



'I prefer to own what I use': Exploring the role of emotions in upscaling collaborative consumption through libraries in Norway

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ABSTRACT

The generalisation of collaborative consumption as a practice embedded in everyday practices such as cooking, cleaning, repairing, commuting, and exercising can reduce material and resource use, but has not yet achieved its full potential in Western societies. This article contributes to an emerging literature focusing on emotions as an integral part of practices and investigates how they might promote or hamper the scaling up collaborative consumption. The study draws on quantitative and qualitative data to, first, describe the emotions associated with sharing and their relationship with other bundled practices and, second, explore the potential of upscaling collaborative consumption through libraries, institutions with long traditions in organised sharing. Through the case study of sports equipment and a municipal library in Norway, we find that interventions that encourage positive emotions such as excitement and reward and that reduce the need to regulate negative emotions associated with sharing can recruit practitioners to collaborative consumption. Explicit and long-term engagement by libraries in the lending of culturally meaningful equipment such as skis in Norway can potentially reduce the need for regulating the embarrassment and discomfort associated with not owning them.

1. Introduction

This article seeks to understand the role of emotions in shaping collaborative consumption and their mobilising potential to upscale sharing practices. Collaborative consumption, understood as temporary use of underutilised resources not owned by the user, is associated with the paradigmatic shift necessary to transition towards sustainable societies (Belk, 2014; Schor and Valas, 2021). It implies the possibility of reducing the number of materials involved in consumption, increases access to tools and resources to repair and maintain household goods and appeals to circular economy discourses (Temesgen et al., 2021). It links to traditional lending and borrowing within personal networks and connects to the sharing economy through business models based on peer-to-peer transactions to share accommodation, vehicles, tools, electrical appliances, and sports/outdoor equipment (Habibi et al., 2017). Nevertheless, sharing initiatives attract only a minority of the population and have yet to become embedded in most everyday practices (Spaargaren, 2013; Westskog et al., 2020).

Public libraries are traditional organisations that are often cited as a historical example of collaborative consumption following a product service system model where shared products are owned by the organisation (Gareau-Brennan, 2018; UNEP, 2002). Public libraries are used to devise digital and non-digital systems to facilitate borrowing at no cost. They increasingly market themselves as spaces for the community, where people across socio-economic and age groups can access and

co-create knowledge, information and entertainment (Ameli, 2017; Gareau-Brennan, 2018). The use of library services is a well-established practice in most contexts, they are centrally located, and serve as important arenas for social relationships, trust and social capital (Vårheim, 2014). Recently, public libraries in the United States and Europe have engaged with libraries of things, or tool libraries, where products donated or bought are lent in collaboration with the library (Claudelin et al., 2022).

This study takes practices as the unit of analysis. It follows Reckwitz's (2002) definition of practice as 'routinised behaviour' shaped by elements including the body, material structures, physical items, knowledge, understandings, and states of emotion. Since habit and routine are characteristics of practices, collaborative consumption can be analysed as a practice for those groups of people who engage in it frequently and as a structural element of bundled practices such as commuting, holidaying or practising sports for those who participate in them occasionally. A practice-theoretical perspective includes the study of the ways in which practitioners engage and modify practices, and of how the latter is characterised by emotions and individual assessments associated with the ways in which practices are performed and interconnected (Fraanje and Spaargaren, 2019). Establishing spaces such as libraries, where positive emotions emerge as people engage in environmentally meaningful practices, seems a promising avenue for the reproduction of such practices (Gareau-Brennan, 2018; Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014).

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The study focuses on the role of emotions, both as elements shaping the experience of sharing and as opportunities to consolidate and up-scale collaborative consumption. The empirical analysis draws on quantitative and qualitative data from a research project investigating the role of local libraries in upscaling sharing in Norway. The following section introduces the theoretical background supporting an emotions-based analysis of collaborative consumption practices and the research questions. Thereafter, the study context, the data and the mixed-methods perspective used to answer the research questions are presented. The fourth and fifth sections present the findings of the quantitative and qualitative analyses respectively. In the final section, emotions are discussed from the perspective of their involvement in activating or precluding upscaling collaborative consumption. The potential for libraries to draw on this knowledge is also addressed.

2. Literature review

2.1. Collaborative consumption and the sharing economy

Collaborative consumption is often defined by the presence of a platform, commonly an on-line platform, that coordinates exchanges aimed at granting access to goods and services (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Hamari et al., 2016). Authors such as Belk (2014) contend that collaborative consumption differs from sharing in that the former is characterised by the coordinating platform receiving a fee or other compensation while the latter is not. Fraanje and Spaargaren (2019), however, argue that both non-profits and for-profits should be included in the definition. Still, there are three features of *collaborative consumption* that are common to most understandings of the term and that will be used here (Huber, 2017). The first feature is its articulation of models of consumption based on temporary access to goods and services and on non-ownership (Belk, 2014). The second is the fact that most sharing occurs with strangers; that is, beyond one's network of family, friends and neighbours (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). The third feature is its rapid expansion, and the promise that this escalation will facilitate societal transition towards sustainability and its positive impacts on its social, economic and environmental dimensions (Schor and Vallas, 2021).

