

# The Logics of Change



The Logics of Change:  
Poverty, Place, Identity,  
and Social Transformation Mechanisms

Edited by

Elisabeth Kapferer, Andreas Koch  
and Clemens Sedmak

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**SCHOLARS**  

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

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Poverty, Place, Identity, and Social Transformation Mechanisms,  
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## PREFACE

This volume is a result of a two-day conference in November, 2011 dedicated to bringing together researchers and practitioners from different scientific disciplines in order to discuss approaches of poverty research, social inclusion strategies, and local knowledge applications. The background is given by a project entitled *Keep the Ball Rolling.*, which is carried out as a bottom-up approach, called a social festival, to empower the people of an Austrian region by encouraging them to submit basic proposals dealing with the strengthening of social embeddedness and participation as well as the tightening of a local/regional identity.

Regions have been and will be selected because of a geographical periphery and a difficult composition of different interrelated changes like demographic changes, and/or economic changes or changes in infrastructural facilities. So far, we applied network analyses coupled with qualitative questionnaires. The festival organisers together with local stakeholders and private Austrian foundations organised public award events for successfully reviewed proposals or workshops. The conference topics should (and actually have) shed some light on appropriate theories, methodologies, and concrete applications of social and spatial change concepts referred to poverty, place, and identity and all this at different temporal, social, and spatial scales. The conference was hosted by the *international research centre for social and ethical questions (ifz/Salzburg, Austria)* and the *Centre for Ethics and Poverty Research (CEPR/University of Salzburg, Austria)*. The readership ranges from social and political scientists to philosophers, geographers, and statisticians.

Salzburg, April 2012  
Elisabeth Kapferer, Andreas Koch, Clemens Sedmak



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[www.uni-salzburg.at/zea](http://www.uni-salzburg.at/zea)

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Salzburg, April 2012

Elisabeth Kapferer, Andreas Koch, Clemens Sedmak



## **CHAPTER ONE**

# **THE FRAME OF “LOGICS OF CHANGE”**

THE LOGICS OF CHANGE:  
A RELATIONAL AND SCALE-SENSITIVE  
VIEW ON POVERTY, PLACE, IDENTITY,  
AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

ANDREAS KOCH

**A Shift of Perspectives: From Structure to Function,  
from Objective to Relation, From State to Process**

Poverty, place, and identity—like justice, equity or region—do not have a monistic reference. However, they associate, indicate, and refer to a plethora of meanings, imaginations, and thoughts. Irrespective of their semiotic meanings it is the theoretical, empirical, and normative embeddedness which makes a significant difference and has to be taken into account. Accordingly, a historical or temporal reference, a subjective or interpretative perspective, and a social or discursive frame are explicitly necessary.

A network of referential contexts further points out that simple complementarities are not sufficient to meet the complexity of these phenomena. Poverty-Richness, Place-Space, and Identity-Otherness are falling short; more suitable is a focus on the betweenness of these dichotomies which allows for a differentiated and thus concrete view, keeping the other side of the difference as, *ceteris paribus*, conditionally and temporarily constant. Such a procedure leaves margins: theoretically to recognise contingencies, empirically to recognise idiosyncrasies, and normatively to recognise constructivism. At the same time it becomes clear that reduction is inevitable when observing specific objectives and phenomena. The circularity of the network of referential contexts, however, provide for transparency without claiming holism.

Referring poverty, place, and identity to themselves, its diverse relations among each other and to other more or less inherent concepts (e.g., measurement, application, and epistemology) is a challenging endeavour which is one central aim of this book. The starting point is difference. If we are thinking about poverty, place, and identity we

inevitably draw a distinction of different kinds of poverty, place, and identity. These distinctions do exist simultaneously and equivalently. Only in specific social situations and concrete discussions a distinct interpretation or action will be applied. Poverty does not exist in itself. First a contextualisation to different manifestations and normative assessments, their temporal and spatial specifications as well their subjective identification give rise to a pattern which renders a recognisable and agreeable set of meanings of what might be understood as poverty and what should be problematized, evaluated, and criticised accordingly. Places, too, do develop in relation and differentiation to other places, being perceived and populated more than others due to the relational process of referencing. Also identities cannot be thought of without explicitly incorporating the dialectics of self-reference and alter-ego-reference, without identification-of, identification-with, and being-identified (GRAUMANN 1983; WEICHHART 1990).

