extroversion, and the like), and one's affective relationships with others" (Bowles, 2004, p. 99).

Bowles (2016, p. 85) distinguishes two ways in which the social context influences what people prefer.

(1) *situation-dependent preferences*. Situation dependence arises because people's actions are motivated by a heterogeneous repertoire of preferences, for example spiteful, payoff-maximizing or generous. Which preference is primed depends on the incentive, a reversible signal about the principal (for example an employer) or the situation that affects the costs and benefits associated with an action. A new situation, for example the withdrawal of an incentive, changes which preference motivates a person's behaviour.

(2) *endogenous preferences*. These are processes that "typically include the effects of interactions over long periods with large numbers of others, such as the processes that occur in schooling, religious instruction, and other forms of socialization not readily captured in experiments" (Bowles, 2016, p. 117).

Social preference 2 is of importance in decision-making, because it creates an extra governance mechanism, for example for marketing, and can also serve to internalize externalities like climate change.

Although people's preferences can change (social preference 2), Bowles argues that the driving force to include the well-being of others in one's preferences (social preference 1), can be crowded out by monetary incentives (rewards and penalties).¹ The aim of Bowles' book *The Moral Economy* is to contribute to a synergy between self-interest and other-regarding motives in order to develop prudent policies. Bowles calls such a synergy a crowding-in effect. The reason that Bowles pays attention to crowding in is because there are a growing number of experiments showing that monetary incentives can crowd out ethical and other-regarding motives. In Bowles' book a central example of such a crowding-out experiment is a field study in 10 day-care centres in the city of Haifa (Israel), taken from Gneezy and Rustichini's article 'A Fine is a Price' (2000). At six centres a fine was imposed on parents who were late picking up their children at the end of the day. Instead of picking up their children earlier, the parents responded to the fine by doubling the fraction of time they arrived late. The fine had become a price. After 12 weeks the fine was revoked, but the parents' enhanced tardiness persisted.

Generally speaking, Bowles argues that the kinds of incentives and constraints that people face in a liberal democratic and market-based society sometimes lead to a kind of crowding in of positive other-regarding motives rather than the crowding out more commonly seen in experiments. (Bowles, 2016, p. 150) According to him, these societies favour the evolution of trust among strangers. In finding more ways to stimulate a crowding-in effect, Bowles goes back two millennia. He gives us a glimpse of the civic culture of ancient Greece in order to find the rudiments of a paradigm that provides a synergy between self-interest and other-regarding motives. The Athenian citizens' assembly in 325 BCE designed a mechanism to set up a colony and naval station in the Adriatic. This project required thousands of people and 29 ships. Neither the people nor the ships were at the moment under public orders. All people and ships had to be recruited from private ownership. The assembly encouraged civic action by appealing to both material interest and moral motivation. They accomplished the project by framing the material interest and moral motivation so that the two work synergistically rather than at cross-purposes in order to set up the required colony and naval station.

Bowles explains why things might have turned out differently in the day-care centres in Haifa, if they had followed the example of the ancient Athenian assembly. He imagines Athenians travelling to Haifa in a time machine and being asked to help design the day care centres' policy for

1 It might be possible that other-regarding behaviour can also crowd out self-interest. However, this relation is not investigated by Bowles in his *The Moral Economy* (2016).

dealing with late parents. The Athenians then would have proposed thanking parents for arriving on time to pick up their children, because this reduces the anxiety that the children sometimes feel and allows the staff to leave in a timely manner to be with their own families. All parents with a perfect record unblemished by lateness for the next three months would be awarded with 500 Israeli shekel (NIS), given at the annual parents and staff holiday party, with an option to contribute their award to the school's Teacher of the Year celebration. However, this might not be all that the Athenians would propose, in Bowles' view. Parents who arrive more than ten minutes late, would pay a fine of NIS 1,000, with the payment of the fine also taking place publicly at the holiday party. The payment would also support the Teacher of the Year celebration. The message of the Athenians would have ended with the recognition that it is, of course, sometimes impossible, for reasons beyond parents' control, to arrive on time. If this occurs, the parents may explain the circumstances before a committee of parents and staff. If the lateness was unavoidable or if the fine would cause extreme hardship, the lateness will be publicly reported but no fine will be imposed. Bowles wonders if this Athenian version of the experiment would have reversed the crowding out that occurred in the absence of moral framing. (Bowles, 2016, p. 190)