In their review of available empirical studies on the sustainability impacts of the sharing economy, Schor and Vallas (2021) found that the sharing economy does not live up to expectations of the social and environmental dimensions, while its increasing profitability indicates its positive economic effect. The authors report that class, race and gender discrimination are as common in collaborative consumption as they are in other pro-environmental behaviours such as recycling and bicycling (Anantharaman, 2014, 2017). The authors also emphasise the limited effect in reducing emissions of greenhouse gases generated by collaborative consumption. Empirical evidence suggests that transport and travel sharing platforms increase distance and frequency of travel and reduce the demand for public transport (Barrios et al., 2020; Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2016), and studies on apparel rental, for example, provide no evidence of any reduction in total emissions (Zamani et al., 2017). Collaborative consumption may have greater potential to reduce environmental impact when mostly underutilised goods are exchanged (Schor and Vallas, 2021).

2.2. Practice-theoretical perspectives and sharing

Engaging in collaborative consumption involves a certain degree of social interaction, communication with suppliers, lenders or borrowers, and some knowledge about the item or service and the platform or organisation supporting the scheme. It may also require access to the cultural, economic or social resources that help recruit practitioners. Like any other practice, sharing involves a relationship between the body and physical objects. It is also associated with *teleoaffective structures*; that is, the purposes or goals that activate people and result in

particular emotions (Schatzki, 2002). Understanding collaborative consumption as a practice implies shifting the unit of analysis from individuals to the practice and the elements shaping it (Röpke, 2009). This is important, because understanding how potential low-carbon practices such as borrowing are formed may shed light on the type of interventions required to scale them up (Spaargaren, 2013).

When analysing practices, it is common to focus on their constitutive elements, their interactions, and the way in which practices bundle together and depend on one another. Shove et al. (2012) and Shove and Pantzar (2005) consider that key elements that shape practices are *meanings*, as in cultural understanding and norms; *materials*, including technology, infrastructures and things; and *competence*, encompassing skills, knowledge and procedures. Kennedy et al. (2013), follow Bourdieu (1977) and emphasise the value of analysing practices accounting for the *social*, *economic* and *cultural* resources shaping them. The latter is particularly relevant for collaborative consumption, since Schor (2014) finds that those who engage in sharing often adapt their behaviour according to their beliefs about the educational background of their sharing partners.

Drawing on Schatzki (2002) and Collins (2004), Fraanje and Spaargaren (2019) studied two sharing platforms in The Netherlands. As well as examining how collaborative consumption practices were shaped (*performances*), they explored how these connected to organisational practices (*embeddedness*) and to commercial or cooperative logics and social and ecological outcomes (*trajectories*). Teleoaffective structures were studied as part of *performances* and included the emotions and moods experienced by practitioners. The authors found that when collaborative consumption implied social interaction between borrower and lender, emotions of trust, generosity and helpfulness determined the reproduction of the practice and its future success.

2.3. Emotions and practices

It is widely accepted that emotions, while reflecting an internal state, cannot be disentangled from their social dimension (Rivera et al., 1986). Thus, while a psychologist would focus on the extent to which, for example, pro-environmental behaviours relate to the predominance of positive over negative emotions (Kasser, 2017), practice-oriented scholars would stress the role of emotions in strengthening or challenging social norms of environmentally relevant behaviours (Piscicelli et al., 2015; Fraanje and Spaargaren, 2019; Longhurst and Hargreaves, 2019; Sahakian and Bertho, 2018).

The extent to which emotions are considered elements of practice or practices in their own right is open to debate. On the one hand, since emotions are connected to teleoaffective structures, they are associated with both the execution and purpose of practices and may determine whether or not practitioners return to the practice in the future (Longhurst and Hargreaves, 2019). On the other hand, people engage in modifying or manipulating emotional states, which makes 'emotional practices' such as mobilising or regulating emotions a potential unit of analysis (Scheer, 2012). Regulating undesired emotions such as shame or embarrassment is an important practice in contexts where sustainable behaviours such as borrowing are associated with poverty or marginalisation (Schor, 2014; Anantharaman, 2017).

Another perspective on emotions as social practice is presented by Longhurst and Hargreaves (2019). They follow Schatzki's (1996) distinction of *dispersed* and *integrative* practices and consider emotional practices as an example of the former. *Dispersed* practices are common to many domains of everyday life, while *integrative* practices are ascribed to particular domains such as working, travelling or homemaking. Thus, *emotional practices* such as excitement, helpfulness or embarrassment could be experienced when carrying out practices such as borrowing sports equipment or going downhill skiing (integrative practices) and could well emerge at different stages of the practice or as specific elements of practice. The approaches of Scheer (2012) and Longhurst and Hargreaves (2019) to emotions as practice both have in common an

understanding of emotions as inherently social, enacted by practitioners and shaping the extent to which people remain practitioners.

2.4. Emotions and social change

Within a practice-theoretical framework, social change occurs when: 1) people adopt new ways of performing practices; 2) the population that engages in the practice changes; and 3) when the way in which multiple intersecting practices are connected is transformed (Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Watson, 2012). First, interdependence and co-evolution occur within and between practices, so when new elements are introduced in a practice (e.g., new items become available for borrowing or online lending platforms are improved), these have implications for the other constitutive elements enhancing or constraining the scope of the transformation (Spaargaren, 2011).

Second, people are actively involved in the dynamics of practices, which depend on recruiting practitioners for their reproduction and success (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Fraanje and Spaargaren (2019) find that experiencing trust and hospitality is important when people share tools and appliances with neighbours, but that they might not want to experience those emotions while borrowing a car. Third, practices are interwoven in the tapestry of everyday life. Changes in the features of one practice may thus influence how interrelated practices evolve, particularly when practices are bundled temporarily or geographically (Watson, 2012). For example, skating or downhill skiing may for some be inseparable from renting or borrowing sports equipment. Changes in the emotions shaping the sports activity, for example, might thus co-evolve with the emotional practices used to regulate the negative feelings associated with non-ownership.