Such an approach requires a different understanding of the grand notions of society, individual, and space. First and foremost, they should be used in plural. The same is true for associated notions and concepts. What follows is, according to NASSEHI (2007: 34), a “consistent description of inconsistent society”. Even if we are talking about “society” we have a multi-referential, multi-temporal, and multi-spatial imagination in mind. A “society of presences” (ibid: 35) is the result. With this a shift of perspectives is realised which does not neglect the original dimensions but extends it complementary. Three levels of perspective shift are implied and they can be applied to all three facts relevant in this publication—society, space, individual—and the specifications we are mainly interested in here—poverty, place, and identity (again, NASSEHI 2007: 35 is helpful in this respect).

First, it is a transition from substance to relation. Society is not as much a phenomenon which embodies itself through nation or people but more through interrelated and mated entities diversified by multiple scales. Since we distinguish between spatial, temporal, and functional scales, society is not emerging as one fixed entity. From local to global, from face-to-face to virtual, from ad-hoc founded to multi-generational communities, we have to encounter a huge variety of social units (HEROD 2011). The imagination of betweenness is revealed properly with this overlay of variable units. A relational perspective of the social abstracts from the single substantial unit and puts the interrelations to the foreground. Such a focus is especially helpful when regional or community scales are taken into consideration, as the contributions of Brockhoff for the Morgenland festival and of Kapferer for the social

festival *Keep the Ball Rolling*. illustrate convincingly. The topological complexity approach signifies mutuality, diversity, and variability of social relations much better than other approaches (see KÜHN and KOCH 2011). Nevertheless, the substantial reference to society remains crucial, in a descriptive as well as critical way, as Good points out in her contribution about the Amish and Mennonites and their methods of using resilience.

Society, understood as a multi-scaled topological fabric of relations, abstracts also from a state-based objective in that it defines itself primarily as an event-based, self-reproducing relationship of communications. Herewith, we consider the second dimension of the perspective shift, moving from aggregate-related to process-driven facts. A society of presences emerges, alters, and maintains spatio-temporal as a multiplicity. Collective belongings, power relations, or recognition are less explainable by class structures compared to inclusion and exclusion mechanisms which become apparent in interactions. Disaggregating to small(er) units again includes variable scaling but moreover, it implies changing frames of reference whereby reference represents societal reality and societal relationships. Contemporary public dialogues about climate change, social inequalities, demographic change, or political-religious radicalisation are not governed by a single social diagnosis of reality. The situation is definite. Different are attitudes toward the situation. Alternatively, societal relationships less and less often survive compared to their original persistence. Occupation, wedlock or membership are increasingly fragmented and exhibit, sometimes manifold, faults. Attitudes towards and imaginations of poverty, identity, and Lebenswelt in general are obviously influenced by these fragmentations.

The third perspective shift has thus already been indicated; it is a shift from structures to functions. We increasingly observe a subordination of all living and thinking spheres under the dominance of an economic efficiency, utility, and optimisation calculus. This observation actually refers to the functional character of societies. From manageable neighborhood relations to different memberships (from more formal memberships in associations to less formal in schools and churches) and further to differentiated systems of economy, science, or politics: the functional rather than the social-structural differentiations highlight the manifold and sometimes hidden positions and roles we hold and we are forced to occupy. Functions, relations, and processes are less obviously coupled to hierarchy; it is harder to embed power structurally and to stabilise social asymmetries. Notwithstanding the comments above, equivalent functions, relational scopes, and socially scaled events do not necessarily guarantee that welfare, quality of life, and pursuit of happiness

would be more evenly and equitably distributed nor that capabilities would be equally available.

These problems are neither properly solved by now, nor are there adequate instruments, a true political intent, and a commonly shared awareness with which to cope. Latent risks and vulnerabilities do still exist and correlate strongly with social background, ethnic origin, or gender difference. Although scopes of acting have increased and have become more contingent, want of appreciation and commitment as well as non-committal attitudes have simultaneously increased (or shall we say, because they increased?!). Although (because) networking has reached global dimensions and more or less ubiquitous access, efforts to reduce social inequality and injustice remain fragmented and mainly rooted in local activities. Although (because) knowledge and experience about these problems are comprehensively given, most effects of the proposed solutions remain weak. Although (because) our *Lebenswelt* can be fashioned in multi-temporal openness and multi-spatial flexibility, many actions and decisions remain in a short-term thinking letting “sustainability” wither as a catchword.