On questions of feasible public policy and the governance of organizations Bowles argues for including something like a "wise combination of positive incentives and punishments with moral lessons, such as the mix of motivations appealed to by the decree of the Athenian assembly" (Bowles, 2016, p. 221). The need for such combinations is clear, for Bowles, because issues like climate change, asymmetric information, personal security and governing the knowledge-based economy cannot be adequately covered by contracts, based on self-interest, that do not contain everything that matters to parties in the exchange. (Bowles, 2016, p. 222) However, he states that an approach favouring wise combinations of self-interest and other-regarding motives, such as appealed to by the Athenian assembly, does not yet exist. He wonders whether such an approach adequate for addressing contemporary issues like climate change can be developed. "But we have little choice but to try. The Legislator's mandate is a place to start" (Bowles, 2016, p. 223). By the Legislator's mandate, Bowles is referring to the Athenian assembly.

7.3 TR between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity

This section develops TR between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity. In 7.3.1 the question is whether and how Sacks' ideas on change of identity

interact with the concept of social preference 2 derived from Bowles. In section 7.3.2 we investigate the relevance of this conversation for a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change.

7.3.1 On change of identity

Our question here is whether and how Bowles' concept of social preference 2 interacts with Sacks' concept of change of identity.

Bowles argues that the social context plays a central role in what people value and therefore how people act. I have called this social preference 2. This social preference 2 coincides with Sacks' line of thought, although Sacks uses a different term to characterize the embeddedness of human action. Sacks uses the term 'identity'. Identity is about who people are. For Sacks, this identity has individual and collective origins. On the one hand, identity is shaped by the decisions and actions of an individual. On the other hand, identity is shaped by the social context of the individual. Sacks' interpretation of the Exodus highlights two types of identity, expressed in the Hebrew words (1) *am*, and (2) *edah*. In the first case, people are defined by an identity based on a shared past, for example the slavery in Egypt. It is about the question: Who are you, individually and collectively? In the second case the identity is defined by a liberating vision. The question is here: Who do you want to be as an individual and collective?

Bowles does not use the term identity.² However, he does address the social formation of preferences. He considers the formation of preferences in two ways, situation-dependent preferences and endogenous preferences. The first refers to a reversible signal or situation that affects the costs and benefits associated with an action. The second is a long process of formation, for example as occurs in schooling. Sacks' concept of identity is most closely related to Bowles' endogenous preferences. According to Sacks, if there is an overarching theme in the Hebrew Bible, including the Exodus, it is that if people want to remain free, they themselves have to change the identities by which they live. In Sacks' view, identities can only change when people take small steps in a long process of individual

2 What is more, until recently identity, who people are, was largely missed by economics. However, in 1995 thinking about identity began with a letter of Rachel Kranton to future Nobel Prize-winner George Akerlof in which she objected to his recent paper. She wrote that Akerlof had ignored identity and that this concept was also critically missing from economics more generally. It was the beginning of a long collaboration on Identity Economics. "The incorporation of identity and norms then yields a theory of decision making where social context matters" (Akerlof and Kranton 2010, p. 6).

and societal transformation. (Sacks, 2005, p. 77) This is closely related to what Bowles calls 'endogenous preferences', which he considers a form of socialization over long periods with large numbers of others. However, Bowles does not connect socialization with a notion of liberation, as Sacks does.