Organisations such as public libraries are well placed to modify elements of collaborative consumption practices. For example, they can collaborate with local outlets to receive and distribute borrowed items; they can extend return times or organise home delivery for the elderly or others without access to the public transport network. Thus, by modifying the rules and the articulation of practices, organisations can shape the emotions associated with them (Fraanje and Spaargaren, 2019). Additionally, organisations can generate spaces for the experimentation of sustainable consumption practices (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014). As Sahakian and Bertho (2018) find concerning norms of cleanliness and food preparation, when citizens are given the opportunity to experience less energy-intensive ways of carrying out a practice collectively, positive emotions surrounding the practice emerge and have the potential to consolidate it.

2.5. Conceptual framework and research questions

This study uses a mixed-method strategy to answer two consecutive research questions. The first is exploratory and seeks to identify the emotions and emotional practices involved in borrowing. Emotions are addressed both as emerging with the sharing process and as a practice bundled with integrative practices such as skiing downhill (Longhurst and Hargreaves, 2019). Thus, the first research question (RQ1) is: *What are the emotions and emotional practices involved in collaborative consumption?* Insights to answer RQ1 draw on the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data on emotions and emotional practices associated with borrowing in a Norwegian medium-sized municipality. The study relates to previous studies suggesting that in Norway engaging in sustainable consumption practices is positively associated with feeling energetic and vital (Guillen-Royo, 2019) but that upscaling engagement may be challenged by emotional practices to avoid feeling weak, vulnerable or not smart enough (Norgaard, 2011).

The second research question relates to the literature suggesting that organisations can stimulate the emergence of the positive emotions associated with sustainable consumption practices and help consolidate them (Fraanje and Spaargaren, 2019; Sahakian and Bertho, 2018; Spaargaren, 2013). At the municipal level, the role of public libraries

seems particularly relevant. Libraries already have the infrastructure, technology, knowledge, rules and resources to articulate sharing practices (Ameli, 2017; Jochumsen et al., 2012). Thus, the second research question (RQ2) is: *How can an understanding of emotions and emotional practices support upscaling of local collaborative consumption through public libraries?* The answer will be articulated drawing on the analysis of qualitative data from interviews of users and staff of a Norwegian public library and a local charity engaged in lending outdoor equipment.

3. Methods

3.1. Case study area

The study was carried out in a medium-sized Norwegian municipality located in the east of the country. It was conducted as part of a larger research project in which the main aim was to understand the role of public libraries in upscaling the sharing economy. To respect participants' confidentiality, the name of the city is not disclosed. Nevertheless, some general characteristics of the municipality are important to mention. The municipality has over 100,000 inhabitants, is densely populated, with a higher-than-average percentage of immigrants (around 30% have migrant background), and a household income lower than the national average (20% live in households categorised as persistently low-income). The geographical location of the city gives its residents easy access to forests, mountains, and the seaside, and encouraging outdoor activities using local natural attractions is one of the local council's goals.

Two local organisations were included in the qualitative study: the municipal library and a charity operating a lending scheme. The library is used by 48% of local residents annually, mainly to borrow books, films and music (75%) and to participate in events (20%) (Julsrud, 2021). In 2007 the library moved from the city centre to a neighbourhood close by. It now sits in a modern building shared with a local learning institution. The library is municipally owned, and its strategy aligns with that of the city council, which seeks to promote the sharing and reduction of overall consumption. The Christian charity, located 1.5 km from the library, lends outdoor equipment such as snowboard, alpine and cross-country skis, ice skates, helmets, tents, and fishing rods. The scheme is directed at children and young people, but adults may also borrow items in exchange for a voluntary fee. The charity has 24 outlets spread across the country under its programme for children and youth. The explicit goal of the charity's outlet in the municipality is to encourage collaborative consumption, and it is in the process of organising a scheme for lending tools and appliances in association with the district administration.

3.2. Methodology and data

The study uses a mixed-method research strategy. While mixed-method research does not appear superior to single-method strategies, it allows for both a description of the phenomena of interest and an in-depth understanding of its various dimensions. The study uses an 'equivalent status design', which implies addressing the two research questions by using quantitative and qualitative methods in order to strengthen the robustness of the results and their validity (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

The *quantitative* part of the study draws on data from two surveys. The first was carried out by a market research company and distributed by e-mail to a panel of respondents in the autumn of 2021. The final sample had 304 respondents and was adjusted for gender, age group and income to achieve representativity at the municipal level. The second survey was distributed by the library to its users by e-mail, social media, and a newsletter. The users were invited to participate in the survey by using an online link in the autumn of 2020, and 1001 respondents returned a completed questionnaire. The questionnaire was completed by almost twice as many women as men and by slightly fewer older

people compared to the representative survey presented earlier. The survey questionnaires were structured around questions capturing the main socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, their use of the public library and organised sharing, and their knowledge, attitudes and engagement concerning collaborative consumption (see [Julsrud, 2021](#) for a description of the survey).

In-depth interviews were the main source of data in the *qualitative* part of the study. Staff members and users of two local lending institutions, the library and the charity, were interviewed from October 2021 to February 2022. In total, 20 interviews were carried out with six library employees, one charity worker, one municipal social worker and 12 users of the library and/or the local sharing scheme. Twelve of the interviewees were men and eight women, the youngest was aged 18 and the oldest 72. Interviews lasted 1 h on average and were recorded and transcribed. Two interview guides were used, one addressing the roles of librarians and charity staff, and the other focusing on the role of users. Questions revolved around the following topics: the functioning of the library/sharing scheme, users' motivations, experiences and practices, and the role of libraries in upscaling collaborative consumption. Notwithstanding the difficulty in uncovering emotions ([Sahakian and Bertho, 2018](#)), the fact that respondents were asked to describe in detail and reflect upon their personal engagement in sharing activities and the challenges of scaling up gave them the opportunity to speak freely about their feelings, emotions and preferences.