## **The Spatial Dimension: Space and Place**

The threefold shift of perspectives which renders a “society of presences” visible can be applied to the spatial view, too. Whereas the betweenness of the individual entity and the whole of a society is taken into consideration at the social dimensions, it is the relationship between an abstract space and the concrete manifestation of place at the spatial dimension. The shifts to relational, functional, and temporal phenomena of space have been and are being discussed in geography, and more recently in sociology, for many years (HUBBARD and KITCHIN 2010). The intention is similar to sociological critics against traditional concepts of and anachronistic ideas about social distinctions. Spaces as processes (e.g. FLIEDNER 2001), as functional systems (e.g. STICHWEH 1998, KOCH 2004), or as relational networks (e.g. LATOUR 1993, LAW 2000, LÖW 2001) have been extensively discussed. SACK (1997), for instance, with his “Homo Geographicus” developed a relational approach in order to tightly link “place” and “self”. Moreover, he contextualised “place” and “self” to *forces* like nature but also to meaning and social relations and to *perspectives* which can be scientific, moral or aesthetic. Whereas space and nature are imagined synonymously, place only can be understood adequately when all three forces are being involved interdependently.

Thus, abstract space both is and has been equipped with functional means. Meaning and social relations, however, as social facts do contribute to the constitution of a concrete place as temporarily manifested space. Spatial functions and relations, in turn, contribute to the constitution of collective social settings. Hereby, poverty and identity are tied to spatial-locational-properties and meanings, respectively.

This shift in thinking space has been put into practice by sociologists like Löw (2001, 2008). She applies “space as a relational order and collocation of bodies and social goods” (Löw 2001: 131 and 159f; translation A.K.). The coincidence of order and collocation refers to the process character of space, whereby (concrete) spaces emerge, temporarily exist, metamorphose, and eventually could vanish. “Spacing” and “synthesis” (ibid. 158ff) describe this complementary interrelation of structure and process. At the same time it becomes obvious that and how bodies or common objects do refer to one another. Places are being populated and used at specific times, for specific purposes, and by specific people. In so doing, social functions as subjective meanings will be assigned to places; this assignment is possible because functions and meanings have been developed outside the spatial logic.

Places do have their own temporalities and functions which will be used differently by different people and collectives and which will commonly be perceived as a sense-creating frame. Based on this approach we suggest a theoretical concept of different types of systems which are relationally coupled, i.e., place and self as well as place and society are tied together. Change has to be considered on each system level.

### **The Individual Dimension: Identity and Society**

When we are reasoning about and applying ideas and concepts of society and space we have to account for scaling in order to recognise how strongly any ascription of categories like “entity” or “the whole” depends on a specific context, perspective, and scale (see, e.g., BAUMGÄRTNER 2009). Contemporary societies are not completely restricted to socially fixed boundaries like nation or social class. The creation of definite entities is crucially referred to functions (what are entities for?), relations (what interactive and interdependent relationships do exist?), and processes (what kind of dynamic and temporality does indwell?). With his consideration of an alleged modern praxis of distinction, LATOUR (1993) impressively pointed out that this is an erroneous assumption. In fact, modern societies, too, are characterised by a praxis of superimposing facts, for example, belief and knowledge or social and technical relations. The



“actant” as a hybrid being is the prototype of modernity, too. What has been shifted and extended are just the constituents of the amalgam, to technologies, technical devices, and glocal, flexible forms of organisation.

Therefore, it is appropriate to apply the perspective shift (to relation, function, and process) to the individual as well and to take hybrid and fluid complexities of it into consideration. KAUFMANN (2005: 49) puts it in a nutshell (translation A.K.):

“The individual is a process” as Norbert Elias stated again and again, an open, dynamic process where the social and the individual are tightly interconnected. “Individual” and “society” may be nothing more than simplifications of our language and imagination in order to easily distinguish categories which in fact are much closer intertwined and blurred. [...] The individual is not an (more or less) autonomous ontology which is (more or less) subordinated to different social frames. These social frames are no external facts. The individual itself is the social material, part of the contemporary society which will be re-generated daily by the context to which it belongs. [...] Freedom of action is not inversely proportional to the weight of determination.

In other words, the individual represents an assemblage of entities and wholes in a functionally and temporally variable way. Identity is one such hybrid being which sets against definite and one-sided ascriptions. The nature of identity clearly points out that human being is no isolated unit. Body and mind are permanently in contact with different natural and social environments. The subjective “I” continuously interacts with the inter-subjective “Me” which communicates with other “Mes” and thereby both changes itself and remains existing as a relational unit. “I” and “Me” then collapse into the “Self” and, due to this, resolve and merge repeatedly. This fragmented interplay presents the open question of what scales of internal homogeneity are achieved.