In section 6.3.1 we have seen that positive other-regarding motives (social preference 1) are required to open up one's identity in order to include (the interests of) others. However, Bowles has shown with the Haifa experiment that monetary incentives (rewards and penalties), based on self-interest, can crowd out other-regarding motives. Therefore, Bowles advocates for an approach that can stimulate wise combinations of self-interest and other-regarding motives in order to develop prudent policies. Sacks and Bowles converge on the need for such an approach. In the search for such an approach, they also both turn to a classic at the roots of Western society for inspiration. At the same time, they diverge on the tradition of the classic. Bowles turns to the tradition of ancient Greece (Aristotle), in particular to the Athenian assembly two millennia ago.³ Sacks turns to the Jewish tradition (Moses) of Torah, in particular to the Exodus, with the Sabbath as a key institution in the transformation process.

To conclude, in the interaction Sacks and Bowles converge on the embeddedness of human action. The focus of Bowles is on the embeddedness in the social context, while Sacks' focus is on the embeddedness in individual and collective identity. Sacks highlights a liberating transformation of identity, closely related to Bowles' endogenous preferences. People are not defined by their past identity. Bowles shows that positive other-regarding motivation can be crowded out by monetary incentives. Bowles and Sacks converge in arguing for an approach that can stimulate wise combinations of self-interest and other-regarding motives in order to develop prudent policies. They both turn to a classic at the roots of Western society for inspiration. However, they diverge on the tradition of the classic.

7.3.2 On climate change

What relevance does the conversation between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity have for a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change?

3 An increasing number of economists are turning to the tradition of ancient Greece to deepen and extend conventional economic assumptions. See for example Nootboom (2002), McCloskey (2006) and Klammer (2007).

The interaction between Sacks and Bowles' analysis highlights that radical uncertainty in the context of climate change cannot be embraced without a change of individual and collective identity underlying individual and collective actions in society and the economy. In other words, the interaction points to a transformative response to climate change. In Sacks' view this transformative response consists of two stages. The first stage is based on an identity underlying the actions that caused climate change. The focus of a response is here directly on the shared problem of climate change, for example CO₂ reduction⁴ or limiting global temperature increase well below 2 degrees Celsius (Paris Agreement). However, if people limit themselves to this stage, they do not fully claim the potential of a transformative response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change. Sacks' second stage orients us to an identity which is no longer based on a shared past, who people are, but on who people want to be. The second stage points to a new and common 'we' that includes the ones yet excluded, here among others the climate, people in areas affected by climate change, climate-refugees, young people and yellow vests. In other words, in the radically uncertain future something new and better is waiting to be fulfilled. TR makes it clear that for a transformation to be durable, people have to change the images they live by, by themselves. This takes time. TR orients us to the crucial role of education in forming new identities. Special attention should be given to educating the next generation in building new relationships with oneself and the other.

In economics, David Colander and Roland Kupers have proposed that the social cost-benefit analysis (SCBA) should be extended with a theory about endogenous norms or tastes. For them, climate policy should focus on the question of how tastes evolve, change and can be influenced, so that people can develop a more climate-friendly taste. (2014, p. 191) Bowles considers taste a preference. Therefore, the approach of Colander and Kupers seems to be closely related to what Bowles has called 'situation-dependent preferences'. Nevertheless, TR goes one step further and argues that SCBA should not only be extended with a theory about preferences. Sacks' notion of identity and Bowles' notion of 'endogenous preferences' advocate extending SCBA to deeper levels and related questions of meaning, like who are we as individuals and collective, and who do we want to become in relation to ourselves and one another?

4 In this study CO₂ is used as shorthand for greenhouse gases (GHGs) that include carbon dioxide (CO₂), nitrous oxide (N₂O), and halocarbons (a group of gases including chlorofluorocarbon (CFC)).