The coding of interviews in NVIVO 11.6 followed concept, emotion and descriptive coding. The importance of capturing elements of practice required assigning labels to infrastructures, values, norms, knowledge, resources, materials and body-related aspects of sharing (concept coding). Emotion coding was also used to classify excerpts where elements of practice or practices were associated with an emotional state or when interviewees referred to a specific emotion, even though *In Vivo* coding is often used to categorise the latter ([Miles et al., 2020:67](#)). Descriptive coding was used to identify excerpts of interviews where the roles of the local library or the process of sharing were explained in detail. Second cycle coding was done in response to the main research questions and was informed by the findings of the quantitative phase. Later, the practice of borrowing and the emotions associated with each phase of the process were condensed into a *cognitive network* describing the common elements of the experience of sharing.

4. Describing emotions, sharing and the role of the public library

The survey participants were asked about the extent to which they agreed (5) or disagreed (1) with a list of statements about sharing items from cars to sports equipment. Seven statements could be directly identified as emotions or emotional practices. These were: 'It is difficult for me to ask someone to borrow something' (anxiety); 'Sharing is exciting, fun or giving in itself' (excitement/reward); 'I am worried about damaging other people's property if I borrow' and 'I am worried about others damaging my things if I loan them' (worry); 'Sharing via an electronic application is difficult' (frustration); and 'Sharing is more suited to those with little money' and 'I prefer to own what I use' (distancing or regulating emotions). Drawing on the literature reviewed in section 2 and [Norgaard's \(2011\)](#) classification of emotions concerning climate change in Norway, four emotions and one emotional practice linked to regulating negative emotions were identified (names in brackets). This classification was confirmed by an exploratory factor analysis conducted on the seven items. Five factors were requested and varimax rotation was used to discriminate between factors ([Field, 2005](#)). Combined, the five factors explained 85.52% of total variance (see appendix).

[Table 1](#) below describes engagement in organised borrowing, use of the library, and emotions associated with sharing in the municipality. Results are presented by survey group, the first one corresponding to the representative sample and the second to the sample of library users.

Table 1
Borrowing practices and emotions across the two samples.

	Municipality	Library users
% know about organised lending of equipment and tools	41.8%	40.6%
% used library	46,1%***	94.3%***
% borrowed things from local sharing institutions more than once in the past year	4%**	7%**
<i>Emotions associated with sharing: (average score)</i>		
Anxiety	3.43	3.47
Excitement/reward	2.98***	3.37***
Worry		
Damaging other people's property	3.95	3.98
Others damaging one's property	3.68	3.63
Frustration (sharing via mobile apps is difficult)	3.05***	2.70***
Distancing/regulating emotion		
Suited to the poor	2.69***	2.29***
I prefer to own	4.11***	3.52***
Total sample (N)	304	1001

Note: Results of the *t*-test were significant at the 0.01 *** and 0.05 ** levels.

Independent samples *t*-tests were performed to confirm the significance of observed differences between the means of the two groups. As expected, library users reported having used the library and being engaged in borrowing items to a greater extent than the municipality average ([Audunson et al., 2019](#)). Moreover, library users associated use of the library with more positive and less negative emotions than the average person in the municipality. While library users agreed to a greater extent on sharing being exciting and giving, they agreed less on associating sharing with the challenges of using mobile apps or with poverty. They also reported a lower preference for ownership than the average resident in the municipality.

[Table 2](#) presents the results of regressing emotions on three variables. The first two capture people's interest in borrowing tools and sports equipment in the future by using the library card, and the third explores

Table 2
Emotions as determinants of collaborative consumption.

	In the future I would be interested in using the library card to borrow ...		In the past I have borrowed ...
	Tools	Sports and hiking equipment	Tools from friends family and neighbours
	Exp (B)	Exp(B)	b-value
Age group	0.778***	0.646***	-0.131***
Gender	0.663**	1.222	-0.029
Education	1.029	1.006	0.027
Household income	0.992	0.931	0.077***
Sample	0.954	1.292	0.342***
Migrant	0.969	1.423*	-0.221*
Anxiety	1.144*	1.196**	-0.099**
Excitement/reward	1.220***	1.282***	0.108***
Frustration	0.727***	0.850**	0.026
Worry	1.570***	1.093	0.019
Distancing	0.601***	0.782***	-0.155***
Constant	1.873***	2.489***	2.587***
R ² [Nagelkerke R square]	0.206	0.225	0.112
Sample size	815	815	814

Note: Age groups are the following 1 = under 20, 2 = 20–29, 3 = 30–39, 4 = 40–49, 5 = 50–59, 6 = over 60. Gender is a dichotomous variable with women = 2 and men = 1, education is an ordinal variable with 1 = primary school and 6 = university education of over four years. Household income is an ordinal variable from 1 = under NOK 200,000 NOK to 8 = over NOK 1,400,000 per year. Migrant is a dummy variable where 1 is the value associated with respondents with migrant background. Levels of significance (p-levels) are marked ***<0.01, **<0.05 and *<0.1.

the role of emotions in explaining recent engagement in informal sharing of small tools or implements. The analysis used a data set obtained by merging the municipal and library user samples. The variable *Sample* (1 = representative of municipality, 2 = library user) identifies respondents based on their belonging to either of the two samples. Age, gender, education, household income and migrant background are control variables included because of their relevance in explaining sharing practices in Norway (Julrud, 2021; Westskog et al., 2020). The first two dependent variables are dichotomous variables where 1 identifies interest in borrowing and 0 lack of interest. Logistic regression is used to study the extent to which emotions, and the control variables predict interest in borrowing. The third dependent variable is the answer to a question on the frequency with which respondents engaged in informal sharing of tools in the past year. Answers were on a 5-point scale (1 = never to 5 = very often) and ordinary least squares (OLS) were used to study the role of emotions as predictors (Field, 2005).