Identity thus is biographical metamorphosis. It is performed on the single individual and will be visible at it. This part of identity is self-organised. Metamorphosis, however, does not apply exactly one single and uniform construction plan for all individuals. Rather, individuals are part of this construction plan and thus part of the social metamorphosis. Identity in this respect is a permanent subjective incorporation of external influences *and* a permanent objective self-efficacy of internal persuasions. Alternatively, identity is a permanent social construction not forged of socially constructed material. The relational view (internal and external), the process view (metamorphosis at different scales), and the functional view (self-efficacy and social/collective embeddedness) assumes a “methodological” logic of functioning, implying a logic of change and a

logic of connectedness. According to KAUFMANN (2005: 113; translation A.K.): “Identity is a process of closing and fixing, struggling with the process of opening and the movement of reflection”.

### **Social Transformation: Modernisation and the Micro-Macro Link**

Relation, function, and process as complementary objectives of substance, structure, and aggregate extend and sharpen the view for a multi-dimensional understanding of change. The contexts of change we are dealing here with (poverty, place, and identity as well as social transformation) are complex in nature, which means that it is not possible to analyse any of the phenomena independently in order to achieve knowledge of the entire societal problem, be it social (in-) justice, (in-)equality, or quality of life in general. A comprehensive approach acquires therefore an explicit consideration of context. Saying this does not mean to claim for a holistic approach because our perception of phenomena and events and their relationships are inevitably perspective, selective, and constructionist. Change is a meta-phenomenon which not only is itself governed by change but also affects specific outcomes of poverty, place, and identity.

Poverty, place, and identity are interdependently linked with social transformation mechanisms. It would be erroneous, however, to interpret social transformation as a macro-phenomenon and the others as micro-phenomena. Both sides are dialectically interwoven or, according to GIDDENS' (1986) theory of structuration, are thought of as a duality (not as a dichotomy). From a systems theoretical perspective it is an operational coupling of interaction systems and functionally differentiated social systems. Along with contextualisation it is scale which has explicitly taken into account. Discourses about poverty, the meanings and significances of places or identities— they all are going to be negotiated in different contexts at different scales. All contributions collected in this volume refer to this from a wide range of perspectives: from measuring poverty and its limitations, ranging from the European Union context to local scales (see the chapters of Aschauer, Eberharter, Lelkes, and Park); from the relevance of place as bounded units to social boundaries of communities (see Good and Oludele); from the construction of symbolically significant places (see Sen et al., Panjabi, and Tapia) to the evaluation of individually identity-generating concepts like happiness and well-being (see Brockhoff, Kapferer, Pittl, and Sedmak); and further to problems of a (mis-)use of

quantitative data as social-political instruments when conceptualising identity (see Meyer).

Contextualisation and scale provide scopes which help to comprehend relationships and to maintain capability for acting. They make the logics of change transparent. We are confident with the idea that time is dealing with succession, space with juxtaposition, and society with togetherness. Yet we are aware of the fact that context and scale complexify and confuse our Lebenswelt and that we have to live with contradictions. Our daily doings require synchronising activities and we are getting in touch with continuous acceleration of tasks and increasing pressure of time. Time means process and simultaneity. HAMPE (2011: 205ff) describes this impressively from an event-theoretical and natural-philosophical perspective. He stresses the double character of time by emphasising the direction and evolution of time on the one hand; on the other hand it is the cyclic issue of rhythm and iteration which represents time as intrinsic modus operandi of being and evanescence.

In the same sense spaces do overlap and horizontal differences superimpose vertical ones. Airports are a well-known example. Waiting for take-off is not the main activity for a long time: people work on a globally networked computer, they go for shopping or for business meetings, they are being cured in specialized hospitals, or they go for praying. Private households, too, are more and more superimposing formerly different functions spatially. Working, living, educating, buying books, or transacting money takes place at any place. What remains are the traditional signifiers, such as sleeping rooms, living rooms, etc. but they have lost their exclusive functions for a long time.

Traditional social togetherness, too, has made way for more complex pattern. Positions, roles, and relations became more diverse and conflict-laden and face-to-face and virtual contacts do have a comparable meaning. Family constellations became increasingly fuzzy, gender ascriptions require negotiations, and flexibility takes a toll on nearly every aspect of life. What follows is that nowadays relationships between members of functional contexts have to be organised and they have to be newly organised in specific temporal and spatial contexts. The so called Living-Apart-Together way of life may serve as an example.