The conversation with Bowles shows also that ethical and other-regarding motivation can be crowded out by monetary incentives. Bowles refers explicitly to the case of climate-change policy when discussing crowding out. The possibility of crowding out other-regarding motivation in the context of climate change shows that essential motivations for dealing with radical uncertainty in the context of climate change can be discouraged. According to Bowles there is not yet an approach that stimulates crowding-in effects when it comes to climate policy. Bowles acknowledges that he does not know whether such an approach can be developed. In the search for an approach that stimulates a crowding-in effect, Bowles turns to the tradition of ancient Greece (Aristotle), in particular to the Athenian assembly. Sacks draws inspiration from the Torah, in particular the Exodus, with a public Sabbath as a key institution in the transformation process.

To conclude, the relevance of TR between Sacks and Bowles on change of identity is that it orients us to a transformative response to climate change. In such a response radical uncertainty in the context of climate change cannot be embraced without a change of identity. Such a response consists of two stages. In the first stage the response is based on an identity underlying the actions that caused climate change. It is based on who we are. The second stage is based on who we want to be. The interaction argues for extending the SCBA to questions of meaning. However, other-regarding motivation, required to change the identities, can be crowded out. Therefore, the interaction highlights the question whether an approach can be developed that stimulates crowding-in effects.

In the remaining sections, the focus of TR is on investigating the Sabbath as an approach that seeks a wise combination of self-interest and other-regarding motives. The reason for continuing with the Sabbath instead of Bowles' suggestion of the Athenian assembly is because this TR is based on Sacks' understanding of hope. This brings us to an interaction between Sacks and Ariely.

7.4 The economist Dan Ariely on Sabbath

In this section I focus on the concept of the Sabbath derived from Dan Ariely's book *The (Honest) Truth about Dishonesty: How We Lie to Everyone – Especially Ourselves* (2012). In 2011 Tomas Sedlacek still argued in his bestseller *Economics of Good and Evil* (2011) that the Sabbath has disappeared from today's economic theory (2011, p. 89). However, in 2012 Ariely pleaded for a return of the Sabbath as a coordination mechanism

in economics. Before continuing TR, the economic contribution of Ariely will be explored.

The aftermath of the fall of Enron, an American energy company, in 2001 aroused Ariely's interest in dishonesty as a component of the human nature, and resulted in his book *The (Honest) Truth About Dishonesty* (2012). In this book, Ariely argues that one way to think about dishonesty is to suppose that everyone involved in the fall of Enron was deeply corrupt. However, he started to think that there might have been a different type of dishonesty at work, a wishful blindness that causes one to fail to see the signs of dishonesty all along. "I started wondering if the problem of dishonesty goes deeper than just a few bad apples and if this kind of wishful blindness takes place in other companies as well" (Ariely, 2012, p. 2). The many scandals of companies after 2001 have clearly answered that question, but in his book Ariely goes further. He investigates whether everyone could behave dishonestly at work and at home. Ariely presents various experiments on dishonesty. However, in the last chapter he asks what we should do about dishonesty. He refers to the financial crisis of 2007-09, and states that with this crisis:

The temple of rationality has been shaken, and with our improved understanding of irrationality we should be able to rethink and reinvent new kinds of structures that will ultimately help us avoid such crisis in the future. If we don't do this, it will have been a wasted crisis. (Ariely, 2012, p. 247)

Ariely considers human follies part of the human condition. In his view, this demands an extension of conventional economic assumption and related cost-benefit analysis (Ariely, 2012, p. 4). Ariely concludes his book with formulating that the next task is to figure out more effective and practical ways to combat dishonesty. It is here that he turns to the Sabbath.