Table 2 presents the results of regression analysis in terms of odds ratio [Exp(B)] and unstandardised regression coefficients (*b*-values) concerning the logistic and OLS studies respectively. The odds ratio reflects how much more likely a value of 1 (interest in sharing) will occur than a value of 0 (no interest). An odds ratio of 1 means equal likelihood of being in the 1 or 0 groups, and a value > 1 a greater likelihood of being interested in sharing. As we see in Table 2, older age groups, women, and respondents who associate sharing with frustration and who distance themselves from the practice are less likely to be interested in sharing tools in the future using the library card. The same applies to sports equipment, except for women, since gender does not have a significant coefficient. Respondents who associate sharing with excitement are more likely to be interested in borrowing both tools and sports equipment. Interestingly, respondents who worry about their own or other people's goods being damaged when sharing are more likely to embrace borrowing tools using the library card, and respondents who are anxious about borrowing are more likely to show interest in doing so using the library card. This indicates that at least two negative emotions associated with sharing – worry and anxiety – could be reversed in the future if the municipal library facilitated lending with the library card.

Concerning past sharing behaviour, respondents who were anxious about sharing and respondents who distanced themselves from the activity had engaged less in informal borrowing of tools, and respondents who were excited about sharing had done so more often in the past year. A model explaining people's past engagement in the formal borrowing of tools and sports equipment could not be included in the study, since only 6.5% reported having participated in organised lending schemes. An independent samples *t*-test studying whether mean differences in emotions differ significantly between respondents who engaged in borrowing in the previous year and respondents who did not, only gave significant results concerning *distancing*, but we could not explore whether this relationship was conditional to income or any other socio-economic or demographic variables. In summary, the quantitative analysis showed that excitement, and the practice of regulating the negative emotions associated with sharing (*distancing*), seem key in determining past and future borrowing behaviours. The next sections use interview data to investigate the meaning of these emotions and the potential role of libraries in drawing on them to scale up sharing. The focus is on the practice of borrowing winter sports equipment, as this is one of the sharing practices that have become increasingly popular in Norway (Erdvik and Bjørnarå, 2022).

5. Understanding the link between collaborative consumption and emotions: borrowing sports equipment and the role of the municipal library

5.1. Emotions and engagement in organised sharing of sports equipment

The classification of emotions and emotional practices in the previous section relates to sharing as an isolated practice. Yet, interview

participants reflected on sharing as being bundled with other everyday practices, from realising house repairs when discussing drills, lawnmowers or snowblowers to going skiing with the school, friends or family when discussing sports equipment. Thus, an analysis of borrowing and the emotions and emotional practices linked to it, demands accounting for the intersecting practice to which it relates. Fig. 1 below displays a *cognitive network* representing the common experiential process of borrowing winter sports equipment from the local charity (Miles et al., 2020). It describes the flow of actions, reasonings and processes from the time when interviewees decide to go skiing or skating until the time when they return the borrowed equipment, if they borrow. The emotions identified in section 4 are placed in relation to the activity or process that interviewees associate them with.

Participants' accounts suggest that most emotions studied in section 4 are experienced during the interconnected processes of borrowing equipment and practicing winter sports. Participants who regulated the negative emotions associated to borrowing by *distancing* themselves from the practice, did it at the point of deciding on the equipment, when discussing the logistics of collecting and returning items and in connection to the perceived quality of the items on loan. When discussing the equipment necessary to carry out the activity, participants justified not borrowing either in terms of the practicalities and habits of ownership or as something inappropriate for those with sufficient financial means. An ethnic Norwegian explained:

Some of us would like to own everything we use, unfortunately. And we have pretty good personal finances, [we are] quite a few people who think that if you need a drill, you buy a drill. Even if you're only going to use it once or twice a year. I am one of them.

A rationalisation of ownership based on personal taste and everyday routines was often found among middle-aged and older Norwegians. Migrant interviewees did not share these perceptions but were aware of the norms that prevailed in the local community. As a young migrant put it:

I think that those who are born here or who come from this country are brought up to buy a lot of equipment and such, but those who come from other countries, like for example Africa or the Middle East, tend to borrow things [sports equipment] because it's quite new to them and they don't want to buy, and just want to try a little bit, so they're the ones who tend to come here [to the local charity] mostly and borrow things.

Among users of the lending scheme, negative emotions arose when considering the risk of exclusion from society if they could not join the practice of winter sports. The quality or state of the equipment borrowed seemed of secondary importance and was mostly considered adequate. Still, the fear of being stigmatised as poor if it was known or visible that they had borrowed from the charity was not completely absent. As a mother of three who had felt excluded as a child refugee put it:

I couldn't afford to rent skis [when I was a child], renting was quite expensive, but we had fun anyway, but still, it kind of made me not want my kids to go and miss on anything [she cries]. Maybe I'm a little afraid of being stigmatised like that because we're foreigners. To be stigmatised right away, maybe put in a box, oh they're poor, they can't afford to buy, so they borrow from the charity. So I don't know, I get a bit like that.