The image that has been painted here from change and its logics shall make visible the fluid character of a society of presences. Increased social complexity through new temporal, spatial, and social processes of interconnectedness leads to new pattern of interaction, communication, evaluation, and socialising. With it, new patterns of bordering emerge, manifesting in (mutual) inclusion and exclusion mechanisms, different

capabilities, belongings, participations, or empowerment strategies (BUDE and WILLISCH 2008). This novel complimentary character can be coined by the notion of b/order and b/ordering (e.g., B/ORDERS IN MOTION 2012). In the spatial sciences it is a well-known methodological challenge, phrased as “modifiable areal unit problem” (OPENSHAW 1984). In the context of a scale-dependency of social facts itself as well as in space ad time, a conceptual extension to “modifiable temporal unit problems” and “modifiable social unit problems” seems to useful (KOCH and CARSON 2012).

Embedded into this comprehensive approach of multi-contexts, multi-dimensions and multi-scales, social transformation mechanisms appear as more general, sustainable, and far-reaching forces which, nevertheless, inherently imply the multi-fragmented pattern of change. VAN DER LOO and VAN REIJEN (1992) described four paradoxes of the era of modernisation (Fig. I-1.) which include all facts mentioned so far. The profound process of modernisation can be characterised as transformations on the structural, cultural, individual, and natural levels.

down-scaling	pluralisation
DIFFERENTIATION	RATIONALISATION
up-scaling	generalisation
autonomy	deconditioning
INDIVIDUALISATION	DOMESTICATION
dependency	conditioning

Fig. I-1. Paradoxes of Modernisation (source: VAN DER LOO and VAN REIJEN 1992: 40)

At the structural level differentiation implies down- and up-scaling (see, e.g., NASSEHI 2003). Structural differentiation is today an all-embracing phenomenon which increasingly is determined by economic forces of efficiency and optimisation. Schools, hospitals, financial services, and political institutions, just to name a few, are equipped with specific organisation structures, leading to functional specialisations. This in turn led and leads to different spatially de-/concentrated and organisationally de-/centralised allocations as we can see, for example, at global cities. At the further end of down- and up-scaling we have to consider, for example, sparsely populated areas which have to struggle with demographic, economic, and cultural problems. Not only has the spatial and social scaling changed but we also maintain both intimate and distant relationships, face-to-face and virtual, without any specific

correlation between distance and emotional nearness. Social networks are, in addition, diverse, dynamic, and in continuous flux. Mostly, we do not share the same set or kind of relations with the same person (VAN DER LOO and VAN REIJEN 1992: 81).

The cultural sphere of activity is characterised by an ongoing rationalisation of our Lebenswelt, oscillating between generalisation and pluralisation. On the one hand we are aware of a plenitude of lifestyles, family constellations, and educational institutions which cultivate their own values and norms and by so doing establish specific mechanisms of access. On the other hand a global homogenisation of taste and preference in sports, fashion, music or literature can be recognised. Distinction, thus, is relative to interpret. Values are criticised but also included uncritically. “Modern values do not require traditional obligations and responsibilities nor do they require *commitment* for a longer period” (VAN DER LOO and VAN REIJEN 1992: 132; translation A.K.; italics in original).

A severe experience of modern social transformation on the personal level is given by individualisation. Being embedded in and confronted with small- and large-scale influences and living in a world of pluralised and generalised values and norms creates the paradox of increased autonomy and dependency. Dependent autonomy or autonomous dependency extends scopes of acting because one can delegate and/or integrate tasks individually based on personal needs. Mutual out- and in-sourcing takes place among and between people and institutions but also increasingly between people and machines. Smart(!) phones and other technical devices adopt increasingly (and increasingly independent from the user) tasks like software updating, personalised calls of needs, or avatar-based web searching. As long as both sides are more or less balanced, i.e., one actually possesses capabilities and true decision power, a positive interpretation of individualisation will likely dominate. If, however, dependencies predominate, then one will hardly gain strength of remaining autonomy potentials, if at all. In addition, it is not principally guaranteed that networks of autonomy and dependency can be transferred between different scopes of action. For example, granting state benefit may preserve dependent autonomy of a household to survive economically. Perpetuated belonging and active membership in cultural, political, and societal networks is by no means safe. More likely is a loss in solidarity and an exclusion from civil society amenities.