Ariely points rightly to the fact that there are already many mechanisms or rituals that support the governance of the human condition, ranging from the Catholic confession (Christianity) to Prayaschitta (Hinduism), and from Ramadan (Islam) to the Sabbath (Judaism). He states that religious traditions provide rituals that can help people and society to counteract potentially destructive tendencies, including the tendency to be dishonest. Ariely has started carrying out some basic experiments, for example to determine whether memory and awareness of the Bible and Ten Commandments might have an effect on how people behave. The result suggests that people's willingness to cheat could be diminished by reminders like the Bible and the Ten Commandments. Although using the Bible and the Ten

Commandments as honesty-building mechanisms seems to be effective, Ariely and his team decided to think of more general, practical and secular ways to reduce cheating, namely the code of honour that many universities use. One of the reasons for this shift was that for him the introduction of religious documents into society as a means to reduce cheating would violate the separation of church and state. (Ariely, 2012, p. 41)

7.5 TR between Sacks and Ariely on governance of change of identity

This section develops the TR between Sacks and Ariely on the governance of change of identity. In 7.5.1 the question is whether and how Sacks' institution of the Sabbath interacts with Ariely's institution of the Sabbath. In section 7.5.2 we will explore the relevance this conversation has for a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change.

7.5.1 On governance

Sacks and Ariely converge in a view of the human condition that leads them to make space in their analyses for human imperfection (Sacks) or human follies (Ariely). At the same time, Sacks and Ariely diverge in their focus on the component of human nature. In his book Ariely focuses on dishonesty, but in a broader sense his book is about rationality and irrationality. Dishonesty is not explicitly a theme in Sacks' work. In chapter 4 we have seen that radical uncertainty is a theme for Sacks. At the same time Sacks would recognize many sides of human nature.

Sacks and Ariely also converge in the view that creatively developing ancient religious traditions, for Sacks in particular Judaism, can enrich and deepen contemporary times and questions. As a consequence, religious traditions are for them not simply prescribed ways of doing what earlier generations did. The opposite is true, I would say. In Sacks' view (section 4.5), each generation must add their interpretations to the texts of Torah in order to keep it a relevant and incisive guidance for the good life in every time and context. Sacks and Ariely converge in particular on the role of the Sabbath in governing elements of human nature in general, not just religious people. Because of their focus on different components of human nature, they highlight different dimensions of the Sabbath. For Ariely with his focus on dishonesty, the Sabbath is particularly important because of its dimension of resetting, in the sense of (1) moral reminder, (2) overcoming the 'what

the hell' effect, and (3) turning a new page. For Sacks, there are several, never exhausted, dimensions of Sabbath. Let me recall four dimensions (section 4.8.3). First, Sabbath is seen as a *Utopia Now*, presenting a way of life that people may barely glimpse in the present. Second, Sabbath is a *neutral space* that values the dignity of difference. Third, Sabbath practices and, by doing so, protects and strengthens relations of *chessed*. Fourth, Sabbath is an *embodied truth* expressed for example in music, eating together and art.

Let me recall TR between Sacks and Bowles in which we discussed the search for an institution that stimulates the crowding-in effect of self-interest and other-regarding motivation (section 7.3.1). One dimension of the Sabbath given by Sacks is promising when it comes to this search, namely the Sabbath as tutorial of *chessed*. *Chessed* is the driving force that expressly aims to include the well-being of the other as well as one's own self-interests. By doing so, it seeks to stimulate a crowding-in effect.

Now for what may be a difficult diverging line between Sacks and Ariely. Sacks' understanding of hope presents the Sabbath as a key public institution in changing the individual and collective identities of all involved, religious and non-religious people. By doing so, he goes beyond a simple dualism of secular and religious. Ariely, however, proposes to reinvent Sabbath in a nonreligious way. What does Ariely mean by that? He does not answer this question regarding the Sabbath. If it is the same argument he uses in the context of the Bible and the Ten Commandments as honesty-building mechanisms, then it is because of (1) practical reasons and (2) reasons of a separation between church and state. If so, then Ariely seems to argue that religious coordination mechanisms do not belong in society at large (including business and politics), because they are not secular. Here Ariely walks into the trap of too simple a dualism between the secular and the religious. A separation between church and state is not about evicting religion from society *per se*. Ariely seems to confuse a desirable religious (or better said, denominational) neutrality of the state with something like a secular state. A separation between church and state means a legally guaranteed space for religious freedom (including secular beliefs) and plurality.