Among non-users, another reason to not borrowing sports equipment from the charity was the fear of their children being embarrassed if the equipment looked old or battered. This was contested by charity staff, and frequent users; as the former stressed their thorough quality control and maintenance work and the latter chose to focus on the fun associated with winter sports rather than on the look or quality of the equipment.

As illustrated in Fig. 1, *excitement* and *reward* were emotions that emerged at different points in the borrowing process, from the time the activity is planned to the point when equipment is returned. When the possibility of engaging in a winter sport is first discussed among friends

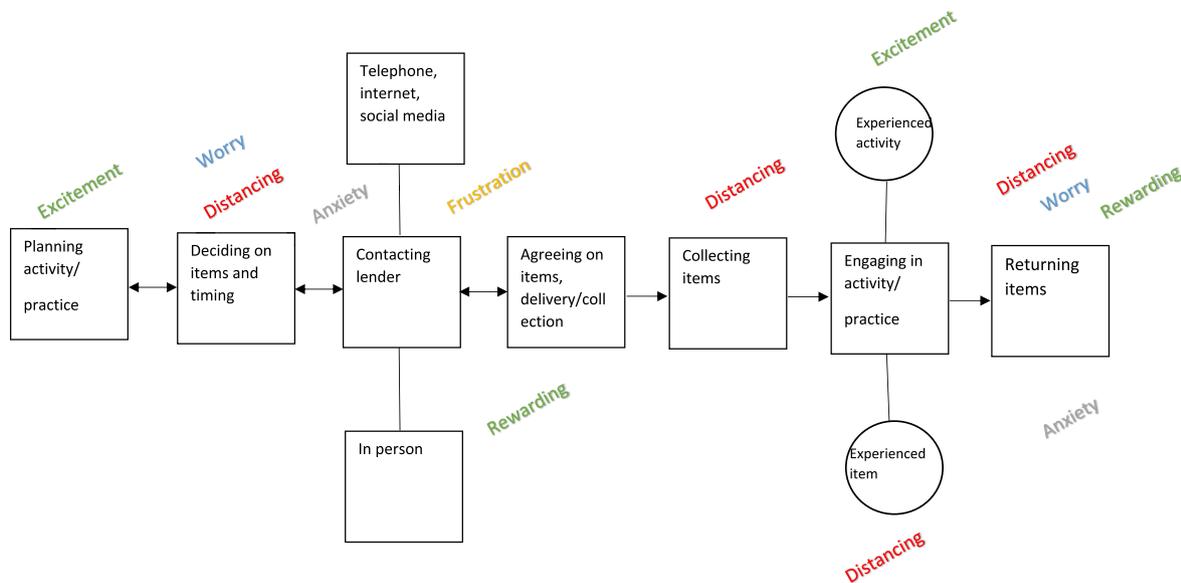


Fig. 1. Emotions and the process of borrowing winter sports equipment.

or family members, it brings a sense of *excitement* because practices such as skiing or skating are associated with leisure and socialisation. Even mothers who preferred to buy second hand than borrow said that if their children wished to try a new sports activity, borrowing equipment would be a realistic option because it was more important not to miss out on the fun. The possibility of having fun, feeling excited and sharing it with friends is a powerful driver that may override some of the negative emotions associated with sharing. As an occasional borrower put it:

Some of my friends are very well off, they buy a lot of expensive slalom equipment, but then I can still be with them, so I can't help saying: look, having your own [equipment] isn't the most important thing, the most important thing is the activity, and being together.

In the survey, feelings of excitement were clustered with feelings of gratitude. The latter was often expressed regarding charity staff, who were perceived as helpful, kind and very service oriented. A mother of three recalled borrowing downhill skis so her two daughters could try skiing, and they loved it. She then called the charity and agreed with them that she could keep the skis for seven more weeks if she committed to calling them once a week to make sure the skis were not needed by others. A good experience had the potential to be contagious, as this borrower put it:

When I have borrowed once, the threshold to do it again is lower [...]. I got my husband to return the skis we borrowed so he discovered how easy it was and the next time he took the initiative to borrow things [...]. The family whose children I took with us on a skiing trip got to know about the lending scheme and when they rented a cabin in the mountains, they also borrowed skis from the charity, so in some way borrowing is contagious.

Frustration, worry and anxiety were also discussed by interviewees in connection with some phases of the borrowing process. Data from observations made at the charity suggested that those who could not communicate well in Norwegian experienced a sense of *frustration* when they could not describe the characteristics of the equipment they wanted to borrow or the outdoor activity they wished to engage with. *Worry* about getting or returning damaged goods was often brought up by users and non-users. An additional source of fear was associated with the recent COVID-19 pandemic and the national guidelines about physical distancing and hand hygiene. A young user compared her concern about borrowing a damaged item to the fear of falling sick through borrowing:

It's fear-based, it's fear, it can be anything, but [what you borrow] is both private and unknown to you in a way. One can fear damaging it, that's right, but also catching bacteria or viruses, things like that.

Finally, some interviewees discussed how some people could feel *anxious* when approaching the charity or when being delayed in returning items. The embarrassment some felt when contacting the charity was associated with the sense of inferiority most people were trying to avoid, and charity staff were aware of this. As a charity worker expressed it:

Yes. Everyone who works here should follow the rules and not talk about anyone who comes to borrow here without their permission. Because most people think it might be embarrassing to be here and borrow and stuff like that, so we don't tend to talk much either, but they're always welcome to talk anyway.