The fourth paradox of modern social transformation, domestication of nature, does not only induce greater independence from natural conditions (which is obviously limited, as climate change, natural risks, Fukushima, or an ignoble production of food make us daily aware of) but also

simultaneously a greater dependence on technical and technological achievements. Due to an almost ubiquitous availability of information and communications technologies, a high level of decentralised services (e.g., e-banking, e-government, or e-learning), a growing virtualisation of social relationships (thanks to Web 2.0), and the aforementioned mix of functions at originally mono-functional places (e.g., working at cafés, at airports; recreation at schools; education at the beach), we are also facing a partial disentanglement from concrete places, concrete communities and concrete rhythms. Places tend to get exchangeable and uniform. Shopping malls, airports, or pedestrian zones are well-known forerunners of this development. Under these circumstances communities tend to over-evaluate their instrumental character rather than accounting for the interactive and solidarity-driven functions. Not only virtual communities are affected by these tendencies but also political assemblies, protest movements, or scientific communities (ROSA ET AL. 2010) are affected.

### **Poverty, Place, Identity: Inter-Relational, Inter-Functional, Inter-Temporal**

Change as a fact and as a phenomenon is being associated with a bunch of further phrases: shift, transformation, transition, movement, trajectory, acceleration, deceleration, process, feedback, iteration, recursion, shock, evolution, metamorphosis, and many more. Its logics are strongly referring to context and scale as determinants for the many manifestations and concrete appearances of our Lebenswelt. Besides change as an inevitable meta-phenomenon of coming and going, of creation-transformation-recreation, or as an overlapping of direction and circularity, we encounter time as a force of order and organisation. In this respect, change correlates with space, society, and the individual—again at different scales and with different contexts.

All contributions in this volume refer to poverty, place, and identity as inter-related, functionally, and processually interwoven. Poverty hits a single human being and the same is true for exclusion and violation. Fortune of a person usually affects further persons: family members, friends, relatives. Measuring poverty takes mainly this level into account; an example is the risk of poverty level. This is justified since poverty makes the individual sick and exhausted, her/his scopes of acting decline, and her/his participation is cut down. The European Union approach in its Lisbon strategy from 2000 and subsequent programs tried to capture such a comprehensive poverty concept without having solved the respective

problems herewith (ROOM 2010; FRAZER and MARLIER 2010). The EU definition of poverty is:

People are said to be living in poverty if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they live. Because of their poverty they may experience multiple disadvantages through unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate health care and barriers to lifelong learning, culture, sport and recreation. They are often excluded and marginalised from participating in activities (economic, social and cultural) that are the norm for other people and their access to fundamental rights may be restricted (EUROSTAT 2010: 6).

In combination with the definition of social exclusion, the contextualised and scale-sensitive frame becomes visible. Social exclusion is

a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income and education opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feeling powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives (EUROSTAT 2010: 7).

A person's identity is crucially composed by subjective attitudes, opinions, and incorporated norms. Recognition, courtesy, and appreciation are mirrored in her/his resources which are achieved for most people through gainful employment. The "identification-of" otherness, the "identification-with" it, and the process of "being-identified" by others refer clearly to the personal view. In addition, poverty is being ascribed to a distinctive place: the place where one lives.

All these ascriptions and relations are embedded in other ascriptions and relations. The fact that poverty can be applied to individuals is given by the fact that everyone *is* tied to many different social networks. She/he *is*, because she/he does knit the net explicitly and because she/he will be connected implicitly. None of the three notions assign a universally applicable semantic but instead they correlate and co-vary among each other (auto-correlation) and between one another (cross-correlation). Political programs, the development of indicator sets like Human Development Index (HDI) or EU-SILC or theoretical approaches like "living condition" try to capture the hybrid nature of poverty, place, and identity under conditions of societal change.

An exclusive, mono-causal, uni-directional approach would be thus misleading. KAUFMANN (2008: 40, 52) repeatedly points out that identity is no material objective nor does it exist as a bounded centre. Identity, as mentioned above, is an intersection between the individual, the social, and the spatial, in time and at different scales. Figure I-2. illustrates this formally. Identity and place are interrelated in many different ways. Our memory may be one example that illustrates the complex nature of identity. Memory is simultaneously placed in two different systems, one being the mental cognitive space and the other being the material environment and its visible features, respectively (KAUFMANN 2008: 32).