In my view, the Sabbath cannot be stripped in a secular way without losing much of its strength. Maybe it is possible when it comes to (dis) honesty, but certainly not when it comes to radical uncertainty. It is, for example, impossible to leave out the horizon of hope that gives meaning to the whole. This is not to say that the Sabbath should remain a religious institution only. Because the Sabbath addresses categorical dimensions of human nature, it is necessary to untie it from an in-group connotation, meant for a certain group of religious people and/or for the private domain.

The real question seems to be how to reinvent the Sabbath in such a way that it keeps its strength and gets a public and inclusive function. In the following, to accentuate the role of the Sabbath as public institution for all involved I replace the term ‘Sabbath’, which can be associated with Judaism, by the term ‘workplace of hope’. One can wonder whether describing the Sabbath as a ‘workplace of hope’ is a *contradictio in terminis*, because the Sabbath literally means ‘to stop’ daily life, including working. However, the Sabbath is not simply a moment to stop daily work and become refreshed, but a moment to stop daily work and to practice a hopeful transformation.

To conclude, Sacks and Ariely converge on the public role of the Sabbath for coordinating human behaviour in general. They differ, however, in their focus on a particular aspect of human behaviour. The focus of Ariely is on dishonesty, Sacks’ focus is on radical uncertainty. As a consequence, they highlight different dimensions of the Sabbath. Sacks and Ariely diverge also on what it means to reinvent the Sabbath as a public institution. In looking for a nonreligious Sabbath, Ariely seem to walk into the trap of too simple a dualism between the secular and the religious. The real question is: How to reinvent the Sabbath in such a way that it keeps its strength and gets a public and inclusive function? In order to accentuate the public role of the Sabbath, not just for religious people, but for all involved, it is here renamed ‘workplace of hope’.

7.5.2 On climate change

What relevance does the conversation between Sacks and Ariely on the governance of change of identity have for a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change?

The relevance of the conversation is that it highlights the Sabbath, here called ‘workplace of hope’, as a regular public institution that governs a transformative response to embrace radical uncertainty in the context of climate change. This workplace goes beyond a simple dualism between secular and religious, as it is a ritual to stimulate a change of identity by all involved. In section 6.5.2 we have seen that Frank Biermann stresses the need for more imagination and courage in order to improve the architecture of the governance of the earth system, including climate change. Biermann’s own work is on strengthening (top-down) intergovernmental decision-making. However, TR focuses our attention on improving the governance from bottom-up by designing a workplace of hope with the following four dimensions:

(1) A workplace of hope, Utopia Now, is a regular moment during a transformative response to climate change that celebrates the new 'we' that people are aiming at in the present. In this celebrating moment people are reminded that they are no longer defined by climate change, but by the new reality that they are aiming at.

(2) A workplace of hope is a neutral space in the public domain, which orients people to something larger than their present identity. The Sabbath values the dignity of difference among the participants, because it is only the experience of sharing a common world with others who look at it from different perspectives that can make people aware of their own identity and open them up to the possibility of developing a new and common identity. Therefore different or even conflicting identities are valued. Hulme argues for such a place by stating that:

... while science as a social enterprise might aspire to reconcile competing facts through recursive inquiry, experimentation and validation, conflicting stories about climate change cannot be reconciled so easily. Different narratives gain their potency by being rooted in specific beliefs, values, moral commitments, myths and imaginaries that themselves emerge from different social, cultural and political movements, from different ways of seeing and being in the world. These stories need listening to, interrogating, deliberating and debating using the various forms of democracy and social interaction that exist within different social formations. (Hulme, 2019)

The workplace of hope can be seen as a form of democracy and social interaction, as Hulme describes in the quotation above. The workplace is not primarily a dispute about who is right, but provides a disciplined act of communicating (making views intelligible to others who do not share them), and listening (entering the world of another, role reversal). Gradually, the ones involved might learn how reality looks from the perspective of the other and how to include all interests involved.