5.2. Elements of practice, emotions, and the municipal library

This section discusses the extent to which the public library can contribute to fostering positive emotions and reducing the need for people to regulate the negative emotions associated with sharing, drawing on interviewee's accounts and the elements of practice considered in practice-theoretical perspectives (Kennedy et al., 2013; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). With regards to *infrastructure*, participants indicated that the geographical location of the charity, its interior, and the lack of visibility of the borrowing scheme supported an association of organised borrowing with poverty and marginalisation. The local charity outlet was situated in a marginal district, the placement was temporary, and the staff reported to prioritise effective organisation and equipment maintenance over aesthetic considerations. The lack of storage space was an additional factor that triggered frustration, but this also applied to the library, following librarians' reports. Still, most people considered that the library's modern building, the fact that it was shared with a higher education institution, its proximity to the city centre and its capacity to reach across socio-economic groups could enhance the positive and reduce the negative emotions associated with sharing. As one borrower of sports equipment put it:

I think the library can establish an arena for that [collaborative consumption], where it has been marketed that you come here and you can share, you can use, you can exchange and you can borrow. The library

can contribute to a culture of sharing and market it as a completely normal, popular, healthy and sensible way of doing it [...]. I think it's deep in people's consciousness that the library is our place.

The potential of the library to upscale sharing is also reflected in how the physical distance between the library and the charity premises is perceived. The views of a mother of two who occasionally borrowed from the charity and is a frequent user of the library exemplifies this. She explained in detail how she booked books online and had a fixed day each month when she would drive to the library to collect and return books in the evening when the children were asleep. Although she lived the same distance from the library as from the charity outlet, she perceived the charity outlet as further away. Physical distance was one of the factors she used to justify not borrowing sports equipment for her family.

Concerning *values and norms*, winter sports are associated with Norwegian national identity, even if 'only' 33% of Norwegians make a ski trip each year (Goksøy, 2013; SSB, 2020). Thus, it is quite common for Norwegian homes to have the necessary equipment to engage in these practices. In the context of the municipality, one of the reasons to resort to ownership is the values associated with the charity, since it is well known that they work to support poor and marginalised people and most Norwegians do not see themselves as such. Charity staff were aware of this and were eager to emphasise that borrowing equipment was a sensible choice, even for those who practiced winter sports regularly, because it helped them save money and storage space. The discourse of a perfectly rational choice had been adopted by young users and by some non-poor users but had not spread to the general population.

Distancing oneself from participating in organised lending schemes is not only linked to the values of users and the charity; it is also supported by the fear among librarians of diluting the core values of public libraries if they engage in lending tools, sports equipment or other household items. As one local librarian put it:

I believe that there is a danger if the library spreads over too many areas, in a way. The fact that you lose a bit of yourself. It dilutes the value that the institution has in the population. Everyone knows that in the library there is knowledge, quality-assured information, these are the core areas the library stands for. If it somehow becomes a place where you can go to borrow other things .. well, that's nice too. I don't know if I agree with it myself, but, we would need competence also among those who work in the library.

Contrary to the core values of the library, as seen by some librarians, the charity's values of public service and assistance present in face-to-face interactions when collecting and returning items or when extending the duration of loans, seemed to instil feelings of gratitude among borrowers and promote future engagement.

The perceived low *quality of the sports equipment* lent by the charity could explain why many non-borrowers reported a preference for owning (even second-hand) over borrowing skis, skates, boots or helmets from the charity. Other Norwegian organisations that lend sports equipment do not have this bad reputation. They often have outlets in the same building as the library and cooperate with libraries in multiple ways, from sharing staff to collaborating in the collection or delivery of equipment after opening hours (Erdvik and Bjørnarå, 2022). Collaboration has not yet been possible between the charity and the central library in the municipality, and this has likely influenced the borrowing experiences captured in this study.

Finally, emotions such *enjoyment and reward* experienced seemed also highly relevant to the engagement of librarians in lending tools, sports equipment or other physical items. Many of the librarians interviewed discussed their own or colleagues' initiatives and ideas such as repair workshops, sewing courses (and lending sewing machines), lending musical instruments, and organising gaming evenings. Some of the initiatives had taken place occasionally, some had been

discontinued, and some were in the planning phase. What librarians agreed on was that having or acquiring the right competencies and being allocated enough time and economic resources were key to support staff thriving with new tasks at the library. This anchoring of new borrowing initiatives on positive emotions among staff seemed to determine the potential success of upscaling sharing through the library.

6. Discussion and conclusion

This study set out to investigate two interrelated research questions. The first concerned the emotions and emotional practices linked to borrowing from organised schemes and the second, drawing on the former, addressed the potential role of libraries in upscaling collaborative consumption. The research drew on the growing literature on sustainability-related practices considering emotions both as emerging when people engage in collaborative consumption and as practices in their own right (Longhurst and Hargreaves, 2019; Schatzki, 2002; Scheer, 2012). The latter theoretical perspective informed the analysis of people's attempts to regulate the negative emotions that were often preventing them from borrowing tools and equipment. The study used quantitative and qualitative data from users and staff from a public library and a charity lending sports equipment in a Norwegian town to address the two research questions. Data from a municipality-wide survey was also drawn on to inform the analysis.