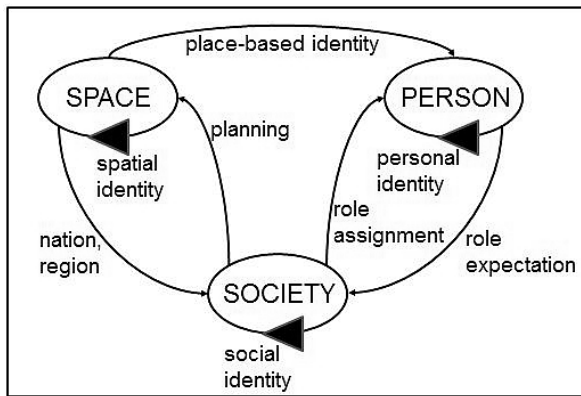


Fig. I-2. Identity between Person, Society, and Space (source: KOCH 2008)

The chances to live a good and happy life and to grasp capabilities are highly dependent on an individual's skills, capacities, and interest. Institutional, political, and cultural frames are at least as important as the individual's properties which are by no means external or material but are being reproduced as emergent action patterns. This framing weighs social background an ethical origin or gender independent from individual skills. Also "spatial origin" influences capabilities. Neighborhood, local communities, and the supply with public goods and services (e.g., health, education, and culture) contribute differently to realising capabilities. These in turn are determined by sufficient demand, which in turn is influenced by demographic processes. Place-based identities culminate into a fuzzy amalgam of multi-layered, multi-scaled, and more or less dynamic spheres of relations.

All people as well as places and regions are involved in social, cultural, political, and economic processes of globalisation and localisation. Up-



and down-scaling perturbs self-efficacy more often, more comprehensively, and more sustainably. Comparative advantages at one place result in respective disadvantages at another place and vice versa. Local disadvantages may be observed at an intraregional level as it is the case for the 2011 social festival region of Lungau (part of the federal state of Salzburg, Austria; see Kapferer in this volume) or at an interregional level which is likely true for Eastern Germany and southern parts of Italy.

Against this background, the preservation or extension of individual autonomy acquires spatial, temporal, and social flexibility. This often implies migration, for example, to achieve higher levels of education. Out-migration may introduce new occupational offers but also new dependencies (fixed-term contracts, changing employers). Flexibility is likely to undermine social ties. Multi-locational forms of working and living such as transnational migrants, tele-commuters, and LAT's are fragmented constellations of partnership and family organisation (KOCH 2008).

### **The Logics of Change: Impacts on Resilience**

Change and its logic are not necessarily linked to faith. All contributors, from different perspectives with different approaches and epistemologies, deal with problems and strategies of how to account for a good life and how to combat poverty. Poverty strongly correlates with illness and it is important to take several indicators into consideration. Among others, a correlation analysis has to integrate objective factors (e.g., dangerous working conditions), personal resources (e.g., income and social ties), infrastructural inclusion (e.g., health insurance), and lifestyle preferences (e.g., dangerous sport activities, alcohol, or cigarette consumption). As a complement, the common background of this volume is based on discussions and thoughts that focus on demographic changes in peripheral and rural regions whereby migration processes imply quantitatively and qualitatively pressure and (sometimes problematic) solutions concerning economic homogenisation (tourism), infrastructural decline, increased ethnic diversity, and decreased social solidarity.

The notion and concept of resilience appears to be suitable to illustrate the multi-scaled and contextualised relationship between poverty, place, and identity. Predominantly, resilience is referred to as the individual domain and refers to the idea of a capacity to cope with unexpected and sudden adversity, stress, or risks. It indicates the capability and capacity to deal with exogenous vulnerabilities and to resist a decline in functioning (see, e.g., REIVICH and SHATTE 2002, UNGAR 2004, WALKER and SALT

2006). The reference to “exogenous vulnerabilities” indicates the necessity to enlarge the scope of discussion. A definition of resilience, however, which focuses solely on the psychic properties remains incomplete. An extended comprehension including psychic, social, and spatial systems put emphasis on self-organisation, i.e., how well do systems internalise exogenous influences (perturbs, persuasions, shocks, creeping processes, etc.) in order to sustain itself through adaptation and change. The idea of both an operationally closed system and simultaneously structurally open system is convincingly applicable. Identity in this paper is being understood as a hybrid phenomenon of closing and temporarily determining and of opening and comparing. Places are also composed of overlapping tensions between spacing and synthesis.

Linking resilience with the community level means transferring its ideas to a higher socio-spatial scale without neglecting the small / local scale. According to MAGIS (2010: 402),

...community resilience is the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. [...] The community resilience dimensions are community resources, development of community resources, engagement of community resources, active agents, collective action, strategic action, equity, and impact.

The scale shift of resilience induces a qualitative transition. Community resilience is the sum of neither resilience potentials of its members nor its environment. Through emergence, structures of resilience are generated at this level which in turn feed back to the local/micro units. This scale-dependent circularity also means that capabilities of crisis management cannot be simply generalised and transferred between scales. Rather, it is a more or less specific coupling of resources and constraints, of capabilities, skills, and resilience mechanisms which leads to more or less specific perceptions, assumptions, and proposals about how to deal with crises, vulnerabilities or risks.