(3) A workplace of hope stimulates relations of *chessed* that seek to include the well-being of the other, especially those yet excluded, as well as one's own self-interests. Climate change initiatives are never immune to setbacks like a disappointing summit in Copenhagen or the United States withdrawing from the Paris Agreement: there is much scope for despair, opportunistic behaviour, feelings of fear, futility or scepticism. A workplace of hope recognizes all of this, but does not surrender to it and stimulates taking small steps forward together.

(4) A workplace of hope is embodied truth that stimulates the development of meaningful relations between subjects, not only via reflection and practical steps forward, but also via the power of music, poetry, prayer, art and imagination. As such it can also become a site of resistance. Its mode of meaning-making is not confined to reflection and practical steps forward: the Sabbath can also draw upon the power of music, poetry, prayer and art. For instance, the playing of music possesses the ability to imagine a different reality other than the present one, and by doing so can start to make that reality real. One could take, for example, U2's 'In the Name of Love', originally about developing a new 'we' in the context of racial discrimination, and rewrite it in the context of climate change.

In section 7.3.2 we cited Bowles' explicit reference to climate change policy in connection with his point that positive other-regarding motivation, essential for developing a new 'we', can be crowded out by motivations of self-interest. Therefore a proper response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change demands an approach that stimulates a wise combination of self-interest and other-regarding motives. Bowles wonders whether such an approach adequate for addressing contemporary issues like climate change can be developed. The Sabbath as a workplace of hope on several levels (micro and macro), based on the four dimensions given above, seems to have the potential for an approach designed to seek wise combinations of self-interest and other-regarding motives.

There are already numerous meetings and summits dealing with climate change. A next step can be to deepen meetings and summits with the practice of a workplace of hope in order to make them rituals to embrace radical uncertainty in the context of climate change.

I finish this section with a sketch of the very first attempt at a real-life workplace of hope, using the four dimensions above. The workplace described here is the initiative of the InspirationTable held in the Netherlands prior to the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris (Hasselaar, 2016).

(1) The InspirationTable as *Utopia Now*. The InspirationTable was held in the dunes near the North Sea beach of The Hague. There, with an eye to the rising sea level, work is underway to increase the height of the dikes by using new concepts like "working together with nature".

(2) The InspirationTable as a *neutral space*. The table was organized by churches in the Netherlands. The table was a neutral space in the public domain, facilitating an honest conversation about motives, dilemmas and interests in the context of climate change. The table brought together students and high-profile representatives from business, religion (Judaism,

Islam, Christianity), politics, NGOs, science and media. Among those representatives were the Dutch Climate Envoy and senior representatives of Rabobank, KPN, CNG Net⁵, Royal Dutch Shell, Tata Steel, Dunea, Hivos, TEAR and Natuur & Milieu. Everybody was invited on their own and equal terms. The diversity among the participants was considered a resource to create value, rather than a source of clash.

(3) Building relations of *chessed*. The InspirationTable was a small-scale event that aimed to create an atmosphere of trust and interaction. The Table started with an 'iconoclastic fury' to stimulate face-to-face encounters instead of getting mired down in (enemy) images peoples have of each other.

(4) InspirationTable as *embodied truth*. The InspirationTable brought in the power of music and the sharing of food.

The interaction between Sacks and Ariely on the governance of change of identity orients us to designing a workplace of hope to strengthen the governance of climate change in the face of radical uncertainty. I close this chapter by referring to two recent initiatives of governments in dealing with climate change which seem to be closely related to the developed workplaces of hope.