Insights into the first research question were provided by both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. Survey participants associated collaborative consumption with positive emotions such as excitement or reward and with negative emotions such as anxiety or worry. It was also common to declare not engaging with sharing practices due to a preference for ownership or an understanding of sharing as suited to the poor'. In-depth interviews with users of charity lending winter sports equipment provided a deeper understanding on the link between emotions and borrowing practices. Users reported having fun and feeling excited when they planned and organised an outdoor activity and when they engaged in the practice of skiing or skating, which they attributed to the characteristic thrill of the practice and to its relational aspect. Distancing by regulating negative emotions, emerged in connection with the habits of ownership in rich societies, the logistics of borrowing and the quality of the borrowed items, that was often perceived as low by non-borrowers.

Studying the emotions associated with collective consumption provided an entry point to address the second research question on the role of libraries in upscaling sharing. As the quantitative analysis in section 4 illustrated, library users engaged more in collaborative consumption and associated sharing more with positive emotions and less with negative emotions than the general population in the municipality. Additionally, survey participants who felt anxious or worried about sharing were willing to borrow sports equipment and tools using the library card if this was made possible in the future. As found by Piscicelli et al. (2015) when comparing sharing platform users and the UK population, a preference for ownership was greater among the general public than among library users. Still, across the two groups, distancing or regulating emotions was negatively associated with past sharing behaviour and willingness to engage in organised sharing in the future. Avoiding a direct association with collaborative consumption was often a way to escape experiencing the shame and sense of inferiority associated with poverty and marginalisation which people have been socially trained to avoid (Sahakian and Bertho, 2018; Longhurst and Hargreaves, 2019).

The negative emotions associated with borrowing were present across practice elements, and the municipal library seemed well placed to address them. According to the interviewees, borrowing equipment through the library might reduce the need to regulate the negative emotions triggered when dealing with the charity, since libraries are often perceived as a safe and trusted space (Vårheim, 2014). The library can encourage an association with discourses based on sustainable

lifestyles and solidarity ethics, and thus support the middle classes in processes of *defensive distinction* (Anantharaman, 2017). Libraries have the infrastructure to become physical arenas for the exchange of sports equipment or tools, either directly by providing the service or indirectly by offering part of their space/staff to sharing institutions, expanding the uses of the library card, or organising regular events where people can experiment with borrowing items and equipment (Ameli, 2017; Jochumsen et al., 2012). The latter seems key, since following a practice-theoretical perspective the provision of opportunities to experiment with sustainable consumption practices helps recruit practitioners and can trigger contagion (Sahakian and Bertho, 2018; Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014; Spaargaren, 2013).

As libraries get involved in the promotion of collaborative consumption, they can draw on the traction of the excitement of the bundled practice (downhill or cross-country skiing, skating, snowboarding, etc.) to engage people in sharing equipment through workshops or outreach events. Additionally, the positive emotions emerging from the flexibility of and service-oriented interaction with charity workers is worth considering. In their analysis of the Peerby sharing scheme in the Netherlands, Fraanje and Spaargaren (2019) warn of the risk of missing out on social interactions when mainstreaming or upscaling sharing. This would happen if the service were fully digitalised, something that is still uncommon among libraries of things or tool libraries (Ameli, 2017; Claudelin et al., 2022). Additionally, positive emotions might not emerge among librarians worried about lack of storage space, competence, and sufficient staff to expand the role of the library in the sharing economy. Recent experiences point to the need for libraries to coordinate with local organisations to organise repairs, donations and maintenance (Claudelin et al., 2022).

Two emerging themes have not been studied in depth and may require future investigation. First, the prescience of the practice of

regulating negative emotions associated with collaborative consumption may demand an approach based on critical social theory (Anantharaman, 2018). Even in egalitarian Norway, the fact that owning sports equipment is taken for granted as a cultural sign may conceal issues of race and class discrimination which at the moment remain understudied. Moreover, if upscaling the sharing of sports equipment implies, as envisioned by the local charity, an increase in the number of winter sport practitioners, the environmental impact of collaborative consumption may be negative. As Schor and Vallas (2021) conclude, the sharing sector seems to encourage greater consumption of goods, private transport and maintenance services. Thus, for the library to contribute positively to the environmental effect of collaborative consumption, it should succeed in recruiting both those who own the equipment (as providers and borrowers) and those who do not (as borrowers) (Claudelin et al., 2022). Reducing the need for people to regulate the negative emotions associated with borrowing may be a potential way forward.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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Appendix

Figure A.1 shows factor loadings after Varimax rotation. Two items cluster on factor 1 representing *worry* and two items on factor 2 identifying the emotional practice of *distancing*. The fact that the variable capturing a preference for ownership also loads on factor 1 (Worry) indicates that lack of engagement in collective consumption might be related to people’s concerns about damaging other people’s tools/equipment or about getting their own things damaged. The other three emotions do not load heavily on any of the two first factors, suggesting that they may represent different types of emotions.

Items/Factors	Worry	Distancing	Excitement	Frustration	Anxiety
Worried about others damaging my things if I lend them	.859	.192	-.005	-.011	.053
Worried about damaging other people’s things if I borrowed	.832	-.012	-.014	.034	.256
Sharing is more suited to those with little money	-.029	.894	.017	.073	.181
I prefer to own what I use	.341	.694	-.230	.150	-.117
Sharing is exciting. fun or rewarding in itself	-.008	-.099	.985	-.032	-.017
Sharing through mobile applications is difficult	.014	.144	-.035	.984	.072
It is difficult to ask others about borrowing something	.239	.088	-.016	.076	.937

Notes: Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalisation.

Fig. A.1. Rotated component matrix

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