A recursive, multi-scale, and contextualised approach appears to be an appropriate theoretical anchor when thinking about resilience. Respective local and respective global are dynamic – socially, individually, spatially, and temporarily. With respect to the mentioned resilience dimensions it is capacity and ability, local knowledge and community ideology that interdependently lets resilience grow and vary. As MAGIS (2010: 405) points out, “Importantly, however, capacity is necessary, but insufficient, for community resilience. Community resilience is about action taken, not simply capacity to act”. At the same time it is a suitable capacity

equipment which turns action into a likely successful endeavour. For instance, FLORA and FLORA (2004) recently introduced the idea of community capitals as a new kind of resource that specifically captures the nature of communities to adapt to and proactively shape exogenous influences. Moreover, it was “developed as a direct response to the dominant use of the economic paradigm to measure social well-being and is based on the principle of social justice” (MAGIS 2004: 406). In other words, while “...community capacity is the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community” (CHASKIN ET AL. 2001: 7), community resilience inherently directs its attention to the functional, process, and relational dynamics from a system theoretical perspective and, thus, is scaled and contextualised to change.

Discourses about poverty and identity or theoretical reflections on how to deal with them effectively by elaborating concepts of resilient communities which connect small- and large-scale manifestations of social systems in order to achieve sustained strategies towards solidarity, social justice, and well-being, remain incomplete as long as the spatial dimensions are not implemented explicitly and adequately. Spatial units at different scales are as well part of a comprehensive understanding of how resilience is actually functioning (see for example CHAPPLE and LESTER 2007; FOLKE ET AL. 2002; FOSTER 2007). A spatially based definition of resilience, introduced by PIKE ET AL. (2010: 61), both incorporates geographical impacts and refers to other systems. “Resilience here is understood as whether or not and to what degree and in what time frame a spatial unit can return to its pre-shock position and level of output or employment”. With this approach of resilience, they, moreover, criticise equilibrium-based approaches in economy (and economic geography) since change is applied in a reductionist way. “Such accounts are undermined by their limiting assumptions of adjustment through the free and flexible operation of factor markets and return to a single-equilibrium state. The framework jumps scales of analysis from the national to the regional and metropolitan without discussion of whether or not resilience can or should mean the same things at different geographical levels” (ibid.).

In contrast to an equilibrium-state approach they advocate for an evolutionary, path-dependent, and contingent, therefore relational, approach in order to understand the resilience of places. Scale-sensitivity is being recognised by a distinction of adaptation (representing pre-conceived paths, the short-term, and strong-tied network level) and

adaptability (the awareness of multiple paths, a long-term perspective, and weak-tied networks). Linking scales and contexts over a range of changes, here via coupling adaptation and adaptability, seems to be a more advanced approach to identify and interpret the geographically uneven resilience of places. According to PIKE ET AL. (2010: 62),

Adaptation and adaptability can be seen as a tension with each other, as explanations of different kinds of resilience. In contrast to the equilibrium-based view that interprets resilience as a generic feature and quality of a closed system, adaptation and adaptability are dialectically related in an inherent tension within a more open system that has to be accommodated or brought into balance by social agents.

## Conclusion

“Simplify complexity” is a popular and just claim in our today’s world. Societal modernisation has undergone a profound and deep transition. New paradoxes emerged or existing ones have extended across several system regimes. Generalisation *and* pluralisation, autonomy *and* dependency, down- *and* up-scaling, separation *and* hybridisation are visible signs of a complex world. Acceleration and de-limitation of our daily activities appear as currencies of success and happiness.

Alternatively, “dynexity” (dynamics and complexity) is not automatically and inevitably a guarantee for a good life. “Less is more” refers to the obvious need to decelerate and limit activities in order to gain a more sustained, balanced life where responsibility and commitment are seriously taken into account. Solidarity, legitimacy, social integration, and ecological balance are the challenges we yet have to face. Although reductionism is necessary to preserve the ability of judgement and a plurality of opinions, it is also important not to fail to ideology due to over-reductionism. Poverty, place, and identity are each complex in themselves and complexity increases if they are related to one another and connected to social transformations. Change, scale, and context appear as basic meta-phenomena responsible for diversification, heterogeneity, and plurality but also for injustice, inequality, stigmatisation, and prejudice.

Beyond this we should stay convinced that, as the social festival *Keep the Ball Rolling*. in the Lungau region illustrates, everybody can do a lot to strengthen solidarity and a good living. From a theoretical as well as methodological point of view it seems, however, worth to turn the original phrase into: “complexify simplicity”!

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