(1) In 2018 the Dutch government initiated five so-called 'climate tables', involving approximately 100 stakeholders, to try to reach a climate agreement. These tables are important sector platforms for discussions and negotiations and cover five sectors: Electricity, Built Environment, Industry, Agriculture & Land Use, and Mobility.⁶ The central goal of the agreement is to reach a broad consensus on ways to reduce CO₂ emissions cost-efficiently. Thereafter the agreement will be implemented. How do these 'climate tables' relate to the workplaces of hope? Here I mention two similarities. First, the two seem to be rather similar, because in both cases the parties meet one another around a table. Second, both accentuate a more bottom-up approach with the participation of stakeholders instead of a top-down initiative by the government only. There are also at least two differences. First, the climate tables are not part of an ongoing process in which they regularly play a key role as the workplaces of hope do. The tables serve only as a forum to develop proposals that can be selected by the government and then be implemented. Second, the focus of the climate tables is not on a change of identity to develop a new 'we', but primarily

5 Since 2016 CNG Net is part of the company PitPoint clean fuels.

6 See the Climate Agreement: <https://www.klimaataakkoord.nl/documenten/publicaties/2019/06/28/national-climate-agreement-the-netherlands>

on reducing CO₂ cost-efficiently. In a sense, one can say that the tables are part of multi-stakeholder SCBA, more oriented to implementing objective knowledge than to developing intersubjective knowledge in a process.

(2) In launching the French national debate in 2019, President Macron declared:

You will be able to participate in debates near where you live or air your views on the Internet and put forward your proposals and ideas. In metropolitan France, overseas France or abroad as a French person living there. In villages, towns, districts, at the initiative of mayors, [other] elected officials, leaders of voluntary organizations, and ordinary citizens. In parliamentary, regional and departmental assemblies. (2019)

Macron and his government have selected four themes for this debate, which are seen as covering many of the nation's major challenges: (1) taxation and public spending, (2) the organization of the state and public services, (3) the ecological transition, and (4) democracy and citizenship. The outcome of this debate will "... allow us to build a new contract for the nation, to give structure to the action of the government and Parliament, and also France's positions at European and international levels" (Macron, 2019). How does this debate relate to the workplaces of hope? Here I mention two similarities. First, both highlight a bottom-up approach with the participation of all those involved, instead of a top-down initiative by the government only. Second, both conversations take as their point of departure the issue of identity, i.e. they aim at developing a new 'we'. There are also at least two differences. First, the national debate is not part of an ongoing process in which it regularly plays a key role as the workplaces of hope do. Second, in the national debate there still seems to be a central role for the government, which can be found, for example, in the expression "allow us to build a new contract *for* [emphasis added] the nation". In the workplaces of hope there is a central role for the people. This might be better expressed in "to build *with* the nation a new contract".

The relevance of TR on the governance of change of identity is thus that it orients us to the potential of the Sabbath as a workplace of hope in a transformative response to climate change. This workplace can deepen existing meetings and summits in order to make them rituals to embrace radical uncertainty in the context of climate change. One example of a real-life initiative has been given and the workplace of hope is set alongside two recent and related initiatives taken by governments.

7.6 Conclusion

In this final part of TR I have developed a conversation on change of identity between Sacks and the economists Bowles and Ariely in order to create a fuller understanding of a social response to radical uncertainty in the context of climate change.

TR between Sacks and Bowles shows that radical uncertainty in the context of climate change cannot be embraced without a transformation of individual and collective identity (Sacks) or preferences (Bowles) underlying individual and collective actions. The conversation also highlights the need to allow time for a response to climate change. The reason for this is that for a transformation to be durable, people have to change their identity or preferences by themselves. TR also shows that social preference 1, essential for the transformation, can be crowded out by self-regarding motives. TR makes it clear that there is not yet an approach that stimulates crowding-in effects when it comes to climate policy. In the search for an approach that stimulates a crowding-in effect, TR turns to a conversation between Sacks and Ariely on the governance of change of identity. The relevance of this part of TR is that it points to the potential of a public Sabbath as a workplace of hope, a key institution in a transformative response to climate change. A real-life sketch of a workplace of hope is given.

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